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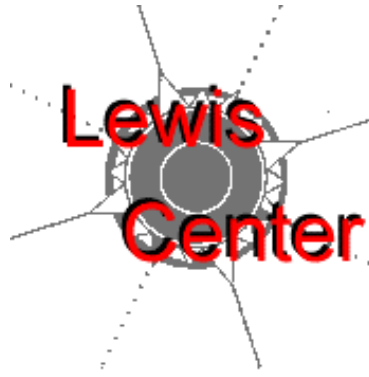
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A Profile of Race-bias Hate Crimes in Los Angeles County

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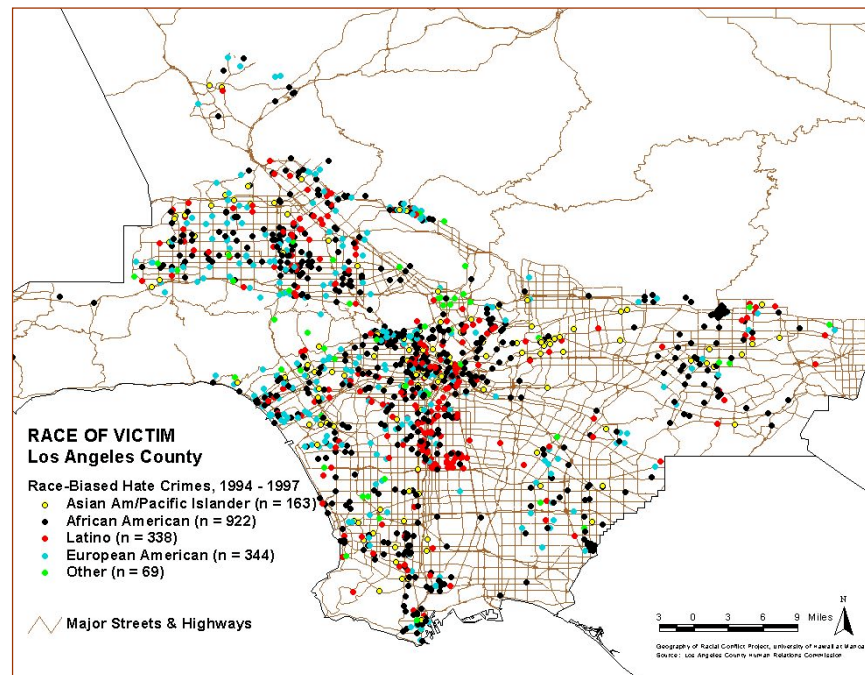
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ABSTRACT

Heralded as the model multicultural global city of the future in the 1980s, Los Angeles was suddenly seen as the hotbed of civil unrest in 1992. This shift in image, whether accurate or not, has prompted many to wonder what has taken place in Los Angeles over the past twenty years in regards to the problem of racial conflict. Hate crime reports provide one source of data that is regularly collected over time and is also location specific. Though these data are problematic, hate incidents are an extremely useful measure as part of a fuller study of race relations. This paper provides a profile of the problem of hate crime in Los Angeles County using hate crime data collected between 1994 and 1997. Geographic information systems (GIS) technology is used to identify clusters. We then analyze clusters to develop a profile of race-bias hate crimes for the county. We conclude with a discussion of the use of hate crime data in the study of racial conflict and outline directions for future research.

KEYWORDS

Los Angeles, GIS, hate crime, race relations, crime mapping

INTRODUCTION

The civil unrest of 1992 in Los Angeles brought renewed attention to the long-standing problem of race relations in urban America. Only a decade earlier, Los Angeles was touted as a model multicultural global city of the future in news features across the country. After the most recent incident of civil unrest, the same city was portrayed as the hotbed of racial strife. This shift in image, whether accurate or not, has prompted many to wonder what has taken place in Los Angeles over the past twenty years. How severe is the problem of racial conflict? What are the sources of strain? And what can we do to steer the city's future closer to a more optimistic vision of the multicultural city of the future?

It is difficult to precisely assess the state of race relations and the changes in relations over time. There are three types of studies on race relations in Los Angeles that have been published over the past decade. Large-scale surveys of racial attitudes and relations have been conducted by scholars, notably Lawrence Bobo (1997, 1996a, 1996b) and Melvin Oliver (1995, 1984). There are also case studies examining race relations in different parts of the city. Kyeyoung Park (1996) and Regina Freer (1994), for example, conducted case studies of relations between Korean merchants and African-American residents in South Central, while Leland Saito (1998) and John Horton (1995) explored relations between Chinese, Caucasians and Latinos in Monterey Park. A third type of study focuses on specific dimensions of race relations including the role of immigration, economic competition, inequality, labor market conditions, coalition politics, media representation, identity and jurisprudence (Baldezarre 1994; Chang and Leong 1994; Dear, Schockman, and Hise 1996; Gooding-Williams 1993; Johnson, Farrell, and Guinn 1997; Johnson and Oliver 1989; Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996). These studies in Los Angeles add valuable insight into the nature of contemporary race relations and the sources of racial and ethnic urban conflict.

One of the limitations of studies in Los Angeles and elsewhere, however, is the inability to collect and analyze *location-specific* data *over time*. Surveys, while they can be done regularly, aggregate data over large geographic areas. Oftentimes, however, racial conflict is specific to social microclimates. While attitudes and behaviors may be shared across the city or region—or nation, for that matter—conflicts often are confined to certain neighborhoods. The character of race relations tends to be unique to the history of a particular locale. Case studies, on the other hand, capture data specific to a particular geographic location. Their limitation, however, lies in the fact that cases are rarely revisited over time. It is difficult to monitor changes in race relations over time.

Hate crime reports provide one source of data that is regularly collected over time and is also location specific. Though these data are problematic, as we will discuss further in this article, hate incidents are an extremely useful measure as part of a fuller study of race relations. This paper provides a profile of the problem of hate crime in Los Angeles County using data collected between 1994 and 1997. We use geographic information systems technology to identify clusters and then analyze clusters to develop a profile for the county. We conclude with a discussion of the use of hate crime data in the study of racial conflict and outline directions for future research.

BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW

Hate crimes pose a serious social problem that scholars have argued is, in many ways, more threatening to civil society than other types of crimes. Hate crimes tend to be excessively brutal, especially in the case of bias against persons due to their sexual orientation, race or gender. They are also random in that the perpetrator selects their victim based on the their bias against a whole category of persons. Furthermore, hate crimes are more likely than other crimes to be committed by multiple perpetrators, a feature contributing to their severity and brutality (Levin and McDevitt 1993). Due to the nature of hate crimes, they engender a particularly high level of psychological stress, fear and anxiety. There is no way for potential victims to protect themselves since it is difficult or undesirable to disguise their inherent identities. The proliferation of hate crimes in a neighborhood can lead to wider social division and discord.

In 1987, the California State Legislature recognized a growing trend in bias-motivated crimes. It passed a law that made threats and acts against persons or property a separate and specific type of crime punishable by law if motivated by bias against the race, ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation of an individual. Noting gaps in the original definition, the legislature later added gender and disability to the designated list of categories in 1991. As law enforcement agencies implemented this legislation, state and local agencies have been able to collect data on hate-motivated incidents (see Appendix A for a list of reporting cities in Los Angeles County).

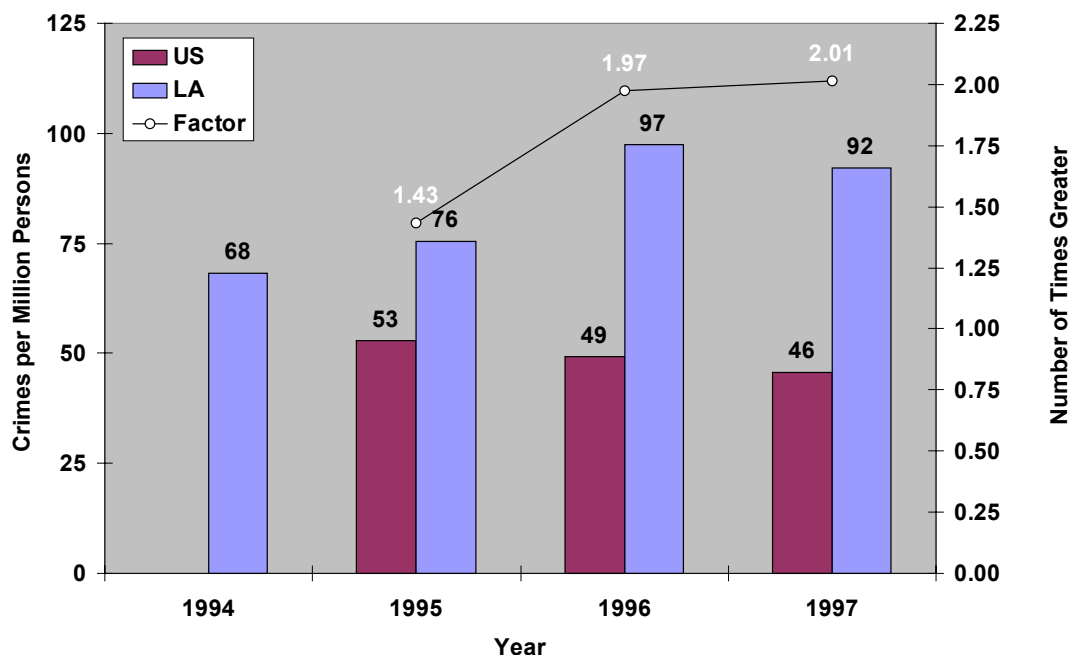


Figure 1: Comparison of Race, Religion, and Sexual Orientation-bias Hate Crimes, US and Los Angeles County, 1994-1997. (As reported by police and sheriffs departments only. Data for US not available for 1994.)

Analysis of the data indicates that hate crime is a much more severe problem in Los Angeles compared to the rest of the nation. Nationally, there were 46 reported hate crimes per one million persons in 1997. But in Los Angeles County, there were 92 reported hate crimes per one million persons for that same year.¹ In other words, the rate of hate crime victimization in Los Angeles was *twice* that of the nation in 1997. (See Figure 1.) Of all reported hate crimes (race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, and disability), race-bias crimes accounted for two-thirds of the total. The rate of victimization for race-bias crimes in Los Angeles was over one-and-one-half times (1.64) greater in Los Angeles than the US as a whole.² (See Figure 2.)

Not only is the magnitude of the problem greater in Los Angeles, but the rate of increase is also greater. For the nation as a whole, the rate of hate crime per million residents³ has been decreasing slowly, from 53 crimes per one million residents in 1995 to 46 in 1997. In contrast,

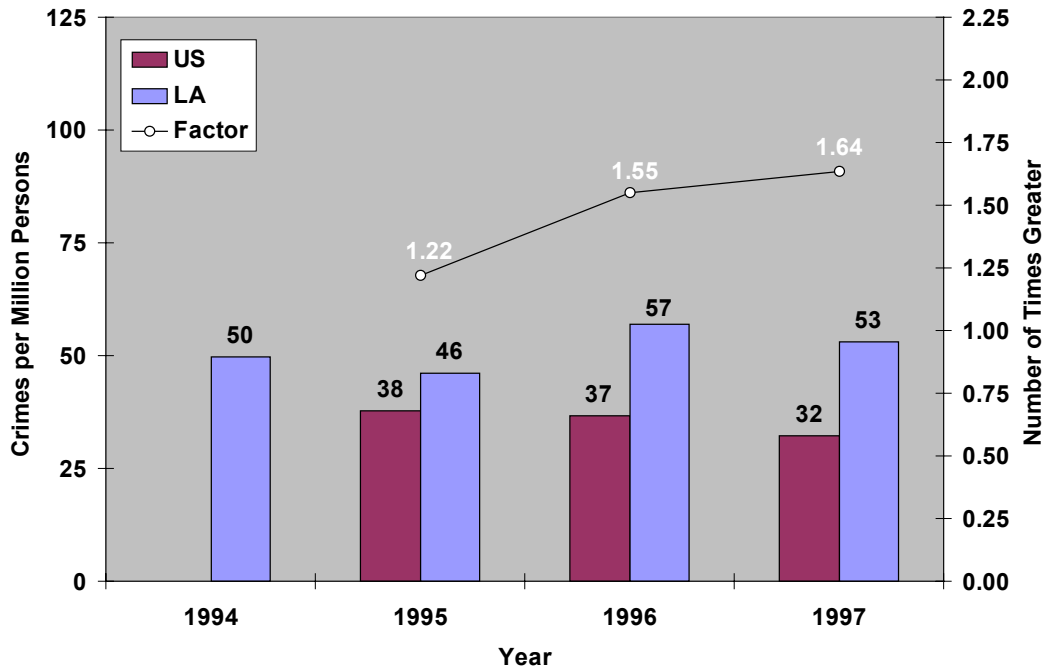


Figure 2: Comparison of Race-bias Hate Crimes, US and Los Angeles County, 1994-1997. (As reported by police and sheriffs departments only. Data for US not available for 1994.)

Los Angeles County experienced an increase in the rate of hate crimes for that same period. (See Figure 1.) In fact, the number jumped from 76 hate crimes per one million residents in 1995 to 97 hate crimes per one million residents in 1996 and remained above 90 in 1997. While the rate of victimization in Los Angeles was nearly 1.5 times that of the nation in 1995, it doubled that of the nation by 1997. If we isolate race-bias hate crimes (which comprise nearly three-fourths of all hate crimes in both LA and the nation), we see similar trends. Figure 2 compares the national and Los Angeles crime rates per one million persons for race-bias hate crimes alone. While the US rate has declined slightly (from 38 hate crimes per million persons in 1995 to 32 in 1997), it has risen slightly (from 50 in 1994 to 53 in 1997) in Los Angeles County.

METHODOLOGY

Definition of a Hate Crime

It is important to note that the definition of a hate crime varies slightly across government agencies. Below are three definitions of a hate crime according to oversight federal, state and local agencies:

1) *Federal: Federal Bureau of Investigation*

A criminal offense committed against a person, property, or society that is motivated, in whole or in part, by the offender's bias against a race, religion, disability, sexual orientation,

or ethnicity/national origin. (*Note: gender not included.*)
<www.fbi.gov/ucr/Cius_97/97crime/97crime.pdf>

2) *State: California Department of Justice*

A reportable hate crime is any criminal act or attempted criminal act to cause physical injury, emotional suffering, or property damage which is or appears to be motivated, all or in part, by the victim's race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, physical or mental disability. (California State Department of Justice 1996.)

3) *Local: Los Angeles County District Attorney and the Los Angeles Police Department*

Criminal acts in which the facts indicate that bias, hatred, or prejudice based on the victims' actual or perceived race, religion, ancestry, national origin, disability, gender, or sexual orientation are *substantial* factors in the commission of the offense (Los Angeles County Office of the District Attorney). The Los Angeles Police Department further clarifies that the criminal act *or attempted act* may be based on the victim's actual *or perceived* race, nationality, religion, sexual orientation, disability, or gender.

The most stringent of the above definitions is that of the Los Angeles County Office of the District Attorney. Further guidelines for hate crime determination are listed in Appendix B.

Data

Sources

Hate crime data for Los Angeles County is collected primarily by local law enforcement agencies and then compiled by the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations as well as the California State District Attorney. Los Angeles County includes 88 cities as well as several noncontiguous unincorporated areas. Many of these 88 cities have their own police departments, while some cities contract police services with the Los Angeles County Sheriffs Department. The Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations gathers hate crime data from cooperating police and sheriffs departments (see Appendix A). These data account for the vast majority of hate crime reports we analyzed. The Commission also collects data from various organizations that handle complaints of hate incidents such as the Anti-Defamation League. For comparative analyses with national data, Los Angeles hate crimes were limited to those officially reported by LA County Sheriffs Department and city police departments within the county. For the purposes of identifying spatial patterns and their characteristics, all records were analyzed.

The hate crime data used for this analysis are those that conform to the guidelines put forth by the Los Angeles County district attorney's office. After the Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission collects the data, each record is reviewed according to the guidelines used by the LA County District Attorney's Office. Those records that do not conform to the guidelines are eliminated from the database (See Appendix B).

Limitations of the Data

There are two major types of limitations of the data. One has to do with reporting, and a second has to do with categorizing data.

Limitations in reporting. First, as with crime reporting generally, there are numerous problems with consistency in reporting among different population groups and for specific types of hate crime. Gender-bias hate crimes are likely to be underreported if they exhibit reporting problems similar to crimes involving sexual abuse. There is also likely underreporting among certain population groups. Organizational spokespersons for hate crime monitoring groups have argued that immigrants and refugees along with African Americans disaffected with law enforcement often do not report hate crimes (Hamilton 1994). In Los Angeles, the majority of immigrants and refugees are from Latin America and Asia.

Second, there may be errors in reporting the identity of the perpetrators, as it is not always possible to confirm the accuracy of perpetrator information provided by victims. Conversely, perpetrators may mistakenly identify their victim as a member of a racial group to which the victim does not belong. A 1992 *Hate Crime in Los Angeles County* report states that Asian Americans are “commonly targeted due to mistaken identity.” For example, a Thai woman was mistaken for Korean and beaten, a Pacific Islander was mistaken for an African American, and a non-Japanese was assaulted with anti-Japanese slurs (LA County Commission on Human Relations, 1993). Police records do not always contain information to identify and correct errors, especially those involving ethnic identity as compared to racial identity.

Third, there are inconsistencies in reporting between and within law enforcement agencies. Not all law enforcement agencies provide regular training to their officers on the reporting and investigation procedures for hate crimes. There are also workload disincentives in some agencies to report hate crimes. There is normally additional paperwork and procedures required for hate crime cases. Additional requirements can affect the rate of reporting, especially when time constraints are a problem.

Limitations in classification. Problems associated with classification of hate crimes have to do with information originating from victims as well as the classification of information by data collecting personnel such as police officers. Victims do not always fully disclose information or may not be completely truthful in their reporting of incidents. This may lead to overestimating or undercounting of hate crimes. There is also ongoing controversy about what constitutes a hate crime among individual officers despite existing definitions and guidelines. While there are general guidelines, classification requires the use of judgement on each case. Guidelines generally still leave some room for ambiguity and inconsistency.

Furthermore, the data, if inappropriately analyzed, may give an inaccurate picture of the problem. For example, there were cases where the recorded race of the victims and perpetrators did not accurately represent the nature of the hate crime. For example, there were several cases in which the victim was reportedly European American, but the incident itself was motivated by anti-African American hatred (e.g., criminal acts directed toward the white partner in an interracial relationship). There were also several instances in which Chicano, Middle Eastern, Turkish, and Armenian persons were categorized as “white” under the category of race. This would cause some confusion in cases where, for example, white supremacists victimized Middle Easterners, but reports would suggest that these cases were “white” on “white” hate crime. There were also several cases where both victim and perpetrator were of the same racial group but where the victim was an immigrant, reflecting an interethnic bias as opposed to an interracial bias. Careful attention to this problem was paid in the treatment of the data.

Analysis

Spatial Analysis and Descriptive Statistics

We geographically located hate crime incidents using ArcView 3.1, a geographic information systems (GIS) software program.⁴ Hate crime records for the years 1994 through 1997 were imported into ArcView and batch matched using ArcView’s embedded geocoding program. After interactively rematching unmatched addresses and correcting erroneously matched incidents, 2,478 (73.2 percent) incidents were matched (including both “good” and “partial” matches), 38 (1.1 percent) remained unmatched (address could not be matched), and 867 (25.6 percent) were unmatchable (incomplete address or no address given) out of a total 3,383 reported incidents.⁵

A preliminary spatial analysis was performed on race-bias hate crimes. These crimes were mapped according to the race of the victim and the race of the perpetrator and by pairs by race of victim and perpetrator. A typology was developed to identify various types of clusters according to the characteristics of victims and perpetrators. “Hot spots” were identified for further examination. Descriptive statistics were used to present a profile of hate crimes and, more specifically, race-bias hate crimes. Basic operations such as frequency counts and distributions were performed on the data.

Field and Archival Research

Preliminary field research was also conducted on a number of the identified “hot spots.” Methods of data collection included interviews with key informants and archival research. Newspaper articles, minutes of meetings, correspondence, and flyers and announcements were also gathered pertaining to conflicts in select cluster areas.

RACE-BIAS HATE CRIMES IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY: PATTERNS AND TRENDS

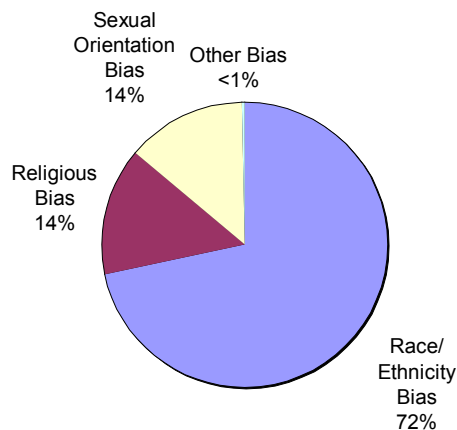
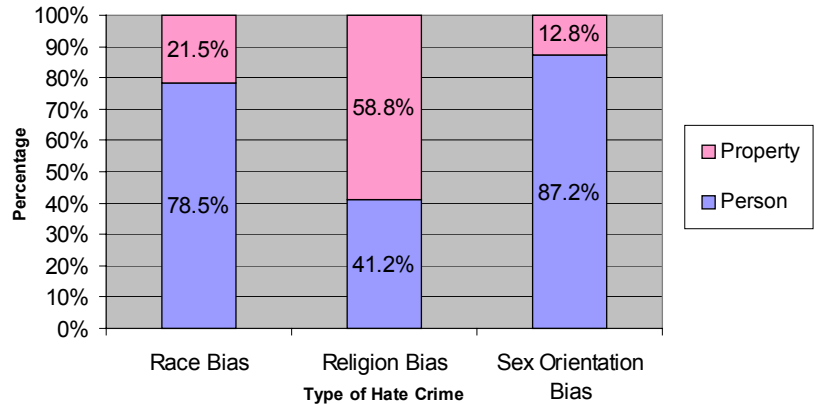


Figure 3: Cumulative Percent of Reported Hate Crimes by Bias Type, Los Angeles County, 1994 – 1997.

From 1994 to 1997, race-bias hate crimes in Los Angeles County accounted for nearly three-fourths (72 percent) of all reported hate crimes (see Figure 3). While the number of reported hate crimes differed each year, the proportion that were classified as racially motivated has remained relatively constant.⁶ These figures mirror the distribution of hate crime among major categories of bias nationwide in 1997.⁷

Figure 4: Cumulative Person versus Property Crimes by Hate Crime Type, Los Angeles County, 1994 – 1997.

The vast majority (nearly four-fifths) of race-bias hate crimes was directed against persons (versus property). Of the 1,776 race-bias hate crimes reported to police and sheriff departments in Los Angeles County over the four years studied, 1,394 (78.5 percent) were personal crimes; the remaining 382 (21.5 percent) were crimes against property. In comparison to religious-bias hate crimes, race-bias crimes have a higher ratio of personal crimes to property crimes. Sexual orientation-bias hate crimes also have a higher ratio of personal crimes to property crimes, an even higher ratio than race-bias hate crimes (see Figure 4).



Victimization Patterns

We analyzed victimization patterns for race-bias hate crimes in three ways: 1) by race of victim, 2) by race of perpetrator, and 3) by gender of victim. For these analyses, only Los Angeles County Sheriff Department and Police Departments data were used.

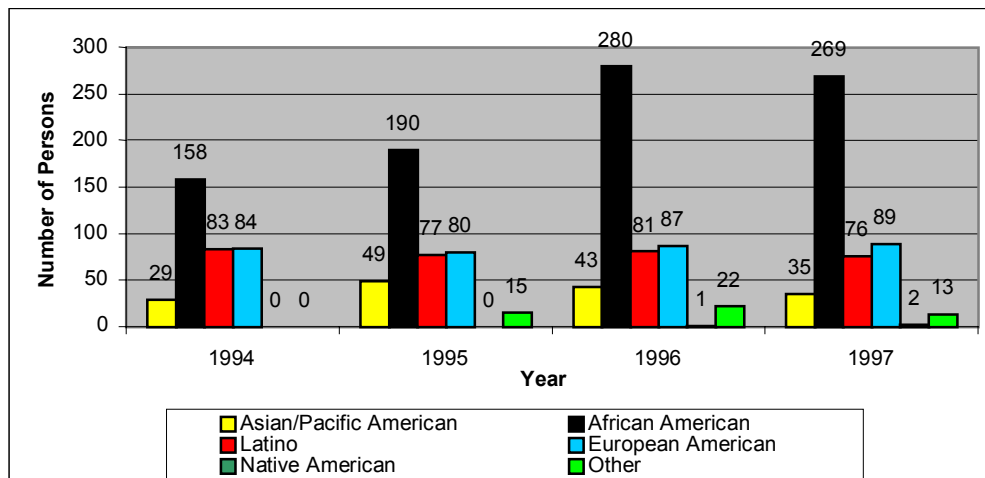


Figure 5: Number of Victims by Race, Race-bias Hate Crimes, Los Angeles County, 1994 – 1997.

The most notable trend in these data is the disproportionate rate of increase in the victimization of African Americans and the sheer compared with the other major racial groups (see Figure 5). The number of African American victims of racially motivated hate crimes increased by 70 percent from 1994 to 1997. The number of Asian American and Pacific Islander victims increased by 21 percent. (See Table 1.) In contrast, race-biased hate crimes increased by only 6 percent for European Americans and actually decreased by 8.4 percent for Latinos. Victims in other racial categories, including Middle Eastern and Armenian Americans, started to appear in 1995 reports with fifteen reported victims; this number has remained relatively constant through 1997.

Table 1: Change in Racial Victimization and Perpetration in Los Angeles County, between 1994 and 1997 (Police and Sheriff data only).

Race	Number of Victims		Number of Perpetrators		Victimization Change	Perpetration Change
	1994	1997	1994	1997	1994-1997	1994-1997
Asian/Pacific American	29	35	2	9	20.7%	350.0%*
African American	158	269	78	65	70.3%	-16.7%
Latino	83	76	103	164	-8.4%	59.2%
European American	84	89	100	119	6.0%	19.0%

*Note that the high percentage increase among Asian/PI American perpetrators is largely a function their small numbers.

In contrast to victimization trends, there has been a slight decline in the number of reported African American perpetrators, while there has been an increase in numbers among all other groups (see Figure 6). The sharpest rise in the number of perpetrators has been among Latinos (59.2 percent increase) followed by European Americans (19 percent increase). While the percentage increase is greatest among Asian American and Pacific Islander perpetrators (350 percent), this is somewhat misleading since the numbers are so small (an increase from two perpetrators in 1994 to nine perpetrators in 1997). By 1996, the number of European American and Latino perpetrators, respectively, more than doubled the number of African American perpetrators. Meanwhile, the number of African American perpetrators declined by 16.7 percent.

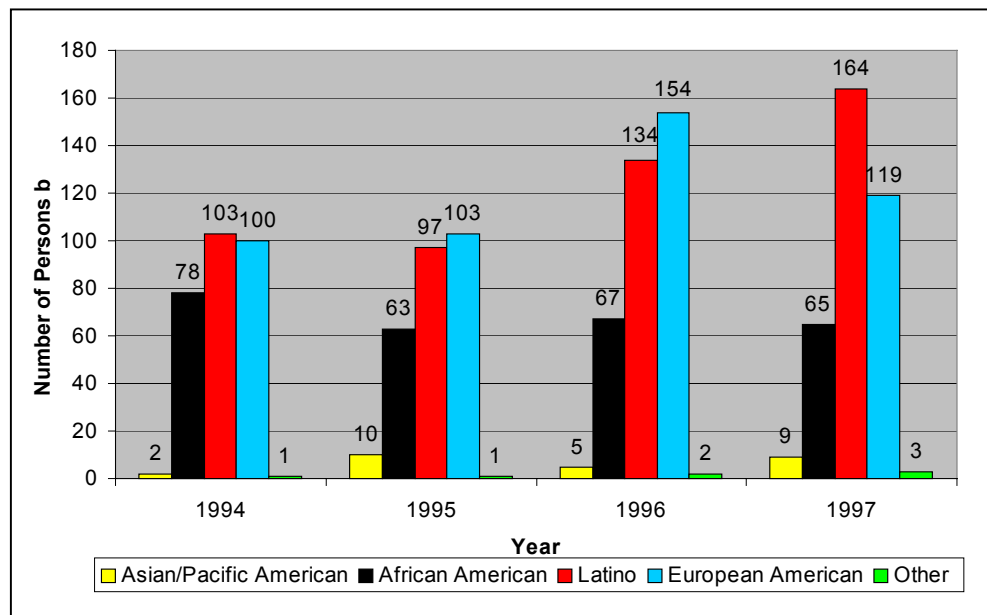


Figure 6: Number of Perpetrators, Race-bias Hate Crimes, Los Angeles County, 1994 – 1997.

The disproportionately high rate of African American victimization is particularly disturbing given their proportion of the total county population. In 1997, African Americans comprised 56 percent of all race-bias victims, while comprising only 10 percent of the total county population in 1997 (California State Department of Finance. www.dof.ca.gov/html/Demograp/Race.htm). (See Figure 7.) African Americans were the only group for whom the proportion of victims was greater than their proportion of the total population. For all other groups, the proportion of total victims was equal to or less than their share of the county population. The percentage of Asian American/Pacific Islander victims runs very closely with their proportion of the county population, roughly 10 percent. The proportion of European American and Latino victims

ranges from approximately fifteen to thirty percentage points less, respectively, than their share of the total LA County population.

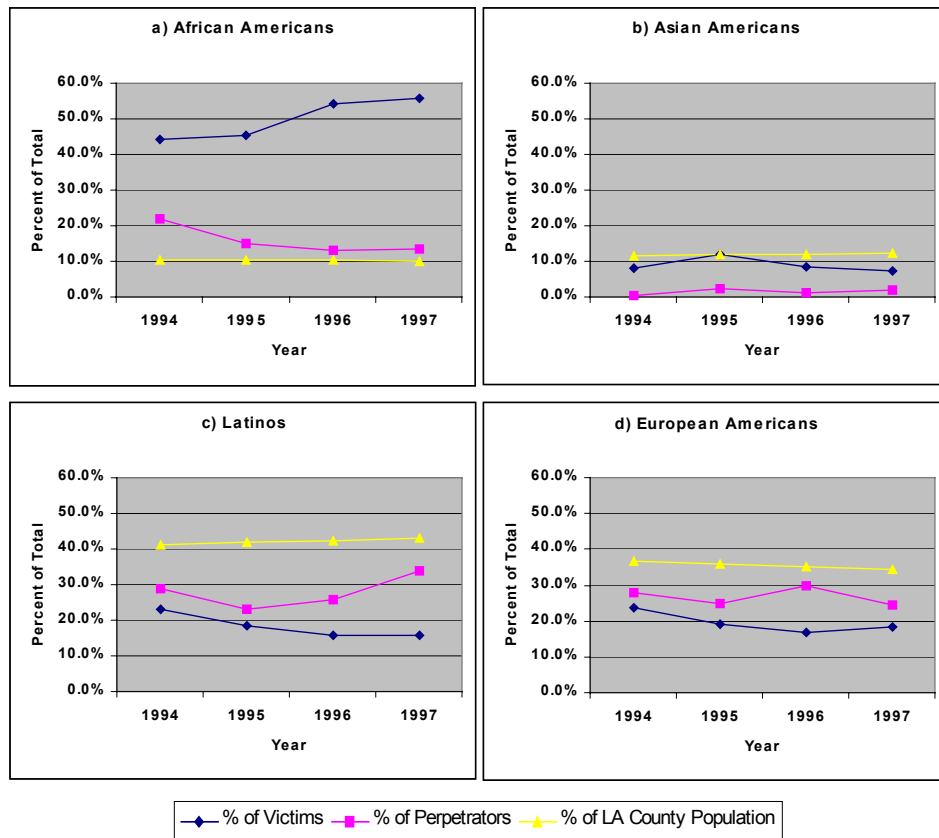


Figure 7: Hate Crime and Population Trends of Major Racial Groups, Los Angeles County, 1994-1997.

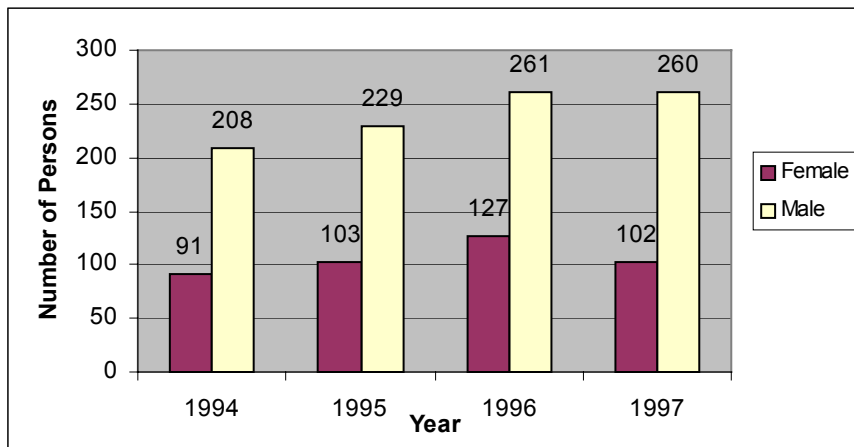
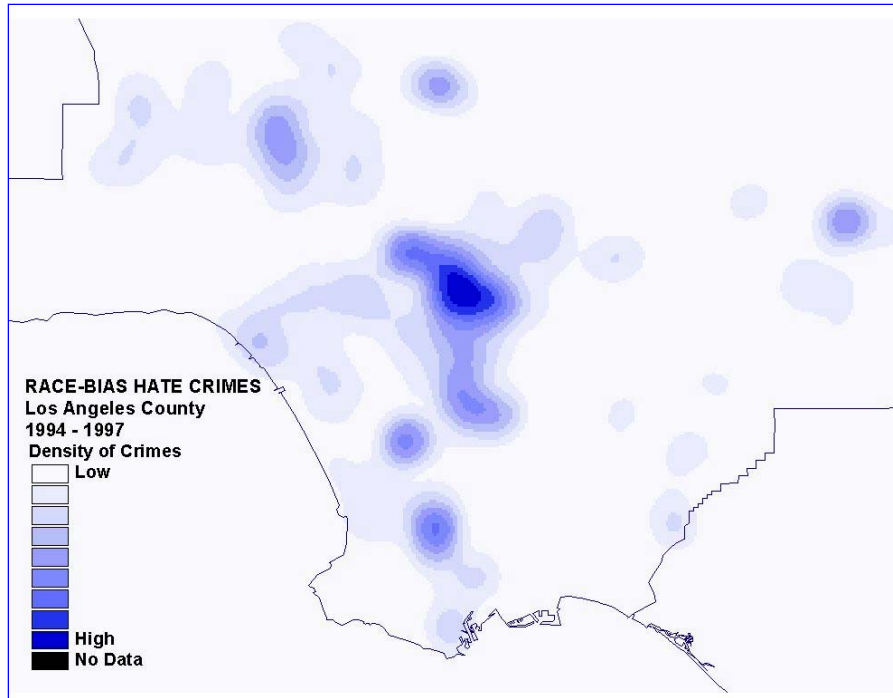


Figure 8: Number of Victims by Gender, Personal Race-bias Hate Crimes, 1994 – 1997.

number of female victims increased from 91 to 127 persons between 1994 and 1996, and then dropped back to 102 persons in 1997. (See Figure 8.)

Turning to patterns in gender, victims of race-bias hate crimes are men more often than women by a factor of 2-to-1. The number of victimized males steadily increased from 208 persons in 1994 to 260 in 1997. The



IDENTIFICATION OF RACE-BIAS HATE CRIME CLUSTERS

Figure 9: Race-Bias Hotspots, LA County, 1994-1997.

There are several ways to analyze the spatial distribution of race-bias hate crimes. Geographic areas vary in the frequency of hate incidents. Incidents tend to cluster in certain geographic areas. Using the hotspot function in GIS helps us identify the location of major clusters

(see Figure 9). This function is limited, however, and additional methods are necessary.⁸ We began by developing a typology of hate crime patterns that we describe in the next section. We use this typology to differentiate clusters. We analyze these clusters by examining a number of characteristics that we also outline below. From this analysis we summarize the major types of race-bias hate crimes and suggest future directions for research.

A typology of race-bias hate crime patterns is illustrated in the matrix in Figure 10.

		PERPETRATOR	
		One Group	Many Groups
VICTIM	One Group	One on One	Many on One
	Many Groups	One on Many	Many on Many

Figure 10: Typology of Race-bias Hate Crime Patterns.

Patterns found in the clusters can be categorized according to the following types:

- *One group on one group (one-on-one)*: Perpetrators are identified as members of one racial group, while victims are identified as members of another racial group.
- *Many groups on one group (many-on-one)*: Perpetrators are identified as members of two or more racial groups, while victims are identified as members of a different racial group.
- *Many groups on many groups (many-on-many)*: Perpetrators are identified as members of two or more racial groups, while victims are identified as members of two or more racial groups.

- *One group on many groups (one-on-many)*: Perpetrators are identified as members of one racial group, while victims are identified as members of two or more racial groups.

This typology helps to differentiate clusters on a dot density map. In Los Angeles County, over a dozen clusters can be identified. The most concentrated cluster pattern is the one-on-one followed by the many-on-many and the one-on-many. In contrast, the more dispersed cluster pattern is the many-on-one. The most frequently found cluster is the one-on-one. The most difficult to analyze is the many-on-many, as they often involve a combination of other types of clusters and occur in areas where the crime rate is relatively high across all categories of crime. In the following section, we locate the clusters and describe some of the characteristics found in each of the cluster types based on police records, archival data and preliminary field research.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CLUSTERS

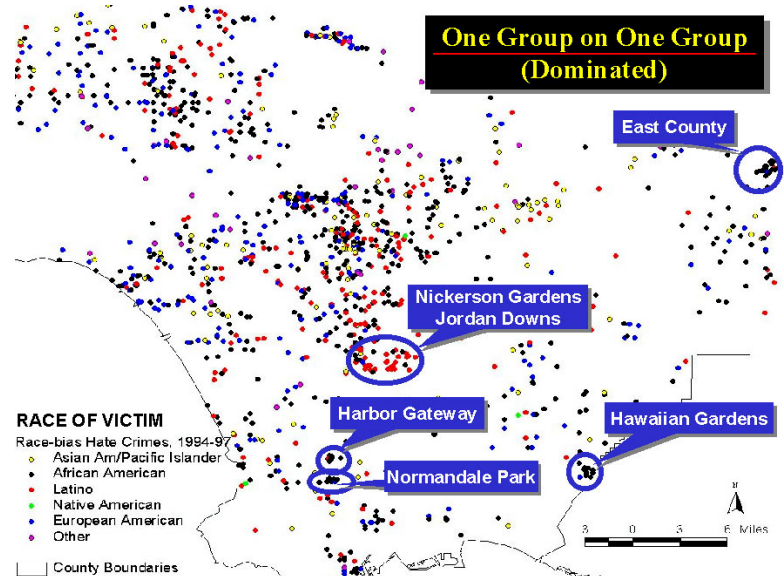
We can describe race-bias hate crime clusters along the following dimensions:

- *Dominated or Contested*: In dominated clusters, perpetrators are almost exclusively members of one racial group and suffer little victimization. In other words, members of one racial group dominate as hate crime perpetrators while other groups suffer as victims. In contested clusters, the number of perpetrators and victims may be more or less even for members of each racial group involved.
- *Organizations or Individuals*: Some clusters involve cases where records indicate the involvement of organized groups, most commonly street and prison gangs or supremacist groups. Other clusters reflect individual actions with no documented organizational affiliations.
- *Short-term or Protracted*: Some clusters indicate a short-term conflict between racial groups with a duration of less than two years. Other clusters indicated a protracted conflict with cases spanning a two-year period or longer.
- *Persons or Property*: Law enforcement officers classify crimes as those against persons (e.g., assault) or against property (e.g., vandalism).
- *Victim and Perpetrator Characteristics*: There are many ways to identify and describe victims and perpetrators, including descriptors of race, ethnicity, age, gender, organizational affiliation, family relations, socioeconomic background, ideological beliefs, among others. Police reports often include the first five descriptors listed.

GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF CLUSTERS

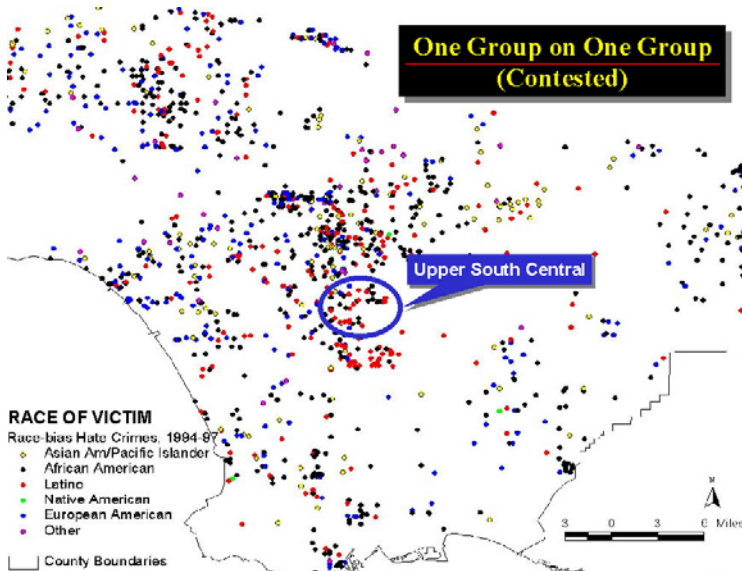
Figure 11: One-on-One Pattern, Dominated.

The most frequently appearing pattern is the one-on-one cluster (see Figures



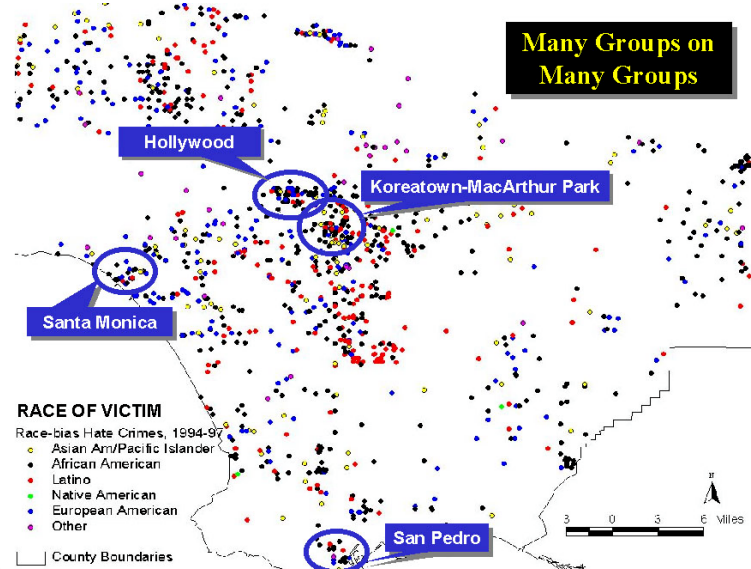
11 and 12). One-on-one clusters comprise six of the fourteen identified clusters. They are located across the county including areas of Antelope Valley (northernmost part of county not visible on Figure 11), Hawaiian Gardens, Harbor Gateway, Azusa, Watts, and upper South Central. In almost all of these cases, perpetrators of one racial group clearly outnumber victims of another group. We can call these “dominated” clusters (see Figure 11). South Central is the only one that appears contested (see Figure 12).

Figure 12: One-on-One Pattern, Contested.

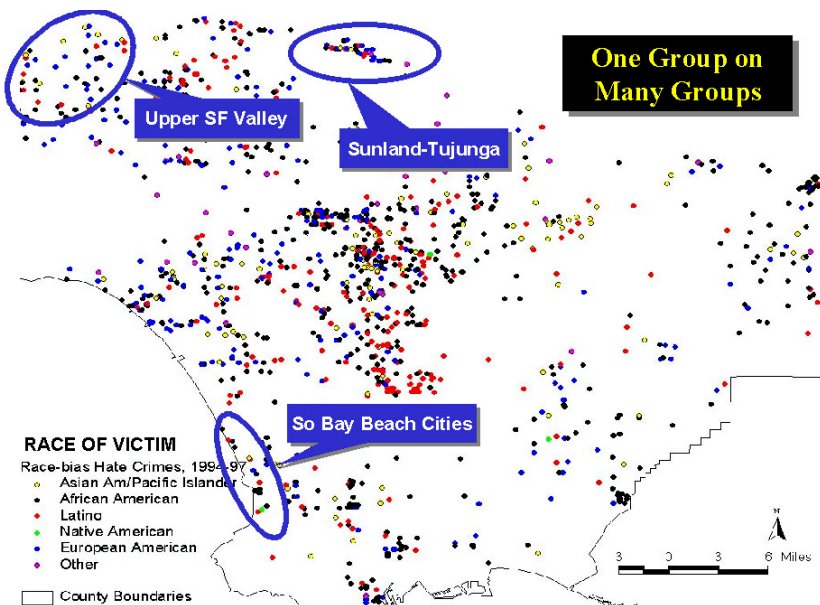


The second most frequently found cluster pattern is the many-on-many (see Figure 13). These appear to occur in areas where crimes of all types are higher or in public areas where people from all parts of town are known to frequent. They are found in areas of Hollywood, Mac Arthur Park, Santa Monica, and San Pedro.

Figure 13: Many-on-Many Pattern.



Another type of pattern is the one-on-many (see Figure 14). Clusters are found in the upper reaches of the San Fernando Valley, including Sunland-Tujunga and the northwestern section, along with the beach cities of the south bay, including Manhattan, Redondo and Hermosa Beach.



The fourth type of cluster pattern is the many-on-one (see Figure 15). Only one cluster of this type is identified, located in central San Fernando Valley. In this case, perpetrators are identified as members of many different racial groups, while victims are disproportionately African American.

Figure 14: One-on-Many Pattern.

A number of these clusters were previously identified by the LA County Commission on Human Relations in their 1996 and 1997 annual reports on hate crimes. They noted that hate crimes (not just race-bias hate crimes) appear to cluster in east county, Harbor Gateway, Hollywood/West Hollywood/Silverlake, Lancaster/Palmdale, and Van Nuys, with new clusters forming in Hawaiian Gardens and Long Beach (LA Commission on Human Relations, 1998).

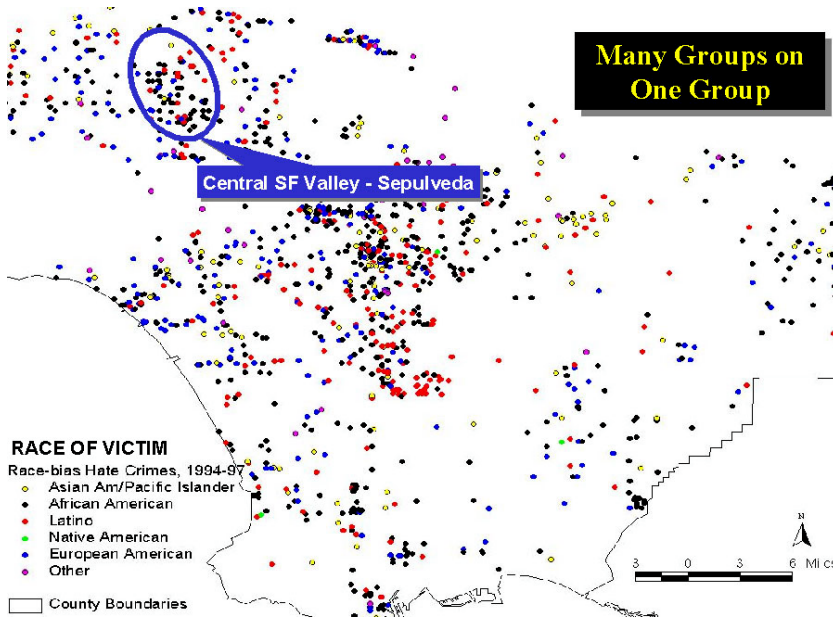


Figure 15: Many-on-One Pattern.

PROFILE OF RACE-BIAS HATE CRIMES IN LA COUNTY

A spatial analysis of race-bias hate crimes and an examination of the characteristics of the clusters reveal four types of phenomena. In this section, we present a profile of these that can be categorized in the following way: a) white supremacist-related, b) gang-related, c) anti-immigrant and d) random and mixed clusters. (We note that the naming of categories is problematic, as white supremacist organizations can also take the form of street gangs. The term gang is commonly used to refer to youth of color who are organized into a certain type of group. We use these terms for lack of better ones at the moment and with an understanding of their loaded meanings in popular vernacular.) Though these phenomena can be found throughout the county, we focus on locations where they are found to cluster for the purposes of this report.

Table 2: Profile of Race-bias Hate Crimes in Los Angeles County, 1994-1997

Type of Cluster	Type of Cluster Pattern	Dominated or Contested	Organized or Individual	Short-term or Protracted	Person or Property	Perpetrator Description	Victim Description
White Supremacist	One-on-one One-on-many	Both	Organized	Protracted	60-85% Person	Euro Am	African Am Latino Asian Am/PI
Gang	One-on-one Many-on-one Many-on-many	Dominated with some Contested	Organized	Both	80-93% Person	Primarily Latino and African Am	All groups
Anti-Immigrant	One-on-one Many-on-one	Dominated	Both	Both	N/A	All groups	Latino Asian Am/PI Middle Eastern
Random & Mixed	All	Contested with some Dominated	Both	Protracted	83-90% Person	All groups	All groups

White Supremacist-related

Based on an examination of the spatial data, most of this activity is found clustered in the Antelope Valley, northeast and northwest regions of San Fernando Valley and the South Bay

beach cities. In the Antelope Valley, South Bay and Sunland-Tujunga areas, these hate crimes are not accompanied with very many crimes against European Americans. In other words, these areas tend to be dominated by hate crimes associated with white supremacist activity with little evidence of retaliatory activity. In the northwest region of San Fernando Valley, in contrast to the other three areas, hate crimes against European Americans can also be found. It is unclear from the law enforcement records, however, the proportion of incidents that involve actual members of hate groups or if hate crimes against European Americans were committed in direct retaliation to white supremacist attacks. Archival and preliminary research does indicate the involvement of hate groups including the Ku Klux Klan and prison-based gangs such as the Peckerwoods.

Most of the incidents take place across the four-year time period with some regularity. This suggests that these activities are taking place over a protracted period of time as opposed to a passing or periodic phenomena. At the same time, preliminary field research suggests a movement of activity northwards. Law enforcement officials have traced the movement of individuals associated with hate groups from Sunland-Tujunga areas to the Antelope Valley.

Between 60-85 percent of the hate crimes found in the identified clusters were crimes against persons with the remainder of crimes taking the form of vandalism. Though there is a slightly greater proportion of crimes against property than other types of hate crimes, the majority is still against persons. Crimes against persons include assault, battery, bomb threats, verbal abuse and intimidation, while crimes against property include vandalism against homes, businesses, vehicles, public buildings, and other property. In most of these cases, the victims are of all racial groups. In Antelope Valley, however, the vast majority of victims are African American. Determining the reasons for the variation in victimization patterns requires further research.

Gang-related

Clustered gang-related hate crime was found in a number of areas, including Harbor Gateway, Watts, Azusa, Hawaiian Gardens, central San Fernando Valley and portions of San Pedro. The majority of these gang-related cases involve African American and Latino men. In most of the identified clusters, Latino-perpetrated crimes far outnumber those perpetrated by African Americans. In only one cluster—Watts—do the number of African American perpetrators exceed the number of Latino perpetrators. In some areas, the degree to which Latino perpetrators outnumber African Americans was extreme. For example, over the four-year period in Harbor Gateway, there were 57 police incident reports filed. Fifty-three of the victims were African American, while only one African American was a suspected perpetrator. Only one victim was identified as Latino, while there were 42 suspected Latino perpetrators. Gang-related hate crimes do involve other racial and ethnic groups as well, however. While the identified clusters involve a high number of Latino and African American victims and perpetrators, Asian American, Pacific Island and European American victims and perpetrators are also involved, but are found in relatively fewer numbers. While several or more incident reports did indicate gang involvement in these clusters, not all incidents were reported as being gang-related. Further research is needed to precisely determine the proportion of incidents that are gang-related in each cluster.

Clusters involving gang-related incidents tend to concentrate more tightly than other types of race-bias hate crimes. This probably has to do with the territorial boundaries of street gangs. Often times gang conflict takes place either along rival gang borders or within a single gang

territory. These boundaries tend to limit the geographical scope of conflict. However, gang-related hate crimes have been known to spread to wider areas under certain circumstances such as in cases where the residences of gang members are dispersed or a gang conflict escalates beyond initially established boundaries. Because this type of conflict often involves rival gangs who compete for turf, hate incidents tend to concentrate within shorter time periods lasting only as long as battle can be sustained. Especially in areas where one group far outnumbers another, the vast majority of incidents can be found to occur within a one or two year period. Conflict may be more sustained in areas where both groups are more equal in numbers.

A high proportion of cases in the identified clusters is crimes against persons (80-93 percent). Many of these involve battery and assault with a deadly weapon. Gang-related hate crimes tend to involve a slightly higher incidence of physical violence, often involving the use of firearms.

Anti-Immigrant

Some of the white supremacist and gang-related hate crimes examined involve bias against immigrants. At the same time, hate crimes are directed against immigrants for whom reports show no evidence of hate group or gang association. There are many different ethnic groups that have been the target of anti-immigrant race bias crimes. Mexican, Central American, Korean, Chinese and Middle Eastern immigrants, refugees and permanent residents are among those who have reported being victims.

Two of the more evident clusters can be found in Glendale and in Alhambra. The victims in Glendale are predominantly Armenian, while those in Alhambra are predominantly Asian American, the majority of whom are most likely Chinese American based on the demographic characteristics of the area. There is also evidence of anti-Korean hate crime against immigrants in the Koreatown area west of downtown Los Angeles. Anti-immigrant hate crime often takes place between victims and perpetrators of different racial groups. But it can also take place between victims and perpetrators of the same racial background. For example, cases of intra-racial hate crime against immigrants have been found in which the perpetrator is of the same ethnic group, but is American-born.

Anti-immigrant hate crimes victimize one of the most powerless groups in society. Perhaps this is the reason that in most of these cluster areas, there is little indication of retaliation. Some problem areas may go unnoticed for longer periods of time given the limited political voice and low crime reporting among immigrants, especially among the undocumented population. Further research would be needed to determine the proportion of crimes committed by individuals who are associated with organized groups and political movements. Preliminary research confirms that bias against immigrants is a motive for hate crimes by “random” individuals as well as those associated with hate groups and gangs.

Random Individuals and Mixed Clusters

Oftentimes clusters involve more than one cluster type, which make them difficult to analyze. They also involve individuals acting alone with no affinity or association with organized hate groups or gangs. The Hollywood cluster appears to be comprised of several types of phenomena, for example. Race-bias hate crimes in the northern segment of this area involve white supremacist activity against individuals identified as African American, Latino, and Asian American. This activity is mainly located along a strip of Hollywood Boulevard. Interviews with law enforcement officers confirm that this area was often “patrolled” by individuals

associated with skinhead groups or cliques who have since this time moved to other spots. The lower segment of the Hollywood cluster area shows a different pattern involving a racial mix of victims and perpetrators. This pattern may be more reflective of the general pattern of crime in the area and may have no association with organized hate groups.

The area surrounding MacArthur Park is the second cluster area where there is a mix of activities. Preliminary research suggests a combination of anti-immigrant, gang-related, and individual supremacist activity in the area surrounding one of the city's larger parks. Both the Hollywood and MacArthur Park areas are known as high-crime areas with a large transient population. Both have a high concentration of immigrants and low-income residents and are two of the more ethnically diverse areas of the county. Further research would be needed to disentangle the confounding problems that lead to crime and social conflict in these areas.

CONCLUSIONS

This general profile reveals disturbing trends for Los Angeles County. By 1997, the county's per capita crime rate for all bias-categories of hate crimes was almost double the national average. Race-bias hate crimes also occurred at a substantially higher rate than the nation overall. While the hate crime rate declined nationally during this time period, it increased in Los Angeles County. While some of this increase may have been the result of improvements in reporting, it is safe to assume that the rate of improvement in Los Angeles County could not be so much greater than agencies nationally to account for such a disparity. African Americans were victimized in race-bias hate crimes at a chronically high rate as compared to other racial groups, while Latinos and European Americans were suspected perpetrators in high proportions. The character of race-bias hate crimes is equally disturbing. A large number of identified clusters involve organized groups including white supremacist groups and street gangs. Other studies have shown that organized hate crimes tend to be more brutal and socially divisive than those perpetrated by individuals acting alone. These findings underscore the need for greater resources to address this social problem as we enter the new millennium.

What do these data tell us about race relations and racial conflict?

Hate crime data can serve as an important barometer when used in conjunction with other social indicators to assess race relations in a city or region. Before proceeding further, it is important to make note of both the advantages and limitations to using hate crime data as a measure for social relations more generally. Certainly, these data are a critical source of information. They give a pulse on the most extreme forms of social conflict. Racial hatred or prejudice that takes the form of violence against another human being or a group is an indication of a serious social problem that calls for immediate response. The proliferation of hate crimes such as these can generate social division well beyond those individuals directly involved. Each of the clusters represents an area that has been riddled by racial antagonisms over a period of time. They likely leave scars on the social terrain much like earthquake faults on the physical landscape. And like earthquake fault lines, they can be re-activated during future social tremors. Hate crime data is an important front-line indicator for policy-makers and practitioners. They can tell us not only where we need to intervene, but also where we need to work towards healing, reconciliation and community strengthening.

Is important when analyzing hate crime data, however, not to fall victim to the ecological fallacy. It would be erroneous to think that all individuals who live or work in cluster areas exhibit the

same characteristics as those involved in hate crimes. Likewise, it would be wrong to conclude that those who live and work in those areas share the same racial biases as those who would commit hate crimes. In fact, we may often find residents in affected areas who actively promote tolerance and cross-cultural understanding because they have witnessed hate crimes in their community.

It would also be erroneous to use hate crime data as the only source of data to understand race relations or racial conflict. A study of hate crime clusters would not capture non-criminal acts, nor would they always flag conflicts dispersed over large areas. Well-publicized conflict between Korean merchants and African American residence in South Central Los Angeles do not always involve criminal threats or criminal acts. Nor would these and other types of conflict appear clustered in a geographic area. Taking the previous example, if conflicts do involve criminal threats or acts they would most likely be dispersed across a wide geographic area overlapping the spatial location of convenience stores. It is also important to note that hate crime perpetrators vary in their degree of racial prejudice. Jacobs and Potter (1998), for example, argue that not all hate crimes labeled as such accurately represent the extent of the offender's prejudice. Hate crime data can overstate the extent of the problem depending on the degree to which prejudice was the primary motive of the crime. And lastly, any study of race relations would need to include cooperation along with conflict.

Directions for Future Research

Despite these caveats, hate crime data provide an important and unique opportunity to further our understanding of social conflict and racial antagonisms. Applied research strives to gather and process relevant information, identify and analyze the problem, and design effective solutions to those problems. Further research in the following areas can help us develop more effective solutions.

Improve and expand data collection. Hate crime data collection can be improved and expanded. Researchers can work with data collecting agencies to standardize reporting practices and improve training of personnel so that data collection is more consistent and accurate. The timeliness of data also affects the time it may take to deploy resources in response to the outbreak of clusters. Agencies can explore ways of making data available so that they may respond more quickly. Furthermore, not all cities are able or willing to collect and report hate crimes. Further outreach and education to reach collaborative agreements with non-reporting jurisdictions could lead to more complete data.

Quantitative time series analysis. Statistical analyses of time series data can be conducted to identify demographic and socioeconomic variables that explain the clustering of hate crimes. Quantitative along with qualitative studies can be designed to test various hypotheses regarding the causes of racial and ethnic conflict. Theories of racial conflict suggest a number of contributing factors such as resource and market competition, rapid demographic change, congruence of class conflict with racial and ethnic boundaries, cultural and language differences, exclusive racial politics among others. There are also psychological theories that focus on the individual characteristics and motives of hate crime perpetrators. The availability of census data in the year 2000 will add to the precision of time series analyses.

Qualitative case studies. Case studies using qualitative methods of data collection and analysis should be conducted alongside qualitative methods. Case studies of various clusters can be

extremely useful in examining additional variables and understanding social dynamics in cluster areas. Case studies can also identify mediating institutions that affect hate crime perpetrators and victims as well as race relations surrounding specific series of incidents. The identification of mediating institutions can point us towards effective prevention and intervention strategies.

Forecasting and modeling. Based on both quantitative and qualitative analyses, a model can be developed to identify potential hot spots before they reach the boiling point. This would be useful in a number of ways. Cities would be able to take steps to deter hate crimes in vulnerable areas. Information could be used to mobilize agencies, residents and business owners to work collaboratively to improve race relations and increase tolerance. Systems and structures can be put into place to proactively address this problem. Policies can be critiqued and institutions examined so that the problem can be better managed.

Developing a human relations infrastructure. There are three distinct types of activities that can occur within an infrastructure designed to improve human relations and address the problem of social conflict. They are: peace-making, peace-keeping and peace-building. We often speak of physical infrastructures – roads, buildings, sewer lines, telecommunications networks – which keep a city functioning smoothly. We rarely think about social infrastructures that can facilitate social interaction in diverse cities so that people of different backgrounds and experiences can work together for their collective betterment. We need a human relations infrastructure that can strengthen civil society in a multicultural metropolis. Research can help in a broader collective process to build such an infrastructure.

APPENDIX A
Cities Reporting Hate Crimes to the
Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission
Number of Years Reporting, 1994-1997

AGOURA HILLS	4	LAWNDALE	4
ALHAMBRA	4	LOMITA	4
ARCADIA	2	LONG BEACH	4
ARTESIA	4	LOS ANGELES	4
AZUSA	4	LYNWOOD	4
BALDWIN PARK	3	MALIBU	4
BELL	0	MANHATTAN BEACH	4
BELL GARDENS	0	MAYWOOD	0
BELLFLOWER	4	MONROVIA	2
BEVERLY HILLS	3	MONTEBELLO	3
BRADBURY	4	MONTEREY PARK	2
BURBANK	4	NORWALK	4
CALABASAS	4	PALMDALE	4
CARSON	4	PALOS VERDES ESTATES	0
CERRITOS	4	PARAMOUNT	4
CLAREMONT	1	PASADENA	2
COMMERCE	4	PICO RIVERA	4
COMPTON	0	POMONA	3
COVINA	4	RANCHO PALOS VERDES	4
CUDAHY	4	REDONDO BEACH	3
CULVER CITY	0	ROLLING HILLS	4
DIAMOND BAR	4	ROLLING HILLS ESTATE	4
DOWNEY	4	ROSEMEAD	4
DUARTE	4	SAN DIMAS	4
EL MONTE	0	SAN FERNANDO	2
EL SEGUNDO	1	SAN GABRIEL	2
GARDENA	3	SAN MARINO	0
GLENDALE	4	SANTA CLARITA	4
GLENDORA	4	SANTA FE SPRINGS	4
HAWAIIAN GARDENS	1	SANTA MONICA	3
HAWTHORNE	3	SIERRA MADRE	0
HERMOSA BEACH	2	SIGNAL HILL	1
HIDDEN HILLS	4	SOUTH EL MONTE	4
HUNTINGTON PARK	1	SOUTH GATE	1
INDUSTRY	4	SOUTH PASADENA	1
INGLEWOOD	2	TEMPLE CITY	4
IRWINDALE	1	TORRANCE	4
LA CANADA FLINTRIDGE	4	VERNON	0
LA HABRA HEIGHTS	4	WALNUT	4
LA MIRADA	4	WEST COVINA	4
LA PUENTE	4	WEST HOLLYWOOD	4
LA VERNE	3	WESTLAKE VILLAGE	4
LAKESWOOD	4	WHITTIER	4
LANCASTER	4		

APPENDIX B

Hate Crime Definition and Guidelines Los Angeles County District Attorney

Definition:

When the facts indicate bias, hatred or prejudice based on the victim's race, religion, ancestry, national origin, disability, gender or sexual orientation to be a *substantial factor* in the commission of the offense, the case will be classified as a hate crime. Evidence of such bias, hatred or prejudice can be direct or circumstantial. It can occur before, during or after the commission of the offense, but must be a substantial part of the motive to commit the crime, and not merely an afterthought. When the evidence of bias is based on speech alone, the speech must have threatened violence against a specific person or group of persons and it must be clear that the defendant had the apparent ability to carry out that threat.

A hate crime can be charged even where it is clear that the defendant intended to commit other crimes. When multiple criminal motives exist, i.e., the intent to commit a robbery and a hate crime, the defendant may be charged with both offenses provided the prohibited bias was a substantial factor in the commission of the hate crime.

Guidelines:

- The hate crime must involve a specific target, such as an individual, residence, house of worship, religious or ethnic organization or business.
- Graffiti must be racial, ethnic, religious, homophobic or sexist in nature, such as a swastika, KKK, Nazi, or other hate group symbols or slogans, or involve the use of epithets.
- Bigotry must be the central motive for the attack, rather than economics, revenge, *et cetera*, as in some other crime.
- A specific location and description of the crime, detailing the hate motivation, must be documented, preferably by a law enforcement agency or other organization handling the complaint.
- Any assault against a person, in the absence of other apparent motivation, when initiated with racial, ethnic, religious, sexist or homophobic epithets, will generally be considered to be a hate crime.
- Vandalism to a house of worship, or ethnic, religious, or gay and lesbian organization will generally be considered a hate crime in the absence of evidence of other motives.
- Obscene or threatening phone calls, when containing racial, ethnic, religious, homophobic or sexist slurs, are generally considered hate crimes.

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NOTES

¹ National statistics were found in annual reports released by the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Hate Crime Statistics*. <www.fbi.gov/ucr> County data includes reports from the Los Angeles Police and Sheriffs Departments. Population counts for the nation and county include only those jurisdictions for which hate crime data were officially reported.

² Detailed data were not available to make a comparison between LA County and the "rest of the nation" so the comparison was made with the U.S. (which includes LA County). The discrepancy between Los Angeles and the rest of the nation would even be greater.

³ Crime rates per million persons are calculated by dividing the number of hate crimes by the populations served by those reporting agencies. Both national and LA figures include only those incidents tallied by law enforcement agencies.

⁴ ArcView is a product of Environmental Systems Research Institute, Inc., located in Redlands, CA. Demographic and geographic feature files were downloaded from the website of the Center for Spatial Analysis and Remote Sensing, Department of Geography and Urban Analysis, California State University, Los Angeles. (The data from which these files were created include STF3A 1990 U.S. Census data and Los Angeles park information.)

⁵ We encountered several errors or cases of incomplete street map information on the GDT street files we used. For example, one street segment in Hollywood was incorrectly labeled "Hudson Ave." rather than "Schrader Blvd." ArcView also had trouble finding certain streets in the GDT database even though they existed in the shapefile and the spelling sensitivity was severely lowered. These included several major thoroughfares such as Del Amo Blvd., Kanan Dume, Del Mar, and the 3rd St. Promenade. Most of these were manually geocoded by finding the coordinates for the correct location and inputting them into the database.

⁶ In 1994, 73 percent of all hate crimes were racially motivated. In 1995, it was 73 percent, in 1996 70 percent, and in 1997 71 percent.

⁷ According to the FBI Uniform Crime Reports for the United States for 1997, the distribution of bias-motivated offenses for the nation looks like this: Race and Ethnicity 70.79 percent, Religion 15.04 percent, Sexual Orientation 13.94 percent, and Other Biases 0.22 percent. (From Chart 2.18. <www.fbi.gov/ucr/cius_97/97crime/97crime.pdf>).

⁸ One hotspot appeared in Hawthorne, but did not appear in dot density maps.