START

Award 2017-VF-GX-0003

A Pathway Approach to the Study of Bias Crime Offenders

Principal Investigator: Michael A. Jensen,
Senior Researcher

National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START)
University of Maryland
START, University of Maryland
PO Box Number 266
5245 Greenbelt Rd
College Park, MD 20740
301-4056743
majensen@umd.edu

Project period: January 1, 2018 – September 30, 2020.

Award amount: $499,368

About This Report

The authors of this report are Michael A. Jensen, Elizabeth A. Yates, and Sheehan E. Kane. Questions about this report should be directed to Michael A. Jensen at majensen@umd.edu.

This report is part of the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) project, "A Pathway Approach to the Study of Bias Crime Offenders," led by Michael A. Jensen.

This project was supported by Award No. 2017-VF-GX-0003, awarded by the National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. The opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the Department of Justice.

About START

Established in 2005 as U.S. Department of Homeland Security Center of Excellence led by the University of Maryland, the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) uses state-of-the-art theories, methods and data from the social and behavioral sciences to improve understanding of the origins, dynamics and social and psychological impacts of terrorism. For more information, contact START at infostart@start.umd.edu or visit www.start.umd.edu.

Contents

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Executive Summary

This project seeks to improve our understanding of the characteristics of bias crime in the United States through the collection and analysis of data on a national sample of offenders. The database—The Bias Incidents and Actors Study (BIAS)—includes information on 966 adult offenders who committed hate crimes in the United States from 1990-2018. BIAS includes offenders who perpetrated violent and non-violent crimes that were motivated by bias based on (1) race, ethnicity, or ancestry; (2) religion; (3) sexual orientation, gender, or gender identity; (4) disability; or (5) age. BIAS includes more than 80 variable fields covering the characteristics of offenders, including their demographic traits, education and employment histories, criminal records, peer associations, and hate group affiliations. BIAS also includes details on the nature of the offenders' crimes, such as whether they were violent or non-violent, spontaneous or premeditated, or were perpetrated alone, with groups, or while under the influence of drugs or alcohol.

There are several key takeaways from the BIAS data that are discussed in this report. First, the BIAS data indicate that there is considerable diversity in terms of the behaviors, experiences, and characteristics of hate crime offenders in the United States. Some subjects were fully immersed in the worlds of bigotry and hate when they offended, while others were acting upon common themes of prejudice that are pervasive in American communities. Some offenders committed crimes of opportunity, while others premeditated their acts, carefully selecting targets and operational strategies in order to maximize casualties. And some offenders in BIAS were exposed to negative peer influences or were struggling with issues associated with mental illness or substance abuse when they committed their crimes, while others had no discernable risk characteristics.

Second, the characteristics of the offenders in BIAS vary considerably depending on the nature of their prejudicial views. For instance, subjects who selected their victims on the basis of

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

their religious characteristics were often older and better educated than other offenders, and they had relatively high rates of previous military experience. Despite the presence of these protective factors, the subjects who were motivated by religious animus displayed exceptionally high rates of mental health concerns and they were the most likely to plan or commit mass casualty hate crimes. By comparison, offenders who were motivated by bias based on sexual orientation, gender, or gender identity were often young, unmarried, and unemployed when they committed their crimes. They were also the most likely to offend with peer accomplices while under the influence of drugs or alcohol. Finally, offenders who targeted victims because of their race, ethnicity, or nationality displayed high rates of previous criminality, including previous periods of incarceration, and they were the most likely to be members of organized hate groups.

Third, the BIAS data reveal that there are a number of factors that potentially distinguish violent hate crime offenders from those who commit less severe crimes. The violent offenders in BIAS often committed spontaneous crimes with peers while they were under the influence of drugs or alcohol. They were also far more likely to target victims based on their sexual orientation or gender identity and to have previously committed violent crimes of a non-bias nature. It is important to note, however, that even within the subset of violent offenders in BIAS, there is a considerable amount of diversity in terms of behaviors and risk characteristics. For example, offenders who planned or committed mass casualty (four or more victims) crimes were significantly more likely to target religious victims while acting alone. They also had high rates of poor work performance and documented mental health concerns.

Finally, the BIAS data show that common offender typologies often do not capture the complexity of the motivations behind many hate crimes. Many of the offenders in BIAS had mixed motivations for offending that included financial or other material goals in addition to hate. Others targeted victims with whom they had previous relationships that were seemingly amiable. And other offenders were motivated by national demographic changes and political rhetoric more so

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

than their local circumstances, suggesting that a subject's immediate surroundings are not always the trigger for their crimes.

The findings of this work have important implications for criminal justice policy in the United States. The tools, policies, and programs that are implemented to effectively monitor and rehabilitate hate crime offenders need to be flexible and designed to address risks in highly heterogenous populations. Risk assessment protocols for bias crime offenders likely need to veer from common instruments by including measures of prejudice type, levels of ideological commitment, and target selection. Similarly, assessments may be more effective if they are designed to identify particularly troubling configurations of cognitive, social, and behavioral risks, such as the combination of criminal history, substance abuse, and affiliations with bigoted peers. With that said, it is important to recognize that many hate crimes result from an escalation of disputes that occur in the course of routine daily activities and there may be no effective way to preemptively measure risk in these cases.

Rehabilitation programs for bias crime offenders must be similarly designed to address a wide array of concerning factors, many of which can limit a subject's ability to successfully disassociate from a hate group, shed their prejudicial beliefs, or successfully rejoin their community after incarceration. The types of services that offenders may benefit from include mental health support, drug and alcohol rehabilitation, job and educational assistance, and family counseling. The key takeaway from this research, however, is that these services will not be equally applicable in all cases and providers must carefully consider the needs of an individual before implementing a rehabilitation program.

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Summary of the project

Major goals and objectives

Research on bias crime in the United States grew considerably in the years following the passing of the Hate Crime Statistics Act of 1990, which requires the United States Attorney General to collect annual data on crimes committed because of a person's race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, or disability. Under the leadership of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) program (Uniform Crime Reports, 2018), statistics on hate crimes in the United States have been published annually since 1992, allowing researchers to investigate crime patterns (Byers & Jones, 2007; Perry, 2001), victimization (Harlow, 2005; Shively et al., 2014; Stacey et al., 2011), and the effectiveness of hate crime laws (Shively, 2005). However, due to the significant limitations of the UCR data, research on bias crime offenders has been far slower to progress. Missing from the UCR data are virtually all of the variables that are needed to examine why offenders commit hate crimes or to make risk assessments of future offending. This includes information on offenders' criminal records, childhood experiences, mental health and substance abuse histories, family dynamics, friendship networks, work histories, and educational achievements.

The purpose of this project is to advance research on bias crime by providing investigators, practitioners, and policymakers with the first ever dataset of bias crime offenders that is based on a national sample. The dataset—the Bias Incidents and Actors Study (BIAS)—includes information on a sample of 966 adult offenders who committed hate crimes in the United States from 1990-2018. The BIAS data include offenders who committed violent and non-violent bias crimes that were motivated by one or more of the bias categories recognized by the FBI's Hate Crime Statistics Program (Uniform Crime Reports, 2018). These include bias based on (1) race, ethnicity, or ancestry; (2) religion; (3) sexual orientation, gender, or gender identity; and (4) disability. Given its

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

presence as a bias category in many state and local hate crime laws, the BIAS data also include offenders who were motivated by age discrimination. The BIAS data include more than 80 variable fields covering the backgrounds of offenders, including their demographic characteristics, education and employment histories, mental health concerns, criminal records, peer associations, and hate group affiliations. The BIAS data also include details on the nature of the crimes that the offenders committed, such as whether they were violent or non-violent, spontaneous or premeditated, or were perpetrated alone, with groups, or while under the influence of drugs and alcohol.

An overarching goal of the project is to inform criminal justice policy in the United States by assisting in the development of risk assessment tools for hate crime offenders. The data were designed to be of particular use for the identification of offenders who may be at an increased risk of committing violent crimes or mass casualty attacks. Furthermore, the BIAS data contain information on a number of protective and risk factors that should be considered when developing prevention, intervention, and rehabilitation programs that are specifically designed for bias crime offenders. The data can be used to help determine when mental health counselors, job assistance professionals, and other service providers should be included in the efforts to reintegrate hate crime offenders into their communities after arrest or incarceration. They also may be of use to practitioners who are trying to determine which types of post-release monitoring and evaluation criteria should be used for hate crime offenders. Finally, the BIAS data were designed to be as comprehensive as possible in terms of crime features, victim traits, offender motivations, and offender characteristics, allowing for an integrated take on bias crime that helps identify potential pathways to offending.

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Research questions

The BIAS data were designed to address a wide range of research questions related to the motivations of hate crimes and the specific risk characteristics of offenders. In this report, we pay particular attention to the following questions:

1. What are the most common characteristics of U.S. bias crime offenders?
2. How do bias crime offenders differ across offender types (e.g., violent/non-violent, primary motivation)?
3. What explains why some individuals who harbor hateful beliefs engage in violent crimes while others do not?
4. What characteristics distinguish mass casualty hate crime offenders from other offender types?
5. Is it possible to expand on existing hate crime offender typologies by identifying new types or by further conceptualizing the characteristics and differences of offenders?

Research design, methods, analytical and data analysis techniques

In this project, we define a bias crime as a criminal offense that is at least partially motivated by some form of identity-based prejudice. This study builds on the research design and analytical techniques that were developed in the National Institute of Justice-funded project, Empirical Assessment of Domestic Radicalization (EADR) (Jensen et al., 2016a), which yielded the Profiles of Individual Radicalization in the United States (PIRUS) database (Jensen et al., 2020). The challenges of studying political extremism were once similar to those that confront bias crime researchers, as a lack of representative information limited research on offenders to qualitative assessments of high-profile cases. EADR and PIRUS sought to address this issue by building a large, representative, and open source database of U.S. extremists and by using a multi-method approach to data analysis. BIAS follows this example, using open sources to identify and code the relevant attributes of U.S. hate crime offenders and advanced analytical techniques to make robust inferences about offenders.

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

With a goal of identifying a national sample of approximately 1,000 offenders, we established the following criteria[1] for inclusion in the BIAS dataset:

1. The subject was arrested or indicted for committing a criminal offense in the United States from 1990-2018;

2. The subject was 18 years of age or older at the time of engaging in the criminal act;

3. The subject was residing in the United States at the time of engaging in the criminal act;

4. There is substantial evidence that the subject committed or escalated the criminal act because of bias against the victim or target's real or perceived identity characteristics (e.g., race, nationality, sexual orientation, religious affiliation, etc.)

5. There is enough information about the subject in open-source materials to code the relevant details of their crimes and, at a minimum, the majority of their demographic traits.

Potential cases were identified using a variety of approaches. First, we reviewed all of the individuals in PIRUS according to the inclusion criteria above, which yielded over 300 qualifying cases, all of which were ultimately included in the BIAS dataset.[2] Second, following the original PIRUS development model, we conducted Boolean searches in several news media aggregators, including Nexis-Uni and ProQuest, to construct a name list of potential subjects. During this process, we reviewed approximately 35,000 news articles and constructed an initial list of nearly 3,800 subjects for further review. We also searched watchdog reports and other criminal databases to identify additional subjects for consideration. Finally, we completed targeted searches to identify potential names for inclusion in particularly small populations of offenders, including female perpetrators, as well we those who may have been motivated by views that do not garner as much

[1] Importantly, hate crime charges or hate crime sentencing enhancements were not requirements for an individual to be included in the BIAS dataset. Many prosecutors decide not to pursue these types of charges because they can be difficult to prove, and they often do not change the outcome of a case in terms of convictions or sentencing. Thus, many crimes motivated by bias are not charged as hate crimes. In order to review the full range of bias events for inclusion in the database, we chose not to consider criminal charges when making case selection decisions.

[2] Since PIRUS is based on a random sample, the inclusion of all qualifying PIRUS cases in BIAS should not impact the representativeness of the database.

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

news attention, such as crimes committed against people with disabilities, anti-Native American crimes, and attacks targeting transgender persons.

The coding of individual cases began as soon as an initial sample of subjects were identified for inclusion in the database. Using open-source materials, including court records, news articles, biographies, transcribed interviews, and personal statements, we recorded the relevant details about offenders using a structured coding template and detailed codebook. Approximately 15% of the cases were double coded to ensure inter-coder reliability. We adopted a systematic approach for addressing missing data in source materials. In most cases, whenever information for a particular variable was not presented in the sources, coders were instructed to treat the information as missing, even if strong logical arguments could be made for treating the values as "No" or "0". In these cases, coders assigned a missing value code of "-99", or "-88" if the observation was not logically possible (e.g., hate group-relevant variables when the individual was not a member of a hate organization).

Routine quality control was performed on the data throughout the life of the project and included inter-coder reliability checks, data reconciliation in the cases of coding disagreements, and checks for logical impossibilities, data entry errors, and format consistency. Approval of the final dataset was made only after the project's lead investigators and data collection manager had thoroughly reviewed the data for errors and inconsistencies and verified that missing values could not be found in the available sources.

The data for this project were analyzed using a range of techniques, including comparative descriptive statistics, logistic regression, and multiple correspondence analysis. More information about each of these methods can be found in the findings section below. To compensate for missing data, we relied on multivariate imputation using chained equations with the MICE package (version 3.11) in R (Buuren & Groothuis-Oudshoorn, 2011) (see the limitations section below for more information on missing data in BIAS). MICE is a regression-based technique that estimates separate

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

models for each variable with missing values (e.g., binary missing values are imputed with logistic regression, while unordered categorical values are imputed with polytomous regression (Azur et al., 2011). Using the observed values for a subject and the known relationships between variables in the data, the MICE package estimates missing values using a series of regression models, repeating the process multiple times until a user-defined number of complete datasets have been generated. For this project, we used MICE to impute 50 complete datasets. We then ran our explanatory models against all of the completed datasets and pooled the results, thus accounting for any uncertainty in the imputed values.

Expected applicability of the research

This project seeks to improve our understanding of the characteristics and motivations of United States hate crime offenders and, as such, it is directly applicable to the development of risk assessment tools for bias crime offenders. The BIAS data can also be paired with other sources of information to help guide programs that are designed to counter hate in U.S. communities, especially as they relate to the dissemination of narratives that aim to steer vulnerable individuals away from participating in bias related activities. Finally, the BIAS data and their accompanying results can be used to inform criminal justice policies that are concerned with the sentencing, monitoring, and reintegration of hate crime offenders.

Outcomes

Results and findings

The BIAS database contains information on 966 adult offenders who committed hate crimes in the United States from 1990-2018. The subjects in the database are overwhelmingly male (93.5%), predominately Caucasian (80%), and had a median age at the time of their primary events of 26 years old. The offenders in BIAS committed crimes in 49 of the 50 U.S. states, as well as the District of Columbia; although the majority of the offenders in BIAS were from states with large overall populations, including California (182 subjects), New York (96 subjects), and Florida (71 subjects).

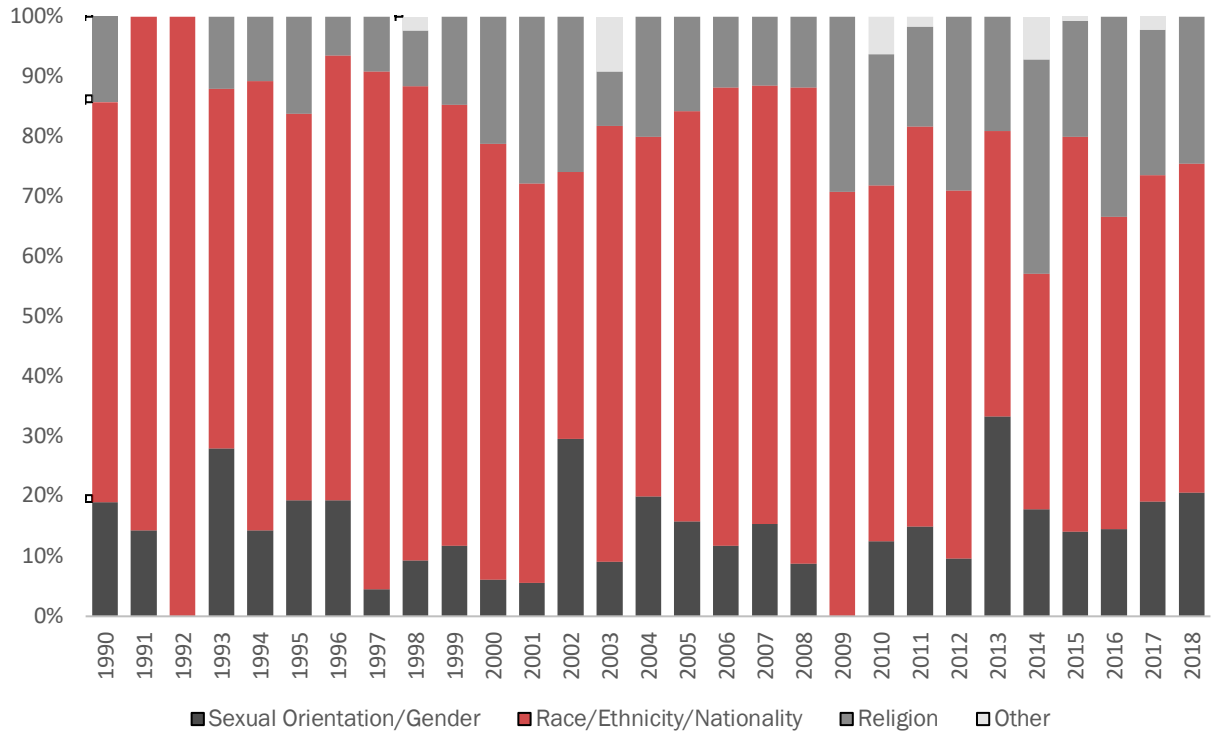
The majority (71.3%) of the subjects in BIAS committed or attempted to commit acts of violence, defined as the intent to injure or kill one or more individuals. The remaining subjects in the database engaged in acts of bias intimidation (15.4%), which involved making threats of physical harm but taking no appreciable steps to carry out attacks, or the destruction or vandalism of property (13.3%). Most of the offenders in BIAS (81%) did not commit hate crimes prior to or after the primary event that prompted their inclusion in the database. Similarly, many of the subjects in BIAS (43%) did not premeditate their crimes, but instead offended during chance encounters or the escalation of preceding non-bias disputes.

The offenders in BIAS were motivated by a diverse set of hate beliefs (see figure 1). Bias towards individuals on the basis of race, ethnicity, or nationality is the most prevalent (N=671) category in the dataset. Offenders motivated by bias based on religion (N=235) and sexual orientation and gender identity (N=171) are the second and third most common motivations in the BIAS data. Offenders who targeted their victims because of their age or mental/physical disabilities are far less common in BIAS. With rare exceptions, these offenders had mixed motives for

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

committing their crimes. In particular, they often selected their victims because they perceived them to be easy targets for theft or other types of financial gain.

Figure 1: Motivations in BIAS by year, 1990-2018



The BIAS data also indicate that there is considerable diversity in terms of the behaviors, experiences, and characteristics of hate crime offenders in the United States. Some subjects were fully immersed in the worlds of bigotry and hate when they offended, while others were acting upon common themes of prejudice that are pervasive in American communities. Some offenders committed crimes of opportunity, while others premeditated their acts, carefully selecting targets and operational strategies in order to maximize casualties. And some offenders in BIAS were exposed to negative peer influences or were struggling with issue associated with mental illness or substance abuse when they committed their crimes, while others had no discernable risk characteristics.

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Below, we present findings from the BIAS dataset that address the following key research areas: a comparison of bias crime offenders by primary motivation, a risk analysis of violent hate crime offenders, a descriptive review of mass casualty perpetrators, and an empirical test of classic hate crime offender typologies.

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Findings: A comparison of offenders by primary bias motivation

As noted above, bias crime offenders in the United States are motivated by a range of prejudicial views. Despite this diversity, however, we were unable to find a nationally representative study that assesses how offenders who adhere to different beliefs compare in terms of demographics, background experiences, or more specific risk characteristics. Moreover, extant research has not established the extent to which the characteristics of hate crimes vary depending on the bias motivations of offenders. For example, are hate crimes motivated by bias against one's perceived or actual sexual orientation more or less likely than other types of hate crimes to occur in public spaces, be perpetrated by lone offenders, or be precipitated by non-bias altercations?

In this section, we attempt to address some of the shortcomings in extant research by providing a descriptive comparison of the offenders in the BIAS dataset according to three primary types of prejudicial views: bias against someone's perceived or actual (1) race, ethnicity, or nationality; (2) sexual orientation, gender, or gender identity, and/or (3) religion. It is important to note that bias offenders can, and often do, target victims who they perceive to have more than one of the above identity characteristics (e.g., a racial or ethnic minority who is also a member of the LGBTQ community). These primary biases are not treated as mutually exclusive in the BIAS dataset. Subjects were coded and accounted for in all applicable bias categories.

The descriptive comparison of the subjects in BIAS reveals that there is considerable diversity in terms of the experiences and characteristics of hate crime offenders in the United States. Specific comparisons are detailed below, but on average, our results indicate that offenders who selected their victims based on their religious characteristics were often older and better educated than other offenders, and they had relatively high rates of previous military experience. Moreover, offenders in the religious bias category displayed exceptionally high rates of mental health concerns. By comparison, offenders who were motivated by bias based on sexual orientation, gender, or gender expression were often young, unmarried, and unemployed when they committed

their crimes. They were also the most likely to offend with peer accomplices while under the influence of drugs or alcohol. Finally, offenders who targeted victims because of their race, ethnicity, or nationality displayed high rates of previous criminality, including previous periods of incarceration, and they were the most likely to be members of organized hate groups.

OFFENDER DEMOGRAPHICS

Table 1: Offender Demographics

	Bias Motivation		
Demographics	**Sexual Orientation/Gender Identity**	**Race/Ethnicity/ Nationality**	**Religion**
Age (Median)	24	26	31
Female	4.7%	6.7%	8.5%
Married*	12.8%	18.6%	27.3%
Children*	15.7%	23.5%	23.3%
Born/Naturalized U.S. Citizen	97.7%	98.7%	96.2%
Military*	9.2%	6.8%	16.3%

* Valid percentages

Table 1 compares demographic measures across the three primary types of bias. On average, individuals who committed crimes because of their victims' religious affiliations were older (median age of 31 years old) than those who targeted their victims because of their sexual orientation/gender identity or race/ethnicity/nationality. Subjects who targeted victims based on sexual orientation, gender, or gender identity were among the youngest offenders in the database, with a median age of 24 years old. Similar to data on political extremists (Jensen et al., 2016a), the subjects in BIAS are overwhelmingly male and this holds across all three of the main bias categories. The largest representation of females (8.5%) in BIAS is among individuals who selected their victims based on their religious characteristics.

There are noteworthy similarities and differences among offenders in BIAS in terms of marital status and whether or not the offender had children when they committed their crimes. Those who carried out bias crimes based on the religious affiliations of their victims were more likely to be married (27.3% of offenders) than offenders who were motivated by bias based on sexual orientation/gender identity or race/ethnicity/nationality. However, 23.5% offenders

motivated by bias based on race/ethnicity/nationality were parents or legal guardians when they committed their crimes. The offenders in BIAS who selected their victims based on perceived or actual sexual orientation/gender identity characteristics were the least likely to be married (12.8%) and have children (15.7%).

Regardless of their bias motivations, an overwhelming majority of the offenders in BIAS were either born in the U.S. or were naturalized U.S. citizens. Our data illustrate that military service among bias offenders is relatively uncommon overall. Offenders motivated by religious bias had the highest rates of military service in BIAS, representing 16.3% of all cases in that particular bias category. Offenders motivated by bias based on race/ethnicity/nationality, on the other hand, are the least likely (6.8%) to have served in the military.

OFFENDER RISK CHARACTERISTICS

Table 2 illustrates the rate of individual risk characteristics across the three primary types of bias motivations. A significant number of offenders in BIAS had no college experience when they committed their crimes; although, education levels in the dataset do vary considerably. Our data show that offenders motivated by bias based on by race/ethnicity/nationality and sexual orientation/gender/gender identity had lower educational achievements than the offenders in the religious bias category when they committed their crimes. Approximately 70% of the offenders in both categories held a high school degree or lower at the times of their primary events. Offenders who carried out crimes based on religious bias showed the highest level of educational achievement, with 46.7% having at least some college experience when they committed their crimes.

A significant percentage of offenders across the bias motivation categories were unemployed when they committed their crimes. In particular, offenders motivated by sexual orientation/gender identity had the highest rates of unemployment, accounting for 47% of all cases in the bias category. Offenders motivated by race/ethnicity/nationality and religion had slightly

lower rates of unemployment, accounting for 40.1% and 39.5% of cases, respectively. Nevertheless, the unemployment rates in BIAS far outpace national standards, which have hovered around 4% in recent years (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019).

Table 2: Offender Risk Characteristics

	Bias Motivation		
Risk Characteristic	**Sexual Orientation/Gender Identity**	**Race/Ethnicity/Nationality**	**Religion**
High School or Lower*	69.3%	72.8%	53.3%
Unemployed*	47%	40.1%	39.5%
Abuse (child or adult)	8.2%	4.8%	5.5%
Mental Illness	15.8%	15.1%	34.4%
Substance Abuse	23.4%	23.4%	22.1%
Criminal History*	56.6%	66.9%	58.2%
Juvenile Crime*	17.9%	20.7%	12.1%
Multiple Hate Crimes	11.7%	16.4%	19.6%
Prison/Jail*	29%	37.5%	24.3%
Street Gang Member	4.7%	4%	1%
Hate Group Member*	20.1%	42.7%	34.5%
Trauma	11.7%	10.6%	14.5%

* Valid Percentages

Evidence of physical, verbal, or sexual abuse during childhood or adulthood was relatively uncommon among the offenders in BIAS. Offenders motivated by sexual orientation/gender identity bias had the highest rates of abuse (8.2%) in BIAS. However, there are notable differences in evidence of mental illness across the bias motivation categories. In particular, 34.4% of offenders motivated by religious bias had either documented or suspected mental health concerns, which outpaces the estimated national average of mental health disorders in the U.S. (26% of the adult population) according to data compiled by Johns Hopkins University (2020). By comparison, evidence of mental illness was found in less than 16% of the cases of offenders who were motivated by bias based on sexual orientation/gender identity or race/ethnicity/nationality. While substance abuse often co-occurs alongside mental illness, our data illustrate that substance abuse concerns were similarly present across the bias motivation categories. Regardless of bias motivation, the offenders in BIAS showed evidence of substance abuse concerns in approximately 23% of all cases. Rates of substance abuse in BIAS are higher than those found in the general population.

Approximately 8% of individuals in the United States who are 12 years of age or older have a substance abuse disorder (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2020).

A significant number of the offenders in BIAS had histories of committing criminal offenses, including both violent and non-violent crimes. Offenders who were motivated by bias based on race/ethnicity/nationality had the highest rates of criminal conduct, with 66.9% engaging in at least one crime prior to their primary events. Offenders motivated by sexual orientation/gender/gender identity and religious bias had similar rates of previous crime, at 56.6% and 58.2%, respectively. Irrespective of motive, the offenders in BIAS had criminal histories which far outpace national estimates of crime among U.S. adults (Vallas & Dietrich, 2014).

Offenders motivated by prejudice based on race/ethnicity/nationality were also more likely than other offender types to have committed crimes as juveniles (20.7% of cases). The majority of the subjects in BIAS were first-time hate crime offenders and less than 20% of the offenders are known to have committed multiple hate crimes. Finally, the BIAS data show that offenders motivated by race/ethnicity/nationality bias were the most likely (37.5%) to have served time in U.S. prisons or jails prior to their primary hate crime events.

Street gang membership was uncommon among the offenders in BIAS (less than 5% of all cases). However, more than 20% of the offenders in the database were members of organized hate groups. Offenders who were motivated by race/ethnicity/nationality bias were the most likely to be members of hate groups at 42.7%, followed by those motivated by religious bias at 34.5%. Finally, less than 15% of offenders across each bias motivation had previously experienced a psychologically traumatic event, which includes experiences of physical, sexual, or emotional abuse, parental abandonment, the loss of a parent of sibling at a young age, and near-death experiences. Offenders motivated by religious bias had the highest rates of trauma (14.5%), while offenders in the race/ethnicity/nationality bias category had the lowest rates (10.6%).

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

CRIME CHARACTERISTICS

Table 3 compares the offenders in BIAS according to the characteristics of the crimes that they committed. While an overwhelming majority of the offenders in BIAS carried out hate crimes in public settings, there are noteworthy differences in whether the offenders acted alone, with peers, or with hate groups. Offenders motivated by religious bias were more likely to act alone, at 57.9%, whereas those motivated by sexual orientation/gender bias were more likely to carry out their crimes alongside peer accomplices. Given their relatively higher rate of hate group membership, it is not surprising that offenders motivated by race/ethnicity/nationality bias were the most likely to commit their crimes alongside fellow hate group members or during hate rallies.

Table 3: Crime Characteristics

	Bias Motivation		
Crime Characteristic	**Sexual Orientation/Gender**	**Race/Ethnicity/Nationality**	**Religion**
Acted in Public	70.8%	77.5%	80%
Acted Alone	42.7%	35.3%	57.9%
Acted with Peers	52.6%	50.7%	31.9%
Acted with Hate group	4.7%	14%	10.2%
Premeditated Act	56.1%	52.9%	78.3%
Mixed Motive (Theft)	23.4%	7.6%	8.9%
Preceding Incident	10.5%	16.5%	6%
Under the Influence	36.8%	32.8%	23%
Relationship to Victim	29.8%	17.7%	11.5%

There was evidence that the primary events in BIAS were the result of pre-meditation on the part of offenders in more than half of all cases. Our data show that offenders motivated by religion were more likely to engage in some sort of planning in advance of their crimes. Specifically, 78.3% of offenders who selected victims on the basis of their perceived religious affiliations pre-meditated their crimes, which significantly outpaced the rates of planning in the crimes of the other offenders in BIAS.

Nearly one quarter of the offenders in the data who were motivated by bias based on sexual orientation/gender/gender identity attempted to steal money or property from their victims during their primary events. The targeting of certain individuals for mixed-motive hate crimes

likely results from the perception that certain victim groups are vulnerable and less likely to report the crimes to the authorities.

The number of offenders in BIAS who escalated preceding non-bias altercations or disputes was low across all bias motivation categories. However, 16.5% of offenders motivated by race/ethnicity/nationality committed hate crimes during the escalation of preceding non-bias disputes. The escalation of non-bias crimes may increase in cases where the offender is under the influence of drugs or alcohol. The influence of drugs or alcohol during hate crime events was present at notable rates across all three of the bias categories. While offenders who were motivated by religious bias were the least likely to be under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol at the time of their primary events, they still showed relatively high rates of intoxication, at 23%.

Finally, while a minority of the offenders in BIAS knew their victims prior to their crimes, offenders who were motivated by bias based on sexual orientation/gender often had pre-existing relationships with their victim(s).

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Findings: Violent bias crime offenders

Investigations of the risk characteristics that distinguish violent offenders from those who commit less serious crimes have a rich history in the study of crime and delinquency. For nearly 100 years criminologists have been developing and refining actuarial risk assessments to measure offenders' vulnerability to violent crime, and these tools are regularly used to make crucial decisions about sentencing, release, and parole. More recently, scholars have sought to apply violence risk frameworks to specific sub-populations of criminal offenders. For example, in the last few years there has been considerable growth in research that seeks to identify the characteristics that distinguish violent political extremists from non-violent offenders (Jensen et al., 2016b, 2018; Lafree et al., 2018). Given the centrality of violence risk assessments in the field, it is somewhat surprising that extant research on hate crime has provided few clues about the characteristics of violent offenders. We argue that in order to explain why some bias crime offenders pursue violence, researchers must take into account (1) the characteristics of their crimes, such as whether they were premeditated, occurred in private or public spaces, or were preceded by non-bias altercations; (2) the relationship of the offender to their victims and the victims' core attributes; (3) the offender's motivations for acting, including their commitment to hate beliefs, their personal grievances, and the influence of their peers; and (4) the offender's background experiences and personal characteristics, such as previous criminal activity, mental health or substance abuse concerns, past trauma, and education and work experiences.

In this section, we use the BIAS data to provide an initial assessment of the factors that distinguish violent from non-violent hate crime offenders. We divide potential risk characteristics into the following four risk categories:

CRIME CHARACTERISTICS

Scholars who have researched violence prevention have noted that the situational characteristics of crimes, such as whether drugs or alcohol were involved or the offenders were

acting alongside delinquent peers, can help explain why some resulted in the use of violence (Brookoff, 1997; Conway & McCord, 2002). The outcomes of hate crimes may also hinge on a number of variables related to the situational characteristics of the crimes. Six event variables are of particular importance.

First, a considerable amount of planning is often required to acquire weapons, access targets, and commit crimes with violent outcomes. Thus, offenders who premeditate their crimes may be more likely to engage in acts of violence, especially when the goal is to cause significant harm. That said, researchers studying the American far right have found that an increasing number of lower casualty violent events have been perpetrated by offenders who seemingly did not plan or prepare to commit their crimes (Iganski, 2008; McGhee, 2007; Sweeney & Perliger, 2018). There are potentially several factors that explain why offenders who engage in spontaneous crime may be more likely to commit acts of violence, including chance encounters that spark non-bias altercations, predispositions to violence on the part of the offender, and the role of drugs or alcohol in escalating events. However, Sweeny and Perliger (2018) also note that important structural variables, such as changing racial or ethnic dynamics in an offender's community, can help explain the preponderance of spontaneous hate events in U.S. communities. From the extant research on political violence we can derive the following two hypotheses:

> H1a: Offenders are more likely to commit violent hate crimes when their actions are spontaneous or otherwise unplanned.
>
> H1b: Offenders who premediate their crimes are not at an increased risk of committing acts of violence unless they aim to perpetrate mass casualty attacks.

Second, as noted above, offenders may be more prone to committing acts of violence if they are acting alongside peers or members of organized hate groups. The mechanisms by which peers influence offenders to commit more extreme types of crime are numerous, but most important to hate crimes are demands that the offender demonstrate that they are committed to a cause or the

group, ridicule or insults that question an offender's masculinity, and promises of status gains within the group for committing violent acts (Akers, 2009; Gadd, 2006; Walters, 2014).

> H2: Offenders who perpetrate their crimes with peer accomplices or members of organized hate groups are more likely to commit acts of violence.

Third, an offender who is under the influence of drugs or alcohol at the time of their offense may be less inhibited from escalating the conflict to the point of violence or they may be more easily influenced by peers to engage in extreme acts. While there is not a large empirical literature that investigates the role of drugs and alcohol in violent hate crimes, a number of qualitative assessments and national reports have noted that intoxication appears to be a common factor among offenders, especially those who commit bias crimes during the routine activities of their daily lives (Gadd, 2009; Walters, 2014; Walters & Brown, 2016).

> H3: Offenders who commit hate crimes while under the influence of drugs or alcohol are more likely to commit acts of violence.

Fourth, as noted above, violent hate crimes may be the result of a rapid escalation of non-bias disputes or altercations, such as traffic accidents, noise complaints, or disagreements among neighbors (McGhee, 2007). This may be especially true when the offender is intoxicated, has a predisposition to violence or a previous criminal history, or has been wrestling with feelings of grievance over perceived changes in their community (Sweeney & Perliger, 2018).

> H4: Offenders who escalate preceding non-bias altercations are more likely to commit acts of violence.

Fifth, given that hate crimes are often demonstrative acts that are meant to instill fear in minority groups or marginalized communities, offenders who commit their crimes in public spaces, where messaging is more apparent, may be more inclined to use violent tactics. This may be especially true of so-called mission offenders (Levin & McDevitt, 1993), who are deeply committed to an ideology of hate and seek widespread social change, and retaliatory offenders, who are responding to crimes in their communities with attacks of their own (McDevitt et al., 2002).

H5: Offenders who commit hate crimes in public spaces are more likely to engage in acts of violence.

Finally, criminological research suggests that violent crime is most likely to occur in cases where the victims and offenders know each other (McQuade, 2014; Morgan & Oudekerk, 2019). Hate crimes are often viewed as an exception to this rule, however. Bias crimes are often conceived of as a form of "stranger-danger," where unsuspecting victims are targeted by someone they do not know. However, (Mason, 2005) notes that crimes motived by bias can, and often do, occur between perpetrators and victims who have some familiarity with each other. Hate crime perpetrators may target acquaintances, co-workers, classmates, or care givers. While we are unaware of any empirical research that investigates whether hate crimes are more likely to result in violence if the offender and victim know one another, there are a priori reasons to believe this could be the case. From a rational actor perspective, offenders looking to commit complex violent attacks are likely to select targets they are familiar with in order to reduce operational uncertainty. Psychologically, offenders who commit violent crimes against acquaintances may feel an increased sense of power or thrill from their actions.

H6: Offenders who had a prior exposure to, or relationship with, victims are more likely to commit acts of violence.

VICTIM ATTRIBUTES

A long literature in criminology investigates how victim characteristics factor into the calculus of violent offenders. From a rational choice perspective, violent offenders may select targets that they perceive to be vulnerable or unable to defend themselves, or those who they think will be less inclined to report the crimes to the relevant authorities (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1981; Chakraborti & Garland, 2012; Cohen & Felson, 1979; Felson & Boba, 2010; Kidd & Witten, 2007; LaFree & Birbeck, 1991; Wilcox & Cullen, 2018; Woods, 2009). Psychological approaches, on the other hand, suggest that violent offenders select particular victims if doing so helps them fulfill a need for thrill or excitement, or satisfies personal biases (Burt & Simons, 2013; Katz, 1988; Levin

& McDevitt, 1993). Violent hate crime offenders may be similarly motivated. Some racist skinhead groups, for example, require that their members perpetrate violent attacks against members of racial minority groups in order to earn tokens of recognition and status in the group, such as red boot laces, spiderweb tattoos, or patches and insignia (Hamm, 1993). Similarly, hate crime offenders with mixed criminal motives, such as theft, may target members of immigrant communities out of a belief that they will be less likely than other groups to report the crimes to the authorities.

Conversely, some victim groups may disproportionately experience non-violent crimes that take aim at symbolic targets, such as religious institutions, memorials, or culturally important landmarks. In particular, offenders motivated by bias based on religion may have greater opportunities to commit non-violent crimes, such as property vandalism, because of the prevalence of religious structures throughout the country that are generally open, easy to access, and have few security deterrents.

> H7a: Offenders who target victims on the basis of their perceived or actual (1) race, ethnicity, or nationality, (2) membership in a minority group, or (3) sexual orientation, gender, or gender expression are more likely to commit acts of violence.

> H7b: Offenders who target victims because of their perceived or actual religious affiliations are less likely to engage in acts of violence.

OFFENDER MOTIVATIONS

While research on hate crime offenders in the United States has been limited, one area that has received considerable attention is the motivations that inspire offenders to engage in bias crimes. For example, in a seminal study of Boston area offenders, Levin & McDevitt (1993, 2002; McDevitt et al., 2002) found evidence of four different motivations for hate crime offending. The first, thrill offenders, commit crime for the excitement of the experience. The second, defensive offenders, act in an attempt to defend their culture or community against perceived intruding outsiders. The third type, retaliatory offenders, act in response to a hate crime committed against

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

their community. The final type, mission offenders, adhere so strongly to the core beliefs of bigotry that they make it their full-time concern.

The authors of the typology were able to map offender types to the likelihood that an individual engaged in violence. In particular, given their commitment to hate beliefs and desires for widespread social change, the authors suggest that mission offenders are the most likely to pursue violence and to become more extreme in their actions over time. Retaliatory offenders are also depicted as being at a higher risk for violence because of their desire to exact revenge for attacks on their communities. Thrill and defensive offenders, on the other hand, are expected to commit violent crimes less often because acts of property damage or bias intimidation can satisfy the offenders' need for excitement or sufficiently spark fear in minority or marginalized communities.

H8a: Mission and retaliatory offenders are more likely to commit violent hate crimes.

H8b: Thrill and defensive offenders are less likely to commit violent hate crimes.

Following the work of Levin and McDevitt, several other scholars offered typologies of hate crime offenders based on motivations. For example, Messner et al. (2004) separated offenders who mix prejudice with other motives, such as theft, from those who are solely motivated by hate. In contrast to Levin and McDevitt, these perspectives suggest that hate crime offenders who have material goals, such as financial gain, may be more likely to use violence in pursuit of their objectives.

H9: Offenders with mixed motives of hate and theft are more likely to commit violent crimes.

OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS

Most actuarial risk assessments of future crime, including the Post Conviction Risk Assessment (PCRA) tool used by the U.S. federal courts, are heavily based on the demographic and background characteristics of offenders. Instrument features such as age, gender, marital status, level of education, work history, and previous criminal activity are routinely used to make

assessments of the risks that offenders pose to their communities, including the likelihood that they will engage in future violent crime (Administrative Office of the United States Courts Probation and Pretrial Services Office, 2018).

As noted above, due to a lack of available data, bias crime research has not systematically investigated which offender characteristics are most closely associated with violent behavior; although, some work has been done to explore the relationship between previous criminality and future violent offending (Dunbar et al., 2005). Using the BIAS data, we can test whether the most common risk indicators used in actuarial risk assessments hold for violent hate crime offenders. In terms of demographic characteristics, extant research on more typical forms of crime suggest the following hypotheses about violent bias crime offenders:

> H10: Offenders are more likely to commit acts of violence if they are young, male, unmarried, and do not have a record of military service.

In addition to these demographic traits, prior research on more typical offenders, as well as cognate populations like political extremists and street gang members, suggest that violent offending may be intimately tied to a number of more specific risk characteristics, including previous criminal history (Jensen et al., 2016b, 2020; Lafree et al., 2018), mental health concerns (Corner & Gill, 2015; Gill et al., 2014; Lafree et al., 2018), limited educational achievements and poor work performance (Jensen et al., 2016b; LaFree et al., 2018), trauma (Simi et al., 2015; Simi & Bubolz, Forthcoming), and substance abuse (Barrelle, 2015). From this literature we can derive the following hypotheses about violent hate crime offenders:

> H11: Offenders with criminal records, limited educational achievements and poor work histories, documented or suspected mental health concerns, experiences of past trauma, or histories of substance abuse are more likely to engage in acts of violence.

Finally, given that the negative influence of deviant peers is often associated with an increased risk of violent behavior, individuals who are members of organized hate groups may be more inclined to use violence while committing hate crimes. However, there is evidence to suggest

that the participation in violence within groups may be conditioned on one's level of leadership or influence in the organization. A recent study by Jasko and LaFree (2020), for example, found that while leaders of extremist groups are critical to the planning or promotion of violence within the group, they are less likely than lower-level organization members to physically participate in those acts.

> H12: Members of organized hate groups who do not hold leadership positions are more likely than non-group members or group leaders to commit acts of violence.

DATA

Table 4 details the independent variables that were drawn from the BIAS dataset in order to assess the above hypotheses. The independent variables were coded in relation to the date of the primary event and may not reflect a subject's current status on any of the measures. For example, a subject who wed after the primary event but was single at the time of the crime is coded as unmarried in the database.

The dependent variable in our analysis is a dichotomous measure that captures whether the offender committed, or intended to commit, a bias crime that resulted in, or likely would have resulted in, the death or injury of one or more people. Violent crimes in BIAS include simple assaults, aggravated assaults, homicides, armed robberies, sexual assaults, and cases of arson in which deaths or injuries occurred. Examples of non-violent crimes include vandalism, property destruction, and cases of arson in which the perpetrator took steps to ensure that no one would be hurt or killed, such as targeting a building in the early morning hours when it is unoccupied. Non-violent crimes in the dataset also include acts of bias intimidation, such as making threats via letter, email, or phone, hanging banners or signs on private property, and burning crosses on the property of victims or in public areas.

Table 4: Independent Variables

Independent Variable	Coding Scheme
Planning	Coded "1" if there was evidence that the subject's involvement in the primary event lacked premeditation and "0" otherwise.
Lone Actor/Group	Coded "0" if the subject acted alone during the primary event, "1" if they offended with peer accomplices, and "2" if they acted with members of a hate group or during a hate rally.
Under the Influence	Coded "1" of the individual was under the influence of drugs or alcohol during the primary event and "0" otherwise.
Provocation	Coded "1" if the primary event resulted from the escalation of a preceding non-bias altercation and "0" otherwise.
Setting	Coded "0" if the primary event occurred in a private location and "1" if it occurred in public.
Relationship with Offender	Coded "0" if the offender did not know or interact with the victim prior to the primary event and "1" if the offender and victim had a preexisting relationship or previous interactions.
Race/Ethnicity/Nationality	Coded "1" if the offender selected the victim because of their perceived or actual racial, ethnic, or nationality traits and "0" otherwise.
Religion	Coded "1" if the offender selected the victim because of their perceived or actual religious traits and "0" otherwise.
Sexual Orientation/Gender	Coded "1" if the offender selected the victim because of their perceived or actual sexual orientation, gender, or gender identity and "0" otherwise.
Defensive	Coded "1" if the offender's actions were motivated by a desire to "defend their turf" from outside groups or perceived threats and "0" otherwise.
Mission	Coded "1" if the offender's actions were motivated by a desire to rid the world of groups that they considered evil or inferior and "0" otherwise.
Retaliatory	Coded "1" if the offender's actions were motivated by a desire to avenge a real or imagined attack on their community.
Thrill	Coded "1" if the offender's actions were motivated by a desire for a sense of thrill or excitement or to gain status among their peers and "0" otherwise.
Theft	Coded "1" if the offender's actions were in part motivated by the goal of stealing money or property from the victim(s) during the primary event and "0" otherwise.
Gender	Coded "1" if the offender is male and "2" if they are female.

Marital Status	Coded "1" if the offender was married or had been previously married at the time of the primary event and "0" otherwise.
Military Service	Coded "1" if the offender had previously served, or was actively serving, in the United States military at the time of the primary event and "0" otherwise.
Education	Coded "1" if the offender had lower than a high school degree at the time of the primary event, "2" if they had a high school or vocational school degree, "3" if they had some college experience or a college degree, and "4" if they had some graduate school experience or a graduate degree.
Work History	Coded "1" if the offender had a history of long-term unemployment, "2" if they had a history of underemployed, "3" if they were inconsistently employed (bounced from job to job), and "4" if they were regularly employed.
Criminal History	Coded "0" if the offender did not have a history of criminal behavior prior to the primary event, "1" if the offender had a criminal history consisting only of non-violent crimes, and "2" if they had a criminal history consisting of violent crimes or a mix of non-violent and violent crimes.
Hate Group Member	Coded "0" if the offender was not a member of an organized hate group at the time of the primary event, "1" if they were a member of an organized hate group, and "2" if they were the leader of a hate group.
Mental Illness	Coded "1" if there was evidence that the offender was suspected of having, or was documented to have, mental health concerns and "0" otherwise.
Substance Abuse	Coded "1" if there was evidence that the offender had a drug or alcohol substance abuse disorder and "0" otherwise.
Trauma	Coded "1" if there was evidence that the offender had experienced a psychologically traumatic event, such as abuse, neglect, or the loss of a loved one at an early age, and "0" otherwise.

Finally, the models below control for the decade in which the primary event occurred. This control was added because national crime data show that crime in the United States, and in particular violent crime, has been steadily decreasing since its peak in the early 1990s (Truman & Langton, 2015). We assume that this decline is uniform across crime types, including bias crime. The decade controls in the explanatory models help account for the variation in the dependent

variable that is the result of changing structural dynamics or the decreasing social acceptability of violence.[3]

RESULTS

Bivariate associations between the dependent variable and the various risk measures described above are presented in table 5. Statistically significant associations are found in each of the four risk categories; although, the risk indicators in the crime characteristics category show the most statistically significant relationships with the violent/non-violent outcome variable. The strongest bivariate associations are found between the violent/non-violent variable and the level of planning for the crime (Cramer's V = 0.24), whether the victim was selected because of their perceived or actual religious affiliation (Cramer's V = .23) or sexual orientation/gender identity (Cramer's V = 0.15), the offender's record of previous criminality (Cramer's V = 0.13), and whether the offender was intoxicated at the time of the event (Cramer's V = 0.13) or acting in a public versus private space (Cramer's V = 0.12).

Although several of the risk indicators were not statistically significant in the bivariate results, we made the decision to retain them in our multivariate models to account for the possibility that suppression effects are masking meaningful associations with violent outcomes. We next ran each of the four risk categories as separate multivariate models using logistic regression and concluded with a final model that combines all of the risk categories together. This analytical approach allows us to determine how risk indicators change in terms of relative importance for

[3] Prior to performing the statistical analyses, we ran several tests for collinearity and multi-collinearity among our independent variables. Three variables that we had considered for inclusion in the analysis—the offender's status as a parent at the time of the primary event, their prior prison terms, and their past experiences of physical or sexual abuse—were dropped because of strong associations with marriage, criminal history, and trauma, respectively. Variance inflation factor scores showed that all of the remaining independent variables were free from issues of collinearity.

Table 5: Bivariate Statistics

	Violent (n)	Non-Violent (n)	Missing (n)	X^2 Statistic
Crime Characteristics				
Planning				55.18***
Spontaneous	343	66		
Premeditated	346	211		
Lone Actor/Group				15.19***
Acted Alone	257	136		
Acted with Peers	361	107		
Acted with Hate Group/Rally	71	34		
Under the Influence				15.86***
No	442	215		
Yes	247	62		
Provocation				8.50**
No	578	253		
Yes	111	24		
Setting				15.43***
Public Setting	551	188		
Private Setting	138	89		
Relationship with Offender				0.63
No	569	222		
Yes	120	55		
Victim Characteristics				
Race/Ethnicity/Nationality				1.49
No	202	93		
Yes	487	184		
Religion				51.11***
No	565	166		
Yes	124	111		
Sexual Orientation/Gender				20.91***
No	542	253		
Yes	147	24		
Offender Motivations				
Defensive				10.98***
No	479	161		
Yes	210	116		
Mission				1.73
No	542	229		
Yes	147	48		
Retaliatory				0.73
No	642	253		
Yes	47	24		
Thrill				0.98
No	590	238		
Yes	99	39		
Theft				10.96***
No	603	263		
Yes	86	14		
Offender Characteristics				
Gender				0.49
Male	647	256		
Female	42	21		
Marital Status			240	1.88

Single	427	168		
Married/Divorced	98	33		
Military Service			105	1.10
No	567	220		
Yes	50	24		
Education			565	5.49
Some High School	72	20		
High School/Vocational Degree	139	47		
Some College/Degree	79	34		
Some Graduate School/Degree	8	6		
Work History			475	7.56
Unemployed	73	26		
Underemployed	25	7		
Inconsistent Employment	60	13		
Full Employment	207	80		
Criminal History			226	16.31***
None	178	94		
Non-Violent Criminal History	152	65		
Violent Criminal History	214	52		
Hate Group Member			198	4.79
No	344	148		
Member	156	58		
Leader	39	23		
Mental Illness				4.06*
No	568	212		
Yes	54	33		
Substance Abuse				0.28
No	568	212		
Yes	121	65		
Trauma				1.52
No	606	252		
Yes	83	25		

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** < 0.001

explaining violence when additional risk factors are added to the model. Table 6 shows the results of the five multivariate models.

DISCUSSION

CRIME CHARACTERISTICS

Our results, including those from the full model based on the complete set of risk indicators, generally support the argument that the situational dynamics of hate crimes can influence their outcomes. Hypothesis H1a, which states that offenders who commit spontaneous hate crimes are more likely to engage in violence, has one of the largest odds ratios (3.93) of all of the risk indicators included in the study. However, the likelihood remains that the premeditation of hate

crimes is associated with offenders who commit mass casualty events (H1b). We will return to this hypothesis in the next section of the report.

In addition to spontaneity, our results indicate that violent offenders are more likely to commit crimes while under the influence of drugs or alcohol (H3) and they more often commit their crimes in public (H5), where messaging is more apparent. We found mixed support for the hypothesis that violent offenders are more likely to offend alongside peers or fellow members of hate groups (H2). We found a positive and weakly significant relationship between offending with peers and violence, but our results do not support the hypothesis that violent crimes are more likely to be committed by offenders who are acting alongside members of hate groups or those who commit their crimes during hate rallies.

We did not find support for the hypothesis that violent offenders are more likely to commit their crimes in the context of preceding non-bias altercations (H4). This finding held even when we included interaction terms in the model that linked non-bias altercations with other key risk variables, like criminal history, mental illness, hate group membership, and intoxication during the primary event. Finally, we did not find support for the hypothesis that violent hate crime offenders are more likely to know their victims (H6).

VICTIM CHARACTERISTICS

Our results support the notion that the characteristics of victims can help explain the occurrence of violence in hate crimes. In particular, offenders who selected their victims based on their perceived sexual orientation, gender, or gender expression (H7a) were significantly more likely to commit violent crimes. The reasons for higher rates of violence among offenders who target the LGBTQ community are likely due to a confluence of factors. Kidd and Witten (2007), for example, found that offenders who targeted transgender victims did so not only because of their prejudicial views, but also because they viewed the victims as "weak" and unable to defend themselves. However, offenders who targeted the LGBTQ community were also the most likely

subjects in BIAS to be under the influence of drugs or alcohol during their crimes and to offend alongside peers, both of which are factors that increase the likelihood of violent outcomes.

However, we did not find support for the hypothesis that violent offenders are more likely to commit crimes that target racial or ethnic minorities, or individuals from certain nationality groups. Instead, we find that a disproportionate number of non-violent acts of bias intimidation target members of these communities. Indeed, of the 149 perpetrators in BIAS that were arrested for acts of bias intimidation, 80% targeted members of racial or ethnic minority groups.

Finally, our results support the hypothesis that offenders who target victims based on their religious affiliations are less likely to commit violent crimes (H7b). On average, offenders who targeted religious victims were 65% less likely to commit violent crimes than those who were motivated by other forms of prejudice. As noted above, the opportunity for symbolic crimes committed against religious structures seem to be, in part, driving these results. Indeed, 63% of all offenders in BIAS who committed crimes against property targeted religious sites, such as mosques, churches, and synagogues. With that said, it is important to note that while offenders motivated by bias based on religion may be less likely on average to commit violent crimes, they are disproportionately represented in the population of mass casualty hate crime offenders. We explore this more in the next section.

OFFENDER MOTIVATIONS

We found mixed support for the hypothesis that the motivations of hate crime offenders explain why some of them commit acts of violence. Mission offenders, who are deeply committed to an ideology of hate, are significantly more likely in our results to commit violent hate crimes than other offender types (H8a). In fact, the mission variable has the highest odds ratio (5.24) of any risk indicator included in our models. While there appears to be a strong link between ideological commitment and violence, the connection is most prevalent among hate crime offenders who were not members of organized hate groups. Leaders of hate groups are actually less likely than other

Table 6: Logistic Regression Models: Violent Bias Crime Offenders

	Model 1: Crime Characteristics	Model 2: Victim Characteristics	Model 3: Offender Motivations	Model 4: Offender Characteristics	Model 5: Full Model
	β (SE β)	β (SE β)	β (SE β)	β (SE β)	β (SE β)
(Intercept)	0.187 (0.268)	1.413*** (0.289)	1.458*** (0.188)	1.561*** (0.410)	-0.336 (0.615)
Crime Characteristics					
Spontaneous	1.183*** (0.177)				1.369*** (0.209)
Acted with Peers	0.449** (0.170)				0.450~ (0.238)
Acted with Hate Group/Rally	-0.004 (0.254)				0.005 (0.357)
Under the Influence	0.355* (0.179)				0.706** (0.218)
Provocation	0.356 (0.257)				0.437 (0.279)
Public Setting	0.567** (0.182)				0.703*** (0.210)
Relationship with Offender	0.235 (0.211)				0.182 (0.243)
Victim Characteristics					
Race/Ethnicity/Nationality		0.032 (0.235)			-0.038 (0.266)
Religion		-0.896*** (0.215)			-1.047*** (0.259)
Sexual Orientation/Gender		0.929** (0.290)			0.935** (0.322)
Offender Motivations					
Mission			0.185 (0.190)		1.656*** (0.292)
Retaliatory			-0.213 (0.267)		0.248 (0.335)
Defensive			-0.461** (0.150)		-0.472** (0.177)
Thrill			-0.095 (0.212)		-0.015 (0.252)
Theft			0.931** (0.301)		1.106** (0.346)
Offender Characteristics					

Age				-0.012	-0.004
				(0.008)	(0.010)
Female				-0.212	-0.355
				(0.297)	(0.328)
Married				0.267	0.315
				(0.278)	(0.332)
Military Service				-0.108	-0.372
				(0.295)	(0.348)
High School/Degree				0.020	-0.044
				(0.248)	(0.291)
College/Degree				-0.066	0.052
				(0.298)	(0.367)
Graduate School/Degree				-0.252	-0.210
				(0.455)	(0.540)
Underemployed				-0.018	-0.093
				(0.435)	(0.452)
Inconsistent Employment				0.097	0.068
				(0.303)	(0.345)
Full Employment				-0.011	-0.075
				(0.260)	(0.292)
Non-Violent Crime				0.278	0.359
				(0.210)	(0.245)
Violent Crime				0.830***	0.654*
				(0.232)	(0.271)
Hate Group Member				-0.174	-0.042
				(0.191)	(0.248)
Hate Group Leader				-0.673*	-1.264**
				(0.308)	(0.428)
Mental Illness				-0.429*	0.178
				(0.207)	(0.257)
Substance Abuse				-0.146	-0.359
				(0.191)	(0.228)
Trauma				0.374	0.398
				(0.276)	(0.306)
Controls					
2000s	-0.410~	-0.346	-0.403~	-0.379	-0.213
	(0.233)	(0.228)	(0.225)	(0.230)	(0.257)
2010s	-0.763***	-0.589**	-0.670***	-0.640**	-0.516*
	(0.211)	(0.197)	(0.192)	(0.207)	(0.240)
Observations	966	966	966	966	966
Imputed Datasets				50	50

~ p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

types of offenders to engage in acts of violence. We did not find support for the hypothesis that retaliatory offenders are more likely to commit acts of violence. While the relationship between retaliation and violence is positive in our models, it is not statistically significant.

Finally, we found mixed support for the argument that defensive and thrill offenders are less likely to be violent. While the coefficients of both variables are negative in our models, only the defensive variable is statistically significant. This finding lends some support to claims that hate crime offenders often respond to perceived demographic or social changes in their communities with acts of bias intimidation or other types of non-violent crime. Thrill offenders, on the other hand, do not appear to be significantly less inclined to commit violent crimes. We tested to see if the relationship between thrill offending and violence depends on whether or not the offender was intoxicated at the time of the event, but our results did not change.

OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS

Most actuarial criminal risk assessments include an array of questions related to the offender's demographics and background characteristics. However, our results suggest that when it comes to hate crimes, many of the most widely relied upon risk indicators do not sufficiently distinguish violent from non-violent offenders. We did not find support for the hypothesis that common demographic measures, such as age, gender, or marital status, can reliably separate violent offenders from individuals who commit less severe crimes (H10). Similarly, our models do not show significant relationships between violence and most of the more specific offender risk indicators that we included in our analyses (H11). The notable exception is the criminal history of offenders. Offenders who had committed violent crimes prior to their primary events were significantly more likely to commit violent hate crimes (H11). This finding is in line with research that shows similar connections between criminality and violent offending in the population of political extremists (Jensen et al., 2020; LaFree et al., 2018). Finally, we did find support for the hypothesis that hate group leaders are less often violent (H12), which likely stems from the fact

that they can delegate those tasks to lower-level group members. However, in our analysis, lower-level group members were not significantly more likely than lone-actor hate crime offenders to be violent.

These results suggest that risk assessments of violence among U.S. hate crime offenders should deviate from more traditional assessments of ordinary offenders in important ways. In particular, assessments may be more accurate when they include measures of ideological commitment, grievance, and the propensity for offenders to target certain victim groups. Moreover, while an analysis of cumulative risks for violence is beyond the scope of this analysis, preliminary results suggest that the probability of violence among hate crime offenders increases when additional risk factors are present. For example, 37% of the offenders in BIAS who had only one of the significant risk indicators noted above committed violent crimes. By comparison, offenders who had three risk factors committed violent crimes 80% of the time, while those with six risk factors had a violence rate of 96%.

There are also indications that particular configurations of risk factors may be especially troubling in terms of the probability that offenders will engage in acts of violence. For example, the subjects in BIAS who committed spontaneous crimes alongside peer accomplices had a 94% probability of committing violent crimes, despite the fact that many of these offenders ranked relatively low in terms of total risk indicators. Similarly, offenders who premeditated their crimes, targeted members of racial/ethnic minority groups or members of the LGBTQ community, and had mixed motives of hate and theft were violent in 95% of the cases. This suggests that future assessments of risk among hate crime offenders must not only account for cumulative risks, but also the particular configurations of factors that make violent outcomes more likely.

Findings: Mass casualty offenders

While there is not a large research literature on bias crime offenders who commit especially violent crimes, there are a priori and empirical reasons to believe that they may be unique from other types of offenders. As noted above, mass casualty hate crime offenders may be more likely to plan and prepare for their attacks in order to achieve particularly violent outcomes. This argument is consistent with the extant research on mass murder more generally (Fox & Levin, 1994; Newman et al., 2005; Vossekuil, 2004). Mass casualty hate crime offenders may also be less likely to escalate preceding non-bias altercations to the point of violence and their crimes may not be fueled by drugs, alcohol, or other situational dynamics. Finally, research on mass murderers, such as school shooters or those who targeted their places of work, have found elevated rates of mental illness, substance abuse, trauma, and similar risk factors in the backgrounds of the assailants (Duxbury et al., 2018; Fox et al., 2018; Gill et al., 2017; Stone, 2015).

To assess if there are risk indicators that reliably distinguish mass casualty hate crime offenders from other types of violent actors, we extracted all violent offenders from BIAS and coded whether or not they qualify as mass casualty attackers. We adapted our definition of a mass casualty incident from the Department of Justice, Community Oriented Policing Services Division's definition of a mass shooting, which it defines as an incident that kills or injures four or more people in a single attack or a string of connected events (Estill & Fox, 2019).[4] In the cases where the subjects planned to commit hate crimes but were disrupted by law enforcement before they could attempt the attacks, we coded the mass casualty variable based on whether the offenders intended to kill or injure four or more people. We were able to make this determination by (1) reviewing the

[4] There is very little definitional agreement in the literature when it comes to incidents described as mass casualty, mass shooting, or mass murder. See Silver, Horgan, and Gill (2018) for a discussion of these debates. We chose to use four victims (death or injury) as the threshold for mass casualty to avoid downplaying the severity of crimes where injuries were involved, especially the cases where the offenders clearly intended to achieve far worse outcomes but failed.

statements of the offenders, many of whom boasted about the numbers of people that they intended to hurt or kill; or (2) by inferring what the likely outcomes of the attacks would have been had they not been disrupted. We used a combination of information about weapons, such as whether the perpetrator intended to use firearms or explosives, and targets, including whether the attack was planned to occur in a public place that was likely to be well populated at the time of the attack, to classify likely outcomes in the absence offender statements. Following these procedures, we coded 105 of the 689 violent offenders in BIAS as mass casualty offenders.

Table 7 presents bivariate statistics for the relationships between the mass casualty variable and the risk factors that were included in the previous section. Our results indicate that most of the variables related to crime characteristics appear to be associated with whether or not the subject was classified as a mass casualty offender. The only the variable that is not associated with the outcome is the one that measures whether the crimes occurred in public or private. As we suspected, the bivariate results suggest that mass casualty offenders are more likely to plan their attacks than other types of violent offenders in BIAS. Furthermore, mass casualty offenders rarely commit their crimes in response to preceding non-bias altercations and they are seldom under the influence of drugs or alcohol when they offend. This suggests that mass casualty bias crimes, like other types of crimes that incur significant human casualties, are the result of thoughtful action on the part of offenders.

The bivariate statistics also suggest that mass casualty offenders are more likely to act alone than other types of bias crime offenders. Similar results have been found in studies that look at the broader class of political extremists, particularly those who planned or executed large-scale violent events (Gill et al., 2017). The higher incidence of violence among lone actors is likely due to significant rates of certain risk characteristics in their criminal profiles (Gill et al., 2014) and the lack of moderating effects in organized groups that restrain members from committing especially violent crimes (Simi & Windisch, 2018).

As noted above, while on average violent offenders tend to target religious victims less often than non-violent offenders, our results show that religious targets were disproportionately represented in the events that were planned or executed by mass casualty offenders. Nearly 55% of all mass casualty offenders in BIAS targeted religious victims even though attacks on religious targets only make up 24% of the database. The mass casualty offenders in BIAS were most often motivated by anti-Semitic views. While anti-Semitic perpetrators account for only 10.35 percent of the offenders in BIAS, they comprise over a third (38.1%) of the individuals in the data who planned or committed mass casualty attacks. By comparison, anti-African American offenders comprise the largest percentage of all perpetrators (48.1%) in the database, but they make-up fewer (36.2%) of the mass casualty assailants.

Not surprisingly, the bivariate results indicate that mission offenders may be especially likely to plan or commit mass casualty attacks. However, similar to above, the mission offenders in BIAS who planned or committed mass casualty attacks tended not to be members or leaders of organized hate groups. Indeed, less than 13% of the mass casualty offenders in BIAS held leadership positions in hate groups, while just under 28% were lower-level members of hate organizations. Instead, the mission offenders in BIAS who planned or committed mass casualty attacks were more commonly lone actors (60%).

Our bivariate results also suggest that a number of individual factors are found at higher rates in the profiles of mass casualty hate crime offenders. These include (1) being married, (2) having a record of service in the United States military, (3) being moderately well-educated but (4) unemployed, and (5) having known or suspected mental health concerns. Our results do not suggest that mass casualty hate crime offenders are any more likely than other bias crime perpetrators to have histories of substance abuse or trauma. A heightened sense of relative deprivation might explain why some protective factors, like marriage and military service, are found at significant rates in the backgrounds of mass casualty offenders. When paired with

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Table 7: Bivariate Statistics of Mass Casualty Offenders

	Violent, Non-Mass Casualty (n)	Mass Casualty (n)	Missing (n)	X^2 Statistic
Crime Characteristics				
Planning				83.99***
Spontaneous	337	9		
Premeditated	247	96		
Lone Actor/Group				14.74***
Acted Alone	208	49		
Acted with Peers	323	38		
Acted with Hate Group/Rally	53	18		
Under the Influence				33.39***
No	348	94		
Yes	236	11		
Provocation				14.96**
No	476	102		
Yes	108	3		
Setting				0.00
Public Setting	467	84		
Private Setting	117	21		
Relationship with Offender				7.48**
No	472	97		
Yes	112	8		
Victim Characteristics				
Race/Ethnicity/Nationality				7.44**
No	159	43		
Yes	425	62		
Religion				107.65***
No	517	48		
Yes	67	57		
Sexual Orientation/Gender				2.33
No	453	89		
Yes	131	16		
Offender Motivations				
Defensive				1.07
No	401	78		
Yes	183	27		
Mission				218.26***
No	517	25		
Yes	67	80		
Retaliatory				0.97
No	547	95		
Yes	37	10		
Thrill				1.18
No	496	94		
Yes	88	11		
Theft				5.95*
No	503	100		
Yes	81	5		
Offender Characteristics				
Gender				1.65
Male	364	102		
Female	68	3		
Marital Status			164	25.98***
Single	427	63		
Married/Divorced	98	30		
Military Service			72	30.63***
No	490	77		
Yes	29	21		
Education			395	30.96***

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Some High School	64	8		
High School/Vocational Degree	110	29		
Some College/Degree	51	24		
Some Graduate School/Degree	5	3		
Work History			324	34.42***
Unemployed	53	20		
Underemployed	19	6		
Inconsistent Employment	41	19		
Full Employment	174	33		
Criminal History			145	10.65**
None	146	32		
Non-Violent Criminal History	123	29		
Violent Criminal History	180	34		
Hate Group Member			150	14.33**
No	297	47		
Member	127	29		
Leader	26	13		
Mental Illness				25.31***
No	500	68		
Yes	84	37		
Substance Abuse				0.57
No	446	76		
Yes	138	29		
Trauma				2.50
No	519	87		
Yes	65	18		

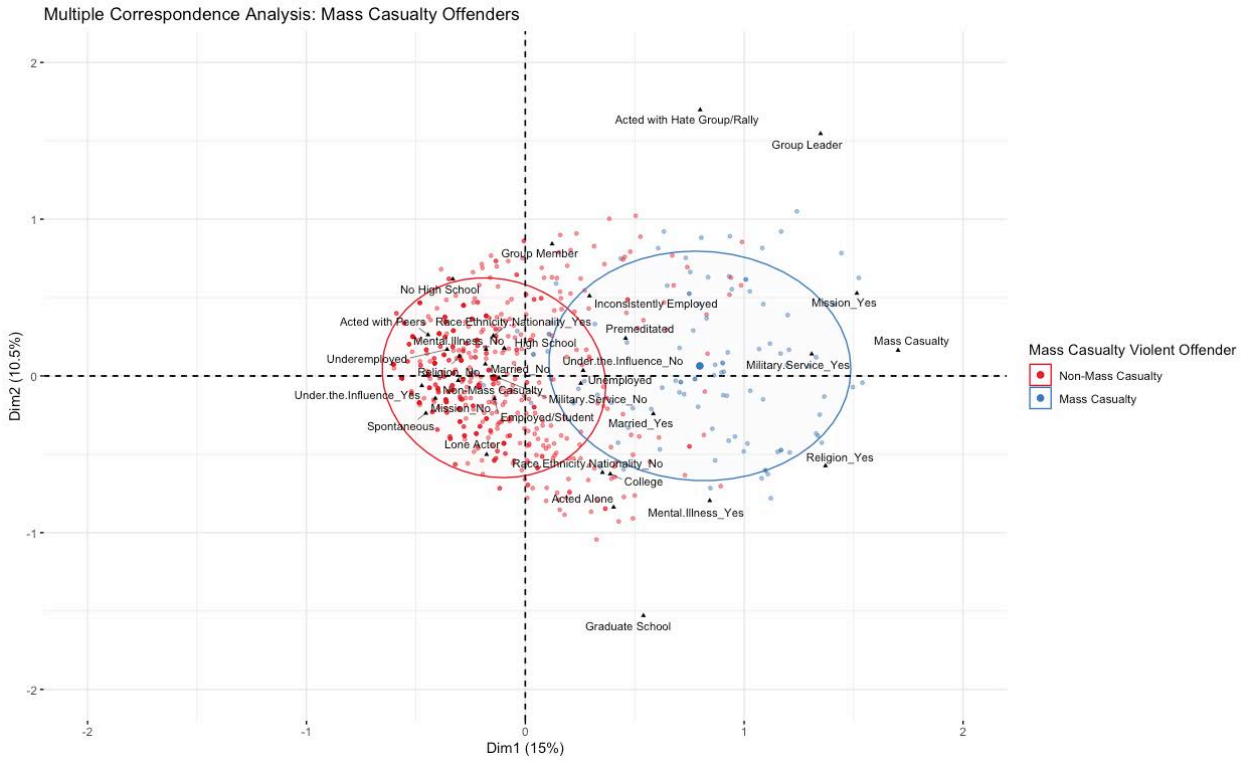
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** < 0.001

unemployment and mental health concerns, protective factors may foster an acute sense of unmet expectations that propel some individuals onto a pathway of radicalization.

Given the exploratory nature of these results, we next ran a multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) of the BIAS data to get a sense of how these various risk factors cluster around mass casualty offending. MCA is an extension of correspondence analysis that allows investigators to identify patterns in data comprised of multiple categorical variables. MCA uses geometrical methods to plot the locations of variables and units in low dimensional space in a way that maximizes the amount of inertia (variance) explained. It is particularly useful as an exploratory method because it helps investigators make sense of high-dimensionality data by visualizing potential relationships between variables and their relative positions to units, thus revealing underlying structures in complex datasets.

Figures 2 presents the MCA of violent offenders in BIAS, plotting both the individual cases and the risk categories described above. The added advantage of MCA over the simple bivariate

Figure 2: MCA



analysis above is that it reveals unique clusters of cases and variables in the data. Indeed, the MCA shows that there appears to be multiple types of mass casualty offenders in the BIAS dataset. One cluster of offenders located below the X axis has similar shared risk characteristics, like mental illness, as well as similar target preferences (religious victims) and operational routines (acting alone). This group appears to be relatively well educated but the cases also plot around the variables related to poor work histories, suggesting that feelings of relative deprivation may be especially pronounced in this group. By comparison, the cluster of offenders located above the x-axis seems to be mostly comprised of mission offenders with records of military service and inconsistent employment records.

As a data mining technique, MCA should be combined with future research that attempts to establish relationships between categories and units with more sophisticated statistical techniques. Nevertheless, our preliminary results suggest that mass casualty offenders are likely to be

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

heterogenous in terms of their risk profiles even though they may be linked by general feelings of strain or unrealized expectations. This is similar to the conclusions of research into mass murders and lone actor extremists (Gill et al. 2017), which finds that both types of offenders are primarily motivated by pronounced grievances brought on by unemployment, negative personal relationships, and unaddressed mental health concerns. Thus, programs designed to prevent targeted mass casualty hate crimes will need to be based on a nuanced understanding of the individual risks that produce feelings of disappointment, anger, and societal rejection.

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Findings: The motivations of bias crime offenders

Levin and McDevitt's (1993, 2002; McDevitt et al., 2002) typology of bias crime motivations is perhaps the most important study in the literature on hate crime offenders. The typology remains highly influential nearly 30 years after its first appearance in print thanks in no small part to the number of insights that that authors were able to generate from a relatively simple classification scheme. With that said, there has been very little empirical work done to verify the typology. Even Levin and McDevitt did not seek to empirically validate their scheme with evidence beyond the 169 police files that they used to generate the typology. Others who have attempted to apply the typology in new jurisdictions have found mixed results (Phillips, 2009).

In this section, we use the BIAS data to assess how well Levin and McDevitt's typology captures the distinctive characteristics of offenders using a national sample. Based on our findings, we propose several modifications to the schema. First, we suggest a fourth category, "mixed-motive offenders," that would capture perpetrators whose crimes were partially motivated by non-bias related disputes. Second, we identify notable divisions between defensive offenders who are reacting to a perceived proximate threat, and those who are responding to more distant perceived threats. We suggest that the typology be modified to expressly acknowledge these differences.

MISSION OFFENDERS

In McDevitt and Levin's conceptualization (Levin & McDevitt, 1993, 2002; McDevitt et al., 2002), the rarest type of hate crime offender is a "mission" offender: a perpetrator motivated by a singular goal to "eliminate" an entire community or population of people. With respect to crime characteristics, our findings are somewhat consistent with Levin and McDevitt's expectations. The majority of mission offenders in BIAS acted with others; although, at 57.2%, this was actually one of the lowest percentages among our categories and certainly lower than Levin and McDevitt's typology would suggest. Nearly 40% of this sample had attempted or committed mass casualty attacks, and, unsurprisingly, nearly 80% of attacks were premeditated, which are both data points

that are consistent with the original conception. However, we also find that mission offenders were unlikely to have a prior relationship with their victim (9.5%), to be under the influence of alcohol or drugs at the time of the attack (11.4%), to be responding to a non-bias related provocation (6.5%), or to have an additional theft motive (8.0%). Interestingly, attacks by mission offenders were highly differentiated in terms of the identity of their targeted victims; over a quarter were motivated by anti-Semitic beliefs, a percent which is more than five times higher than that of any other typological group.

In terms of offender characteristics, our sample of mission offenders partly mirrored Levin and McDevitt's findings. The BIAS data suggest that mission offenders are older than other offender types (median age 31), more likely to have suspected or diagnosed mental illnesses (30.8%) and are more often members of hate groups (66.3%). However, in contrast to the original conceptualization, we find that mission offenders had high rates of criminal histories (71.8%). In our sample, mission offenders had either spent many years in hate groups or other criminal enterprises, where they likely developed their commitment to extremist beliefs. Interestingly, the mission offenders in BIAS had relatively high rates of military experience (22.7%), a fact which may be due to their older age or the role that military experiences can play in the radicalization process (Simi et al., 2013).

DEFENSIVE OFFENDERS, (PROXIMATE AND DISTANT THREATS)

"Defensive" hate crimes, according to McDevitt and Levin (Levin & McDevitt, 1993, 2002), are motivated by a perpetrator's defensive posture against a perceived, tangible threat that is posed by members of a particular community or population.[5] Although we see offenses motivated by local

[5] In their 2002 formulation, McDevitt and Levin differentiated again between attacks purportedly motivated in defense of a community but in retaliation for a previous alleged hate crime. As an example, the cite a rise in hate crimes in New York City after an attack on a Black man in a predominantly White area. We initially coded BIAS cases using this categorization and used it in some analyses. However, we ultimately found that most of the BIAS cases categorized as "retaliatory" were not these local responses to violent rumors but were often in

and national dynamics as sharing a similarly defensive nature, we hypothesize that the perpetrators involved in these crimes might differ in terms of their basic characteristics. Therefore, we distinguished between defensive acts that were committed explicitly in response to perceived proximate, or even personal threats, and those that seemed to reflect more distant anxieties, such as demographic changes at the national level.

We found that the division between distant and proximate defensive offenders yielded some distinguishing characteristics in terms of both the crimes and the individuals. Defensive offenders facing a perceived proximate threat were much more likely to commit bias crimes with others than were those claiming to face a distant threat (64.7% vs. 37.4%). While majorities of both were more likely to act in public settings, this was especially true of those who were responding to perceived distant threats (85.7% vs. 65.2%). A smaller minority of distant threat offenders had a prior relationship with the victim (3.3%) when compared to those reacting to perceived proximate threats (27.2%). Although defensive offenders overall were less likely to target LGBTQ victims than some other offenders, those categorized as proximate offenders were much more likely than distant ones (15.2% vs. 1.1%) to select their victims on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity. This is likely due to the fact that the majority of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes resulted from personal interactions, including anti-trans crimes in which the offender attacked the victim after "discovering" their trans status. Distant attacks were much more likely than proximate offenders to target perceived Muslim/Arab victims (58.2%). In contrast, proximate defensive offenders had the highest rates of targeting African-American victims (65.6%), likely due to the higher number of attacks targeting Black homeowners in the offenders' neighborhoods.

response to Islamist attacks against the United States. Ultimately, we found that the division between distant and proximate perceived threats was more relevant in an analysis of the typological scheme as a whole.

Table 8: Crime and Offender Characteristics by Motivation

	Motivation Category				
Crime Characteristic	**Mission**	**Defensive (Proximate)**	**Defensive (National)**	**Thrill**	**Mixed Motive**
Acted with Others	57.2%	64.7%	37.4%	78.4%	61.0%
Violent	74.6%	65.6%	59.3%	81.1%	76.6%
Mass Casualty	39.8%	2.7%	5.5%	1.4%	0.0%
Public Setting	80.1%	65.2%	85.7%	68.9%	79.2%
Spontaneous	20.4%	51.3%	50.5%	28.4%	67.5%
Theft Motive	8.0%	8.0%	5.5%	16.2%	5.2%
Victim Relationship	9.5%	27.2%	3.3%	20.3%	29.9%
Under the Influence	11.4%	44.6%	35.2%	41.9%	45.5%
Perceived Provocation	6.5%	12.1%	9.9%	12.2%	100.0%
Anti-African American	38.3%	65.6%	18.7%	47.3%	59.7%
Anti-Sexuality/Gender Identity	10.0%	15.2%	1.1%	23.0%	14.3%
Anti-Hispanic	10.0%	11.2%	8.8%	9.5%	9.1%
Anti-Muslim/Arab	13.9%	5.4%	58.2%	2.7%	9.1%
Anti-Semitic	28.9%	1.3%	2.2%	5.4%	0.0%
Anti-Asian	4.0%	3.1%	3.3%	4.1%	5.2%
Anti-White	4.5%	0.9%	6.6%	2.7%	1.3%
Median Year of Crime	2006	2008	2015	2008	2010
Offender Characteristic					
Age (Median)	31	26	30	21	29
Mental Illness	30.8%	14.3%	27.5%	12.2%	6.5%
Criminal History*	71.8%	58.9%	59.8%	63.8%	59.3%
Substance Abuse	20.9%	26.8%	27.5%	17.6%	26.0%
Hate Group Member*	66.3%	32.0%	6.0%	41.8%	27.3%
Poor Work History*	51.6%	43.4%	26.8%	43.6%	25.0%
Low Education*	58.3%	71.3%	57.9%	81.0%	80.0%
Trauma	16.4%	9.8%	12.1%	12.2%	6.5%
Gender	12.9%	5.4%	8.8%	6.8%	7.8%
Married*	28.9%	12.5%	21.2%	2.9%	27.1%
Children*	28.2%	23.2%	25.9%	10.9%	26.9%
Military Service*	22.7%	2.0%	11.1%	5.5%	7.6%
Age	31	26	30	21	29
Mental Illness	30.8%	14.3%	27.5%	12.2%	6.5%

* Valid percentage

Proximate and distant defensive offenders also differed on demographic and background characteristics. While distant defensive offenders were one of the oldest groups in the scheme (median age 30), proximate offenders were often younger (median age 26). Distant defensive offenders had a rate of mental illness approaching only mission offenders (27.5% and 30.8%, respectively), while the rate among proximate defensive offenders was substantially lower (14.3%). Similarly, the rate of military experience was low among proximate offenders (2.0%), and relatively high among distant offenders (11.1%). At the same time, proximate offenders had a hate group membership rate that was half that of mission offenders and thrill offenders (32.0% vs. 66.3% and 66.7%) but was still more than five times higher than that of distant defensive offenders (6.0%).

THRILL OFFENDERS

Levin and McDevitt identified thrill motivated offenders as those who, while expressing bias in association with their crimes, are driven by an attempt to fulfill a need for excitement or fun. They included in this category offenders who "went along" with hate crime offending peers in order to gain status and fit in with others (Levin & McDevitt, 1993, 2002). In terms of event characteristics, thrill offenders in BIAS had the highest rate of group participation (78.4%), which is consistent with Levin and McDevitt's conceptualization. Perpetrators in this category were by far the most likely to target LGBTQ victims, which made up 23% of their targets. This is consistent with Levin and McDevitt's suggestion that young men who are seeking to define themselves among their peers and are insecure about their masculinity, may hope to bolster their reputations by targeting LGBTQ victims. Otherwise, the types of victims targeted were more varied than in other categories, suggesting that thrill offenders care less about the specific identities of their victims (also as argued by Levin and McDevitt).

At the individual level, thrill offenders were clearly the youngest of the BIAS sample, (median age of 21). Although Levin and McDevitt found large numbers of teens in their sample, the BIAS data exclude minor perpetrators, so the median age in our sample is undoubtedly higher

across categories. Unsurprisingly, thrill offenders had the lowest rates of marriage, children, (1.9% and 10.9%), and educational attainment (81% low education), and the second lowest rate of established work histories (43.6%).

MIXED-MOTIVE OFFENDERS

Consistent with previous critiques, we found that Levin and McDevitt's schema failed to effectively capture the frequently spontaneous nature of bias crimes (Roberts et al., 2013), especially in cases where bias motives emerged in the course of non-bias related disputes (see also Phillips 2009). Among the BIAS cases that we were unable to classify according to Levin and McDevitt's typology,[6] we found a substantial number of cases in which the offenders perceived slights on behalf of the victim and quickly escalated the conflicts with violence or threats of violence while also expressing prejudice. While a minority of these can be classified as defensive, the majority, which had no discernable motivations, could not be classified according to Levin and McDevitt's scheme, suggesting that these types of offenders were involved in a distinct type of hate crime.

The offenders in BIAS who had mixed motives were distinct from other types of hate crime perpetrators in several respects. They committed spontaneous crimes at the highest rate in the database (67.5%), and they were the most likely to act public settings (79.2%). Further, mixed-motive offenders had relatively high rates of prior relationships with their victims and being under the influence of drugs or alcohol when they offended (29.9% and 45.5%, respectively). They also

[6] Although we found that we were unable to classify a significant percentage of BIAS cases according to the existing typology (38.9%), we are confident that this was largely due to our strict coding requirements that typically relied on explicit expressions of motivation from the offender (either in the course of the event, on social media, as reported by people familiar with the offender, or published accounts made to law enforcement or court authorities). In the majority of unclassified cases, public statements to that effect simply were unavailable.

had the second highest rate (after proximate defensive offenders) of attacking African-American victims (59.7%).

In terms of individual characteristics, mixed-motive offenders had slightly more stable backgrounds than offenders in the other categories. They had the lowest rates of mental illness (6.5%) and poor employment history (25%), and they were on the older end of the spectrum (median age 29). They also had some of the highest rates of marriage (27.1%) and children (26.9%). However, with respect to offenders in other categories, mixed-motive offenders had similarly high rates of criminal history (59.3%) and low education (80%), and similarly substantial rates of substance abuse (26.0%) and hate group membership (27.3%).

IMPLICATIONS FOR A MODIFIED TYPOLOGY

We believe there are a number of modifications that should be made to the Levin and McDevitt typology to support the work of criminal justice professionals seeking to prevent or respond to hate crimes. By dividing defensive offenders between those reacting to perceived distant and proximate threats, we update McDevitt and Levin's typology to better capture perpetrator motivations in a time of polarized mass media and political culture. Rather than reacting directly to specific neighborhood changes or perceived personal threats in their relationships or careers, bias crime offenders also react to large-scale societal transformations (or the perception thereof) (Levin & Reichelmann, 2015), as portrayed through the media or political and social commentary. This has critical implications for identifying perpetrators and anticipating the occurrence of hate crimes. While Levin and McDevitt suggest that practitioners should expect defensive hate crimes to occur as neighborhood demographics change, our analysis shows they should also expect hate crimes to occur in response to broader national changes and dialogues (see also Levin & Reichelmann, 2015).

Furthermore, by adding a "mixed-motive" category, we demonstrate that a substantial number of hate crimes occur in spontaneous or otherwise unpredictable circumstances. Our

findings suggest that a wide range of individuals might become involved in hate crimes, including relatively stable and well-integrated members of society, as well as those who are less socially bonded to their communities, such as hate group members. Identifying the range of individuals who may become involved in bias crime is challenging but can be made more effective by a nuanced and empirically verified classification scheme.

Limitations

While we went to great lengths to ensure that the BIAS data are as comprehensive of offender attributes as possible and representative of offenders across the United States, there are several limitations of the data that users should consider. First, given the project's reliance on open sources, as well as the sensitive and private nature of many of the variables included in the database, the BIAS data display varying degrees of missing values. While many important offender characteristics have no missing values in the data, there are several variables of interest that are missing data at relatively high rates. These include education (58.5% missing), work history (49.2% missing), and marital status (24.9% missing). Missing values are a common feature of social science data and there are many options available to researchers for analyzing data with a range of unknown values, including multiple types of regression-based imputation. Many of these techniques are discussed in greater detail in our previous work on United States extremists (Jensen & James, 2016; Lafree et al., 2018; Safer-Lichtenstein et al., 2017) and we encourage users to familiarize themselves with these methods before analyzing the BIAS data.

Second, users of the data should consider potential limitations in the representativeness of the sample include in BIAS. In selecting cases to review for inclusion and ultimately to code, we faced two central challenges. First, the lack of national offender data meant that we lacked a reliable "plumb line" from which to base the number of cases included by year or by motive. Second, source availability diminished greatly between earlier and later years in the dataset. For example, only 9% of the cases we reviewed from the 1990s were determined to have sufficient information to be included in the database, whereas 43% of cases after 2010 were deemed sufficient to code. Initially, we randomly selected names from each year to code for inclusion but, ultimately, we decided to oversample cases from 1990-1996 in order to more accurately capture this period in the data. However, the lack of source material from this time frame was significant enough that we were not able to identify a similar number of cases from the 1990s as we did for more recent periods.

We used both the number of cases reported by year in the FBI UCR data, as well as the number of names generated by our online searches, to inform the selection of additional batches of criteria coding by year. For example, both UCR data and our generated names list showed increases in the number of hate crimes immediately after the 9/11 attacks, so we over-sampled names from those years for inclusion in the database. Interestingly, while making only minor adjustments to identify the rarest types of hate crimes, our case selection by motive mirrored that of the UCR data (Uniform Crime Reports, 2018). Criteria coding occurred on an iterative basis and concluded when we approached 1,000 qualifying cases and had reviewed over 50% of the names generated in the newspaper and online searchers. While two-thirds of the cases qualified for inclusion in the database based on the relevant events, only a third of qualified cases were determined to have sufficient information to code. Given these measures, we believe that the resulting sample is as representative as possible. However, it is skewed towards cases from the second decade of the 2000s, and especially after 2014, and it over-represents the highest-publicity attacks, which are cases that are violent and involve the most explicit expressions of prejudice.

Finally, end-users of the data should not use BIAS to report aggregate trends in hate crimes or hate crime arrests in the United States. The study was not designed as a comprehensive accounting of all hate crime activity in the United States. Rather, BIAS is based on a sample of offenders that can be examined in order to learn more about common offender traits, key risk factors for violence, and the pathways to offending. Users interested in aggregate hate crime trends should consult data sources that are designed to capture such metrics, like the FBI's UCR data.

Artifacts

Dataset

The BIAS dataset is divided into the following sections:

1. Primary event details: This section includes information on the nature of the primary bias crime committed by the subject. The primary event typically reflects the first (and often only) bias crime that the subject committed. In some instances, subjects committed multiple bias crimes and the primary event reflects the incident that generated the most news coverage. Variables in this section include the date, place, and target of the crime, whether the offense was committed alone, with a small group of peers, or alongside an organized hate group, and whether the subject premeditated the crime, was responding to a preceding non-bias altercation, or was intoxicated at the time of the event. This section also includes information on the weapons used to commit the crime, whether the event qualifies as a mass-casualty incident (defined as the intent to kill or injure four or more people), and the law enforcement response to the event, including the timing of arrests and convictions.

2. Offender motivations and victim characteristics: This section captures the particular bias or biases that motivated the offender to engage in the primary event. This includes bias based on race, ethnicity, or ancestry, religion, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, disability, and age. Variables in this section also capture whether the subject meets the requirements to be classified as a mission, defensive, retaliatory, or thrill offender as defined by Levin and McDevitt (1993, 2002). Finally, this section records details about the victim(s) of the primary event, including whether they were a member of a minority group, their race, ethnicity, and/or religion, and their status as a member of the LGBTQ community.

3. Demographic attributes: This section records the offenders' demographic characteristics, including their age, gender, ethnicity, citizenship or residency status, and location of habitation. This section also includes information on the subjects' marital status, whether they were the parent or legal guardian of a child at the time of the primary event, and whether at any point they served in the United States military.

4. Risk characteristics: This section includes information on a range of criminal risk characteristics, such as criminal history (bias and non-bias crimes), prison experience, hate group or street gang membership, substance abuse, mental illness, and physical, emotional, or sexual abuse as a child or adult.

5. Socioeconomic variables: This section captures information related to the subject's educational achievements and work history. These include the socioeconomic class of the subject as a child and adult, the subject's employment status at the time of the primary event, their work history as an adult, and their highest level of educational attainment.

6. Internet and media variables: This section contains information on the subject's use of the internet and social media to consume or promote hate beliefs, or to plan and commit a bias crime. This includes the frequency with which the subject used social media for the

This resource was prepared by the author(s) using Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

consumption or promotion of hate beliefs and the platforms on which these views were expressed.

Dissemination Activities

The results for this project have been disseminated to various criminal justice stakeholder groups through briefings, presentations, or invited lectures. The audiences who have been briefed on the findings of this project include the Pretrial and Probation Services Office of the Administrative Office of the U.S Courts, the Federal Judicial Center (FJC), the Department of Homeland Security's Office on Targeted Violence and Terrorism Prevention (Digital Forum), and the Minnesota Extremism Networking Group. The findings from this project will also be included in an upcoming training series to be delivered by the FJC to U.S. pretrial services and probation officers.

Works Cited

Administrative Office of the United States Courts Probation and Pretrial Services Office. (2018). *An Overview of the Federal Post Conviction Risk Assessment*. Administrative Office of the United States Courts. https://www.uscourts.gov/services-forms/probation-and-pretrial-services/supervision/post-conviction-risk-assessment

Akers, R. (2009). *Social Learning and Social Structure: A General Theory of Crime and Deviance* (1st Edition). Routledge.

Azur, M. J., Stuart, E. A., Frangakis, C., & Leaf, P. J. (2011). Multiple Imputation by Chained Equations: What Is It and How Does it Work? *International Journal of Methods in Psychiatric Research*, *20*(1), 40–49.

Barrelle, K. (2015). Pro-Integration: Disengagement from and Life after Extremism. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, *7*(2), 129–142.

Brantingham, P., & Brantingham, P. (1981). *Notes on the Geometry of Crime (1981)*. Classics in Environmental Criminology; Routledge.

Brookoff, D. (1997). *Drugs, Alcohol, and Domestic Violence in Memphis* (National Institute of Justice, Series Preview). National Institute of Justice. https://www.ncjrs.gov/App/Publications/abstract.aspx?ID=264317

Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2019, May 19). Unemployment rate unchanged at 3.6 percent in May 201. *The Economics Daily*. https://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/2019/unemployment-rate-unchanged-at-3-point-6-percent-in-may-2019.htm?view_full#:~:text=Unemployment%20rate%20unchanged%20at%203.6,U.S.%20Bureau%20of%20Labor%20Statistics&text=The%20.,gov%20means%20it's%20official

Burt, C. H., & Simons, R. L. (2013). Self-Control, Thrill Seeking, and Crime: Motivation Matters. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*.

Buuren, S. van, & Groothuis-Oudshoorn, K. (2011). mice: Multivariate Imputation by Chained Equations in R. *Journal of Statistical Software*, *45*(1), 1–67.

Byers, B. D., & Jones, J. A. (2007). The Impact of the Terrorist Attacks of 9/11 on Anti-Islamic Hate Crime. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice*, *5*(1), 43–56.

Chakraborti, N., & Garland, J. (2012). Reconceptualizing Hate Crime Victimization Through the Lens of Vulnerability and 'Difference.' *Theoretical Criminology*, *16*(4), 499–514.

Cohen, L. E., & Felson, M. (1979). Social Change and Crime Rate Trends: A Routine Activity Approach. *American Sociological Review*, *44*, 588–608.

Conway, K. P., & McCord, J. (2002). A Longitudinal Examination of the Relation Between Co-Offending with Violent Accomplices and Violent Crime. *Aggressive Behavior*, *28*(2), 97–108.

Corner, E., & Gill, P. (2015). A False dichotomy? Mental Illness and Lone-Actor Terrorism. *Law and Human Behavior*, *39*(1), 23–34.

Dunbar, E., Quinones, J., & Crevecoeur, D. (2005). Assessment of Hate Crime Offenders: The Role of Bias Intent in Examining Violence Risk. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice*, *5*(1), 1–19.

Duxbury, S. W., Frizzell, L. C., & Lindsay, S. L. (2018). Mental Illness, the Media, and the Moral Politics of Mass Violence: The role of race in mass shootings coverage. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *55*(6), 766–797.

Estill, S., & Fox, M. (2019). Mass Shootings: Preparing for Violent Events. *Community Policing Dispatch*. https://cops.usdoj.gov/html/dispatch/07-2019/mass_shootings.html#_ftn1

Felson, M., & Boba, R. (2010). *Crime and Everyday Life* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.

Fox, J. A., & Levin, J. (1994). Firing Back: The Growing Threat of Workplace Homicide. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *536*(1), 16–30.

Fox, J. A., Levin, J., & Fridel, E. E. (2018). *Extreme Killing: Understanding Serial and Mass Murder*. SAGE Publications.

Gadd, D. (2006). The Role of Recognition in the Desistance Process: A Case Analysis of a Former Far-Right Activist. *Theoretical Criminology*, *10*(2), 179–202.

Gadd, D. (2009). Aggravating Racism and Elusive Motivation. *The British Journal of Criminology*, *49*(6), 755–771.

Gill, P., Horgan, J., & Deckert, P. (2014). Bombing Alone: Tracing the Motivations and Antecedent Behaviors of Lone-Actor Terrorists. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, *59*(2), 425–435.

Gill, P., Silver, J., Horgan, J., & Corner, E. (2017). Shooting Alone: The Pre-Attack Experiences and Behaviors of U.S. Solo Mass Murderers. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, *62*(3), 710–714.

Hamm, M. S. (1993). *American Skinheads: The Criminology and Control of Hate Crime*. ABC-CLIO.

Harlow, C. W. (2005). *Hate Crime Reported by Victims and Police* [Special Report]. US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics. http://bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/hcrvp.pdf

Iganski, P. (2008). Criminal Law and the Routine Activity of 'Hate Crime.' *Liverpool Law Review*, *29*(1), 1.

Jasko, K., & LaFree, G. (2020). Who is More Violent in Extremist Groups? A Comparison of Leaders and Followers. *Aggressive Behavior*, *46*(2), 141–150.

Jensen, M. A., & James, P. (2016a). *Profiles of Individual Radicalization in the United States (PIRUS) | START.umd.edu*. http://www.start.umd.edu/research-projects/profiles-individual-radicalization-united-states-pirus

Jensen, M. A., James, P., LaFree, G., Atwell-Seate, A., Pisoiu, D., & Stevenson, J. (2016b). *Empirical Assessment of Domestic Radicalization (EADR)* (Final Report National Institute of Justice, Award Number 2012-ZA-BX-0005). National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START). https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/250481.pdf

Jensen, M. A., Seate, A. A., & James, P. A. (2018). Radicalization to Violence: A Pathway Approach to Studying Extremism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 1–24.

Jensen, M. A., Yates, E. A., & Kane, S. (2020). *Profiles of Individual Radicalization in the United States (PIRUS) Report, 2020*. National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START). https://www.start.umd.edu/pubs/START_PIRUS_ResearchBrief_May2020.pdf

Johns Hopkins University. (2020). *Mental Health Disorder Statistics*. https://www.hopkinsmedicine.org/health/wellness-and-prevention/mental-health-disorder-statistics

Katz, J. (1988). *Seductions of Crime: Moral and Sensual Attractions in Doing Evil*. Basic Books.

Kidd, J. D., & Witten, T. M. (2007). Transgender and Transsexual Identities: The Next Strange Fruit—Hate Crimes, Violence and Genocide Against the Global Trans-Communities. *Journal of Hate Studies*, *6*(1), 31-63

LaFree, G., & Birbeck, C. (1991). The Neglected Situation: A Crossnational Study of the Situational Characteristics of Crime. *Criminology*, *29*(1), 73–98.

Lafree, G., Jensen, M. A., James, P. A., & Safer-Lichtenstein, A. (2018). Correlates of Violent Political Extremism in the United States. *Criminology*, 1–36.

Levin, J., & McDevitt, J. (1993). *Hate Crimes: The Rising Tide of Bigotry and Bloodshed*. Springer.

Levin, J., & McDevitt, J. (2002). *Hate Crimes Revisited: America's War on Those Who Are Different*. Westview Press.

Levin, J., & Reichelmann, A. (2015). From Thrill to Defensive Motivation: The Role of Group Threat in the Changing Nature of Hate-Motivated Assaults. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *59*(12), 1546–1561.

Mason, G. (2005). Hate Crime and the Image of the Stranger. *The British Journal of Criminology*, *45*(6), 837–859.

McDevitt, J., Levin, J., & Bennett, S. (2002). Hate Crime Offenders: An Expanded Typology. *Journal of Social Issues*, *58*(2), 303–317.

McGhee, D. (2007). The Challenge of Working with Racially Motivated Offenders: An Exercise in Ambivalence? *Probation Journal*, *54*(3), 213–226.

McQuade, K. M. (2014). Victim–Offender Relationship. In *The Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice* (pp. 1–5). American Cancer Society.

Messner, S. F., McHugh, S., & Felson, R. B. (2004). Distinctive Characteristics of Assaults Motivated by Bias. *Criminology*, *42*(3), 585–618.

Morgan, R. E., & Oudekerk, B. A. (2019). *Criminal Victimization, 2018*. Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Newman, K. S., Fox, C., Roth, W., Mehta, J., & Harding, D. (2005). *Rampage: The Social Roots of School Shootings* (Illustrated Edition). Basic Books.

Perry, B. (2001). *In the Name of Hate: Understanding Hate Crimes*. Taylor & Francis.

Phillips, N. D. (2009). The Prosecution of Hate Crimes: The Limitations of the Hate Crime Typology. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *24*(5), 883–905.

Roberts, C., Innes, M., Williams, M. L., Tregidga, J., & Gadd, D. (2013). *Understanding Who Commits Hate Crimes and Why They Do It*. Welsh Government Social Research. http://orca.cf.ac.uk/58880/1/understanding-who-commits-hate-crime-and-why-they-do-it-en.pdf

Safer-Lichtenstein, A., LaFree, G., & Loughran, T. A. (2017). Studying Terrorism Empirically: What We Know About What We Don't Know. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, *33*(3), 273–291.

Shively, M. (2005). *Study of Literature and Legislation on Hate Crime in America*. National Institute of Justice. http://www.overcominghateportal.org/uploads/5/4/1/5/5415260/hate_crimes_research.pdf

Shively, M., Subramanian, R., Drucker, O., Edgerton, J., McDevitt, J., Farrell, A., & Iwama, J. (2014). *Understanding Trends in Hate Crimes Against Immigrants and Hispanic-Americans*. https://ncvc.dspacedirect.org/handle/20.500.11990/1662

Simi, P., & Bubolz, B. (Forthcoming). Far Right Terrorism in the United States. In G. LaFree & J. D. Freilich (Eds.), *Handbook of the Criminology of Terrorism*. Wiley.

Simi, P., Bubolz, B. F., & Hardman, A. (2013). Military Experience, Identity Discrepancies, and Far Right Terrorism: An Exploratory Analysis. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *36*(8), 654–671.

Simi, P., Bubolz, B., McNeel, H., Sporer, K., & Windisch, S. (2015). Trauma as a Precursor to Violent Extremism: How non-ideological factors can influence joining an extremist group. *START Newsletter*.

Simi, P., & Windisch, S. (2018). Why Radicalization Fails: Barriers to Mass Casualty Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *0*(0), 1–20.

Stacey, M., Carbone-López, K., & Rosenfeld, R. (2011). Demographic Change and Ethnically Motivated Crime: The Impact of Immigration on Anti-Hispanic Hate Crime in the United States. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, *27*(3), 278–298.

Stone, M. H. (2015). Mass Murder, Mental Illness, and Men. *Violence and Gender*, *2*(1), 51–86.

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. (2020). *Key Substance Use Indicators in the United States: Results from the 2019 National Survey on Drug Use and Health*. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. https://www.samhsa.gov/data/sites/default/files/reports/rpt29393/2019NSDUHFFRPDFWHTML/2019NSDUHFFR1PDFW090120.pdf

Sweeney, M. M., & Perliger, A. (2018). Explaining the Spontaneous Nature of Far-Right Violence in the United States. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, *12*(6), 52-71.

Truman, J. L., & Langton, L. (2015). *Criminal Victimization, 2014*. United States Department of Justice. http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv14.pdf

Uniform Crime Reports. (2018). *Hate Crime Statistics Reports, 1996-2018*. Federal Bureau of Investigation. https://www.fbi.gov/services/cjis/ucr/publications#Hate-Crime%20Statistics

Vallas, R., & Dietrich, S. (2014). *One Strike and You're Out*. Center for American Progress. https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/poverty/reports/2014/12/02/102308/one-strike-and-youre-out/

Vossekuil, B. (2004). *The Final Report and Findings of the Safe School Initiative: Implications for the Prevention of School Attacks in the United States*. DIANE Publishing. https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED515942

Walters, M. A. (2014). Conceptualizing "Hostility" for Hate Crime Law: Minding "the Minutiae" When Interpreting Section 28(1)(a) of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, *34*(1), 47–74.

Walters, M. A., & Brown, R. (2016). *Causes and Motivations of Hate Crimes*. Equality and Human Rights Commission.

Wilcox, P., & Cullen, F. T. (2018). Situational Opportunity Theories of Crime. *Annual Review of Criminology*, *1*(1), 123–148.

Woods, J. B. (2009). *Taking the "Hate" Out of Hate Crimes: Applying Unfair Advantage Theory to Justify the Enhanced Punishment of Opportunistic Bias Crimes*. UCLA Law Review. https://www.uclalawreview.org/taking-the-hate-out-of-hate-crimes-applying-unfair-advantage-theory-to-justify-the-enhanced-punishment-of-opportunistic-bias-crimes/