2022

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF HATE CRIMES IN THE US: A FACTORIAL SURVEY EXPERIMENT

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Digital Object Identifier: https://doi.org/10.13023/etd.2022.208

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SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF HATE CRIMES IN THE US: A FACTORIAL SURVEY EXPERIMENT

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By
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2022

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF HATE CRIMES IN THE US:
A FACTORIAL SURVEY EXPERIMENT

Hate crime is a social construct that is conceptualized and defined through judgments about the meaning of bias and prejudice, as well as the causal link between motivation and criminal act. While the enforcement of federal statutes has extended the protected grounds of hate crime, significant underreporting issues impede the understanding of the actual scale, scope, and severity of hate crimes. The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate what and how incident factors and respondents' preexisting attitude and beliefs influence the perceptions of a bias incident and the willingness to report such incidents. Following a three-paper format, this dissertation research explores the overarching research question by integrating a power-relation framework with a social psychological approach and providing empirical evidence to offer insights to tackle the underreporting issue of hate crimes.

This dissertation utilizes a factorial survey experiment with randomized vignette assignments as the primary research method, combining survey and experimental research. Such a design guarantees internal validity by introducing randomization and allows easy operationalization through a survey. Besides, it opens opportunities to investigate more realistic complexity than traditional survey methods. Participants (N=2,635) were recruited through Mechanical Turk and were asked to answer a series of questions after reading a fictional scenario that could be considered a racial hate crime.

Logistic regression models are estimated for paper one, followed by moderation analysis and margins tests, to examine how incident variables and respondents' attitudes and beliefs affect individuals perceiving and constructing racial hate crimes. Further subgroup analyses are employed for paper two to test whether the respondents' own racial identities interplay with the incident variables. Paper three applies Generalized Structural Equation Modeling (GSEM) to identify the pathway through racial hate crime perception to reporting, offering a modified model of racial hate crime reporting.

Collectively, the findings from this dissertation offer support for a power-relation framework in hate crime studies, which argues that racial hate crimes should be viewed as a social phenomenon that is not only a manifestation of racial hierarchy in society but also functions as a means to reinforce the racial orders to maintain the power relations in society. The findings further lead to three conclusions regarding racial hate crime perception and reporting. The first conclusion is that racial hate crimes should be viewed as both a product and a tool to reinforce the imbalanced power relations in society. The second conclusion from my research is that individuals' pre-existing attitudes and beliefs, as a reflection of the social structure, are crucial in forming racial hate crime perceptions and reporting decisions, as well as maintaining and challenging power relations. The third conclusion is that the relationship between incident characteristics, pre-existing attitude and belief, and reporting behaviors are not linear. Instead, racial hate crime reporting should be studied as a mediator driving the actual response to a potential racial hate crime.

KEYWORDS: Factorial Survey Experiment, Hate Crime, Mechanical Turk, Power-Relations, Race/Ethnicity, Vignette

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05/04/2022

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SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF HATE CRIMES IN THE US: A FACTORIAL SURVEY EXPERIMENT

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Huilan Chen and Qun Zhang.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Never would I have imagined that a decision I made seven years ago would lead me to the life I have right now – thousands of miles away from home, full of friends, with many intellectual challenges, yet still amid the COVID-19 pandemic. As a true optimist, I tend to forget how bumpy the journey was but always remember the mentorship, guidance, support, and encouragement I have collected.

This project was supported by Award No.2020-R2-CX-0044, 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 dissertation are those of mine and do not necessarily reflect those of the Department of Justice. This fellowship provided funds to support the data analyses and dissertation writing and paid for conference trips and software.

First, I would like to convey my deepest gratitude to my dissertation chair and mentor, Janet Stamatel. Janet, you have been the greatest inspiration and strongest advocate throughout my Ph.D. journey. Without exaggeration, you opened the door for me to Sociology and Criminology and guided me through the whole journey. Without your invaluable guidance and relentless encouragement, this dissertation and my completion of the program would not have been possible. You will always be a role model in my career and life.

I must extend my sincere thanks to the rest of my dissertation committee, Patrick Mooney, Tony Love, Jillienne Haglund, and Xin Ma, for their time and intellectual contributions to this dissertation. I am also thankful for Yanira Paz for being an outside examiner who offered an interdisciplinary perspective. I cannot express how grateful I am

for the understanding and flexibility my dissertation committee and my external examiner generously offered during the pandemic.

I am tremendously fortunate to have a fantastic support network at the University of Kentucky. Special thanks to Ana Liberato, Keiko Tanaka, and Carlos de la Torre for showing me the possibility of racial/ethnic minority scholars succeeding in academia and empowering me to find my own voice in research and education. I want to thank the rest of the UK Sociology faculty for their tremendous support and creating a collegial, supportive, and welcoming atmosphere. I cannot ask for a better intellectual home for the Ph.D. journey.

My completion of the program would not have been possible without my cohort: Julia Miller, Katie Ratajczak, Maggie Campe, Henry Zonio, and Myles Moody. All the memories we created as a group – diagrams and notes, laughter and tears, geeky jokes and happy seal faces, bonfires and bold foods, among so many others – will always have a special place in my heart. You all welcomed me into the group without hesitation and gave me a sense of belonging. No word could express how grateful I am to have you all as my strongest ally in a foreign country. You all are the best cohort one could ever ask for.

A big shoutout to the brother I never had, Will Fisher, and his wonderful family. Thank you, Will, for making Lexington feel like home, for keeping me sane during the difficult times, for sharing inappropriate Asian jokes, and for being a matchmaker between Iroh and me. Thank you, Caitlin Carroll, for the good laughter, encouragement, always taking care of me, and putting up with my inappropriate Asian jokes.

Some other colleagues and friends have made an impact during this journey. Thank you to an incredible group of women at the Center for Research on Violence Against Women, Diane Follingstad, Caihong Li, Lisa Kistler, Rachel Barczak, and Jaspreet Chahal, for manifesting girl power and teaching me professionalism. Thank you to the other graduate students at UK Sociology who intersected with my time here, lighting up my windowless office through small talks and brainstorming sessions. I also had the great pleasure of volunteering at Operation Read with Ryan Breeden, Diane Cashen, and my students. These two years have greatly nurtured me and showed me the true impact of education.

I feel lucky to have an incredible network in my personal life. I am incredibly grateful to my boyfriend, Xinyi Situ, who understands and shares my wildest academic dreams. Thank you, Sammy, for the endless support and encouragement during the ups and downs along the way, for the late-night stats discussions no one else would ever agree to join, for the numerous road trips that recharged my mind and soul, and for your kindness to everyone and everything around you. Thank you to my friends, especially Cheryl Baierl-Kwok, Di Di, Jie Hu, Yuan Zhang, Xiaolin Xu, Xi Zhang, and David Chow, who have been rooting for me throughout this journey, offering invaluable emotional support, and reminding me of a world outside of academia.

Most of all, the whole Ph.D. journey would not have been possible without the unconditional support and love of my parents, Huilan Chen and Qun Zhang. Your firm belief in education has been the brightest star in my sky and led me to where I am right now. Thank you for always supporting my dreams, even though that means sending me oceans away from home. I am the luckiest person to have you as my parents.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

According to the FBI, the year 2020 witnessed the highest surge of hate crimes across the United States in the past twelve years (2021). Since the adoption of the federal hate crime statute, the Shepard Byrd Act (18 USC § 249), hate crimes became no stranger to the general public. High-profile cases, such as Atlanta SPA shootings in March 2021, El Paso mass shooting in August 2019, Charlottesville Unite the Right rally in 2017, Orlando nightclub shooting in 2016, and Charleston black church mass shooting in 2015, have become the focal point of the media news. The exclusionary violence and severe consequences of these cases have shocked the public deeply.

Despite the growing attention to hate crimes across the United States and globally, the actual scale of hate crime remains unclear. One of the most pressing issues is underreporting. The strongest evidence comes from two official hate crime statistics in the US. The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) suggests that from 2009 to 2017, residents in the US experienced an average of 243,000 hate crime victimizations each year (Oudekerk 2019). In contrast, the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) program only captured an average of 7,500 victims each year (Oudekerk 2019). The huge gap between these numbers indicates that hate crimes are vastly underreported.

Previous literature also reaches a similar conclusion about hate crime reporting. For example, Perry estimates that hate crimes may be reported in less than one of every five incidents (Perry 2002c). Focusing on the effect of specific types of hate crimes, studies suggest that some types of hate crimes may be reported more often than others (Dunbar 2006; Herek and Berrill 1992). For instance, in a study on reporting hate crime among lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals, victims are reluctant to report to the authorities mainly

due to their distrust of the police (Herek and Berrill 1992). Studies on racially motivated crimes find that minority victimizations are less likely to be reported regardless of the type of hate crimes (Lyons 2008a; Zaykowski 2010). While the problem of underreporting is nothing new to crime measurement, it impedes the observation and perception of the scale, the severity, and the scope of hate crimes, which may result in inadequate resources allocation to combat such offenses and support hate crime victims.

Moreover, the victims' discretion in crime reporting can limit the deterrent capability of the criminal justice system (Skogan 1977). Without the victims' efforts to initiate the criminal justice response, the true scope of the crime remains unclear. As a result, criminal justice policies and police resources may be allocated to other areas and the system will fail to provide essential support to potential victims. Considering the spirit of hate crime statutes in protecting minorities, the inability to mobilize criminal justice resources further perpetuates social inequalities and consequently reinforces the power hierarchy.

As such, to address the underreporting issue of hate crimes, the first step is to understand how hate crime statistics and hate crimes are constructed. As a social phenomenon, hate crime is ideally suited to a sociological investigation because it is not merely a legal concept; rather, it is socially constructed, broadly observed, and patterned across the world, as well as being shaped by individual perceptions, lived experiences, and judgments (Jacobs and Henry 1996; Jacobs and Potter 2000). Each step of defining, reporting, and recording a hate crime may create different obstacles to understanding hate crimes. Sociological literature on the social construction of hate crime is found across three main topics: academic and official conceptualization of hate crime, measuring hate crime, and underreporting issues. (Iganski and Perry 2009; Perry and Olsson 2009a)

1.1 Conceptualizing Hate Crime

In general, hate crimes are criminal acts committed with a biased motive. It is this biased motive that distinguishes hate crimes from other crimes. Hate crimes can take the forms of a traditional offense like murder, arson, or vandalism, with an added element of prejudice like ethnicity, age, gender, or other social characteristics. Therefore, "hate crime" describes a concept rather than a single legal definition (Jenness and Grattet 2001; Lieberman and Freeman 2009).

As the name implies, hate crime usually refers to crimes motivated by hatred. However, the term "hate" is a slippery, emotive, and ambiguous label that may have different meanings to different people. While motivation is an important part of defining a hate crime, some scholars contend that biased motivation is not the most vital part of defining a hate crime (Gerstenfeld 2017). Rather, the key to identifying a hate crime is the group affiliation of the victim (Chakraborti and Garland 2009), suggesting that hate crimes should be viewed as both a product of and a tool to reinforce the imbalanced power relations (Jacobs and Potter 2000; Perry 2002b; Petrosino 1999).

The history of hate crimes supports such a claim. Developed and mobilized by the social movements back in the 1960s to 1980s, hate crime and related statutes stem back to the post-Civil War period in the United States (Chakraborti and Garland 2009; Levin 2002). Sharing the collective emphasis on rights and anti-discrimination, the civil rights movement, the women's movement, and the gay and lesbian movement were able to unite and draw attention to the violence against minorities (Jenness and Grattet 2001). Later, the support for victims of violence was identified as a focal point in the crime victim movement (Weed 1995), seeking criminal justice responses to victims' civil rights violations.

Consequently, the idea of hate crime as a social problem was prioritized within research and policy agendas. With the stage set, both state-level and federal-level laws have been passed to implement this agenda. In 1981, Wisconsin became the first state to pass victims' rights legislation, followed by 42 states passing victims' rights bills by 1989 (Weed 1995). Since 1981, led by Washington and Oregon, states also began enacting hate crime legislation. In 1993, the US Supreme Court upheld hate crime laws as constitutional. After the tragic case of Matthew Shepard, the Hate Crimes Prevention Act was signed into law by President Barack Obama in 2009, extending the biased motivation in hate crimes to actual or perceived gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, and disability.

Even though hate crime statutes are formal legal documents, the protected characteristics of the victims are not equally covered across states. While racial bias is the most common ground that all 50 states and DC have regulated already, crimes against the victim's sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, and disability are not fully protected across states (Chakraborti and Garland 2009; Jacobs and Potter 2000; Lieberman and Freeman 2009). Scholars find that gender, disability, and sexual orientation tend to have fewer reports in nonurban areas than other social categories (Levin 2009). State hate crime laws also differ when it comes to which criminal acts are qualified as hate crimes, with the premise of bias motivation and intentional targeting. Some states only cover harassment or intimidation, while other states either qualify any offense or some particular types of offenses (Jacobs and Potter 2000). State laws also influence how hate crimes are conceptualized at the local level. Studies find that whether a policy is adopted at the local level is related to social movements (Jenness 1999; Jenness and Broad 1997; McVeigh, Neblett, and Shafiq 2006; McVeigh, Welch, and Bjarnason 2003), political culture (Jacobs

and Potter 2000; Soule and Earl 2001), state wealth (Soule and Earl 2001), and the media (Jacobs and Henry 1996). Federal hate crime laws are not perfect either. Due to the federal jurisdictional requirements in the Constitution, only cases with interstate commerce are covered (Levin 2009). Also, in practice, federal criminal prosecutions are relatively rare compared to state prosecutions, indicating a limited scope of application in practices (Gerstenfeld, Grant, and Chiang 2003).

Indeed, defining and criminalizing hate crime is not a US specific challenge. To overcome the issue of conceptualization, scholars have suggested that hate crime should be viewed as a sustained and systematic violation of human rights (Iganski and Perry 2009; Perry and Olsson 2009a). Human rights organizations, including the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) under the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Human Rights First, and Equal and Human Rights Commission, concur with the same idea: hate crimes violate the ideal of equality between members of society. Brudholm (2015) argues that human rights violations should be extended to cover interpersonal violence rather than being strictly constrained to state actors because of its universal wrongness across societies. In this sense, hate crime conveys the idea of being wrong everywhere and regardless of the actors' identity.

As many studies have observed, hate crime victims suffer more severe physical harm than non-biased crimes (Hall 2012; Iganski 2001; Lim 2009). And at the same time, the symbolic meaning behind a hate crime – to intimidate the whole community that the victim belongs to – often results in more severe psychological harm by exercising exclusionary violence (Herek 1992; Jenness and Grattet 2001; Levin 2002; Levin and McDevitt 2013).

The human rights framework offers a solid jurisprudential basis to recognize the extra layer of harm of hate crimes that might not be fully protected by existing legislation.

Unfortunately, the prevailing research and framework on conceptualizing hate crime are heavily reliant on the overarching structure of society and legislation, ignoring the idiosyncrasy of individuals' perception of hate crime. Considering specific social contexts and lived experiences, it is entirely plausible that the individual characteristics and structural features intersect, creating one's social reality.

1.2 Measuring Hate Crime

Congress introduced the Hate Crime Statistics Act (HCSA) in 1990, which mandates federal compilation and reporting of hate crime statistics and publication of an annual report (Jacobs and Potter 2000). The FBI is tasked with implementing the mandates under HCSA. Under the UCR program, the FBI compiles and reports nationwide hate crime information by city, county, state, and federal law enforcement program.

There are several issues with the usefulness of these statistics. First, the information collected through the UCR is oversimplified. For instance, it does not include information on whether a biased motivation was implied or exhibited. Second, only index crimes already established in the UCR may be recorded. Further, participation in the UCR program is mandated for federal law enforcement agencies but is only voluntary for local, state, and tribal agencies.

Another issue that leads to low rates of reported hate crimes is the actual reporting process. Recording a hate crime incident requires several steps. The victim, in non-fatal cases, is usually responsible for recognizing an incident as bias-motivated and expressing

this concern to the first responder. Labeled as "the gatekeeper of the criminal justice system" (Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo 1978), the victims' and witnesses' notification is estimated to lead to about 80% of law enforcement personnel actions (Skogan 1984). Then, the discretionary power is handed to the responding officer. Classification errors occur when the crime is reported to and recorded by the police. It is highly possible that hate crime could be incorrectly classified as a parallel crime (Nolan et al. 2015). Once the officer reports the case as a hate crime, multiple levels of confirmation may be required at the agency level, depending on the local agency's policy (Martin 1996; Nolan and Akiyama 2002). Several studies have found that the accuracy of reporting relies heavily on the infrastructure of the law enforcement agency and the government as well as the training the officers get (Balboni and McDevitt 2001; Berk, Boyd, and Hamner 1992; Nolan et al. 2015; Nolan and Akiyama 2002). Specifically, police officers with better departmental support and training programs tend to report more hate crimes, whereas others are more likely to apply a restricted definition of hate crime (Balboni and McDevitt 2001; Cronin et al. 2007; Nolan and Akiyama 2002). After going through all the stages, the FBI would finally count it in the quarterly report. Thus, only those cases that complete the whole journey and make it to the end of the reporting funnel are included in the official statistics.

Notably, participation in the UCR program is voluntary for local agencies, further distorting UCR data. Data shows that only about 11 percent of agencies reported non-zero hate crime rates (FBI 2017, 2018), reflecting the low participation rate at the local level. Additionally, regional differences also exist. Researchers found that the southern region

reports the fewest hate crimes when official reports are compared by geographic location (Balboni and McDevitt 2001; Nolan et al. 2015; Nolan and Akiyama 2002).

The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) is an alternative strategy to investigate the prevalence of hate crime nationally. Using individuals and households as the units of measurement, the NCVS overcomes the validity issues associated with the law enforcement agency's discretion. Compared to the UCR, the NCVS records a significantly larger number of hate crime victimizations, which confirms the filtering effect of the reporting process through UCR.

The UCR and the NCVS data supplement each other to some extent; Nevertheless, the nature of these two datasets collected by authorities or officials weakens the accuracy of quantitative hate crime research. This dissertation aims to demonopolize such a collection process and offer extra information that larger-scale data collections may not include. Additionally, data provided by this research can also partially cross-validate the official statistics to better capture the actual scope of hate crime in the US.

1.3 Examining Underreporting

As aforementioned, hate crimes not only devastate lives and communities as a human rights violation but also participate in the production and reproduction of power imbalance and social hierarchy.

Existing literature on victim reporting revealed several key factors. The seriousness of the crime is the strongest predictor of victims' reporting behavior. Victims are more likely to report them if there are serious property losses or injuries; in contrast, if victims believe that the offense was not serious enough, they tend to report less (Christmann and

Wong 2010; Craig and Waldo 1996; Nolan and Akiyama 2002; Skogan 1984; Wickes et al. 2016).

Victims' attitudes toward the criminal justice system also matter. Studies reveal that victims are more likely to report if they feel that the criminal justice system is helpful (Skogan 1984). The victims' knowledge about crime and the feeling of having a duty to report influence their reporting behavior (Zaykowski 2010). This is also related to the trust issue between individuals and law enforcement officials. Failure to report a crime may indicate that victims may not trust the police (Christmann and Wong 2010; Skogan 1984; Wiedlitzka et al. 2018).

Interestingly, other researchers note that perceived police confidence does not have a significant effect on reporting crimes against persons, but it would impact the chance of reporting property crimes (Goudriaan, Lynch, and Nieuwbeerta 2004). While the underreporting issue of crime victims has been extensively examined, the literature on hate crime reporting remains scarce. Compared to their counterparts, hate crime victims are less likely to report incidents to the police (Herek and Berrill 1992; Levin 2009; Perry 2002c). Other studies examine victims of racially motivated crimes. These studies find that minority victimizations are less likely to be reported regardless of the type of hate crimes (Lyons 2008a; Zaykowski 2010), which aligns with racial disparities in attitude toward police (Bachman 1993; Kaukinen 2004; Lyons 2008a; Skogan 1984; Zaykowski 2010).

Indeed, due to underreporting, data on hate crimes is relatively limited, both in quantity and quality. To overcome the shortcomings of hate crime data, several studies have tried to introduce factorial survey experiments and collected first-hand data (Goudriaan and Nieuwbeerta 2007; Lyons 2008b; Turper 2017). However, most of these

studies suffer from limited generalizability because of the complexity of operationalizing experiments and the homogeneity of the sample. This dissertation utilizes factorial survey experiments to improve the diversity and representativeness of the sample.

1.4 Current Study

To further the scholarship on hate crime and hate crime reporting and fill in some gaps in existing literature, this dissertation is structured as three papers focusing on the most common bias motivation – racially/ethnically motivated hate crimes.

To improve upon common methodological limitations in hate studies, all three papers utilized factorial survey experiments with random vignette assignments. The vignette universe includes 72 versions of incidents. The inclusion of both incident and individual characteristics allows for examining how social and historical contexts interplay and affect the social construction of hate crime. Data collection was completed through an online crowdsourcing service Mechanical Turk (MTurk). Over 2,600 responses were collected through MTurk. The sufficient sample size also allows for a broad range of quantitative analyses.

The first two papers, Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, investigate individuals' perceptions of racial hate crimes and how individuals' preexisting attitudes and beliefs influence incident classification. By investigating the essential factors that lead to the construction of racial hate crimes, these two papers examine individuals' perceptions and judgment principles of racial hate crimes through a power-relation lens.

Chapter 2 employs binary logistic regression models with an interaction term to capture how the relative racial positions of the offender and the victim influence racial hate

crime perception. This paper has been accepted for publication at the *Journal of Experimental Criminology*.

Chapter 3 builds upon the findings of the first paper and examines how respondents' own racial identity affects such relationships. This paper compares and contrasts the judgment principles of racial hate crimes by respondents' racial groups by subgroup analyses. Embracing a social psychological approach, this paper supports some findings of the first study. It adds insights into how respondents' racial identity interplay with the racial dynamics of the presented incidents. This paper has received the *Best Student Paper Award First Place* from the Division of Terrorism and Bias Crimes of the American Society of Criminology.

Chapter 4 employs Generalized Structural Equation Modeling (GSEM) to unpack the pathway from racial hate crime perceptions to reporting. This paper presents a modified model of racial hate crime reporting, outlining a mechanism of racial hate crime reporting through racial hate crime perception. This paper reveals the uniqueness of racial hate crime reporting by revealing the central role of racial hate crime perception in shaping the decision-making process, which has not been documented in existing studies to my knowledge.

Chapter 5 summarizes the results, implications, limitations, and extensions for future research.

CHAPTER 2. PERCEIVING RACIAL HATE CRIMES: A POWER RELATION PERSPECTIVE

According to the 2019 Uniform Crime Report (UCR) (FBI 2020), race and ethnicity remain the most common bias motivations in all recorded hate crime offenses in the US, taking up nearly 58 percent of all hate crimes recorded. Among these cases, about 85 percent of offenses were racial hate crimes against non-white victims. The overwhelming proportion of racial violence against racial minorities is not a new phenomenon. The history of the US has witnessed various forms of exclusion and suppression toward people of color – from the pre-Civil War era to the 1950s, from lynching to residential segregation (Berlet and Lyons 2000; Levin 2002; Turpin-Petrosino 2009).

As one of many attempts and efforts to address ethnoviolence and empower the minorities, hate crime and related statutes were developed and mobilized by the social movements back in the 1960s to 1980s (Chakraborti and Garland 2009; Levin 2002). Sharing the collective emphasis on rights and anti-discrimination, the civil rights movement, the women's movement, and the gay and lesbian movement were able to unite and draw attention to the violence against minorities (Jenness and Grattet 2001). Later, the support for victims of violence was identified as a focal point in the crime victim movement (Weed 1995), seeking criminal justice responses to victims' civil rights violations. Consequently, the idea of hate crime as a social problem was prioritized within research and policy agendas.

With the stage set, both state-level and federal-level laws have been passed. In 1981, Wisconsin became the first state to pass victims' rights legislation, followed by 42 states passing victims' rights bills by 1989 (Weed 1995). Since 1981, led by Washington and

Oregon, states began enacting hate crime legislation. In 1993, the US Supreme Court upheld hate crime laws as constitutional. After the tragic case of Matthew Shepard, the Hate Crimes Prevention Act was signed into law by President Barack Obama in 2009, extending the biased motivation in hate crimes to actual or perceived gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, and disability.

At the state level, the protected characteristics of the victims vary a lot. While racial bias is the most common ground that all 50 states and DC have regulated already, crimes against the victim's sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, and disability are not fully protected across states (Chakraborti and Garland 2009; Jacobs and Potter 2000; Lieberman and Freeman 2009). Scholars have found that gender, disability, and sexual orientation tend to have fewer reports in nonurban areas compared to other categories that are covered earlier (Levin 2009). State hate crime laws also differ from each other when it comes to which criminal acts are qualified as hate crimes, with the premise of bias motivation and intentionally targeting. Some states only cover harassment or intimidation, while other states either qualify for any offense or some particular type of offense (Jacobs and Potter 2000).

Yet, the enactment of hate crime statutes does not mark the end of racism in the US. The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) suggested that from 2004 to 2015, residents in the US experienced an average of 209,000 racial/ethnicity hate crime victimization each year, consisting of about 83 percent of total hate crime victimizations (US Bureau of Justice Statistics 2017). In contrast, UCR only captured about 4,800 racial/ethnicity hate crimes yearly, consisting of only about 2 percent of NCVS data.

The huge gap between these two data sources illustrates the underreporting issue of hate crimes. Research has found that victims with minority status are dramatically more likely to underreport bias-motivated victimization for various reasons, from fear to distrust of law enforcement (Culotta 2005; Herek, Gillis, and Cogan 2000). More importantly, these personal barriers and systemic obstacles form the racialized realities for the minorities, resulting in the inability to mobilize law enforcement responses. As Feagin (2000) argued, the core racist realities are manifested in society's major institutions, such as the criminal justice system; in turn, these institutions serve as not only a reflection but also the engine to continue resources inequalities along racial lines and ultimately maintaining and rationalizing white privilege and power in the society. In this sense, racial hate crimes – both recorded and unreported – are a form of manifestation of the racial structure in the US. On the one hand, recorded racial hate crimes are one of the most overt expressions of racism and discrimination. On the other hand, unreported racial hate crimes generate a dark figure that not only questions the effectiveness and fairness of criminal justice system but also outlines the shadow of structural racism in the U.S. Then, what mark the differences between victims who reported racial hate crimes and those who did not?

Despite the disagreement on a universal hate crime definition, two center elements construct the foundation of a hate crime in the legal statutes: a criminal act and a biased motive. It is the biased motive that distinguishes hate crimes from their parallel offenses. The responsibility of distinguishing hate crimes from other criminal actions falls on the shoulders of the individuals. As the first and crucial step to mobilize the criminal justice system (Hindelang et al. 1978), witnesses' and victims' notification is estimated to lead to

about 80% of law enforcement personnel actions (Skogan 1984). As such, understanding how individuals perceive and construct hate crimes is one of the foundational steps to solve the puzzle of underreporting racial hate crimes.

Using a factorial survey experiment with random vignette assignment, this study investigates the following two main research questions:

RQ1: What influences individual's perception of racial hate crimes?

RQ2: How do respondents' prejudice and beliefs influence perception of racial hate crimes?

2.1 Literature Review

2.1.1 A Crime Beyond Hate: A Power-Relation Perspective

While motivation is an important part of defining a hate crime, some scholars contend that a bias motivation is not the most vital part of defining a hate crime (Gerstenfeld 2017). Rather, the key to identifying a hate crime is the group affiliation of the victim (Chakraborti and Garland 2009). Hate crimes are viewed as "message crime" often (Hall 2012; Lim 2009), which conveys a message to not only the individual victim but more so to the community that the victim belongs to (Chakraborti and Garland 2009; Lim 2009; Perry 2002c). The *in terrorem* effect (Iganski 2001; Perry and Olsson 2009b) – the fear and intimidation by hurting the individuals of certain groups– marks one of the arguably most important claims about hate crime (Herek 1992; Jenness and Grattet 2001; Levin 2002; Levin and McDevitt 2013), that is, hate crimes carry out more physical and psychological harm to the victims. The symbolic meaning behind a hate crime combining

with its greater harm reflects the legacy of the crime victim movement, which seeks a legal response to anti-minority violence.

Such a claim is examined through a power-relation framework, which views ethnoviolence, such as racial hate crimes, as both a product of the racialized social system and a contributor to the struggle over racial positions at all levels of the racial order (Bonilla-Silva 1997). Under such a structural view, racial hate crime is embedded in a broader pattern of oppression (Perry 2002c; Young 1999), which is a manifestation of the types of prejudice, marginalization, and oppression embedded within the social structure (Petrosino 1999). They are both a product of and a tool to reinforce imbalanced power relations (Petrosino 1999). Similarly, Young (1999) frames bias-motivated violence into five interrelated forms of oppression, with a focus on common experiences among target groups: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. Structural oppressions, paired with cultural foreignness, provide the context for systemic violence, which often takes on the form of hate crimes. This framework is also expanded to include a broader range of marginalized groups, such as sexual minorities (Herek 1992), attributing hate crime to social and political factors that legitimate hate violence (Jacobs and Potter 2000; Perry 2002b). Perry (2002c) holds a similar view, arguing that hate crime is a mechanism of power and oppression in order to maintain and reaffirm a given social order through the creation of fear, hostility, and suspicion, which ultimately reinforces the hierarchy between the dominant group and the subordinate groups by marking the boundaries between "us" and "others."

The "othering" process emphasizes the idea of an asymmetrical relation between victims and offenders of hate crimes. That is, the victim involves a minority status, whereas

the offender is from a group of majority (Lyons 2008b). Literature has found support for a power-relation paradigm, highlighting the alignment of individual's perception of hate crime with the legislative framework. In a mock juror study on racially motivated hate crimes, Gerstenfeld (2003) finds that white offenders are more likely to be convicted, and the certainty of guilty is higher too. Testing on the inter-racial group effect, another mock juror study reaches the same conclusion: when a white offender commits a hate crime against a Black victim, it is viewed more negatively and more severe than a Black offender white victim case (Marcus-Newhall, Blake, and Baumann 2002). The framework remains salient when applying to other minority groups, such as sexual orientations and gender identities (Cramer et al. 2013; Mason-Bish and Duggan 2020).

While most evidence confirms the majority offender minority victim pattern, the other side of the story has not been examined thoroughly. In one study that tests on Black-on-White incidents, Lyons (2008b) observes high ratings for such incidents, suggesting a broader definition of racial hate crime that does not limit to the White-on-Black pattern. In a study with open-ended questions on hate crime, Craig and Waldo (1996) find the minority status of a victim is not associated with hate crime definitions among half of their sample.

2.1.2 Prejudice and bias

The other side of the "othering" process follows a social psychology approach. As one of the classic social psychology explanations of intergroup relations, social dominance theory asserts that both individual and structural determinants contribute to the creation and maintenance of group-based oppression, such as racism (Sidanius et al. 2004; Sidanius and Pratto 1999). As a manifestation, prejudice and bias are byproducts of the social hierarchy. This approach adds insight to other structural theories by accounting for not only

material and symbolic resources (Bobo and Fox 2003; Bobo and Hutchings 1996; LeVine and Campbell 1972) but also individual differences in the degree of bias (Sidanius et al. 2004). As an extreme form of societal prejudice (Cramer et al. 2013), hate crimes are also affected by one's preexisting stereotypes and prejudice against outgroup members.

Existing literature has begun to investigate the way in which preexisting prejudice and bias affect the perception of racial hate crimes. For example, research finds that respondents' beliefs, such as bias on certain groups and attitude on punishment, influence their judgment on supporting hate crime laws (Dunbar and Molina 2004; Steen and Cohen 2004). Respondents with higher racial prejudice are less supportive to hate crime laws than their counterparts (Dunbar and Molina 2004). Blame attribution is also related to bias. Individuals with higher racial prejudice tend to find hate crime victims more blameworthy (Cramer, Chandler, and Wakeman 2010; Marcus-Newhall et al. 2002; Rayburn, Mendoza, and Davidson 2003). However, other literature has not found a similar effect. For instance, Gerstenfeld (2003) does not find a significant difference among participants with high and low levels of racism in performing jury duty and assigning sentences. Similarly, negative attitudes towards sexual minorities does not influence individuals' rating for the certainty and seriousness of a hate crime (Lyons 2008b).

2.1.3 Gaps in the Literature

While previous studies have revealed several important components when constructing hate crimes, several issues need further examination. First, there are few examinations on individual's perception of racial hate crimes. Previous studies focus heavily either on evaluating the seriousness of hate crime (Cramer et al. 2010; Gerstenfeld 2003; Marcus-Newhall et al. 2002; Rayburn et al. 2003) or testing on the supportiveness

of hate crime legislation (Dunbar and Molina 2004). These findings are based on a general assumption – there is no variation among individuals regarding what is a hate crime. Yet, such an assumption has to be examined very carefully. In one of the few studies that examined such a relationship, Lyons (2008b) has revealed a strong effect of the presence of hate messages on recognizing hate crime. The presence of hate messages, such as racial slurs, offers evidence of the bias motivation, which concretizes the elusive component in hate crime legislation. As the scenario gets more complicated, respondents' own characteristics come into play. A qualitative examination of hate crime definitions has found great variations among respondents with different demographic characteristics (Craig and Waldo 1996).

Second, the lack of empirical evidence on potential differences of interracial and intra-racial hate crime patterns hinders the understanding of how hate crime legislations are perceived. Among few studies that examined racial power relations, the results are not conclusive. Marcus-Newhall et al. (2002) have found greater certainty of guilty and sentencing for cases with White perpetrators and Black victims than Black-White or Black-Black scenarios. Contrarily, another study has not observed significant differences between White-Black and Black-White patterns (Lyons 2008b). Prior literature often focuses on a binary comparison, i.e., White and Black, neglecting subtle differences among minorities as victims and offenders.

Third, although prior studies have explored some aspects of prejudice and racial hate crimes, the effect of preexisting bias on categorizing a criminal act as hate-motivated remains unclear. Previous studies have a heavy focus on the linkage of racial bias and support of hate crime laws (Dunbar and Molina 2004; Steen and Cohen 2004). Yet, how

individuals view the legitimacy of hate crime laws does not necessarily ensure the effectiveness of the legal statutes (Dunbar and Molina 2004). Blame attribution research, on the other hand, also fails to establish such a pathway (Cramer et al. 2010). Neither of these two major themes in the field is directly related to the certainty of racial hate crimes.

Moreover, college students are the most common samples in previous studies (e.g., Lyons 2008; Marcus-Newhall et al. 2002; Rayburn et al. 2003; Steen and Cohen 2004), which limits the generalizability of the findings. Admittedly, experimental designs with convenient samples may not necessarily compromise external validity. The highly homogeneous samples, such as college students, are likely to constrain further analyses in regard to diverse demographic status.

2.2 Current Study

This study aims to bridge the power-relation framework with prejudice and bias studies. Specifically, two research questions are examined:

RQ1: What influences individuals' perception of a racial hate crime?

RQ2: How do respondents' prejudice and beliefs influence perception of a racial hate crime?

Incorporating significant determinants from existing literature, the first set of hypotheses examines incident characteristics, with a focus on victims and offenders' race (Gerstenfeld 2003; Lyons 2008b; Marcus-Newhall et al. 2002; Steen and Cohen 2004). Other incident characteristics, including the presence of hate messages (Lyons 2006, 2008b), violence type, and violence level, are included as controls.

Hypothesis 1: The races of the victim and offender influence the perception of a racial hate crime.

Adopting a power-relation framework, this paper emphasizes the power dynamic between victims and offenders in the incidents while including both inter-racial and intra-racial patterns. The examinations beyond a simple majority-on-minority pattern supplement prior research in the field. Moreover, the current study also extends investigations to race/ethnic groups beyond White and Black.

Hypothesis 1a: Respondents are more likely to recognize a racial hate crime when the incident involves a racial majority offender and a racial minority victim.

Hypothesis 1b: Respondents are less likely to recognize a racial hate crime when the incident involves a racial minority offender and a racial majority victim.

Hypothesis 1c: Respondents are less likely to recognize a racial hate crime when the victim and offender both are racial minorities.

Hypothesis 1d: Respondents are less likely to recognize a racial hate crime when the victim and offender belong to the same racial group.

To integrate a social psychology perspective, the following hypothesis is tested:

Hypothesis 2: Respondents' prejudice and beliefs influence the perception of a racial hate crime.

Specifically, I include two scales in the instrument. The first one is Right-wing authoritarianism (RWA hereafter). RWA was first developed by Altemeyer (1981), capturing conventionalism, authoritarian aggression, and authoritarian submission. RWA is a strong predictor of prejudice, ethnocentrism, and homophobia and is broadly used in social studies (Altemeyer 1998; Duckitt and Sibley 2010; Sidanius and Pratto 1999).

Research has found that people with high authoritarianism were prejudiced against racial minorities (Akrami, Ekehammar, and Araya 2000), women (Sibley, Wilson, and Duckitt 2007; Whitley 2001; Whitley and Aegisdottir 2000), lesbians and gay men (Laythe, Finkel, and Kirkpatrick 2001; Whitley 1999, 2001), people with disabilities (Crowson, Brandes, and Hurst 2013), and immigrants (Akrami et al. 2000; Davidov et al. 2008). As such, RWA is capable of detecting a broad range of prejudice.

Hypothesis 2a: Respondents with higher Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) agreement are less likely to perceive a racial hate crime.

The second scale I adopted is the Perception of Police Scale (POPS hereafter), which is designed by Nadal and Davidoff (2015) to measure general attitudes toward police and perceptions of police bias. It has long been recognized that attitude toward law enforcement influences cooperation with the criminal justice system, especially among racial minorities (Brown and Reed 2002; Huebner, Schafer, and Bynum 2004; Nadal et al. 2017; Peck 2015; Slocum 2018). A more positive attitude toward police is proved to facilitate better cooperation with the criminal justice system and compliance with the law (Bradford and Myhill 2015; Tankebe 2013; Tyler 2004; Tyler and Fagan 2008; Tyler and Huo 2002). As the first step to initiate criminal justice responses, defining racial hate crimes may be considered under the broader notion of compliance with the law, which is sensitive to the influence of the attitude toward police.

Moreover, recent highly publicized police excessive force against people of color – for instance, Breonna Taylor and Michael Brown – and may also have a negative impact on individua's attitude toward police, especially among the marginalized populations. The negative experiences related to police interaction could be unevenly distributed among

racial/ethnic groups and lead to lower compliance with the law and criminal justice system in general.

Hypothesis 2b: Respondents with a more positive attitude in the Perception of Police Scale (POPS) are more likely to perceive a racial hate crime.

2.3 Data and Methods

2.3.1 Factorial Survey Experiment

This study employs a factorial survey experiment with randomized vignette assignments to obtain insights into respondents' judgment principles. Factorial survey experimental design is a multidimensional method that combines survey research and experimental research (Auspurg and Hinz 2014; Lyons 2008b; Rossi and Anderson 1982; Rossi and Nock 1982). In most cases, a factorial survey uses descriptions of fictional situations (vignettes) as stimuli, followed by survey questions that ask respondents to evaluate scenarios. Within each vignette, a number of important characteristics (dimensions) systematically vary by type or degree (level).

As a combination of survey methods and experimental research, factorial survey experiments have a number of advantages. First, by introducing randomly assigned vignettes, factorial survey experiments guarantee internal validity (Auspurg and Hinz 2014; Rossi and Nock 1982). That is, the respondents' reactions only reflect variations in the vignettes only, reducing the correlation between respondent characteristics and the hypothetical scenario (Auspurg and Hinz 2014). Second, the form of a survey study can be applied to relatively heterogeneous populations fairly easily, which increases the generalizability and external validity of the study. Traditional experiments often suffer

from homogeneous groups of participants, such as college students or self-selected samples. The difficulties in recruiting relatively diverse participants also limit the number of factors that an experiment could test. A survey study, on the other hand, is able to avoid the shortcoming by attracting participants from large and random population samples, which makes experiments and survey methods compatible (Auspurg and Hinz 2014). Moreover, the factorial approach opens opportunities to investigate more realistic complexity than traditional survey methods because of the introduction of vignettes that vary in dimensions and levels. Due to the common underreporting issue of hate crime, observational data may not be able to exhaust all possible situations in hate incidents. The factorial survey, on the contrary, can expand reality by presenting vignettes that are not recorded in reality. It does not require pre-exposure to certain types of victimization to estimate the perception or willingness to report.

2.3.2 Vignette Design

This study focuses on violent crimes that involve crimes against persons. Hypothetical scenarios are presented and randomly assigned to participants, followed by questions to evaluate described incidents. The dimensions include the victim's race, offender's race, presence of hate message, and type and level of violence (Table 2.1). Other dimensions of the incident, such as age, gender, and location, are omitted intentionally in order to reduce noise. For example, both victim and offender are given gender-neutral names so as to avoid gender as an extra dimension. Similarly, victims and offenders are presented as strangers in the vignette.

[TABLE 2.1 ABOUT HERE]

In order to minimize the dimensions in the vignettes and provide more reasonable information, race and ethnicity are combined into one single dimension with three levels (White, Black, or Latino). The limited number of levels reflects the most commonly targeted racial and ethnic groups (FBI 2020). The presence of a hate message refers to whether a racial slur is outspoken by the offender during the incident. Types of violence include verbal threats and physical assault. Levels of violence consist of no injury, slightly injured, and severely injured. The level of violence in a vignette depends on the type of violence. For instance, the verbal threat is only associated with no injury in the vignette, whereas physical assault can result in all three levels of violence. Further, to exhaust all possible combinations of the incident, within-group incidents (e.g., white offender and white victim) are also included in the vignette universe.

The total number of possible vignette combinations is 72. Each respondent receives a randomly assigned vignette, followed by questions related to the vignette. All the vignettes are evenly distributed (Table 2.1).

An example vignette is presented below. In this vignette, the offender is African American, and the victim is Hispanic/Latino. It also includes the presence of hate messages (i.e., yelling racial slurs) and type and level of violence (i.e., physical assault and severely injuried).

Dakota is African American. Sam is Hispanic.

One day, Sam was walking in the street. As Sam passed near Dakota, Dakota beat Sam up while yelling derogatory racial slurs. Sam was severely injured and stayed in the hospital for a whole week.

2.3.3 Other Measures

2.3.3.1 Perceived Racial Hate Crime

The outcome of this study is whether an incident is perceived as a racial hate crime. Following the legal definition, I ask two questions to capture this measure. One question measures the degree of agreement on the vignette being a crime, and the other question evaluates the degree of certainty of racial motivation. Participants answer both questions based on the vignette on a 5-point Likert scale. Then, I combine and dichotomize the answers. When the participant agrees or strongly agrees to both questions, the variable is marked as a racial hate crime. Otherwise, it is marked as not a racial hate crime. This seemingly complicated measure is designed to increase the accuracy of the measurement. It is reasonable to assume that individuals are unlikely to explicitly call an incident a racial hate crime unless they are fairly certain about both the incident being a crime and motivated by racial bias. Not only does the structure of the questions mirrors the general commonality of all hate crime legislation, but it also avoids the usage of the term "hate crime," which could trigger certain reactions among some respondents.

2.3.3.2 Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)

Participants answer a short version of RWA with 15 statements, which have been approved to function similarly to the original scale but with fewer items and less extreme wordings (Zakrisson 2005). Participants are asked to rate their agreement to each statement on a 5-point Likert scale. The mean of the 15 items is calculated and adopted as the score for this measure. A higher score for this measure indicates higher agreement of RWA, with a maximum score at 5. The reliability coefficient of the RWA is .86.

2.3.3.3 Perception of Police Scale (POPS)

This measure consists of 12 items assessing the general attitudes toward Police and perceptions of police bias (Nadal and Davidoff 2015). An average score is calculated and adopted in this study. A higher score for this measure indicates a more positive attitude toward Police, with a maximum score of 5. The reliability coefficient of the POPS is .94.

It is worth mentioning that the correlation between RWA and POPS is moderate at .42. Factor analysis is conducted for all items included in the instrument. Results show that each of these two scales includes two factors without overlapping (Factor Loading >.5), suggesting the dimensions captured in RWA and POPS are different. Further, models in this project all passed multicollinearity tests (Mean VIF = 1.09, maximum VIF=1.24). As such, both RWA and POPS are included in the analyses.

2.3.3.4 Demographics

Demographic information includes respondent gender, sexual orientation, race/ethnicity, religious belief, age, education level, self-reported social-economic status, and previous violent crime victimization. As certain groups of gender and sexual orientation have very small sample sizes, two dichotomized variables are created and included in the analyses. Gender is dichotomized into male and other. Sexual orientation is dichotomized into heterosexual and non-heterosexual.

2.3.4 Data Collection

I utilize an online crowdsourcing service Mechanical Turk (MTurk hereafter) to recruit participants and collect data. MTurk is an online marketplace where individuals or businesses can outsource jobs or tasks to a large pool of people. Potential workers can pick

and choose any task to complete for the compensation the employer offers (Mason and Suri 2012). It is a popular method of recruiting paid participants for surveys and psychological experiments due to its cheap availability and relatively diverse population (Buhrmester, Kwang, and Gosling 2011).

There are several benefits of using Mturk instead of traditional recruitment strategies. First, MTurk has a large worker pool. Research has shown that MTurk became one of the most widely used online subject pools with about 500,000 adults from 190 countries (Behrend et al. 2011; Paolacci and Chandler 2014). Second, the cost of using MTurk is relatively low, considering the speed at which one can collect data. In one study, researchers obtained 250 completed surveys within 24 hours at the cost of $350 (Renzetti and Lynch 2018). Finally, MTurk offers a better sample than other convenient and student samples that are often used in factorial survey experiments in related. It has long been recognized that college student samples are not representative of the general population, which compromises the generalizability of the results. MTurk workers are found to have a median age of 30, with the overrepresentation of college graduates, underemployed, middle to lower-middle-class, and white population (Paolacci and Chandler 2014). Compared to a nationally representative sample, MTurk generates similar results (Mullinix et al. 2015).

During the participant recruitment and data collection process, I post a short description of the study and offered $1.00 compensation for survey completion. Eligible participants must be U.S. residents and 18 years old and above. As MTurk requires for minimum working age of 18 years old, only one additional sample filter for U.S. residency is requested to ensure the eligibility of the participants. Participants are redirected to an anonymous Qualtrics link to complete the consent form and take the online survey. The

data collection of 2,635 responses concludes on May 16, 2020, within 31 hours, with an average survey time of around 26 minutes.

2.3.5 Participants

Among the 2,635 responses collected through MTurk, I identify 107 (4.06%) invalid responses through multiple measurements, including direct questions and archival items. Direct questions include age, U.S. residency, self-report of carefulness, and an instructed item. Although U.S. residency is set as a filter that qualifies MTurk workers for this study, it is used as a screening question at the beginning of the survey. Age is used both as a control variable and as a screening item to exclude those either below 18 years old or give extreme numbers, such as "999". A question on self-report of carefulness asked the respondent whether they have paid attention during the survey process. If not, the answer is excluded from the final sample. Archival items include three measures. First, the length of time a participant takes to complete the survey signals a potential inattentive response. While the threshold for a minimum length of time is not universally established, I adopt Huang et al.'s (2012) approach, which classifies the response being insufficient with less than 2 seconds for personality questions or attitudinal items. There are 129 items to be rated or answered in the survey. If the respondent completes the survey within less than 250 seconds, it is classified as an invalid response. Second, responses with the progress of less than 60 percent are removed from the dataset (Renzetti and Lynch 2018). In addition, Qualtrics (n.d.) marks a spam response when multiple identical responses are submitted from the same IP address within a 12-hour window. Responses with the Spam flag are removed from the final sample. After listwise deletion of the identified invalid responses and missing, the final dataset consisted of 2,272 participants.

[TABLE 2.2 ABOUT HERE]

Table 2.2 presents descriptive statistics of respondent demographics and attitude scales. The demographics of the sample roughly mirrored that of the U.S. population: 65.98% Non-Hispanic White, 16.68% Black, 6.78% Hispanic/Latino, 8.01% Asian, and 2.55% other; 54.09% male, 45.33% female, and 0.57% other gender identities; 79.36% heterosexual, 3.87% homosexual, 15.98% bisexual, and 0.79% other sexual orientations. About 18.35% of respondents identified as not religious. The average age of the sample is about 38.54 years old, ranging from 18 years old to 79 years old. The sample also has an average of 5.62 out of 9 self-identified SES. Additionally, the sample is highly educated, with only 0.36% of respondents reported less than high school educational obtainment. The demographic composition is also in line with the previous findings (Paolacci and Chandler 2014): median age around 34, with the overrepresentation of high school graduates and middle class.

To ensure that the randomization procedure was effective in assigning balanced groups, I conduct balance tests on respondents' demographic variables using Chi-square tests (race, gender, sexual orientation, religious or not, and any previous violent victimization experience) and one-way ANOVA (education level, age, and self-identified SES) (Table 2.3). Among all demographic variables tested, the dimensions of the victim's race differ significantly with regard to educational levels (F=2.31, $d.f.$=7, p<0.05), showing a neglectable effect size at 0.007. This observation is probably due to the overrepresentation of high school graduates and uneven distribution of education levels in the sample compared to the US population. An additional bivariate logistic regression model is estimated as a sensitivity check, revealing that the inclusion of education level did

not alter the substantive results and conclusions presented below. To maintain the consistency for results in this dissertation, demographic variables are kept in the models as controls.

[TABLE 2.3 ABOUT HERE]

2.3.6 Analytic Strategy

2.3.6.1 Incident Models

Two binary logistic regression models are tested for the incident models. The baseline model includes the incident variables provided in the vignette. This model is used to test whether there is any significant association between incident characteristics and the outcome. Built upon the baseline model, model 2 introduce respondents' demographics as controls.

2.3.6.2 Attitude Models

Similarly, to parse the effect of respondent's prejudice and beliefs, a set of binary logistic regression models are tested. RWA and POPS are introduced to each step of the indent models. Model 3 includes the incident variables, RWA, and POPS. Model 4 controls for respondents' demographics.

2.3.6.3 Moderation Analysis

To investigate whether the perception of racial hate crimes follows a power-relation framework, the moderation term of offender's race and victim's race is introduced to Model 2 and Model 4. Besides reporting the odds ratios, pairwise comparisons are performed to detect significant differences across patterns. Additional margins tests are performed for better visualization.

2.4 Results

2.4.1 Incident Models

Table 2.4 presents four binary logistic regression models, predicting the likelihood of perceiving an incident as a racial hate crime based on incident characteristics and two attitudinal scales.

[TABLE 2.4 ABOUT HERE]

Model 1 demonstrates that incident characteristics, including offender's race, victim's race, presence of hate message, and violence level and consequence all significantly influence the likelihood of the outcome. Whether a racial slur is explicitly expressed by the offender has the strongest positive effect among all predictors, significantly increasing the odds ratio of perceiving a racial hate crime by 2.541.

Yet, the effects of other variables are only significant in comparisons between certain groups. For violence level and consequences, only physical harm with slight injury significantly increases the likelihood of perceiving a racial hate crime compared to a verbal threat without injury. None of the other pairs makes a difference.

In regard to offender and victim's race, incidents with a Black or Latino offender reduces the likelihood of perceiving a racial hate crime by odds ratios of 0.680 and 0.798, respectively, compared to cases with a White offender. Similarly, a Black victim increases the likelihood of perceiving a racial hate crime by 1.272 times when all other incident characteristics are held constant. Such an effect is not observed when comparing cases with a Latino victim to a White victim. The inconsistency of the two racial minority groups is also found in the comparison between cases with a Latino victim and a Black victim. That

is, a Latino victim reduces the likelihood of perceiving a racial hate crime by a factor of 0.801 compared to cases with a Black victim.

Built upon the first model, Model 2 controlled for respondents' characteristics. After controlling for demographics, all incident variables remain statistically significant, and the odds ratios do not change much. The presence of a hate message remains the strongest predictor. All other variables show a significant effect in at least one pair of comparisons. Despite the fact that the direction of the effect stays the same, an offender being Latino no longer significantly decreases the probability of perceiving a racial hate crime compared to a White offender.

2.4.2 Attitude models

Along with incident variables, Model 3 includes two attitudinal scales, and Model 4 controlled for demographic variables. The results suggest that a one-unit increase in POPS score significantly increases the odds ratio of recognizing a racial hate crime by 1.473, all others constant. This effect still holds when controlled for demographic variables, increasing the likelihood of identifying a racial hate crime by 1.381. RWA score, however, does not significantly influence the outcome.

While both models highly resemble incident models in terms of the results on incident variables, whether the victim is Latino or Black does not make a significant difference.

2.4.3 Moderation Analysis

Table 2.5 presents two binary logistic regression models with a moderation term – offender's race by victim's race. Model 5 includes all incident variables and respondent demographics along with the interaction term. Model 6 includes two attitudinal scales on

the basis of Model 5. The general results for both models are highly similar: all incident variables are statistically significant in the same direction. As Model 6 has a better model fit, the moderation effect is discussed based on the results in Model 6.

[TABLE 2.5 ABOUT HERE]

Figure 2.1 illustrates the predicted probability of perceiving an incident as a racial hate crime jointly considering offender and victim's race, holding all other covariates equal.

[FIGURE 2.1 ABOUT HERE] [TABLE 2.6 ABOUT HERE]

2.4.3.1 Intra-Racial Incidents

The graph shows that when offender and victim are from the same racial group, the predicted probabilities of the outcome are at their lowest across all three racial groups being tested. However, the probabilities are statistically different from each other depending on the racial group (Table 2.6). When offender and victim are both Black, the predicted value is at the lowest (i.e., 0.210), whereas Latino intra-group incident rates the highest at 0.302 and White-on-White incidents fall in between at 0.277. Imagine a White respondent who self-identifies as male, heterosexual, religious, has not experienced any violent crime, and with all other characteristics at means. The person reads a vignette without the presence of a hate message, and the victim in the scenario experiences verbal threat without injury. When both the victim and offender are White, the predicted probabilities to identify a racial hate crime is at 0.130, whereas Black-on-Black incidents at 0.098 and Latino-on-Latino at 0.150. Despite the fluctuations in the predicted margins as the demographics change, the observation holds.

2.4.3.2 Inter-Racial Incidents

In the inter-group incidents, the Majority-on-Minority pattern is tested by White-on-Black and White-on-Latino. First, using White-on-White incidents as the baseline at 0.277, a racial minority victim strongly increases the probability of perceiving a racial hate crime. Specifically, White-on-Black incidents have the highest probability of being defined as a racial hate crime across all pairs at 0.659, whereas White-on-Latino cases at 0.509. However, significant differences are observed between White-on-Black and White-on-Latino cases. In the case of the imaginary respondent, White-on-Black incidents are about 1.295 times more likely to be recognized as racial hate crimes compared to White-on-Latino cases.

Second, when the victim is a racial minority, a White offender significantly increases the likelihood of identifying a racial hate crime. Comparing to Minority-on-Minority inter-racial cases, the cases with a Majority-on-Minority pattern have a significantly higher chance of being identified as a racial hate crime. For instance, White-on-Black cases have the highest predicted margins to be recognized as a racial hate crime at 0.659, whereas a Latino-on-Black case has a significantly lower probability at 0.537. Similarly, White-on-Latino cases are more likely to be categorized as racial hate crimes compared to Black-on-Latino incidents. Notably, White-on-Minority patterns also exceed the predicted margins of intra-racial cases between minorities.

Third, after examining Minority-on-White patterns, no significant difference is found between Black-on-White and Latino-on-White incidents. However, when comparing Minority-on-White patterns with White-on-Minority patterns, Black-on-White cases have a significantly lower probability of being recognized as racial hate crimes compared to White-on-Black cases by over 14 percent, whereas only neglectable difference is found

between Latino-on-White and White-on-Latino cases. Black-on-White incidents also rank the highest among cases with a Black offender at 0.517, demonstrating consistency with findings regarding White-on-Minority patterns.

Moreover, inter-racial Minority-on-Minority cases – namely Black-on-Latino and Latino-on-Black – are statistically different in terms of predicted margins for the outcome. Latino-on-Black cases are 1.255 times more likely than Black-on-Latino cases to be perceived as a racial hate crime. Notably, this ratio is very close to that of the White-Black dyads, with a merely 2% difference.

2.4.3.3 Other Incident Variables

Similar to findings in Model 1 and Model 2, the presence of hate message remains the strongest predictor of a higher probability of racial hate crime perception. Compared to incidents without a verbal cue, the presence of hate message is associated with 2.898 times more likely to perceive a racial hate crime, holding all other covariates constant. Incidents with physical harm and slight injury increase the probability of assigning a racial hate crime by a factor of 1.406 compared to a verbal threat without injury, which is also the only significant pair of levels under this variable.

2.4.4 Respondent Characteristics

Several respondent demographics significantly impact perceptions of racial hate crime definition in Model 6 with the moderation effect between offender and victim's race (Table 4 and Figure 1). Black respondents are 1.578 times more likely to perceive an incident as a racial hate crime than white respondents. If a respondent self-identified as heterosexual, the odds ratio of perceiving a racial hate crime decreases by a factor of 0.690, compared to those who identify as non-heterosexual. Higher self-identified SES increases

the likelihood of perceiving a racial hate crime by 7.2% per unit increase. Respondents with previous violent crime victimization experience are 1.407 times more likely to define the incident as a racial hate crime compared to those without violent crime victimization.

2.5 Discussion

Using data from a factorial survey experiment, this study examines the determinants that influence the perception of racial hate crimes among U.S. adults recruited from an online crowdsourcing service. The results offer support to an integrated model that both the power dynamics between the victims and the offenders and the preexisting prejudice and beliefs of the respondents play significant roles in the process of constructing a racial hate crime. For the most part, respondents react to incident characteristics in ways suggested by the power-relation framework even after considering one's attitude toward Police, whilst results reveal some important variations by the racial groups that victims and offenders belong to.

First of all, interactions between the offender's race and victim's race indicate increased sensitivity to inter-racial incidents. For all three racial groups tested, inter-racial incidents all have a higher probability of being perceived as racial hate crimes compared to intra-racial incidents. However, rather than sticking to a Majority-on-Minority pattern, respondents seem to view incidents with a Minority-on-Majority pattern as equally problematic. For instance, there is no significant difference observed between a Latino-on-White incident and a White-on-Latino incident. Despite the observed variance in incidents between White and Black, the predicted margins for Black-on-White incidents are the highest among the cases with a White victim. Minority-on-Majority cases also indicate a

higher probability of being assigned as a racial hate crime than Minority-on-Minority inter-racial incidents. According to social dominance theory (Pratto and Stewart 2011; Sidanius and Pratto 1999), the Minority-on-White incidents may have broken the racial hierarchy in society, which creates an increased sense of threat from the minority group. As a result, racial minority offenders are equally likely to be called out for racial hate crimes. These findings are consistent with prior literature that tests on White-Black dyads (Gerstenfeld 2003; Lyons 2008b; Zaykowski 2010), suggesting that rather than supporting a Majority-on-Minority pattern of racial hate crime, respondents are more sensitive to incidents with offenders and victims from different racial groups, regardless of the direction in power-relations in the incidents.

While inter-racial incidents have a higher likelihood to be designated as racial hate incidents in general, examining the racial identities of the offender and victim reveals more nuances. Among all inter-racial incidents, respondents react most strongly to incidents with a White offender. This observation parallels the spirit of hate crime legislation and antiviolence social movements that advocate for addressing ethnoviolence and seeking racial justice. It also supports the power-relation perspective that views racial hate crime as one form of racial oppression that is most commonly seen in White-on-Minority cases (Perry 2002c; Young 1999).

Yet, the power dynamics between racial groups are also found between racial minorities. On the one hand, the findings demonstrate the existence of the stereotype of Blacks being the victim of racial hate crimes. In the cases with a White offender, the predicted probability of defining a racial hate crime is largely dependent on who the victim is. The results indicate that White-on-Black cases are more than 23 percent more likely to

be perceived as a racial hate crime than White-on-Latino cases when all other conditions are the same.

The idea of a Black victim being more stereotypical may be traced back to Black history in the U.S., such as slavery, lynching, residential segregation, and mass incarceration, just to name a few (Berlet and Lyons 2000; Levin 2002; Turpin-Petrosino 2009). Recent social movements around Black Lives Matter (BLM) may also play a role in bringing public attention to racial inequalities in the U.S., especially discriminatory actions against Blacks. Although the data collection of this project was concluded on May 16, 2020, just before the Murder of George Floyd and protests afterward, the exposure to recent Anti-Black incidents with excessive violence, such as the killing of Breonna Tylor in March 2020, along with the years-long efforts surround BLM, have made it impossible to overlook the oppression and racism toward Blacks. As some research has shown, one of many social movement outcomes is public resource mobilization (McVeigh et al. 2003; Snow, Soule, and Kriesi 2007). Perhaps hate crime reporting – at least increased perception of racial hate crimes – also represents a successful outcome of social movements around racial justice.

The image of Blacks being stereotypical victims in racial hate crimes may also overshadow the recognition of other racial minorities as racial hate crime victims. For instance, White-on-Black incidents exceed White-on-Latino cases by 23 percent in predicting the likelihood of assigning a racial hate crime, suggesting that Latino is viewed as less of a minority group than Black. Such observation is supported by the 17 percent higher probability of recognizing Latino-on-Black cases in comparison to Black-on-Latino ones.

There is more to the complicity of Latino. That is, the racial position of Latino seems to be relative. On the one hand, respondents recognize the minority status of Latinos – or "less majority" status – when using Whites as a reference. In addition to the aforementioned White-on-Minority examples, Latino offenders also reduce the probability of racial hate crimes in anti-Black incidents by 18 percent. On the other hand, the difficulty in distinguishing Latino from White in some results even questions whether Latino is viewed as a minority group at all. The results reveal the invariance in the outcome when comparing White-Latino incidents, which is even insignificant compared to Minority-on-Minority inter-racial incidents. The double standard in perceiving Latino as a minority group highlights the idea of them being invisible, which perpetuates the disadvantages of Latino in mobilizing public resources and seeking criminal justice responses.

One possible explanation for the ambiguity in Latinos' minority status may come from a different dimension of their disadvantages, that is, the perceived *cultural foreignness* (Zou and Cheryan 2017). Under the Racial Position Model (Zou and Cheryan 2017), Latinos may be perceived as deviating from American mainstream culture for being stereotyped as foreigners on top of the relatively inferior racial position in the US, whereas Blacks mainly experience the latter dimension of prejudice. As such, the usage of a racial slur as the hate message in the vignettes may have only triggered the superior-inferior dimension that signals more strongly toward Blacks. Future research will benefit from a more comprehensive design that includes cultural foreignness as a separate stimulus.

For the two attitudinal scales, only POPS has a significant effect in perceiving racial hate crimes. The different effects of these two attitudinal scales have several implications. First, the positive association between an individual's attitude toward police and racial hate

crime perception indicates that cooperation with law enforcement and compliance with the law may begin earlier than making the decision of reporting to the police. In other words, certainty about crime and agreement with existing legal statutes seem to be under the influence of attitude toward police as well. While this observation is somewhat related to legal cynicism (Adriaenssen et al. 2019; Sampson and Bartusch 1998), this effect has not been captured in prior literature with regard to racial hate crimes to my knowledge. Future research would benefit from exploring more directly how attitudes toward police translate into perceiving and reporting racial hate crimes and crimes in general.

Second, the insignificance of RWA may be a result of the measurement itself. As Altemeyer (1981, 1998) points out, people high in RWA tend to see outgroup members as disrupting the social order that they believe in. They also have a tendency to protect and maintain traditional values (Altemeyer 1981, 1998; Whitley 1999; Zakrisson 2005). However, this tendency does not necessarily result in physical violence or support for violence. On the opposite, expressing prejudice is often used as a means to stop physical violence (Whitley 1999). To maintain the social order to their own beliefs, people with high RWA scores may take the vignette incident as a wrongful act itself. As such, the effect of RWA is not prominent in the models. Despite the insignificance, findings show that more agreement with RWA results in a lower probability of recognizing a racial hate crime. This general direction fits the hypothesis, although the effect is not strong in the models.

Among all incident variables, the explicit expression of racial bias remains the strongest predictor of the outcome. This finding is in line with previous research: verbalized racial bias is one of the essential components that distinguish a hate crime from its parallel offense, mirroring the spirit of legislation (Gerstenfeld 2003; Lyons 2008b;

Rayburn et al. 2003, 2003). As one of the most common indications of bias motivation (see (Department of Justice 2020b, 2020a, 2021), the presence of hate messages also offers evidence of the bias motivation, which concretizes the elusive definition of hate crimes (Cramer et al. 2013).

Violence level and consequences, on the other hand, do not seem to influence the outcome evenly. Only incidents with physical harm with slight injury are perceived differently from the verbal threat without injury. Further examinations that separate violence level and consequences also support this conclusion. The unexpected findings may be a result of how this project measures the outcome. Most of the previous studies either examine the seriousness of an incident or the willingness to report (Lyons 2007; Skogan 1977, 1984; Zaykowski 2010). The effect of violence level and consequences may have a stronger effect in determining reporting behaviors. Further, the presence of a hate message may also function as verbal violence, which eventually directs the respondent's attention away from the elements of physical harm and injury.

In conclusion, this study finds empirical evidence to establish a link between the status of incidents, respondents' beliefs and prejudice, and the perception of racial hate crimes. More importantly, this study integrates a power-relation perspective with a social psychological approach, proposing an inter-racial hate crime pattern with racial disparities. It is worth noting that this paper does not claim to offer a general theory of racial hate crimes; rather, it offers one way to critically examine how racial hate crimes are constructed through the imbalance of power dynamics. Future research would benefit from expanding the examination to other minority groups, such as sexual orientation and religious affiliation, which would offer a deeper understanding of the power-relation perspective as

well as to cover the most common biased motive for hate crimes in the US. A subgroup analysis would also advance this study by testing how respondent's own racial identity influences their perception of racial hate crimes. To the extent that individual's definitions of racial hate crime are important vehicles to mobilize criminal justice responses, they are also central to better policies that address racial bias both in legislation and practices.

2.6 Tables and Figures

Table 2.1 Vignette Design and Distributions (*n*=2,272)

Dimensions	Levels	Frequency	Percent
Victim's race	White	771	33.93
	Black	750	33.01
	Latino	751	33.05
Offender's race	White	752	33.10
	Black	759	33.41
	Latino	761	33.49
Presence of hate message	Yes	1,140	50.18
	No	1,132	49.82
Type & level of violence	Verbal threat, no injury	572	25.18
	Physical assault, no injury	570	25.09
	Physical assault, slight injury	561	24.69
	Physical assault, severe injury	569	25.04

Table 2.2 Descriptive Statistics on Respondent Demographics and Attitude Scales (*n*=2,272)

Respondent Variables	Levels	Frequency	Percent
Race	White (non-Hispanic)	1,499	65.98
	Black	379	16.68
	Hispanic/Latino	154	6.78
	Asian	182	8.01
	Other	58	2.55
Gender	Male	1,229	24.09
	Female	1,030	45.33
	Transgender	5	0.22
	Gender non-conforming	8	0.35
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual	1,803	79.36
	Homosexual	88	3.87
	Bisexual	363	15.98
	Other	18	0.79
Religious	Yes	1,855	81.65
	No	417	18.35
Violent crime victimization	Yes	433	19.06
	No	1,839	80.94

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Education	4.92	1.39	1	8
Age	38.54	13.07	18	79
SES	5.62	1.98	1	9
Right-wing authoritarianism	2.76	0.73	1	5
Perception of police	3.50	0.87	1	5

Table 2.3 Balance Check by Demographics for Vignette Conditions (*n*=2,272)

	Victim's Race		Offender's Race		Presence of Hate Message		Type & Level of Violence	
Chi-Square Tests	*d.f.*	χ^2	*d.f.*	χ^2	*d.f.*	χ^2	*d.f.*	χ^2
Race	8	10.470	8	2.812	4	5.734	12	20.897
Gender	6	4.606	6	2.764	3	4.081	9	12.300
Sexual Orientation	6	4.250	6	9.586	3	3.509	9	7.483
Religious	2	1.241	2	1.987	1	0.037	3	0.900
Violent Crime Victimization	2	4.581	2	2.233	1	2.827	3	6.383

One-way ANOVA	*F*	*F*	*F*	*F*
Education	2.31*	0.80	0.76	1.10
Age	0.95	1.21	1.11	1.07
SES	0.96	0.68	1.26	1.06

Note: * *p<0.05. d.f. = degree of freedom.*

Table 2.4 Binary Logistic Regression Models of Racially Motivated Hate Crime Indicator on Incident, Attitudinal Scales, and Demographics (*n*=2,272)

	Model 1 Odds Ratio	Model 2 Odds Ratio	Model 3 Odds Ratio	Model 4 Odds Ratio
Incident Variables				
Offender's Race				
Black vs. white	0.680***	0.686**	0.686***	0.689**
	(0.073)	(0.075)	(0.074)	(0.076)
Latino vs. white	0.798*	0.815	0.798*	0.816
	(0.085)	(0.089)	(0.086)	(0.089)
Latino vs. Black[1]	1.174	1.188	1.163	1.184
	(0.126)	(0.130)	(0.126)	(0.131)
Victim's Race				
Black vs. white	1.272*	1.280*	1.270*	1.274*
	(0.136)	(0.140)	(0.137)	(0.140)
Latino vs. white	1.018	1.025	1.042	1.036
	(0.109)	(0.112)	(0.113)	(0.114)
Latino vs. Black[1]	0.801*	0.801*	0.820	0.813
	(0.086)	(0.088)	(0.089)	(0.090)
Presence of Hate Message (vs. No)	2.541***	2.646***	2.623***	2.688***
	(0.223)	(0.238)	(0.233)	(0.244)
Violence Level and Consequences (vs. Verbal threat, no injury)				
Physical harm, no injury	1.146	1.126	1.128	1.115
	(0.142)	(0.142)	(0.141)	(0.142)
Physical harm, slightly injured	1.377**	1.376*	1.375*	1.374*
	(0.171)	(0.175)	(0.172)	(0.176)
Physical harm, severely injured	1.212	1.175	1.191	1.162
	(0.150)	(0.149)	(0.149)	(0.148)

Table 2.4 (Continued) Binary Logistic Regression Models of Racially Motivated Hate Crime Indicator on Incident, Attitudinal Scales, and Demographics (*n*=2,272)

	Model 1 Odds Ratio	Model 2 Odds Ratio	Model 3 Odds Ratio	Model 4 Odds Ratio
Attitudinal Scales				
Perception of Police Scale (POPS)			1.473***	1.381***
			(0.085)	(0.085)
Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)			0.921	0.868
			(0.062)	(0.065)
Respondent Variables				
Race (vs. non-Hispanic White)				
Black		1.478**		1.484**
		(0.191)		(0.195)
Hispanic/ Latino		1.048		1.051
		(0.192)		(0.193)
Asian		1.057		1.083
		(0.176)		(0.182)
Other		0.683		0.722
		(0.208)		(0.221)
Education Level		1.028		1.019
		(0.036)		(0.036)
Age		0.998		0.995
		(0.004)		(0.004)
Male (vs Other)		1.004		1.009
		(0.093)		(0.094)
Heterosexual (vs Other)		0.677**		0.697**
		(0.079)		(0.082)
Religious (vs not religious)		1.103		1.047
		(0.131)		(0.136)

Table 2.4 (Continued) Binary Logistic Regression Models of Racially Motivated Hate Crime Indicator on Incident, Attitudinal Scales, and Demographics (*n*=2,272)

	Model 1 Odds Ratio	Model 2 Odds Ratio	Model 3 Odds Ratio	Model 4 Odds Ratio
SES		1.104***		1.069*
		(0.028)		(0.029)
Violent Crime Victimization (vs No)		1.345*		1.367**
		(0.156)		(0.161)
Constant	0.456***	0.264***	0.131***	0.180***
	(0.060)	(0.079)	(0.044)	(0.061)
n	2,272	2,272	2,272	2,272

*Note: Standard Error eform in parentheses. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05. 1. The results between Black and Latino are obtained through another set of binary logistic regression models.*

Table 2.5 Binary Logistic Regression Models of Racial Hate Crime Indicator on Incident, Demographics, and Attitude Scales (*n*=2,272)

	Model 5 Odds Ratio	Model 6 Odds Ratio
Incident Variables		
Offender's Race		
Black vs. white	3.015***	3.047***
	(0.596)	(0.607)
Latino vs. white	2.148***	2.144***
	(0.421)	(0.423)
Latino vs. Black[1]	4.559***	4.617***
	(0.950)	(0.968)
Victim's Race		
Black vs. white	5.321***	5.371***
	(1.074)	(1.092)
Latino vs. white	2.907***	2.906***
	(0.579)	(0.583)
Latino vs. Black[1]	2.862***	2.975***
	(0.592)	(0.619)
Offender's Race * Victim's Race		
Black Offender * Black Victim	0.045***	0.044***
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Black Offender * Latino Victim	0.236***	0.241***
	(0.065)	(0.067)
Latino Offender * Black Victim	0.288***	0.288***
	(0.079)	(0.080)
Latino Offender * Latino Victim	0.189***	0.193***
	(0.053)	(0.054)

Table 2.5 (Continued) Binary Logistic Regression Models of Racial Hate Crime Indicator on Incident, Demographics, and Attitude Scales (*n*=2,272)

	Model 5 Odds Ratio	Model 6 Odds Ratio
Incident Variables		
Presence of Hate Message (vs. No)	2.857***	2.898***
	(0.268)	(0.274)
Violence Level and Consequences (vs. Verbal threat, no injury)		
Physical harm, no injury	1.145	1.133
	(0.150)	(0.149)
Physical harm, slightly injured	1.408**	1.406*
	(0.185)	(0.185)
Physical harm, severely injured	1.199	1.183
	(0.157)	(0.156)
Attitudinal Scales		
Perception of Police Scale (POPS)		1.398***
		(0.089)
Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)		0.879
		(0.068)
Respondent Variables		
Race (vs. non-Hispanic White)		
Black	1.580**	1.578**
	(0.213)	(0.216)
Hispanic/ Latino	1.008	1.002
	(0.193)	(0.193)
Asian	1.124	1.146
	(0.193)	(0.199)
Other	0.659	0.697
	(0.204)	(0.219)

Table 2.5 (Continued) Binary Logistic Regression Models of Racial Hate Crime Indicator on Incident, Demographics, and Attitude Scales (*n*=2,272)

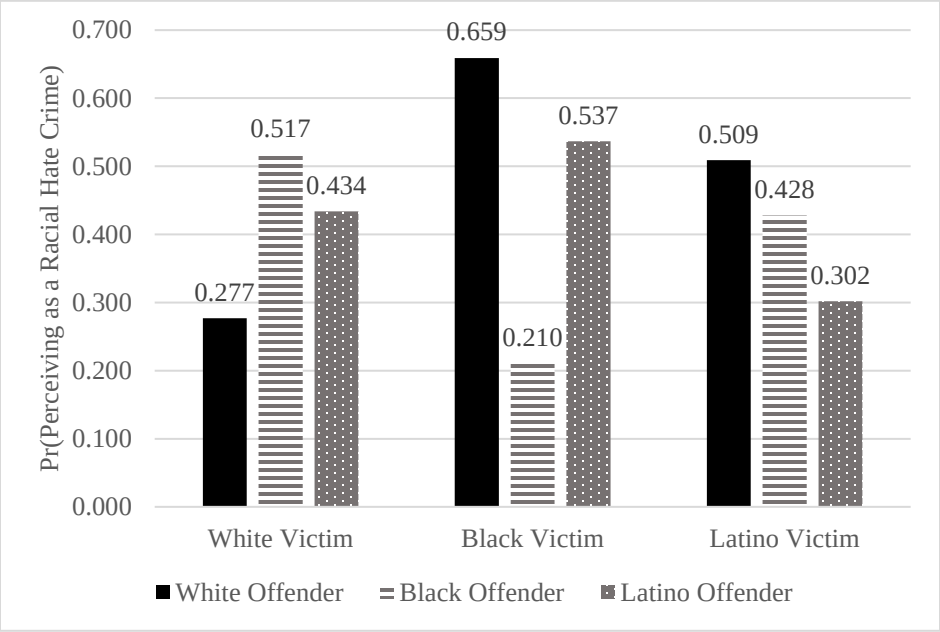
	Model 5 Odds Ratio	Model 6 Odds Ratio
Education Level	1.047	1.038
	(0.038)	(0.038)
Age	0.997	0.994
	(0.004)	(0.004)
Male (vs Other)	1.003	1.005
	(0.096)	(0.097)
Heterosexual (vs Other)	0.673**	0.690**
	(0.082)	(0.085)
Religious (vs not religious)	1.201	1.122
	(0.148)	(0.151)
SES	1.109***	1.072*
	(0.030)	(0.030)
Violent Crime Victimization (vs No)	1.382**	1.407**
	(0.166)	(0.171)
Constant	0.092***	0.060***
	(0.030)	(0.022)
n	2,272	2,272

*Note: Standard Error eform in parentheses. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05. 1. The results between Black and Latino are obtained through another set of binary logistic regression models.*

Table 2.6 Pairwise Comparison of Predicted Margins on Racial Hate Crime Perception: Offender and Victim Races (Model 6)

	White*White	White*Black	White*Latino	Black*White	Black*Black	Black*Latino	Latino*White	Latino*Black	Latino*Latino
White*White	-								
White*Black	***	-							
White*Latino	***	**	-						
Black*White	***	**		-					
Black*Black		***	***	***	-				
Black*Latino	**	***			***	-			
Latino*White	***	***			***		-		
Latino*Black	***	**			***	*	*	-	
Latino*Latino		***	***	***	*	**	**	***	-

Figure 2.1 Predicted Margins on Racial Hate Crime Perception: Offender and Victim Races (Model 6)



Note: All predicted margins are significant at .001.

CHAPTER 3. DOES RESPONDENT RACIAL IDENTITY MATTER?

As the most prominent type of hate crimes in the US, race and ethnicity motivated crimes take up more than half of the recorded hate crimes in the Uniform Crime Reporting Program (UCR) (FBI 2020). However, not all hate crimes against race/ethnicity are reported to the police. According to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), only about 2 percent of all hate crime victimization is captured by UCR annually (US Bureau of Justice Statistics 2017). While witnesses and victims in non-fatal cases are often the gatekeeper of the criminal justice system (Hindelang et al. 1978), little is known about what contributes to individual's perception of racial hate crimes.

Through a power-relation lens, researchers have argued that racial hate crimes are both a product of the racial reality and a means to maintain and recreate racial hierarchy (Blumer 1958; Perry 2002c; Perry and Levin 2009). Along this line, studies have found that perceiver's understanding of a racial hate crime is related to the relative social position of the offender and victim (Cramer et al. 2010; Lyons 2008b; Marcus-Newhall et al. 2002; Rayburn et al. 2003). The other perspective is derived from social identity theory, which highlights how individuals understand and construct their own identity through ingroup and outgroup comparisons (Brewer 1999; Tajfel and Turner 2004). This perspective is often used in evaluating the seriousness rating of racial hate crimes or support for legislation (Brewer 2004; Gerstenfeld 2003; Lyons 2008a; Marcus-Newhall et al. 2002), revealing the important role of perceiver's identity in evaluating given scenarios.

Using a factorial survey experiment, this research integrates a racial relation perspective with social identity theory to examine the dynamic role of race among offender, victim, and perceiver of racial hate crimes. Understanding the social construction of a racial

hate crime at the meaning-making stage offers unique insights about crime reporting behaviors, as well as illustrating the value of data sources about hate crimes other than police data.

3.1 Literature Review

3.1.1 Defining Hate Crime

Although scholars, activists, and legislators disagree upon what constitutes a hate crime (Jenness 1999; Jenness and Grattet 2001), the establishment of hate crime as a relatively new category of crimes in the criminal justice system has been inextricably linked to considerations of law and policy, in the U.S. and globally alike (Jenness and Grattet 2001). The commonalties of hate crime definitions usually include two essential parts. First, hate crimes involve criminal acts. Second, the crime must be motivated, in whole or in part, by bias or prejudice based on a victim's actual or perceived group affiliation. While legislation protects both anti-minority and anti-majority offenses, the majority of hate crime statutes requires the intentional selection of victims because of their membership in a designated group. Some scholars contend that the group affiliation of the victim is the key to identify a hate crime (Chakraborti and Garland 2009; Lim 2009; Perry 2002c), which implies a power imbalance between the victim and the offender. That is, victims of hate crimes usually hold a minority status – such as racial minority, or religious minority – whereas the offenders are from a group of majority (Lyons 2008b). Research has found that when a White offender commits a hate crime against a Black victim, it is viewed more negatively and more severely than a Black-on-White hate crime (Gerstenfeld 2003; Marcus-Newhall et al. 2002). Such a Majority-on-Minority pattern remains salient

when applied to other group affiliations, such as sexual orientations and gender identities (Cramer et al. 2013, 2010; Mason-Bish and Duggan 2020). These findings demonstrate the importance of group affiliation of both sets of actors in constructing hate crimes.

Hate crimes are also distinguished from their parallel offenses for the greater harm at both individual and group levels. First, hate crimes are sustained and systematic violation of human rights (Brudholm 2015; Iganski and Perry 2009; Perry and Olsson 2009a), which violates the ideal of equality between members of society. Although international human rights protections do not engage with hate crime literally, the motivations of hate crime are condemned explicitly through many conventions. For example, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations 1948) set the principles of equality and non-discrimination in the general term. International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) (United Nations 1965) clearly defined racial discrimination, which shows a high concurrence with the spirit of racial hate crime legislations. Second, individual victims of hate crimes are found to experience more physical and psychological harm than victims of other crimes (Iganski 2001; Perry 2002c). More importantly, hate crimes are also "message crimes" (Hall 2012; Lim 2009), which convey a message not only to the targeted victim, but more so to the community to which the victim belongs (Chakraborti and Garland 2009; Lim 2009; Perry 2002c). Studies have found that hate crimes convey more group-based threat that leads to higher emotional harm to victims' communities than other kinds of crimes (Paterson, Brown, and Walters 2019; Walters et al. 2020). The *in terrorem effect* (Iganski 2001; Perry and Olsson 2009b) – the fear and intimidation by hurting the individuals of certain groups – marks one of the arguably most important claims about hate crime (Herek 1992; Jenness and Grattet 2001;

Levin 2002; Levin and McDevitt 2013), that is, the symbolic meaning of targeting the whole community with exclusionary violence.

3.1.2 Racial Threat and "Othering"

Among all hate crimes reported in the U.S., race and ethnicity motivated hate crimes are the most prominent type since the collection of hate crime statistics. In 2019, about 58 percent of all hate crimes recorded were prompted by a race/ethnicity bias, of which 85 percent offenses were racial hate crimes against non-White victims (FBI 2020). To explain the overwhelming proportion of racial violence, scholars have examined racial hate crimes through a racial threat and competition framework.

The foundation of racial threat can be traced back to Herbert Blumer. Blumer (1958) asserted that racial prejudice can be viewed as a function of group position and threats to that status, rather than the prevailing arguments at that time suggesting feeling as the key concept in race prejudice. The threat occurs when a large or a growing minority population seeks to alter preexisting inequitable agreements with the increasing political and cultural influence (Blumer 1958). The potential change in group power dynamics challenges the majority group's supremacy; the ethnocentric belief about the "rightful" position combined with hostility to the minorities reinforce the dominant group's idea of retaining exclusive claims over important rights and privileges (Blumer 1958; Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Young 1999). Building upon this foundation, Blalock (1967) argued that the social power of a group is a product of the interaction between two elements: total group resources and the degree to which those resources are mobilized by the group. As the minority proportions in a community increases, the competition rises (Blalock 1967). Due to the scarcity of the resources, increased competition increases the majority's incentive to

discrimination. Thus, prejudicial attitudes, discrimination, and hostility toward a minority group are means for the dominant group to maintain political and economic advantages over their counterpart.

Shedding light on the racial relations in the US, this perspective suggests that racial hate crimes function as a means to maintain the power hierarchy of white domination in the U.S. society. On the one hand, racial hate crimes are extreme forms of discrimination that have emanated from a history of segregation, discrimination, and marginalization of people who are seen as "different" (Perry 2002c). On the other hand, this process of "othering" reinforces the power hierarchy and white dominance in the society, joining long standing instruments for social ostracization of outcast groups in the U.S. history (Wacquant 2011). It is through the interactions between the subordinate and dominant groups that a context of perpetuating hierarchies of social power can be recognized (Perry and Levin 2009). Therefore, hate violence confirms the power dynamics of superiority and inferiority.

3.1.3 Social Identity and Intergroup Bias

According to social identity theory (Allport 1954; Tajfel and Turner 2004), upon the first interaction with the others, people tend to make comparisons across the group boundaries, so that individuals can categorize the others either as members of their own group (i.e., ingroup) or as members of another group (i.e., outgroup). Self-categorization usually results in ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation (Brewer 1999; Fiske et al. 2002). That is, the general tendency to evaluate one's own membership group or its members more positively while thinking outgroup and its members less favorably (Brewer 1999; Fiske et al. 2002; Hewstone, Rubin, and Willis 2002; Richeson and Sommers 2016).

Research has found that individuals are motivated to protect and maintain a positive image of their ingroup (Brewer 1999; LeVine and Campbell 1972; Lyons 2008a) as well as perceive threat and negative image of outgroups (Liebler 2004). For instance, a study on torture and social identity revealed that torture is more justifiable if the respondent identifies the offender as an ingroup member (Tarrant et al. 2012). Similarly, the shared group membership between the respondent and the victim lead to higher preference and less blaming toward the victim (Gini 2007; Lyons 2006). However, ingroup favoritism may also take the opposite route. For example, a study on court decisions in juvenile cases has found that if the judge and the juvenile belong to the same racial group, such as a Black judge with a Black juvenile, the juvenile receives more serious penalty and longer sentences (Depew, Eren, and Mocan 2017).

Contentions over the effect of ingroup bias aside, social identity theory takes the cognitive understanding of structures regarding different groups into account, suggesting that individuals are using the preexisting stereotypes and prejudice of outgroups to shape their own behaviors in the manifestation of discrimination (Macrae and Bodenhausen 2000). In the case of racial hate crimes, it is important to understand how perceiver's racial identity influences their perception of intergroup relations in the setting of racially motivated crimes. Among existing literature that examines such relationship, Lyons (2006) found more attribution of blame on hate crime victims among Asians than Whites. Brewer (2004) revealed higher receptivity to mitigation among Black jurors than White jurors in capital cases with Black offenders and White victims. Black participants also perceived higher severity when the victim is also Black (Gerstenfeld 2003; Lyons 2008a; Marcus-

Newhall et al. 2002). These findings suggests that the perceiver's race, along with offender and victim's race, could also be an important social lens in the judgement making process.

3.1.4 Gaps in the Literature

Although existing literature has examined various of determinants that construct racial hate crimes, several issues remain unsolved. First, what constitute a racial hate crime remains underexplored. Previous studies focused heavily either on evaluating the seriousness of hate crime (Cramer et al. 2010; Gerstenfeld 2003; Marcus-Newhall et al. 2002; Rayburn et al. 2003), or testing on the supportiveness of hate crime legislation (Dunbar and Molina 2004). Yet, the basic question of what a hate crime is in the eyes of the general public remains understudied. How much does the general public's view align with hate crime statutes? What else contributes to perceiver's recognition of a potential incident as a racial hate crime? Without a thorough exploration on these questions, the clarity and effectiveness of hate crime legislation are challenged.

Second, despite the prior attempts to investigate the relationships between race and racial hate crimes, the role of race as a preexisting context is often oversimplified. Among existing literature that has examined the racial effects, offender's and victim's races are often the focal point (Gerstenfeld 2003; Lyons 2008b; Marcus-Newhall et al. 2002). However, it is equally important to understand how perceivers' own racial identities influence the construction of racial hate crimes. The racial differences related to perceivers' racial identities have been documented by several studies. For example, Craig and Waldo (1996) have found great variations among respondents with different demographic characteristics through a qualitative study, revealing the difference in perceiving incidents as hate crimes among people of color and Whites. Similarly, Lyons (2006) has found a

higher-level of victim blaming among Asian respondents compared to their White counterparts. While these findings touched upon the effect of perceivers' racial identities in recognizing racial hate crimes, there is no systematic examination on the interactions of racial identities among offenders, victims, and perceivers. The complexity of the racial effects on racial hate crime perception comprises a social context, which is largely missing in prior studies in this area.

3.2 Current Study

This study aims to further investigate the social construction of racial hate crimes among American adults, incorporating not only the victim's and offender's race, but also the race of the perceiver judging whether or not a racial hate crime occurred. The subgroup analysis of perceivers allows scrutiny to the accuracy and generalizability of the findings, which otherwise might be neglected due to smaller portion of certain racial/ethnic groups in the whole population. Specifically, this study addresses the follow research question: *How does perceiver's racial identity influence perception of racial hate crimes?*

[TABLE 3.1 ABOUT HERE]

The current study challenges the presumption of racial invariance among perceivers in recognizing racial hate crimes. Several hypotheses are tested (Table 3.1). Social identity theory has laid out the existence of intergroup bias, supporting the racial variance argument among perceivers under multiple circumstances. Research on racial hate crimes have also offered empirical evidence of how perceiver's own racial identity is related to their judgment making process (Brewer 2004; Gerstenfeld 2003; Lyons 2006, 2008b; Marcus-Newhall et al. 2002).

Hypothesis 1: There is racial variance among perceivers in judging racial hate crimes.

According to the theories of racial threat and "othering," racial hate crimes are utilized as means to maintain the white dominance in society. Non-white minorities are then classified as the "others," which creates a new identity under a White centrist narrative. Meanwhile, it also forms a collective identity for the racial minorities. Then, not only does the symbolic meaning behind racial hate crimes hurt the target's community and racial group, but it extends to all racial minorities who are excluded from the dominant group. As such, the second set of hypotheses focuses on incidents that involves both White and Minorities, examining whether and to what extent does racial hate crime perception reflect racial conflict through a dominant versus minority dyad.

Hypothesis 2a: White respondents are less likely to perceive a racial hate crime in White-on-Minority incidents.

Hypothesis 2b: Non-white respondents are more likely to perceive a racial hate crime in White-on-Minority incidents.

On the other side of the same coin, Minority-on-White incidents are expected to increase the likelihood of recognizing a racial hate crime for both White and Minority respondents because the power dynamics in the incidents are opposite to existing racial hierarchy in society.

Hypothesis 2c: White respondents are more likely to perceive a racial hate crime in Minority-on-White incidents.

Hypothesis 2d: Non-white respondents are more likely to perceive a racial hate crime in Minority-on-White incidents.

Besides the dominant versus minority comparison, the perceiver's racial identity is also important in determining inter-racial incidents between minorities. According to social identity theory, ingroup favoritism motivates positive image maintenance among ingroup members (Brewer 1999; LeVine and Campbell 1972; Lyons 2008a). If the perceiver shares the same racial identity with the offender of the incident, they may choose to protect their ingroup member by either denying the incident as a crime or hesitant to confirm the race-based motive. Similarly, if the perceiver shares the same racial identity with the victim of an inter-racial incident, they may perceive the incidents more negatively and reach higher certainty of a racial hate crime (Gerstenfeld 2003; Lyons 2008a; Marcus-Newhall et al. 2002).

Hypothesis 3a: In Minority-on-Minority inter-racial incidents, respondents are less likely to perceive a racial hate crime when the offender and the respondent belong to the same racial group.

Hypothesis 3b: In Minority-on-Minority inter-racial incidents, respondents are more likely to perceive a racial hate crime when the victim and the respondent belong to the same racial group.

Last but not least, intra-racial incidents, despite the real-life complexity, do not present racial hierarchies that can be explained by racial threat or "othering"; the effect of ingroup bias may also well be counterbalanced. As such, intra-racial incidents, including both White-on-White and Minority-on-Minority cases, reduces the probability of classifying racial hate crimes when the perceiver shares the same racial identity with both parties.

Hypothesis 4: In intragroup incidents, respondents are less likely to perceive a racial hate crime when the respondent belongs to the same racial group as the victim and the offender.

3.3 Data and Methods

3.3.1 Factorial Survey Experiment

This study employs factorial survey experiment with randomized vignette assignments to test the three-way interaction of races between perceiver, offender, and victim. Factorial survey experimental design is a multidimensional method that combines survey research and experimental research (Auspurg and Hinz 2014; Lyons 2008b; Rossi and Anderson 1982; Rossi and Nock 1982). In most cases, a factorial survey uses descriptions of fictional situations (vignettes) as stimuli, followed by survey questions that ask respondents to evaluate scenarios. Within each vignette, a number of important characteristics (dimensions) systematically vary by type or degree (level).

As a combination of survey methods and experimental research, factorial survey experiments have a number of advantages. First, by introducing randomly assigned vignettes, factorial survey experiments guarantee internal validity (Auspurg and Hinz 2014; Rossi and Nock 1982). That is, the respondents' reactions only reflect variations in the vignettes only, reducing the correlation between respondent characteristics and the hypothetical scenario (Auspurg and Hinz 2014). Second, the form of a survey study can be applied to relatively heterogeneous populations fairly easily, which increases the generalizability and external validity of the study. Traditional experiments often suffer from the homogeneous groups of participants, such as college students or self-selected

samples. The difficulties in recruiting relatively diverse participants also limit the number of factors that an experiment could test. A survey study, on the other hand, is able to avoid the shortcoming by attracting participants from large and random population samples, which makes experiments and survey methods compatible (Auspurg and Hinz 2014). Moreover, the factorial approach opens opportunities to investigate more realistic complexity than traditional survey methods because of the introduction of vignettes that vary at dimensions and levels. Due to the common underreporting issue of hate crime, observational data may not be able to exhaust all possible situations in hate incidents. The factorial survey, on contrary, can expand reality by presenting vignettes that are not recorded in reality. It does not require pre-exposure to certain types of victimization to estimate the perception or willingness to report.

3.3.2 Vignette Design

This study focuses on violent crimes that involve crimes against persons. Hypothetical scenarios are presented and randomly assigned to participants, followed by questions to evaluate described incidents. The dimensions include victim's race, offender's race, presence of hate message, and type and level of violence (Table 3.2). Other dimensions of the incident, such as age, sex, and location, are omitted intentionally in order to reduce noise. For example, both victim and offender are given gender-neutral names so as to avoid gender as an extra dimension. Similarly, victim and offender are presented as strangers in the vignette.

[Table 3.2 about here]

In order to minimize the dimensions in the vignettes and provide more reasonable information, race and ethnicity are combined into one single dimension with three levels

(White, Black, or Latino). The limited number of levels reflects the most commonly targeted racial and ethnic groups (FBI 2020). The presence of hate message refers to whether a racial slur is outspoken by the offender during the incident. Types of violence include verbal threat and physical assault. Levels of violence consists of no injury, slightly injured, and severely injured. The level of the violence in a vignette depends on the type of violence. For instance, verbal threat is only associated with no injury in the vignette whereas physical assault can result in all three levels of violence. Further, to exhaust all possible combination of the incident, within-group incidents (e.g., white offender and white victim) are also included in the vignette universe.

The total number of possible vignette combinations is 72. Each respondent receives a randomly assigned vignette, followed by questions related to the vignette. An example vignette is presented below. In this vignette, the offender is African American, and the victim is Hispanic/Latino. It also includes the presence of hate message (i.e., yelling racial slurs) and type and level of violence (i.e., physical assault and severely injured).

Dakota is African American. Sam is Hispanic.

One day, Sam was walking in the street. As Sam passed near Dakota, Dakota beat Sam up while yelling derogatory racial slurs. Sam was severely injured and stayed in the hospital for a whole week.

3.3.3 Other Measures

3.3.3.1 Perceive The Incident as A Racial Hate Crime

Following the legal definition, I ask two questions to capture this measure. One question measures the degree of agreement on the vignette being a crime and the other question is about racial motivation. Participants answers both questions based on the

vignette on a 5-point Likert scale. Then, I combine and dichotomize the answers. Only when the participant agrees or strongly agrees to both questions, the variable is marked as a racial hate crime. This seemingly complicated measure is designed to increase the accuracy of the measurement. Not only does the structure of the questions mirrors the general commonality of all hate crime legislations, but it also avoids the usage of the term "hate crime", which could have triggered certain reactions among some respondents.

3.3.3.2 Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)

Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) was first developed by Altemeyer (1981), capturing conventionalism, authoritarian aggression, and authoritarian submission. RWA is a strong predictor of prejudice, ethnocentrism, and homophobia and is broadly used in social studies (Altemeyer 1998; Duckitt and Sibley 2010; Sidanius and Pratto 1999). Research has found that people with high authoritarianism were prejudiced against racial minorities (Akrami et al. 2000), women (Sibley et al. 2007; Whitley 2001; Whitley and Aegisdottir 2000), lesbians and gay men (Laythe et al. 2001; Whitley 1999, 2001), people with disabilities (Crowson et al. 2013), and immigrants (Akrami et al. 2000; Davidov et al. 2008). Participants answer a short version of RWA with 15 statements, which has been approved to function similarly to the original scale but with fewer items and less extreme wordings (Zakrisson 2005). The reliability coefficient of the RWA is .86.

3.3.3.3 Perception of Police Scale (POPS)

Perception of Police Scale (POPS) was designed by Nadal and Davidoff (2015) to measure general attitudes toward Police and perceptions of police bias. It has long been recognized that attitude toward law enforcement influences cooperation with the criminal justice system, especially among racial minorities (Brown and Reed 2002; Huebner et al.

2004; Nadal et al. 2017; Peck 2015; Slocum 2018). As the first step of initiating criminal justice responses, defining racial hate crimes may be also under the influence of the attitude toward Police. This measure consists of 12 items assessing the general attitudes toward police and perceptions of police bias (Nadal and Davidoff 2015). The reliability coefficient of the POPS is .94.

It is worth mentioning that the correlation between RWA and POPS is moderate at .42. Factor analysis is conducted for all items included in the instrument. Results show that each of these two scales includes two factors without overlapping (Factor Loading >.5), suggesting the dimensions captured in RWA and POPS are different. Further, models in this project all passed multicollinearity tests (Mean VIF = 1.09, maximum VIF=1.24). As such, both RWA and POPS are included in the analyses.

3.3.3.4 Demographics

Demographic information includes respondent sex, sexual orientation, race/ethnicity, religious affiliation, age, education level, self-reported social economic status, and previous violent crime victimization. As certain groups of gender and sexual orientation have very small sample sizes, two dichotomized variables are created and included in the analyses. Gender is dichotomized into male and other. Sexual orientation is dichotomized into heterosexual and non-heterosexual.

3.3.4 Data Collection

I utilized an online crowdsourcing service Mechanical Turk (MTurk) to recruit participants and collect data. MTurk is an online marketplace where individuals or businesses can outsource jobs or tasks to a large pool of people. Potential workers can pick and choose any task to complete for the compensation the employer offers (Mason and Suri

2012). It is a popular method of recruiting paid participants for surveys and psychological experiments due to its cheap availability and relatively diverse population (Buhrmester et al. 2011).

There are several benefits of using Mturk instead of traditional recruitment strategies. First, MTurk has a large worker pool. Research has shown that MTurk became one of the most widely used online subject pools with about 500,000 adults from 190 countries (Behrend et al. 2011; Paolacci and Chandler 2014). Second, the cost of using MTurk is relatively low considering the speed at which one can collect data. In one study, researchers obtained 250 completed surveys within 24 hours at a cost of $350 (Renzetti and Lynch 2018). Finally, MTurk offers a better sample than other convenient and student samples that are often used in factorial survey experiments in related. It has long been recognized that college student samples are not representative of the general population, which compromises the generalizability of the results. MTurk workers are found to have a median age of 30, with the overrepresentation of college graduates, underemployed, middle to lower-middle class, and white population (Paolacci and Chandler 2014). Compared to nationally representative sample, MTurk generates similar results (Mullinix et al. 2015).

During the participant recruitment and data collection process, I posted a short description of the study and offered $1.00 compensation for survey completion. Eligible participants must be U.S. residents and 18 years old and above. As MTurk requires for minimum working age at 18 years old, only one additional sample filter for U.S. residency was requested to ensure the eligibility of the participants. Participants were redirected to an anonymous Qualtrics link to complete the consent form and take the online survey. The

data collection of 2,635 responses concluded within 31 hours, with an average survey time around 26 minutes.

3.3.5 Participants

Among the 2,635 responses collected through MTurk, I identified 107 (4.06%) invalid responses through multiple measurements, including direct questions and archival items. Direct questions include age, U.S. residency, self-report of carefulness, and an instructed item. Although U.S. residency was set as a filter that qualifies MTurk workers for this study, it was also used as a screening question in the beginning of the survey. Age was used both as a control variable and as a screening item to exclude those either below 18 years old or give extreme numbers, such as "999". A question on self-report of carefulness asked the respondent whether they have paid attention during the survey process. If not, the answer was excluded from the final sample. Archival items included three measures. First, the length of time a participant takes to complete the survey signals potential inattentive response. While the threshold for minimum length of time is not universally established, I adopted Huang et al.'s (2012) approach which classifies the response being insufficient with less than 2 seconds for personality questions or attitudinal items. There were 129 items to be rated or answered in the survey. If the respondent completed the survey within less than 250 seconds, it was classified as an invalid response. Second, responses with progress less than 60 percent were removed from the dataset (Renzetti and Lynch 2018). In addition, Qualtrics (n.d.) marked a spam response when multiple identical responses are submitted from the same IP address within a 12-hour window. Responses with the spam flag were removed from the final sample. After listwise

deletion of the identified invalid responses, the final dataset consisted of 2,528 participants, with all variables with less than 1 percent missing rate except for SES (5.14%).

For the purpose of this study, I further selected a sample of 2,202 respondents (Table 3.3), with whom identified as white (73.98%), Black (18.80%), Hispanic/Latino (8.22%), or Asian (9.45%). This sample further consisted of 54.40% male, 45.60% female; and 78.69% heterosexual, 21.31% non-heterosexual. About 81.61% respondents identified as not religious, and 18.39% identified as religious. The average age of the sample was about 38 years old, ranging from 18 to 79 years old. The sample also had an average of 5.63 out of 9 self-identified SES. Additionally, the sample is highly educated with only 0.36% respondents reported less than high school educational obtainment. The demographic composition is also in line with the previous findings (Paolacci and Chandler 2014): median age of 34, with the overrepresentation of high school graduates, and middle class. Notably, chi-square tests showed that the demographic characteristics also vary by respondent race, with relatively low effect size ranging from 0.09 to 0.27.

[TABLE 3.3 ABOUT HERE]

3.4 Results

A set of binary logistic regression models were estimated on the whole sample and respondent subgroups to predict the likelihood that the participant perceived the vignette as a hate crime, based on situational features of the incident and characteristics of the respondents.

[TABLE 3.4 ABOUT HERE]

3.4.1 Total Sample & Racial Variance

Model 1 presents the results of the full model on the total sample (Table 3.4). Results suggest that incident variables, including offender's race, victim's race, presence of hate message, and violence level and consequences are all statistically significant. Specifically, presence of hate message increases the odds ratio of perceiving a racial hate crime by 2.88 times compared to those without racial slurs. Violence level and consequences are only sensitive in the cases of physical harm with slight injured, which increases the likelihood of recognizing a racial hate crime by 1.42 times compared to those cases with verbal threat without injury. The effect of offender's race on the outcome is significantly moderated by the victim's race.

Several respondent characteristics are also significant. Heterosexual respondents are found 0.68 times less likely to recognize the incident as a racial hate crime compared to non-heterosexual respondents, supporting the power-relation argument. One unit increase in self-reported SES leads to 1.08 times higher probability of perceiving a racial hate crime. Respondents with previous violent crime victimization are 1.40 times more likely to recognize the incident as a racial hate crime, holding all other variables constant. Moreover, respondents with more positive perceptions of the police recognize the incident as motivated by race by an odds ratio of 1.39.

Testing Hypothesis 1, Model 1 revels the significant role of respondent's race in perceiving a racial hate crime. Results has shown that a Black respondent is about 1.50 times more likely to perceive the incident as a racial hate crime compared to a White or a Latino respondent, when holding all other variables constant. Such an effect is not found among Asian respondents and other groups. While the effect is not universal across all

racial groups, the findings support Hypothesis 1, which confirms the existence of racial variance among perceivers in judging racial hate crimes.

[FIGURE 3.1 ABOUT HERE] [TABLE 3.5 ABOUT HERE]

3.4.2 Inter-Racial Incidents: White vs Minority

To test the hypotheses on White vs Minority incidents, subgroup analyses based on perceiver's race were conducted. Instead of measuring the mean effect in the whole sample, subgroup analyses take racial group difference into consideration. Results reveal that White respondents tend to have a lower probability of calling the incident a hate crime with a White offender compared to Black and Latino respondents. With the exception of Asian respondents on White-on-Black incidents, non-White respondents are generally more likely to perceive a racial hate crime when the incident involves a White offender and a non-White victim (Hypothesis 2b), while White respondents have lower probabilities of recognizing the incident as a racial hate crime (Hypothesis 2a). For incidents that involve a White offender and a Black victim, Black respondents have the highest predicted probability of recognizing it as a racial hate crime at 0.714 (Figure 3.1b), followed by Latinos at 0.706 (Figure 3.1c), Whites at 0.634 (Figure 3.1a), and Asians at 0.632 (Figure 3.1d). For incidents that involve a White offender and a Latino victim, Black respondents also have the highest predicted probability at 0.583 (Figure 3.1b), followed by Latinos and Asians, both at 0.5 (Figure 3.1c & d), and White at 0.488 (Figure 3.1a). Notably, although Asians have the lowest predicted probability on White-on-Black incidents, the difference between White and Asian respondents is minimal.

In addition, findings also reveal a significant difference between White-on-Black incidents and White-on-Latino incidents among White respondents. Specifically, within

the White subgroup, the probability of perceiving a White-on-Black incident as a racial hate crime is 1.3 times higher than White-on-Latino incidents (Figure 3.1a). Such difference is not observed in other racial subgroups (Table 3.5).

In Minority-on-White cases, subgroup models demonstrate the uniqueness of White respondents. White respondents are the only racial group that designates a Black-on-White racial hate crime at a lower probability than White-on-Black incidents. An average White respondent is 20% less likely to recognize a Black-on-White hate crime than a White-on-Black one (Figure 3.1a). However, no significant differences are found in comparing Latino vs White patterns. Thus, hypothesis 2c is rejected: White respondents do not perceive racial hate crimes at a higher probability when a Minority-on-White case is presented; contrarily, a Black-on-White incidents significantly decreases the likelihood of perceiving a racial hate among White respondents. For racial minority respondents, no significant differences were observed either in White-on-Minority and Minority-on-White comparisons, which rejects hypothesis 2d (Figure 3.1b, c, d; Table 3.5b, c, d).

3.4.3 Inter-racial Incidents: Minority vs Minority

Results further illustrate that the probability of a Black respondent perceiving a Black-on-Latino racial hate crime is at 0.511(Figure 3.1b) whereas an Asian respondent at 0.545 (Figure 3.1d) and White at 0.415 (Figure 3.1a). That is, Black respondents perceive Black-on-Latino incidents at a lower probability of the outcome than Asian respondents but higher than White respondents. Similarly, the likelihood of a Latino respondent perceiving a Latino-on-Black racial hate crime is at 0.733 (Figure 3.1c) whereas Asian at 0.688 (Figure 3.1d) and White at 0.491 (Figure 3.1a). In this case, when the respondent and the offender are both Latinos, the likelihood of perceiving a Latino-on-Black hate crime is

the highest compared to Asian respondents and White respondents. Thus, Hypothesis 3a only finds partial support in the Black respondent subgroup compared to Asians.

When the respondent belongs to the same racial group as the victim, the results are also mixed (Hypothesis 3b). In Latino-on-Black cases, a Black respondent has a probability of 0.542 (Figure 3.1b) in perceiving a racial hate crime, whereas Asian respondent at the highest of 0.688 (Figure 3.1d), and White respondent at the lowest of 0.491 (Figure 3.1a). In Black-on-Latino cases, a Latino respondent has a probability at the lowest of 0.353 (Figure 3.1c), whereas Asian respondent at the highest of 0.545 (Figure 3.1d) and White in between at 0.415 (Figure 3.1a). Thus, Hypothesis 3b is rejected, with the only exception of White respondents have the lowest probability of perceiving a Latino-on-Black racial hate crime.

Interestingly, only among Latino respondents is the predicted margins of perceiving a Latino-on-Black racial hate crime significantly higher than Black-on-Latino incidents (Figure 3.1c). It is also the highest across all patterns within Latino respondents as well as across all subgroups.

3.4.4 Intra-racial incidents

The effects of respondent's race on intra-group incidents also vary (Hypothesis 4). For White respondents, White-on-White incidents are significantly lower than all other inter-racial incidents (Table 3.5a). But there is not significant difference in intra-racial cases among Whites, Blacks, or Latinos. In cross-subgroup comparison, Asian respondents are least likely to call intra-White incidents hate crimes at a probability at 0.1 (Figure 3.1d), followed by White respondents at 0.244 (Figure 3.1a). For Black respondents, Black intra-racial incidents are only different from inter-racial incidents with a White actor, such as

White-on-Black or Latino-on-White (Table 3.5b). Black respondents are the most likely to perceive an intra-group hate incidents between two Blacks at 0.383 (Figure 3.1b), compared to White at 0.210 (Figure 3.1a), Latino at 0.067 (Figure 3.1c), and Asian at 0.250 (Figure 3.1d). For Latino respondent, the probability of classifying Latino-on-Latino incidents as racial hate crimes is significantly lower than White-on-White, White-on-Black, Black-on-White, and Latino-on-Black incidents (Table 3.5c). Latino respondents are least possible to identify hate crimes when the intra-group incidents involve two Latinos at 0.238 (Figure 3.1c) while White, Black, and Asian respondents reached at 0.278, 0.559, and 0.409 respectively (Figure 3.1a, b, &d).

To sum up, White-on-White and Black-on-Black incidents both receive the lowest probabilities to be classified as a racial hate crime compared to all incidents with a White or Black respondent. However, Latino-on-Latino incidents are rated higher than both Black and White intra-racial incidents in the eyes of non-Hispanic/Latino respondents (Figure 3.1a, b, & c).

3.5 Discussion

Although hate crime statutes in the US share the same essential legal elements, the successful utilization of the law depends on individuals' perceptions of potential hate crimes to initiate the criminal justice process. Building upon previous research on individual perceptions of hate crime, this study examines how perceiver's racial identity influences determinations of events as racial hate crime.

The results suggest that respondents' racial identity serves as a significant factor influencing how individuals perceive racial hate crimes, controlling for incident characteristics, respondent demographics, and pre-existing prejudice and bias. For the most

part, respondents are more sensitive to majority-on-minority hate incidents. Yet, the empirical evidence from this research supports the racial variance argument in perceiving racial hate crimes. Not only is the interaction of offender's and victim's race crucial in constructing a racial hate crime, but it is also conditioning on the perceiver's own racial identity that participate in the meaning-making process.

Consistent with social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 2004), this research has also found support for a theory of group image management. As the social identity theory argues, when an ingroup member is the offender of a possible racial hate crimes, the perceiver may choose to maintain or restore the positive image of the group. However, some of the results are mixed, suggesting that this process of protecting the integrity of ingroup member and group is much more complicated than what was captured in this study. For instance, White respondents have shown a clear pattern of lower probability of recognizing a racial hate crime in White-on-Minority incidents compared to other racial subgroups, which may serve to uphold the positive image of their ingroup by questioning the motivation of the incident more than their outgroup counterparts. This finding echoes prior literature that explored social identity theory: White respondents downplay the existence of inter-racial hate crimes committed by a White offender (Brewer 1999; Gini 2007; LeVine and Campbell 1972; Lyons 2006, 2008a). At the same time, White respondents seem to perceive more wrongfulness in White-on-Black incidents than Black-on-White incidents as the former situation significantly increases the odds ratio of perceiving racial hate crimes.

Contrary to White respondents, Black and Latino respondents have higher probabilities of perceiving White-on-Minority incidents as hate crimes. The meaning

behind this finding is twofold. For one, when the perceiver shares the same racial identity with the victim, ingroup favoritism prevails, which motivates the perceiver more eager to condemn the incidents against Blacks (Depew et al. 2017). For the other, the increased probabilities of Black and Latino respondents in perceiving White-on-Minority incidents reveals another potential meaning-making mechanism that has long been neglected. That is, while ethnoviolence is utilized as a means for the racial dominant group to outcast racial minorities, a collective identity seems to be formed between Blacks and Latinos. Perhaps such collective identity is a successful outcome of the anti-violence movement that promoted and lobbied for hate crime legislation at the first place (Jenness and Grattet 2001; McVeigh et al. 2003; Polletta and Jasper 2001). By recognizing White-on-Minority incidents, racial minorities who share this collective identity find a way to gain power and to mobilize criminal justice resources.

Indeed, this collective identity of being racial minority is not shared universally. As Polletta and Jasper (2001) have argued, collective identity is "fluid and relational." The Asian respondents in this research may be a vivid example. For Asian respondents in the current study, whether an incident involves a White-on-Minority pattern is not central in determining racial hate crimes. Rather, an inter-racial pattern matters the most, regardless of who attacked whom. Perhaps the minimal differences between Asian and White in the findings highlights the uniqueness of Asians in terms of racial position in society. As Kim (1999) argued, Asian Americans have been positioned in the racial geometry in the US and experienced the racial triangulation with reference to Blacks and Whites. Asians, as a result, have been caught in the double consciousness (Wang 1997), which manifests as the irrelevancy of the Majority-on-Minority pattern in this study.

Further, the reluctance among White respondents to admit an ingroup member as a hate crime offender is not shared by Minority respondents. For example, Black-on-White cases are more likely to be hate crimes in the eyes of Black respondents than any other groups. This finding depicts another route toward restoring positive group image: stricter treatment of ingroup members, which was also observed in previous research (Depew et al. 2017). Perhaps Black respondents are more sensitive to racial bias due to their lived experiences. As such, Black respondents are more aware of hate motivations in the inter-racial incidents. When an ingroup initiates a hate incident toward another group, Blacks evaluate that action even more negatively. The relatively high probability of Black respondents recognizing a Black-on-Latino hate crime also supports this argument. Another plausible explanation is derived from system justification theory (Jost and Banaji 1994), which contends that minorities with the least social status are the most susceptible to ingroup devaluation. By accepting the negative attitudes about their own group, minorities find a way to legitimize the status quo. As such, Black respondents are both aware of the racial motive in the scenario and also accepting the stigma of high criminality among Blacks.

For Latinos, the effect of ingroup membership seems to be trivial. There is no significant difference between Latino-on-White and White-on-Latino incidents, neither is it found in inter-racial incidents between Whites and Blacks. On the contrary, Latino respondents have the highest tendency to call out Latino-on-Black incidents as hate crimes. This brings up the question of *who the minority is*.

In fact, whether Latino is viewed as a minority remains questionable in the results. On the one hand, Latino offenders are almost equally called out for biased motive as White

offenders, when judgments are made by White or Latino offenders. In the eyes of Black respondents, there is no significant differences among Latino-on-White, White-on-Latino, and White-on-White incidents; neither can these patterns be distinguished by Latino respondents in terms of likelihood in perceiving racial hate crimes. Additionally, Latino-on-Black incidents were equally likely to be classified as a hate crime as White-on-Latino incidents in both White and Black subgroups. This invariance suggests that Latino offenders are often viewed as White, despite of being ethnic minorities. On the other hand, Latino victims seem to have a reducing effect in the likelihood of perceiving racial hate crimes. In White-on-Minority cases, Latino victims have a significantly lower probability of being perceived as hate crime victims than their Black among all subgroups. Yet, there were no significant differences for Latino victims to encounter a White offender or a Black offender. As such, the minority status of Latinos is always relative – not only does it depend on the role the Latino plays in the vignette, but it also relies heavily on their counterpart's race.

The implications behind this finding are twofold. First, a racial hierarchy beyond a White vs non-White comparison remains prominent in the US society. It is widely recognized that the racial hierarchy in the US puts White Americans at the top and Black Americans at the bottom, with other racial groups somewhere in between (Bashi and Mcdaniel 1997; Song 2004). The findings in this study confirm the widespread consent to White racial framing across all racial groups (Feagin and Cobas 2008). Second, as respondents tend to be stricter with Latino offenders but less empathetic toward Latino victims, the White-on-Minority paradigm of hate crimes needs to be reviewed: is it about all racial minorities, or is it merely a White-on-Black contrast? Indeed, this finding may

stem from a shortcoming of this research, which is the inability to capture both racial and ethnic identities at the same time. Future research may benefit from parsing out the diversity among Latino respondents further.

While this research offers a way to understand the role of respondents' racial identity on hate crime perception, several issues seek further investigation. The first and foremost, who is the racial minority? Despite the scrutiny on the White and Black populations, few efforts have been made to understand the racial hierarchy in individuals' eyes. This research has illustrated that racial hierarchy may also be extended among minorities. Neglecting racial groups other than the White-Black dichotomy seriously compromise the accuracy and generalizability of research. It also impedes our understanding of racial inequalities and oppression. Hate studies, as well as studies of race and ethnicity, will benefit from further examination of how power relations manifest among minorities as well. Gathering in-depth qualitative data may also be crucial in further exploring the mechanism of how ingroup bias influence hate crime perceptions. Moreover, the sample size of subgroups in this study is not ideal either. Future research should focus on recruiting more participants within groups that are often underrepresented.

In conclusion, this paper argues that racial identity is a key factor in constructing the perception of racial hate crimes, which is a dynamic process rather than a merely static status. It is essential to place the criminological inquiry under a structural perspective that not only reveals racial/ethnic differences in crime perception but also considers the crucial role of the racial order and its impact in realizing social justice after all.

3.6 Tables and Figures

Table 3.1 Hypotheses by Offender Race, Victim Race, and Respondent Race

	Offender Race	Victim Race	Respondent Race	Hypothesis	Expected Outcome
Inter-Racial White vs Minority	White	Minority	White	2a	↓
			Minority	2b	↑
	Minority	White	White	2c	↑
			Minority	2d	↑
Inter-Racial Minority vs Minority	Minority A	Minority B	Minority A	3a	↓
			Minority B	3b	↑
Intra-Racial	White	White	White	4	↓
	Minority	Minority	Minority		↓

Note. Outcome=probability of perceiving a racial hate crime.

Table 3.2 Vignette Design and Distribution (*n*=2,202)

Dimensions	Levels	Frequency	Percent
Victim's race	White	745	33.83
	Black	735	33.38
	Latino	722	32.79
Offender's race	White	731	33.20
	Black	733	33.29
	Latino	738	33.51
Presence of hate message	Yes	1,109	50.36
	No	1,093	49.64
Type & level of violence	Verbal threat, no injury	548	24.89
	Physical assault, no injury	547	24.84
	Physical assault, slight injury	549	24.93
	Physical assault, severe injury	558	25.34

Table 3.3 Descriptive Statistics by Respondent Race (*n*=2,202)

	White (n=1,489)		Black (n=378)		Latino (n=154)		Asian (n=181)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Gender χ^2 *(3)=49.57 V=0.15****								
Male	743	49.90	262	69.31	95	61.69	95	52.49
Female	746	50.10	116	30.69	59	38.31	86	47.51
Sexual Orientation χ^2 *(3)=161.20 V=0.27****								
Heterosexual	1,265	84.96	216	57.14	112	72.73	163	90.06
Non-Heterosexual	224	15.04	162	42.86	42	27.27	18	9.94
Religious χ^2 *(3)=39.46 V=0.13****								
Religious	1,194	80.19	351	92.86	127	82.47	136	75.14
Not Religious	295	19.81	27	7.14	27	17.53	45	24.86
Violent Victimization χ^2 *(3)=32.50 V=0.12****								
Yes	248	16.66	108	28.57	35	22.73	25	13.81
No	1,241	83.34	270	71.43	119	77.27	156	86.19

	White (n=1,489)				Black (n=378)				Latino (n=154)				Asian (n=181)			
	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Education	1	7	4.83	1.41	1	7	5.20	1.34	1	7	4.94	1.40	2	8	5.18	1.29
Age	18	79	40.17	13.94	20	77	34.57	9.79	18	65	34.49	10.80	18	69	36.46	11.16
SES	1	9	5.38	1.92	1	9	6.51	1.88	1	9	5.81	2.04	1	9	5.80	1.95
RWA	1	5	2.70	0.78	1	4.73	3.03	0.48	1	3.93	2.88	0.54	1	4.33	2.77	0.67
POPS	1	5	3.48	0.87	1	5	3.73	0.84	1	5	3.54	0.82	1	5	3.42	0.79

*Note: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05. SD=Standard Deviation. RWA=Right Wing Authoritarianism. POPS=Perception of Police Scale.*

Table 3.4 Binary Logistic Regression Models of Racially Motivated Hate Crime Indicator on Incident, Demographics, and Attitude Scales

	Model 1 All Odds Ratio	Model 2 White Odds Ratio	Model 3 Black Odds Ratio	Model 4 Latino Odds Ratio	Model 5 Asian Odds Ratio
Incident Variables					
Offender's Race					
Black vs. white	3.081***	3.701***	1.893	1.035	14.589**
	(0.622)	(0.929)	(0.962)	(0.865)	(14.235)
Latino vs. white	2.097***	2.477***	2.187	0.433	3.739
	(0.419)	(0.624)	(1.022)	(0.385)	(3.628)
Victim's Race					
Black vs. white	5.464***	6.642***	3.394*	2.275	22.439**
	(1.123)	(1.694)	(1.783)	(2.090)	(22.434)
Latino vs. white	2.785***	3.303***	1.459	1.382	8.298*
	(0.567)	(0.842)	(0.732)	(1.246)	(7.619)
Offender's Race * Victim's Race					
Black Offender * Black Victim	0.043***	0.034***	0.101**	0.035*	0.004***
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.075)	(0.052)	(0.005)
Black Offender * Latino Victim	0.249***	0.211***	0.454	0.339	0.132
	(0.070)	(0.073)	(0.329)	(0.415)	(0.157)
Latino Offender * Black Victim	0.284***	0.241***	0.156**	2.719	0.378
	(0.080)	(0.083)	(0.111)	(3.410)	(0.498)
Latino Offender * Latino Victim	0.207***	0.143***	0.497	0.486	0.141
	(0.059)	(0.051)	(0.359)	(0.599)	(0.172)
Presence of Hate Message (vs. No)	2.875***	3.464***	1.521	2.474*	6.630***
	(0.276)	(0.414)	(0.363)	(1.111)	(2.970)

Table 3.4 (Continued) Binary Logistic Regression Models of Racially Motivated Hate Crime Indicator on Incident, Demographics, and Attitude Scales

	Model 1 All Odds Ratio	Model 2 White Odds Ratio	Model 3 Black Odds Ratio	Model 4 Latino Odds Ratio	Model 5 Asian Odds Ratio
Violence Level and Consequences (vs. Verbal threat, no injury)					
Physical harm, no injury	1.175	1.364	0.849	0.611	1.256
	(0.157)	(0.226)	(0.298)	(0.359)	(0.720)
Physical harm, slightly injured	1.419**	1.939***	0.535	0.808	1.069
	(0.190)	(0.320)	(0.194)	(0.487)	(0.606)
Physical harm, severely injured	1.198	1.425*	0.688	0.678	1.388
	(0.160)	(0.236)	(0.228)	(0.462)	(0.739)
Respondent Variables					
Race[1]					
Black vs White	1.552**				
	(0.213)				
Hispanic/ Latino vs White	0.996				
	(0.192)				
Asian vs White	1.159				
	(0.201)				
Hispanic/Latino vs Black	0.642*				
	(0.139)				
Asian vs Black	0.747				
	(0.153)				
Asian vs Hispanic/Latino	1.164				
	(0.285)				
Education Level	1.036	1.075	1.063	0.933	0.701*
	(0.038)	(0.049)	(0.108)	(0.158)	(0.112)
Age	0.994	0.990*	1.015	0.983	1.004
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.013)	(0.022)	(0.018)

Table 3.4 (Continued) Binary Logistic Regression Models of Racially Motivated Hate Crime Indicator on Incident, Demographics, and Attitude Scales

	Model 1 All Odds Ratio	Model 2 White Odds Ratio	Model 3 Black Odds Ratio	Model 4 Latino Odds Ratio	Model 5 Asian Odds Ratio
Male (vs Female)	1.015	0.982	1.087	0.837	1.029
	(0.099)	(0.116)	(0.296)	(0.376)	(0.416)
Heterosexual (vs Non-heterosexual)	0.677**	0.727	0.955	0.597	2.209
	(0.085)	(0.120)	(0.275)	(0.289)	(1.674)
Religious (vs not religious)	1.136	1.189	1.327	1.277	0.866
	(0.156)	(0.192)	(0.648)	(0.956)	(0.425)
SES	1.079**	1.015	1.135	1.524**	1.146
	(0.031)	(0.035)	(0.096)	(0.207)	(0.124)
Violent Crime Victimization (vs No)	1.401**	1.092	2.226**	1.498	2.369
	(0.174)	(0.173)	(0.641)	(0.775)	(1.404)
Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)	0.872	0.877	0.594	0.534	2.466*
	(0.068)	(0.078)	(0.167)	(0.292)	(0.900)
Perception of Police Scale (POPS)	1.387***	1.261**	2.239***	1.316	1.507
	(0.089)	(0.097)	(0.457)	(0.396)	(0.400)
Constant	0.060***	0.073***	0.027**	0.499	0.001***
	(0.023)	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.940)	(0.002)
Observations	2,202	1,489	378	154	181

*Note: 1. Results obtained through separate regression models. Standard error eform in parentheses. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, *p<0.05.*

Table 3.5 Contrast Significance Table of Predicted Margins on Perceiving Racial Hate Crimes by Respondent's Racial Group
Table 3.5a White Respondents

White*White	-								
White*Black	***	-							
White*Latino	***	**	-						
Black*White	***	**		-					
Black*Black		***	***	***	-				
Black*Latino	***	***			***	-			
Latino*White	***	***			***		-		
Latino*Black	***	**			***			-	
Latino*Latino		***	***	***		**	**	***	-
	White*White	White*Black	White*Latino	Black*White	Black*Black	Black*Latino	Latino*White	Latino*Black	Latino*Latino

Table 3.5b Black Respondents

White*White	-								
White*Black	*	-							
White*Latino			-						
Black*White				-					
Black*Black		***	*	**	-				
Black*Latino		*				-			
Latino*White					**		-		
Latino*Black								-	
Latino*Latino									-
	White*White	White*Black	White*Latino	Black*White	Black*Black	Black*Latino	Latino*White	Latino*Black	Latino*Latino

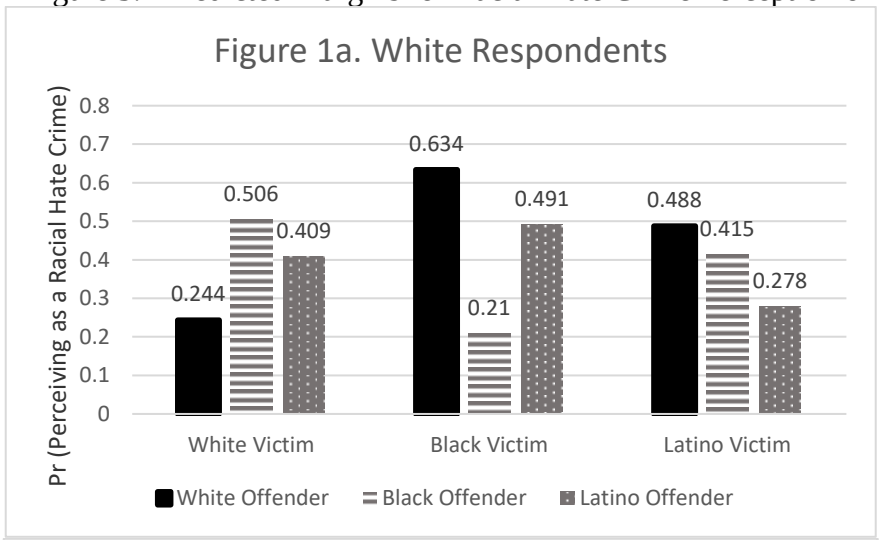
Table 3.5c Latino Respondents

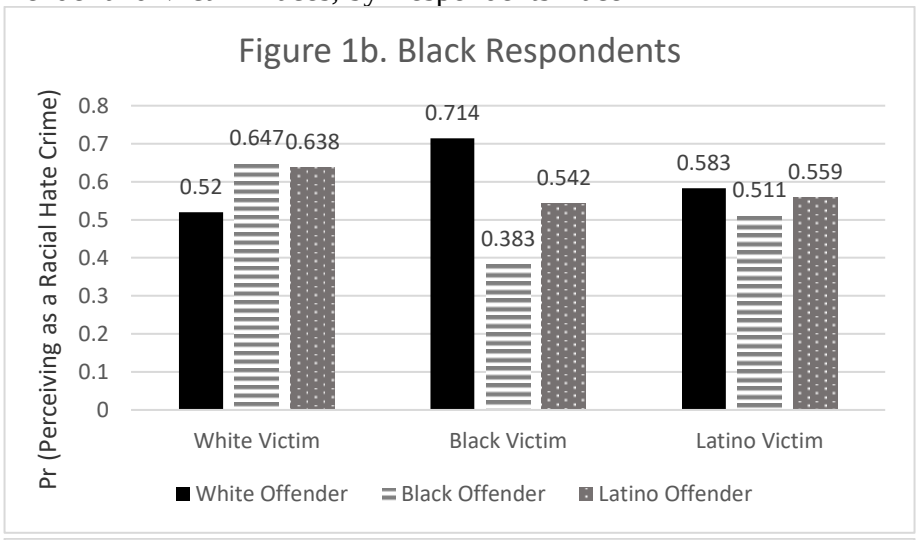
White*White	-								
White*Black		-							
White*Latino			-						
Black*White				-					
Black*Black	***	***	***	***	-				
Black*Latino		**			*	-			
Latino*White		**					-		
Latino*Black					***	*	**	-	
Latino*Latino	*	***		*				***	-
	White*White	White*Black	White*Latino	Black*White	Black*Black	Black*Latino	Latino*White	Latino*Black	Latino*Latino

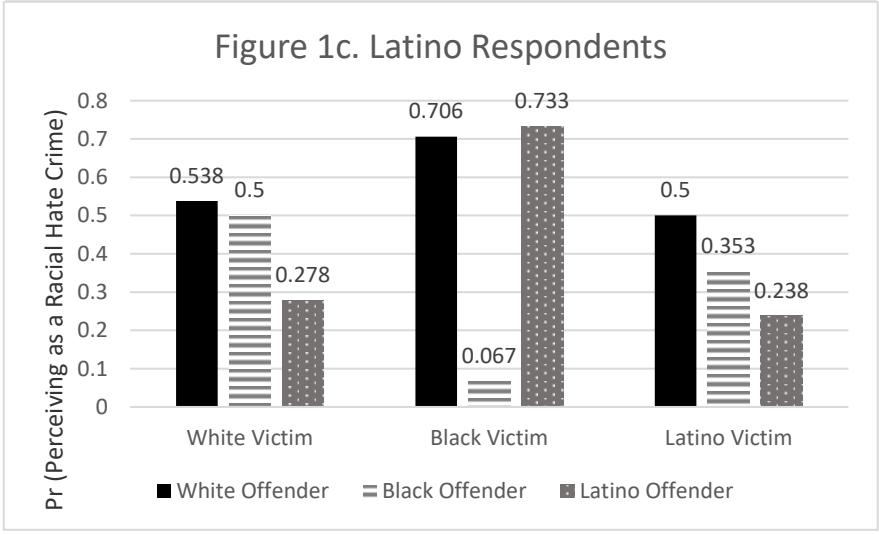
Table 3.5d Asian Respondents

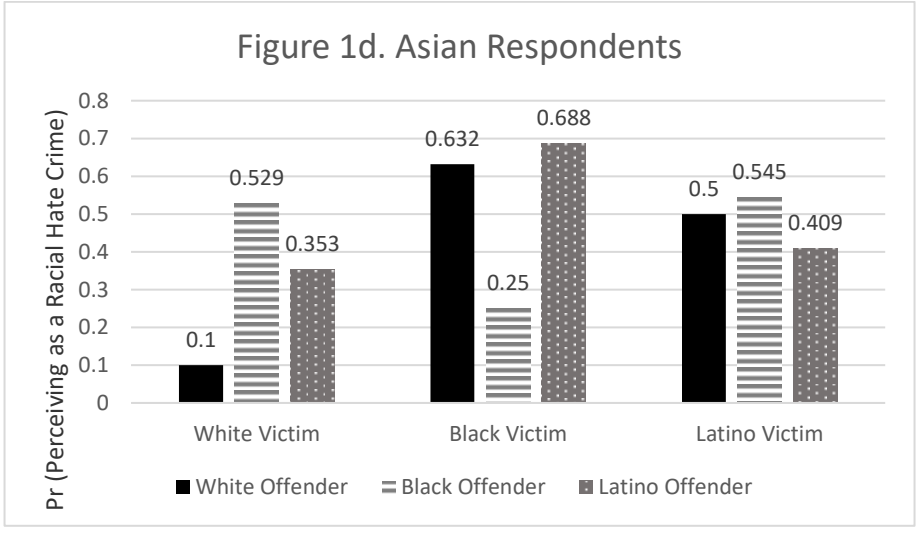
White*White	-								
White*Black	***	-							
White*Latino	***		-						
Black*White	***			-					
Black*Black		**	*	*	-				
Black*Latino	***				*	-			
Latino*White	*						-		
Latino*Black	***				***		*	-	
Latino*Latino	**							*	-
	White*White	White*Black	White*Latino	Black*White	Black*Black	Black*Latino	Latino*White	Latino*Black	Latino*Latino

Figure 3.1 Predicted Margins for Racial Hate Crime Perception on Offender and Victim Races, by Respondents Race









CHAPTER 4. FROM PERCEPTION TO REPORTING

Since the introduction of the Hate Crime Statistics Act (HCSA) by the U.S. congress in 1990, federal agencies were mandated to compile and report hate crime statistics each year (Jacobs and Potter 2000). The Uniform Crime Report (UCR) program, of which the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) is part of it, compiles and reports nationwide hate crime information. In 2019, the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) (FBI 2020) has recorded 8,859 hate incidents in the United States, of which nearly 58 percent were motivated by the victim's race, ethnicity, or ancestry. However, the recorded data of hate incidents are often challenged by other data sources. The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) estimates an average of 250,000 hate crime victimizations experienced by U.S. residents from 2004 to 2015 (Masucci and Langton 2017). Nearly half incidents were motivated by racial bias and about 35% were targeting the victim's ethnicity (Masucci and Langton 2017). Despite the differences in the scope of the two data sources, the huge gap between the two most common official crime data collections reveals a severe issue of hate crime underreporting.

While crime underreporting has long been puzzling social scientists, hate crime is a relatively new legal construct. Research reveals some commonalities regarding reporting to the police between hate crimes and non-bias offenses. Generally speaking, incident characteristics, victim's demographics, and belief toward police are strong predictors that affect victim reporting for both hate crimes and other violence victimizations (Cramer et al. 2010; Culotta 2005; Gerstenfeld 2003; Lyons 2006, 2008b; Marcus-Newhall et al. 2002; Rayburn et al. 2003; Skogan 1984; Zaykowski 2010).

Despite the common determinants to reporting, hate crimes are reported at a far lower frequency compared to other types of violent victimizations (Herek and Berrill 1992; Iganski 2001; Levin 2009; Perry 2002c). The increased harm associated with hate crimes (Chakraborti and Garland 2009; Craig and Waldo 1996; Hall 2012; Herek 1992; Herek and Berrill 1992; Iganski 2001; Jenness and Grattet 2001; Levin and McDevitt 2013; Lim 2009) combined with the slippery nature of hate crime definition (Chakraborti and Garland 2009; Culotta 2005; Jacobs and Potter 2000; Lieberman and Freeman 2009) creates extra barriers to report hate crime victimizations to the police. However, little is known about the decision-making process that connects hate crime recognition to reporting hate crimes to the police.

Build on the basis of a model of crime-victim decision making presented by Greenberg and Ruback (1992), this paper proposes and tests a modified model that specifically caters to hate crimes. By considering both structural context and individuals' beliefs as previous literature suggests, this model bridges research on hate crime perception and hate crime reporting, and therefore offers a linchpin in understanding how various situational and individual factors shape victim's decision to report to the police.

4.1 Literature Review

4.1.1 The Original Model of Crime-Victim Decision Making

About three decades ago, Greenberg and Ruback (1992) presented a model of crime-victim decision making (Figure 4.1), introducing a theoretical framework to explain various decision types of victims after an incident. According to their model, a victim's decision concerning what to do after a criminal incident involves three stages. At the first

stage, victims label the incident a crime. Victim needs to evaluate the nature of the incident and compare the current situation to one's own definition of crime. In order to label the event a crime, the incident situation has to fit victims' own definition of a crime. However, labeling an event a crime does not necessarily lead to reporting. At the second stage, the perceived seriousness of the event – regardless of expected, actual, and potential harm – contributes to the victim's motivation to decide what to do.

[FIGURE 4.1 ABOUT HERE]

After the first two stages, victims then face several options regarding what to do in response to the criminal event. The original model deems the action of choice as a result of cost-benefit analysis conducted by the victim. That is, potential benefit overweighs potential negative consequences. Victims may choose to report to the police, seek alternative conflict resolution, or do nothing about the event, which largely depends on victim's attitude toward each option that comes from past experiences. Toward a more psychological explanation, the authors contend that the decision about what action to take is motivated by perceived distress relieving. Situational factors of the incident are internalized into victim's distress. Consequently, combining the current circumstance with previous experience and expectations toward potential options, the victim makes a decision that is perceived to be more successful in reducing distress. Notably, victims are also under social influence from the others at each stage.

The empirical examination further revealed three main findings on victims' reporting decision (Greenberg and Ruback 1992). First, incident and situational variables are strong predictor of victims' decision to call the police. According to the authors, the situational variables of an incident often affect the perceived seriousness of a crime and

thus increases the probability of reporting. Secondly, social influence is a consistent strong factor in affecting victim reporting. Social influence may come from different sources, including bystanders, others who victims consulted, and normative beliefs. Victims often follow the advice about what they should do from those they consulted with. Not only do victims receive information from the others about the criminal justice system, but they are also under normative pressure regarding the appropriate action to take under the particular circumstance. Third, fear and anger as two common emotional reactions may affect victims' short-term or long-term reporting decisions.

Greenberg and Ruback's (1992) work built a theoretical foundation for this paper as it offers a comprehensive framework that integrates both incident and victim level variables into the decision-making processes after the occurrence of criminal events. While their model has examined various crime types through a series of studies, from theft, robbery, to sexual assault, it has not been applied and examined in hate crime studies. As Greenberg and Ruback (1992) note, their study does not exhaust all victims under all circumstances; rather, it offers a possible explanation that reveals the complex reasoning mechanism toward the decision to report to the police.

4.1.2 The Uniqueness of Hate Crimes

4.1.2.1 Defining Hate Crimes

As the original model (Greenberg and Ruback 1992) suggests, identifying an event a crime is the foundation of the decision-making process. With abundance of clues, the majority of individuals are able to label the event a crime; however, even for crimes without much definitional contention, such as theft, some participants fail to classify the event as a

crime (Greenberg and Ruback 1992). Considering the ambiguity of hate crimes, it is logical and crucial to investigate how hate crimes are perceived by individuals.

As a recent legal construct, hate crime lacks a universal definition that can be easily applied or accepted. While most hate crime definitions involve two center elements – a criminal act and a biased motive, state hate crime laws vary a lot, challenging the victim's ability to accurately identify the occurrence of a hate crime. On the one hand, the burden of perceiving a biased motive falls on the shoulder of the victim, adding an extra requirement of knowledge of hate crime law on top of the parallel offense. While racial bias is the most common ground that all 50 states and DC have regulated already, crimes against the victim's sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, and disability are not fully protected across states (Chakraborti and Garland 2009; Jacobs and Potter 2000; Lieberman and Freeman 2009). On the other hand, state hate crime laws differ from each other when it comes to which criminal acts qualify as hate crimes, with the premise of bias motivation and intentionally targeting. Some states only cover harassment or intimidation, while other states either qualify any offense or some particular types of offenses (Jacobs and Potter 2000). The great variation across states creates a barrier for the victims to accurately distinguish a hate crime from a parallel offense.

Unlike most non-biased offenses, a hate crime also implies a higher seriousness in nature. Scholars have argued that hate crimes carry out more physical and psychological harm to the victims compared to a crime without the biased motive (Herek 1992; Jenness and Grattet 2001; Levin 2002; Levin and McDevitt 2013). On top of this argument, hate crime is often viewed as "message crime" (Hall 2012; Lim 2009). That is, hate crimes usually aim to convey a message to not only the individual victim but more so to the

community the victim belongs to (Chakraborti and Garland 2009; Lim 2009; Perry 2002c). By singling out the whole community, hate crimes further traumatize the whole social group through the in terrorem effect (Iganski 2001; Perry and Olsson 2009a) – the fear and intimidation by hurting the individuals of certain communities – and ultimately attacking the whole group with exclusionary violence (Craig and Waldo 1996; Lyons 2008b).

The augmented seriousness of hate crimes is also reflected in more severe legal consequences for hate crime offenders. U.S. hate crime laws usually take the form of penalty enhancements. At the state level, 45 states and the District of Columbia have enacted hate crime statutes covering various types of bias-motivated violence or intimidation. Under these laws, hate violence perpetrators will face more severe penalties. The size of penalty enhancement varies from state to state, as big as double the maximum prison term (Jacobs and Potter 2000). At the federal level, the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 takes a similar approach, increasing the sentence for underlying federal offenses by about 30 percent when other requirements are met (Levin 2002; Perry and Levin 2009). Hate crime statutes may also define new substantive offenses, distinguishing hate crime from its parallel offense (Levin 2002). Research reveals high acceptance of hate crime legislation regardless of participants own feelings about these laws across diverse populations (Dunbar and Molina 2004; Johnson and Byers 2003).

Blame attribution research and mock jury studies further indicate that the increased severity of a biased motive is deeply embedded in individuals' definition of hate crimes (Cramer et al. 2013, 2010; Gerstenfeld 2003; Lyons 2006; Marcus-Newhall et al. 2002; Rayburn et al. 2003). For instance, Rayburn, Mendoza, and Davidson (2003) find that participants view hate crime perpetrators more blameworthy than offenders without a

biased motive; similarly, hate crime victims are rated as more innocent. The perceived unexpectedness of the victimization and the vulnerability of the victim may have triggered such reaction (Rayburn et al. 2003). Other mock jury studies reveal more harsh punishment or longer sentencing is assigned to hate crimes compared to non-hate crimes (Cramer et al. 2013, 2010). Mirroring the spirit of retributive justice, these findings suggest a wide acknowledgement of higher severity in hate crime incidents and consequently more punishment proportionally.

4.1.2.2 Reporting Hate Crimes

In the case of reporting to the police, the original model identifies several main factors that fall under two general areas (Greenberg and Ruback 1992). First, notifying the police is positively related to perceived seriousness of the crime and victimization. Literature has shown that the seriousness of the crime is usually the strongest predictor of reporting behavior. Individuals are more likely to report a crime if there are serious property loss or injuries; in contrast, if victims believe that the offense was not serious enough, they tend to report less (Christmann and Wong 2010; Skogan 1984). The original model further suggests that crimes with more emotional harm are reported more often (Greenberg and Ruback 1992).

However, this conclusion does not hold true for hate crimes. Based on UCR and NCVS results, hate incidents are largely underreported. The NCVS estimates an average of 250,000 hate crime victimization experienced by US residents (Masucci and Langton 2017) whereas UCR has only recorded 8,859 hate incidents (FBI 2020). Scholars suggest that hate crimes are reported at a far lower frequency compared to other types of violent victimizations (Herek and Berrill 1992; Iganski 2001; Levin 2009; Perry 2002c). Research

estimates that hate crimes may be reported in less than one in every six incidents (Iganski 2001) to one in every five incidents (Perry 2002c). It is the greater psychological harm combined with its symbolic meaning of the exclusionary violence that yields the result of low reporting (Blee 2007; Herek and Berrill 1992; Perry 2002c; Zaykowski 2010). The claimed increased seriousness of hate crime does not proportionally result in higher reporting rates.

Second, the perceived effectiveness of police in reducing distress affects victims decision to notify the law enforcement (Greenberg and Ruback 1992). While police effectiveness and helpfulness is one aspect that contribute to reporting behaviors (Culotta 2005; Greenberg and Ruback 1992; Skogan 1984; Zaykowski 2010), other beliefs and attitudes are often examined (Christmann and Wong 2010; Culotta 2005; Skogan 1984; Slocum 2018; Wiedlitzka et al. 2018; Zaykowski 2010). For example, a qualitative study has found that distrust of police discourages hate crime reporting (Culotta 2005). Similar discouragement is also observed with perceived police bias, suspected police corruption, and negative attitude toward police in general (Bell 2002; Lyons 2008a; Nadal et al. 2017; Skogan 1984; Soares 2004; Weitzer and Tuch 2005). The exploration between individual's prejudice and attitude toward hate crime generates mixed results. While a body of literature discovers the association between higher racial prejudice and more victim blaming (Cramer et al. 2010; Marcus-Newhall et al. 2002; Rayburn et al. 2003), the others find prejudice irrelevant in rating seriousness of hate crimes (Gerstenfeld 2003; Lyons 2008a).

Other than the two main categories, previous studies on crime reporting also consider other features of the incident as well as the demographic characteristics of the parties involved. Existing literature finds that the variations of crime reporting rates are

related to culpability of the perpetuator, perpetuator-victim relationship, and weapon involvement (Goudriaan and Nieuwbeerta 2007; Mason 2005; Skogan 1984). With regard to demographics, research indicates that women and senior citizens have a higher probability to report to the police (Skogan 1984). The effect of victim's race, on the other hand, generates mixed results (Bachman 1993; Marcus-Newhall et al. 2002; Rennison 2010; Skogan 1984). When it comes to hate crimes, research on reporting remains scarce. Among few research that analyzed NCVS data, researchers have found some commonalities between hate crimes and general crime reporting. For example, in an investigation on religious hate crime victims, researchers found that age, education level, and known offender decreased the probability of reporting religious hate crimes to police (Walfield, Socia, and Powers 2017). For racial hate crimes, racial minority victims were more reluctant to seek help from the law enforcement (Zaykowski 2010), revealing significant racial disparities. Other significant predictors of reporting behavior include injury level, weapon use, gender, victim-offender relationship, and location of the incident (Walfield et al. 2017; Zaykowski 2010).

In sum, while the original model provides a foundation for mechanism toward crime reporting, it needs specific modifications in order to unpack the decision-making process in hate crimes. The uniqueness of hate crimes – definitional unclearness, increased seriousness, unproportioned reporting, and few yet mixed results – challenges the idea of a linear decision-making process that strictly follows the original model.

4.2 A Modified Model of Hate Crime Reporting

Adopting the framework of the original model, this paper proposes a modified model that aims to explain hate crime reporting (Figure 4.2). The theoretical foundation for this modified model comes from a structural perspective that not only takes hate crimes as a product and sources of societal hierarchy but also considers the actual effect of the systematic oppression on individualized prejudice and bias.

[FIGURE 4.2 ABOUT HERE]

4.2.1 A Structural Explanation

As one of the key elements, the increased seriousness in defining a hate crime, especially racial hate crimes, highlights the power relation that embeds in a broader pattern of oppression (Perry 2002c; Young 1999). Researchers argue that the key to identifying a hate crime is the group affiliation of the victim rather than the motivation itself (Chakraborti and Garland 2009; Gerstenfeld 2017). In most hate crime cases, the victim involves a minority status whereas the offender is often from a group of majority (Lyons 2008b). For instance, evidence from a mock juror study reveals that white offenders are more likely to be convicted with higher certainty of guilty (Gerstenfeld 2003). Similarly, White-on-Black hate crimes are viewed more negatively and more severe than Black-on-White incidents (Marcus-Newhall et al. 2002). This framework remains salient when expanding to other minority status, such as sexual orientations and gender identities (Cramer et al. 2013; Mason-Bish and Duggan 2020). These studies indicate the broad acceptance of an asymmetrical relation between victims and offenders of hate crimes.

Hate crimes are both a product of the social system and a tool to reinforce imbalanced power relations (Petrosino 1999). On the one hand, hate crimes are a

manifestation of the types of prejudice, marginalization, and oppression embedded within the social structure (Petrosino 1999), which legitimate exclusionary violence toward a certain social group. On the other hand, it is through hate violence that a given social order is reaffirmed and maintained. By creating fear, hostility, and suspicion, hate violence reinforces the social hierarchy that reaffirms the dominant status of a given group while othering the subordinates (Jacobs and Potter 2000; Perry 2002c, 2002a). Thus, a structural view should be applied to understand hate crimes. That is, a hate crime is a form of structural oppression rather than a criminal act conducted exclusively by individuals, and through the bias motivated criminal act, social hierarchy is reenforced and maintained.

In addition, individuals' attitudes and beliefs also matter in defining and reporting hate crimes. As social dominance theory asserts, structural explanations toward "othering" do not account for individual difference (Sidanius et al. 2004). That is, to what degree an individual holds prejudice and bias toward another group may vary. A nationally representative survey of American adults reveals correlation between public attitudes and sensitivity to hate crimes (Steen and Cohen 2004). Attitudes also explain variation in evaluation of hate incidents and support for hate crime legislations (Marcus-Newhall et al. 2002; Rayburn et al. 2003). As the scenario gets more complicated, respondents' own characteristics come into play. A qualitative examination of hate crime definitions has found great variations among respondents with different demographic characteristics (Craig and Waldo 1996). Previous chapters further reveal that respondent's demographic features, including race, sexual orientation, social-economic status, attitude toward police, and previous violent crime victimization, have significant impact on perceiving racial hate crimes under certain circumstances. Under the premise that systematic oppression is the

foundation of the group-based order, individuals thus legitimize discrimination so as to maintain and reinforce social hierarchy (Sidanius et al. 2004). Research on hate crime reporting also found similar results, suggesting that more negative attitude toward the police is associated with fewer reporting (Culotta 2005). Thus, not only does structural oppression manifest in the form of hate crimes but it also presents as individual's attitude and belief at each stage after victimization.

4.2.2 Hate Crime Perception as a Mediator

Although labeling an event a hate crime is not a necessary step toward reporting to the police, the perception of a hate crime implies a higher level of seriousness of the incident. The common characteristics of an incident, such as offender-victim relationship, offense types, and consequence, contribute to labeling an event as a crime whereas designating a hate crime requires extra layer of evaluation and recognition. As solid evidence of offender bias, the presence of hate messages is proven to be the strongest predictor in designating a hate crime (Gerstenfeld 2003; Lyons 2008b; Rayburn et al. 2003). The presence of hate messages, such as racial slurs, offers evidence of the bias motivation, which concretizes the elusive increased seriousness of hate crimes (Cramer et al. 2013). As such, perceiving a hate crime should also be considered as a higher seriousness rating compared to identifying a parallel offense, which leads to higher probabilities of reporting to the police. However, the counterintuitive fact of hate crime reporting – increased seriousness and lower reporting rate – remains puzzling. As such, the proposed model hypothesizes that perceiving a hate crime partially mediates the effects of incident characteristics and respondents' attitudes and bias on reporting behaviors.

The current study aims to shed light on the rarely studied mechanism from hate crime perception to reporting. In so doing, this study provides the first test of the mechanism of how hate crime perception influences reporting behaviors, using a sample of US adults from a factorial survey experiment. Adopting a structural explanation, the following hypotheses are tested:

Hypothesis 1: Respondents are more likely to report to the police if the incident is more serious.

Hypothesis 1a: Respondents are more likely to report to the police if the incident involves higher level of violence and more severe consequences.

Hypothesis 1b: Respondents are more likely to report to the police if the incident involves hate message.

Hypothesis 2a: Respondents are more likely to report to the police if they hold a more positive attitude toward police.

Hypothesis 2b: Respondents are less likely to report to the police if they hold more agreement of Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale.

Hypothesis 3: The perception of a hate crime partially mediates the effect of the incident characteristics and respondents' attitudinal scales.

4.3 Data And Methods

4.3.1 Factorial Survey Experiment

The data for this research were collected in May 2020 as a part of a larger study on social construction of hate crimes. The study employs factorial survey experiment with

randomized vignette assignments. Factorial survey experimental design is a multidimensional method that combines survey research and experimental research (Auspurg and Hinz 2014; Lyons 2008b; Rossi and Anderson 1982; Rossi and Nock 1982). In most cases, a factorial survey uses descriptions of fictional situations (vignettes) as stimuli, followed by survey questions that ask respondents to evaluate scenarios. Within each vignette, a number of important characteristics (dimensions) systematically vary by type or degree (level).

As a combination of survey methods and experimental research, factorial survey experiments have a number of advantages. First, by introducing randomly assigned vignettes, factorial survey experiments guarantee internal validity (Auspurg and Hinz 2014; Rossi and Nock 1982). That is, the respondents' reactions only reflect variations in the vignettes only, reducing the correlation between respondent characteristics and the hypothetical scenario (Auspurg and Hinz 2014). Second, the form of a survey study can be applied to relatively heterogeneous populations fairly easily, which increases the generalizability and external validity of the study. Traditional experiments often suffer from the homogeneous groups of participants, such as college students or self-selected samples. The difficulties in recruiting relatively diverse participants also limit the number of factors that an experiment could test. A survey study, on the other hand, is able to avoid the shortcoming by attracting participants from large and random population samples, which makes experiments and survey methods compatible (Auspurg and Hinz 2014). Moreover, the factorial approach opens opportunities to investigate more realistic complexity than traditional survey methods because of the introduction of vignettes that vary at dimensions and levels. Due to the common underreporting issue of hate crime,

observational data may not be able to exhaust all possible situations in hate incidents. The factorial survey, on contrary, can expand reality by presenting vignettes that are not recorded in reality. It does not require pre-exposure to certain types of victimization to estimate the perception or willingness to report.

4.3.2 Vignette Design

This study focuses on violent crimes that involve crimes against persons. Hypothetical scenarios are presented and randomly assigned to participants, followed by questions to evaluate described incidents. The dimensions include victim's race, offender's race, presence of hate message, and type and level of violence (Table 4.1). Other dimensions of the incident, such as age, sex, and location, are omitted intentionally in order to reduce noise. For example, both victim and offender are given gender-neutral names so as to avoid gender as an extra dimension. Similarly, victim and offender are presented as strangers in the vignette.

[TABLE 4.1 ABOUT HERE]

In order to minimize the dimensions in the vignettes and provide more reasonable information, race and ethnicity are combined into one single dimension with three levels (White, Black, or Latino). The limited number of levels reflects the most commonly targeted racial and ethnic groups (FBI 2020). The presence of hate message refers to whether a racial slur is outspoken by the offender during the incident. Types of violence include verbal threat and physical assault. Levels of violence consists of no injury, slightly injured, and severely injured. The level of the violence in a vignette depends on the type of violence. For instance, verbal threat is only associated with no injury in the vignette

whereas physical assault can result in all three levels of violence. Further, to exhaust all possible combination of the incident, within-group incidents (e.g., white offender and white victim) are also included in the vignette universe.

The total number of possible vignette combinations is 72. Each respondent receives a randomly assigned vignette, followed by questions related to the vignette. An example vignette is presented below. In this vignette, the offender is African American, and the victim is Hispanic/Latino. It also includes the presence of hate message (i.e., yelling racial slurs) and type and level of violence (i.e., physical assault and severely injured).

Dakota is African American. Sam is Hispanic.

One day, Sam was walking in the street. As Sam passed near Dakota, Dakota beat Sam up while yelling derogatory racial slurs. Sam was severely injured and stayed in the hospital for a whole week.

4.3.3 Data Collection

I utilized an online crowdsourcing service Mechanical Turk (MTurk) to recruit participants and collect data. MTurk is an online marketplace where individuals or businesses can outsource jobs or tasks to a large pool of people. Potential workers can pick and choose any task to complete for the compensation the employer offers (Mason and Suri 2012). It is a popular method of recruiting paid participants for surveys and psychological experiments due to its cheap availability and relatively diverse population (Buhrmester et al. 2011).

There are several benefits of using Mturk instead of traditional recruitment strategies. First, MTurk has a large worker pool. Research has shown that MTurk became

one of the most widely used online subject pools with about 500,000 adults from 190 countries (Behrend et al. 2011; Paolacci and Chandler 2014). Second, the cost of using MTurk is relatively low considering the speed at which one can collect data. In one study, researchers obtained 250 completed surveys within 24 hours at a cost of $350 (Renzetti and Lynch 2018). Finally, MTurk offers a better sample than other convenient and student samples that are often used in factorial survey experiments in related. It has long been recognized that college student samples are not representative of the general population, which compromises the generalizability of the results. MTurk workers are found to have a median age of 30, with the overrepresentation of college graduates, underemployed, middle to lower-middle class, and white population (Paolacci and Chandler 2014). Compared to nationally representative sample, MTurk generates similar results (Mullinix et al. 2015).

During the participant recruitment and data collection process, I posted a short description of the study and offered $1.00 compensation for survey completion. Eligible participants must be U.S. residents and 18 years old and above. As MTurk requires for minimum working age at 18 years old, only one additional sample filter for U.S. residency was requested to ensure the eligibility of the participants. Participants were redirected to an anonymous Qualtrics link to complete the consent form and take the online survey. The data collection of 2,635 responses concluded within 31 hours, with an average survey time around 26 minutes.

4.3.4 Participants

Among the 2,635 responses collected through MTurk, I identified 107 (4.06%) invalid responses through multiple measurements, including direct questions and archival items. Direct questions include age, U.S. residency, self-report of carefulness, and an

instructed item. Although U.S. residency was set as a filter that qualifies MTurk workers for this study, it was also used as a screening question in the beginning of the survey. Age was used both as a control variable and as a screening item to exclude those either below 18 years old or give extreme numbers, such as "999". A question on self-report of carefulness asked the respondent whether they have paid attention during the survey process. If not, the answer was excluded from the final sample. Archival items included three measures. First, the length of time a participant takes to complete the survey signals potential inattentive response. While the threshold for minimum length of time is not universally established, I adopted Huang et al.'s (2012) approach which classifies the response being insufficient with less than 2 seconds for personality questions or attitudinal items. There were 129 items to be rated or answered in the survey. If the respondent completed the survey within less than 250 seconds, it was classified as an invalid response. Second, responses with progress less than 60 percent were removed from the dataset (Renzetti and Lynch 2018). In addition, Qualtrics (n.d.) marked a spam response when multiple identical responses are submitted from the same IP address within a 12-hour window. Responses with the spam flag were removed from the final sample. After listwise deletion of the identified invalid responses, the final dataset consisted of 2,528 participants, with all variables with less than 1 percent missing rate except for SES (5.14%).

For the purpose of this study, I further limit the sample to those observations without missing values. The sample consists of 2,251 respondents, (Table4.2), with whom identified as white (65.93%), Black (16.66%), Hispanic/Latino (6.80%), or Asian (8.04%). This sample further consists of 54.33% male, 45.09% female; and 79.30% heterosexual, 20.71% non-heterosexual. About 81.56% respondents identified as religious, and 18.44%

identified as not religious. The average age of the sample was about 38.55 years old, ranging from 18 to 79 years old. The sample also had an average of 5.61 out of 9 self-identified SES. Additionally, the sample is highly educated with only 0.40% respondents reported less than high school educational obtainment. The demographic composition is also in line with the previous findings (Paolacci and Chandler 2014): median age of 34, with the overrepresentation of high school graduates, and middle class.

[TABLE 4.2 ABOUT HERE]

4.3.5 Measures

4.3.5.1 Reporting to Police

The outcome variable is a latent construct. It is derived from four measure indicators of reporting behavior, including 1) the respondent's perception of victim's likelihood of reporting to the police, 2) the respondent's likelihood of reporting to the police as a witness, 3) the respondent's opinion on the necessity for the victim to report to the police, and 4) the respondent's rating of seriousness of the incident. Participants answer all four questions based on the vignette on a 5-point Likert scale. It is observed that all four items are moderately to strongly correlated, with moderate to strong effect sizes, suggesting reasonable factorability.

Notably, it is postulated that the respondent's judgement on the incident and willingness to report mirror the actual action they would take as a victim or as a bystander of the same incident in real life. As Greenberg and Ruback (1992) suggest, social influence plays an important role in victims decision making process. Such influence may come from a co-victim as well as a bystander. The higher certainty in labeling the event a hate crime

and higher probability in calling the police may yield actual results in either more willingness to report as a victim or more encouragement to report as a bystander. As such, the three observed measurements may contribute, or at least partially, to the unobserved reporting outcome.

4.3.5.2 Perceive The Incident as A Hate Crime

Following the legal definition, I ask two questions to capture this measure. One question measures the degree of agreement on the vignette being a crime and the other question is about racial motivation. Participants answers both questions based on the vignette on a 5-point Likert scale. Then, I combine and dichotomize the answers. Only when the participant agrees or strongly agrees to both questions, the variable is marked as a racial hate crime. This seemingly complicated measure is designed to increase the accuracy of the measurement. Not only does the structure of the questions mirrors the general commonality of all hate crime legislations, but it also avoids the usage of the term "hate crime", which could have triggered certain reactions among some respondents.

4.3.5.3 Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)

Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) was first developed by Altemeyer (1981), capturing conventionalism, authoritarian aggression, and authoritarian submission (Smith and Winter 2002). RWA is a strong predictor of prejudice, ethnocentrism, and homophobia and is broadly used in social studies (Altemeyer 1998; Duckitt and Sibley 2010; Sidanius and Pratto 1999). Research has found that people with high authoritarianism were prejudiced against racial minorities (Akrami et al. 2000), women (Sibley et al. 2007; Whitley 2001; Whitley and Aegisdottir 2000), lesbians and gay men (Laythe et al. 2001;

Whitley 1999, 2001), people with disabilities (Crowson et al. 2013), and immigrants (Akrami et al. 2000; Davidov et al. 2008). Participants answer a short version of RWA with 15 statements, which has been approved to function similarly to the original scale but with fewer items and less extreme wordings (Zakrisson 2005). The reliability coefficient of the RWA is .86.

4.3.5.4 Perception of Police Scale (POPS)

Perception of Police Scale (POPS) was designed by Nadal and Davidoff (2015) to measure general attitudes toward Police and perceptions of police bias. This measure consists of 12 items assessing the general attitudes toward police and perceptions of police bias (Nadal and Davidoff 2015). The reliability coefficient of the POPS is .94. It has long been recognized that attitude toward law enforcement influences cooperation with the criminal justice system, especially among racial minorities (Brown and Reed 2002; Huebner et al. 2004; Nadal et al. 2017; Peck 2015; Slocum 2018). As the first step of initiating criminal justice responses, defining racial hate crimes may be also under the influence of the attitude toward Police.

It is worth mentioning that the correlation between RWA and POPS is moderate at .42. Factor analysis is conducted for all items included in the instrument. Results show that each of these two scales includes two factors without overlapping (Factor Loading >.5), suggesting the dimensions captured in RWA and POPS are different. Further, models in this project all passed multicollinearity tests (Mean VIF = 1.09, maximum VIF=1.24). As such, both RWA and POPS are included in the analyses.

4.3.5.5 Demographics

Demographic information includes respondent sex, sexual orientation, race/ethnicity, religious affiliation, age, education level, self-reported social economic status, and previous violent crime victimization. As certain groups of gender and sexual orientation have very small sample sizes, two dichotomized variables are created and included in the analyses. Gender is dichotomized into male and other. Sexual orientation is dichotomized into heterosexual and non-heterosexual.

4.3.6 Analytic Strategies

Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) is selected as the main analytical framework. While conventional regression approach assumes that variables analyzed in the model are measured without error, this assumption is rarely met. Using latent variables allow us to address the measurement error problem by explicitly modeling the connection between indicators and constructs and estimating the extent of measurement error in equations (Schumacker, Lomax, and Schumacker 2015). In addition, SEM also enjoys a more precise form of the connection between factors and indicators by combining other statistical analysis such as confirmatory factor analysis (Schreiber et al. 2006; Schumacker et al. 2015; Ullman and Bentler 2003). These capacities facilitate testing of theoretical constructs and hypothesized causal links.

SEM estimations are completed in R by the package lavaan (Rosseel 2012). As SEM literature suggests, the Diagonally Weighted Least Squares (DWLS) approach is recommended to deal with binary and ordinal variables (Finney and DiStefano 2006; Muthén, du Toit, and Spisic 1997). Adopting Mulaik and Millsap (2000) approach, the

latent variable – the outcome variable in this model – is established first through a Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA). Then, I construct the structural models to establish relations among the outcome variable and other predictors.

The hypothesized model is tested as presented in Figure 4.3.

[FIGURE 4.3 ABOUT HERE]

4.4 Results

4.4.1 Confirmatory Factor Analysis

A confirmatory factor analysis is performed using R Lavaan, based on the sample of 2,251 respondent without missing data. I choose Diagonally Weighted Least Squares estimation because of the discrete nature of the individual measurement items. The four individual items measure the judgement of the respondents on potential behaviors of the victim, their own reporting behavior as a bystander, and the seriousness rating of the incident. A spearman correlation table is shown in Table 4.3.

[TABLE 4.3 ABOUT HERE]

The comparative fit index (CFI) for the measurement model is .996 and the Tucker-Lewis fit index (TLI) is .987, indicating a good fit between the measurement model and the observed data. However, the RMSEA equals to .105, higher than conventional threshold of <.08. On the one hand, while less is known about the performance of fit indices with DWLS estimation, some literature suggests that CFI, TLI, and RMSEA work reasonably similar with categorical models as their continuous counterparts (Hutchinson and Olmos 1998; Yu, Ching-yun and Muthén 2002). On the other, concerns have been

raised regarding the usage of fit indices in determining “better” models and respecifying models construct (Xia and Yang 2019). Due to the data limitation, it is difficult to take the data-driven approach so as to meet the ideal cut-off standards for RMSEA.

Table 4.4 and Figure 4.4 presents the result of the measurement model of the latent variable. The variance of the latent construct is fixed to one so as to free the parameter of the items. The results show that the construct reporting variable accounts for 64.3% of the variance in victim’s likelihood to report, 81.1% in necessity to report, 91.3% of the respondent’s likelihood to report as a bystander, and 72.9% of the seriousness of the incident.

[TABLE 4.4 ABOUT HERE] [FIGURE 4.4 ABOUT HERE]

4.4.2 Structural Equation Model

Figure 4.5 describes the results for SEM graphically. The structural component is shown by using bolded lines. A detailed summary of the results is shown in Table 4.5. Using DWLS estimation with robust standard errors to test on the theoretical model, the comparative fit index (CFI) = 0.979, Tucker-Lewis index (TLI) = 0.995, root mean square error approximation (RMSEA) = 0.039, standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) = .048, df = 44, p=0.000. Adopting conventional thresholds for fit indices (Muthén 1993; Muthén and Satorra n.d.; Ullman and Bentler 2003), all results suggest good fit of the data to the model.

[TABLE 4.5 ABOUT HERE] [FIGURE 4.5 ABOUT HERE]

To further investigate the degree to which labeling a hate crime mediates the relationship between the predictors and the reporting outcome, total effects, direct effects,

and indirect effects are estimated (Table 4.6). R Lavaan produces all estimates, including 95% confidence intervals, using DWLS estimation with robust standard errors.

[TABLE 4.6 ABOUT HERE]

4.4.2.1 Direct Effects

Violence level and consequences of the incident (β=0.500, p<0.001), respondent's race (Race) (β=0.070, p<0.01), and Perception of Police Scale (β=0.279, p<0.001) are positively related to the latent construct of reporting to the police (Report). On the opposite, victim's race (β=-0.054, p<0.01), presence of hate message (β=-0.072, p<0.001), self-reported SES (β=-0.065, p<0.01), and Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) (β=-0.090, p<0.001) are predictive of less Report to police.

4.4.2.2 Indirect Effects

I hypothesized that labeling an incident a hate crime would mediate the relationship between incident characteristics, respondent's demographic traits, their attitudes, and reporting outcome. As the mediator, labeling a hate crime (β=0.348, p<.001) is positively related to Report. Perceiving a racial hate crime partially mediates presence of hate message (β=0.096, p<0.001), SES (β=0.027, p<0.05), and Perception of Police Scale (β=0.056, $p < .001$). Two full mediations are also observed. Respondent's sexual orientation, from heterosexual to non-heterosexual, is fully mediated through labeling the incident a hate crime (β=0.032, $p < .01$). Similarly, previous violent crime victimization experience (β=0.026, $p < .01$) is also positively associated with higher Report fully taking the indirect pathway through labeling a hate crime.

4.4.2.3 Total Effects

Among those variables that are either partially or fully mediated by hate crime perception, only the total effect of Perception of Police Scale is positively significant (β=0.279, $p < .001$). The indirect effect size of POPS on Report is .201 (indirect effect / total effect) (Wen and Fan 2015). However, insignificant total effects of other variables do not necessarily indicate the non-existence of the mediation effect. In fact, presence of hate message, sexual orientation, SES, and previous violent crime victimization all show opposite signs in direct and indirect effect. These results fit the definition of inconsistent mediation (MacKinnon, Fairchild, and Fritz 2007), suggesting the existence of the suppression in the model. Take presence of hate message as an example. The direct effect of the presence of hate message on Report is negative (more evidence, less report). That is, the presence of hate message reduces the z-score in the construct Report compared to incidents without explicit evidence. However, the effect of the presence of hate message on the perception of hate crime is positive (more evidence, more perception) and the effect of perception of a hate crime on Report is also positive (more perception, more report), making the indirect effect positive. The total effect of presence of hate message on Report then is suppressed because direct and indirect effect cancel each other out. Similar effects are also observed in respondent's sexual orientation, SES, and previous violent crime victimization.

4.5 Discussion

The current study is an endeavor to investigate the relationship between incident characteristics, pre-existing attitude and belief, and reporting behaviors among adults in the U.S. To my knowledge, this study represents the first attempt to model the decision-making process from labeling a hate crime to report to the police. It joins the conversation

of understanding the underreported hate crimes and extends the studies on victim decision making to hate crimes.

With data collected through a factorial survey experiment, SEM modeling, and factor analysis, the results lead to three conclusions in relation to each tested hypothesis. First, as the most direct measure of seriousness of the incident, higher level of violence and more severe injuries the victim experiences are directly related to higher probability of reporting to the police. In line with previous literature (Christmann and Wong 2010; Skogan 1984), higher levels of violence and injury have the strongest effect in predicting reporting to the police, holding all others constant (Hypothesis 1a). However, the effect of the presence of hate message seems more complicated than hypothesized (Hypothesis 1b). Second, preexisting prejudice and bias play significant roles in driving respondent's reporting behaviors. More positive attitude toward police is both directly related to reporting to the police and indirectly via the perception of a hate crime (Hypothesis 2a). More agreement of Right-Wing Authoritarianism, on the other hand, directly reduces the likelihood of reporting to the police (Hypothesis 2b). Third, perceiving a hate crime directly increases the probability of reporting while partially mediates the effect of several incident characteristics and respondents' attitudinal scales (Hypothesis 3).

By introducing racial hate crime perception as a mediator, this study offers a new angle to understand the tension between increased seriousness of hate crime and lower reporting rate. That is, despite the embedded increased seriousness of racial hate crime itself, the reporting outcome is largely driven by structural factors that reflect, at least to some extent, the existing racial order in society.

4.5.1 Increased Seriousness to (Non)Reporting

As argued above, the seriousness of hate crime is largely embedded in defining an event a hate crime itself. That is, perceiving a racial hate crime implies a higher level of seriousness. The positive association between labeling a racial hate crime and reporting to the police supports this argument. To test the hypotheses regarding increased seriousness of hate crimes, both violence level and physical harm and the presence of hate message are included in the models.

For the actual violence and physical harm of the incident, the results suggest that the actual harm directly increases the likelihood of reporting to the police, regardless of labeling the event a racial hate crime or not. This finding is different from the broadly accepted idea that hate crimes tend to result in more severe physical harm (Herek 1992; Jenness and Grattet 2001; Levin 2002; Levin and McDevitt 2013). Rather than disclaiming the increased seriousness of hate crimes, it is more important to note the inductive reasoning behind this claim. Previous conclusions about severity of hate crimes often came from known victims who had already made the decision to seek help from the police and thus forming self-selection bias. By utilizing survey experiment, the current study offers a more inclusive way to expand the observation to those who would not have reported to the police, and thus reducing bias. Based on the results, the violence level and consequences only have direct effect on reporting behavior. This observation demonstrates that elevated harm is not an essential element of defining hate crimes; rather, as the violence level and physical harm increase, people are more likely to report to the police.

As such, the claimed increased seriousness of hate crime must come from other elements. Similar to violence level and consequences, minority victims also only have direct effect on reporting to the police, although the effect size is relatively small.

As the only incident variable that contributes to the decision to report via labeling a racial hate crime, presence of hate message demonstrates a dual effect. One the one hand, as the strongest predictor of perceiving a hate crime, the presence of hate message offers concrete evidence of a biased motivation and thus marks higher level of seriousness under legal definitions (Gerstenfeld 2003; Lyons 2008b; Rayburn et al. 2003). On the other hand, the presence of hate message directly discourages reporting, which is contrary to literature on reporting behaviors that suggest solid evidence increases the probability of seeking formal resolutions (Skogan 1984; Wong and Christmann 2008).

The dual effect of the presence of hate message contrasts to most literature that emphasizes on the bias motivation as the key to justify the establishment of hate crime legislation that often offers longer sentence or more severe punishment (Cramer et al. 2013, 2010; Jacobs and Potter 2000; Jenness and Grattet 2001; Levin 2002; Lim 2009; Lyons 2008b; Perry 2002c; Rayburn et al. 2003).

One explanation may be found in the notion of "seriousness". As the original model suggests (Greenberg and Ruback 1992), the seriousness of the crime includes both the perceived wrongfulness of the action and the perceived vulnerability of repeated victimization, both of which represent the violation of a predictive moral order. The anger and fear arose from the "unexpectedness" of the incident, coupled with the actual and potential harm, leads to a stronger motivation to report to the police (Greenberg and Ruback

1992). However, such effect is missing in the direct effect. That is, the presence of hate message in the incident does not seem to exceed the respondents' expectations.

The meaning behind the absence of the "unexpectedness" is two-fold. For one, it may suggest that race-based bias, discrimination, and even racial conflict is normalized in the U.S. Not only does normalization lead individuals and populations into conformity with particular social norms, but it also perpetuates the power relations that legitimize and reproduce norms to the point where they are no longer perceived as produced but simply as natural and inevitable (Foucault 2007; Taylor 2009). As such, the results in this study reflect a certain level of normalization of race-based bias, discrimination, and racial conflict, which is well established and accepted by American society. The "normal" levels of race-based bias are cultivated within the population as a whole; in turn, the seemingly "natural" and "necessary" existence of racial conflict reinforces the "norm".

For the other, the lack of "unexpectedness" challenges the assumption that the presence of hate message is adequate in outlining bias motivation. As the unique element of hate crime, expressed prejudice remains the key part in distinguishing a hate crime from non-bias offenses. Most prior studies, including current study, utilize the presence of hate message as a concrete piece of evidence so as to highlight the existence of prejudice in the incident of testing (Cramer et al. 2013; Gerstenfeld 2003; Herek et al. 2000; Lyons 2008b; Marcus-Newhall et al. 2002; Rayburn et al. 2003). While it is logical to present realistic evidence for hate crimes, solely relying on hate message to concretize hate motivation could be inadequate. It is not uncommon to witness the exchange of racial slurs as incidents escalated (Gerstenfeld 2003). The negative association between the presence of hate message and reporting to the police may be a result of an alternative reading of the racial

slur in the incident. When it comes to reporting to the police, whether a verbal message is redeemed as concrete enough to present to the authorities may require additional discretion. As such, the understanding of hate message may be oversimplified. When talking about seriousness of hate crime – or any crime at all – researchers need to parse out the actual meaning behind the measurement. That is, where does the seriousness of an incident come from and what does the seriousness of an incident include.

4.5.2 Attitudes and Beliefs

Both Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale and Perception of Police scale demonstrate significant direct effects on reporting to the police, although opposite in directions.

As hypothesized, higher agreement with RWA directly reduces the likelihood of reporting to the police after controlling for perceiving a racial hate crime. This finding supports the argument that the presented racial conflict in the vignette does not exceed the expectation of the respondents. Used as a proxy to evaluate discrimination against minorities (Altemeyer 1998; Duckitt and Sibley 2010; Sidanius and Pratto 1999), the results support the hypothesis that respondents with higher level of racial discrimination are less sensitive to the stimuli and thus less likely to report to the police. Similar conclusion holds true even if break down RWA measurements.

According to the instrument, higher agreement with RWA indicates more willingness to accept traditional norms (conventionalism), to harm others in order to preserve traditional norms (authoritarian aggression), and to obey proper authorities (authoritarian submission) (Smith and Winter 2002). Most likely, people with higher RWA

agreement will seek help from the authorities when they classify an incident as breaking the social norms or traditional values. In other words, the presented incidents in the survey experiment do not seem to be viewed as norm-breakers; on the contrary, the racial conflict described in the vignettes seem to be so normal that the likelihood of reporting to the police decreases as the alignment with RWA increases. Indeed, the model in this study cannot explain why RWA does not affect the perception of racial hate crimes. One speculation is that high alignment with RWA does not function at the stage of labeling a racial hate crime; rather, it performs through the actual action. By reporting less racial-related incidents to the police, people with higher RWA agreement reiterate the "norm" they accept and thus reinforce the societal reality with higher tolerance of race-based bias, prejudice, and conflict.

Perception of Police scale, on the other hand, is the most consistent determinant of reporting to the police, exerting direct, indirect, and total effect. More positive attitude toward police is directly related to higher possibility of reporting to the police and indirectly via perceived racial hate crime. While prior literature reveals the correlation between police legitimacy and reporting behavior (Bradford and Myhill 2015; Tankebe 2013; Tyler 2004; Tyler and Fagan 2008; Tyler and Huo 2002), little does it discuss at which step of the reporting process the cooperation with the criminal justice system starts. The finding herein indicates that the effect of attitude toward police on cooperation with the criminal justice system starts even earlier than the decision to call the police. The implication is that research focusing only on measures of reporting behaviors, but not individuals' definition of certain crimes, may underestimate the effects of perception of police on reactions to crime. Such overall measures may be especially deficient with

populations who face extra obstacles to mobilize criminal justice responses, which not only perpetuates historical inequalities but also compromises the effects of policies and programs that aim to ameliorate police legitimacy.

Notably, the effects of RWA and POPS should also be considered under the fact that these two measures are moderately correlated at .42. While factor analysis suggests that these two scales fall under two different dimensions, it is possible that the observed effects may be influenced by each other. For example, one dimension of RWA measures the compliance with proper authorities, which seems to be more closely related to attitude toward police. The effect of RWA may have been explained by POPS and thus no longer significant in the model. Further investigation is needed to accurately evaluate the potential overlap between the two scales.

4.5.3 Unpacking the Hate Crime Reporting Paradox

As the first attempt to unpack racial hate crime reporting paradox, this study sheds light on the mechanism from perceiving a racial hate crime to reporting to the police. The current study demonstrates that the recognition of the occurrence of a racial hate crime only plays a small role toward the decision to report to the police, revealing the complexity of hate crime reporting. Compared to the direct effects of single predictors, the mediation effect does not seem to be as strong and consistent. Yet, it is the inconsistency that outlines the normalization of the structural racism in society. The results of individuals' attitudes and beliefs further support this argument.

Indeed, a fair and just society cannot be created overnight. It depends upon the systemic change that involves different stakeholders, from victims, bystanders, community

members, to police officers, from individuals to law enforcement agencies. Evidence from this study points out that a core element to encourage individuals' pursuit of criminal justice response is the belief of legitimate authorities. Perhaps supporting programs and policies that aim to improve community-police relations could be the first step to establish mutual-trust, eliminate prejudice between community members and the police, and ultimately reallocate criminal justice resources more effectively.

4.6 Tables and Figures

Table 4.1 Vignette Design and Distributions (*n*=2,251)

Dimensions	Levels	Frequency	Percent
Victim's race	White	768	34.12
	Black	742	32.96
	Latino	741	32.92
Offender's race	White	748	33.23
	Black	753	33.45
	Latino	750	33.32
Presence of hate message	Yes	1,132	50.29
	No	1,119	49.71
Type & level of violence	Verbal threat, no injury	569	25.28
	Physical assault, no injury	566	25.14
	Physical assault, slight injury	552	24.52
	Physical assault, severe injury	564	25.06

Table 4.2 Descriptive Statistics on Respondent Demographics and Attitude Scales (*n*=2,251)

Respondent Variables	Levels	Frequency	Percent
Race	White (non-Hispanic)	1,488	65.93
	Black	375	16.66
	Hispanic/Latino	153	6.80
	Asian	181	8.04
	Other	58	2.58
Gender	Male	1,223	54.33
	Female	1,015	45.09
	Transgender	5	0.22
	Gender non-conforming	8	0.36
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual	1,785	79.30
	Homosexual	88	3.91
	Bisexual	361	16.04
	Other	17	0.76
Religious	Yes	1,836	81.56
	No	415	18.44
Violent crime victimization	Yes	429	19.06
	No	1,822	80.94

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Education	4.93	1.39	1	8
Age	38.55	13.07	18	79
SES	5.61	1.98	1	9
Right-wing authoritarianism	2.76	0.73	1	5
Perception of police	3.50	0.87	1	5

Table 4.3 Spearman Correlation Matrix of Reporting Related Variables (*n*=2,251)

	Victim likely to report	Report as bystander	Necessity to report	Seriousness
Victim likely to report	-			
Report as bystander	0.508	-		
Necessity to report	0.472	0.625	-	
Seriousness	0.317	0.484	0.627	-

Note: Victim likely to report = the respondent's perception of victim's likelihood of reporting to the police. Report as bystander = the respondent's likelihood of reporting to the police as a witness. Necessity to report = the respondent's opinion on the necessity for the victim to report to the police. Seriousness = the respondent's rate on the seriousness of the incident.

Table 4.4 Confirmatory Factor Analysis for Reporting Outcome as Latent Variable (*n*=2,251)

	Reporting		
	Factor Loadings	SE	Variances
Victim likely to report	0.643	0.015	0.587
Report as bystander	0.811	0.010	0.342
Necessity to report	0.913	0.009	0.166
Seriousness	0.729	0.013	0.469

Note: Robust SEM with Diagonally Weighted Least Squares (DWLS) estimated. Robust standard errors reported. Standardized coefficient reported. All coefficients significant at .001. Non-Normed Fit Index=.987; root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = 0.105; standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) = .038; Comparative Fit Index (CFI) = .996; Tucker Lewis Index (TLI) = .987; degrees of freedom = 6.

Table 4.5 Structural Equation Model for Reporting Outcome (*n*=2,251)

	Outcomes					
	Hate Crime			Reporting		
	b	β	SE	*b*	β	SE
Hate Crime				0.429	0.348	0.036***
Offender's Race	-0.062	-0.047	0.033	0.039	0.024	0.033
Victim's Race	0.014	0.010	0.034	-0.088	-0.054	0.033**
Presence of Hate Message	0.597	0.276	0.055***	-0.192	-0.072	0.057**
Violence Level and Consequences	0.045	0.047	0.024	0.596	0.500	0.027***
Race	-0.002	-0.002	0.026	0.088	0.071	0.026**
Education Level	0.015	0.020	0.022	-0.032	-0.033	0.021
Age	-0.004	-0.045	0.002	-0.002	-0.018	0.002
Gender	-0.023	-0.011	0.055	0.093	0.036	0.054
Sexual Orientation	0.130	0.093	0.037***	-0.047	-0.027	0.036
Religious	0.049	0.018	0.082	-0.035	-0.010	0.077
SES	0.043	0.079	0.016**	-0.044	-0.065	0.016**
Violent Crime Victimization	0.203	0.074	0.073**	-0.095	-0.028	0.068
Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)	-0.069	-0.047	0.045	-0.165	-0.090	0.043***
Perception of Police Scale (POPS)	0.201	0.162	0.036***	0.342	0.222	0.035***

Note: Structural Equation Model with Diagonally Weighted Least Squares (DWLS) estimated. Link function = Probit. b = unstandardized probit coefficients; β = standardized probit coefficients. Robust standard error presented. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05.

Table 4.6 Summary of Reporting Outcome Standardized Total, Direct, & Indirect Effects for the Structural Equation Model (n=2,251)

Outcome: Reporting Determinant	Effect		
	Total	Direct	Indirect
Offender's Race	0.008	0.024	-0.016
	[-0.053, 0.078]	[-0.025, 0.104]	[-0.055, 0.002]
Victim's Race	-0.050*	-0.054**	0.004
	[-0.147, -0.016]	[-0.152, -0.023]	[-0.023, 0.035]
Presence of Hate Message	0.024	-0.072**	0.096***
	[-0.042, 0.170]	[-0.303, -0.081]	[0.194, 0.318]
Violence Level and Consequences	0.517***	0.500***	0.016
	[0.562, 0.670]	[0.544, 0.649]	[-0.002, 0.040]
Race	0.070**	0.071**	-0.001
	[0.035, 0.139]	[0.037, 0.139]	[-0.023, 0.021]
Education Level	-0.026	-0.033	0.007
	[-0.067, 0.016]	[-0.072, 0.009]	[-0.012, 0.025]
Age	-0.034	-0.018	-0.016
	[-0.008, 0.001]	[-0.006, 0.002]	[-0.003, 0.000]
Gender	0.033	0.036	-0.004
	[-0.023, 0.189]	[-0.012, 0.198]	[-0.056, 0.036]
Sexual Orientation	0.005	-0.027	0.032**
	[-0.063, 0.080]	[-0.117, 0.023]	[0.023, 0.089]
Religious	-0.004	-0.010	0.006
	[-0.166, 0.138]	[-0.186, 0.115]	[-0.048, 0.090]
SES	-0.038	-0.065**	0.027*
	[-0.057, 0.006]	[-0.075, -0.013]	[0.004, 0.033]
Violent Crime Victimization	-0.002	-0.028	0.026**
	[-0.143, 0.126]	[-0.228,0.037]	[0.024, 0.150]
Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)	-0.107***	-0.090***	-0.016
	[-0.282, -0.108]	[-0.250, -0.080]	[-0.068, 0.008]
Perception of Police Scale (POPS)	0.279***	0.222***	0.056***
	[0.357, 0.500]	[0.273, 0.410]	[0.053, 0.120]

Note: Structural Equation Model with Diagonally Weighted Least Squares (DWLS) estimated. Link function = Probit. Standardized probit coefficients reported. 95% confidence interval in parentheses. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05.

Figure 4.1 A Model of Crime-Victim Decision Making

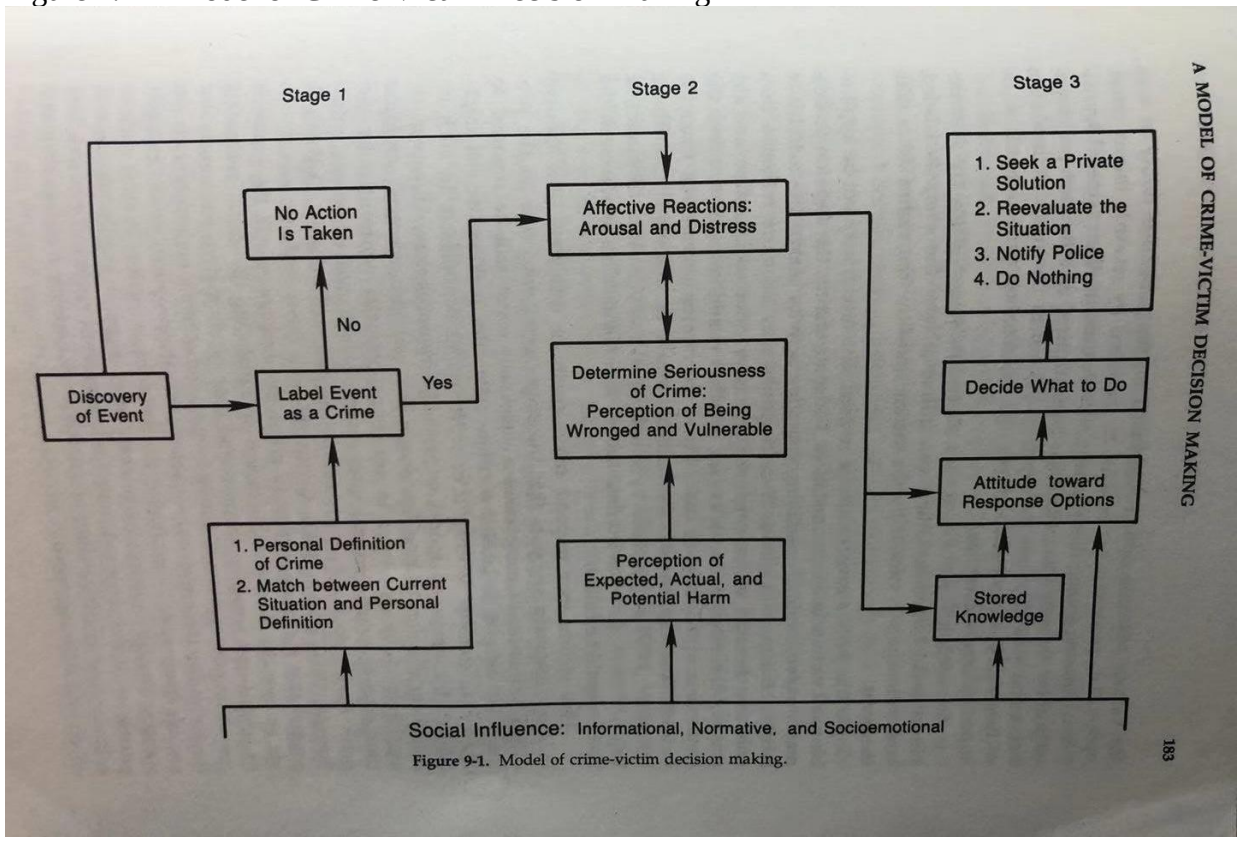


Figure 9-1. Model of crime-victim decision making.

Greenberg, Martin S., and R. Barry Ruback. 1992. "A model of crime-victim decision making". Pp.183. *After the Crime: Victim Decision Making*. Springer Science & Business Media.

Figure 4.2 Theoretical Model of Hate Crime Reporting

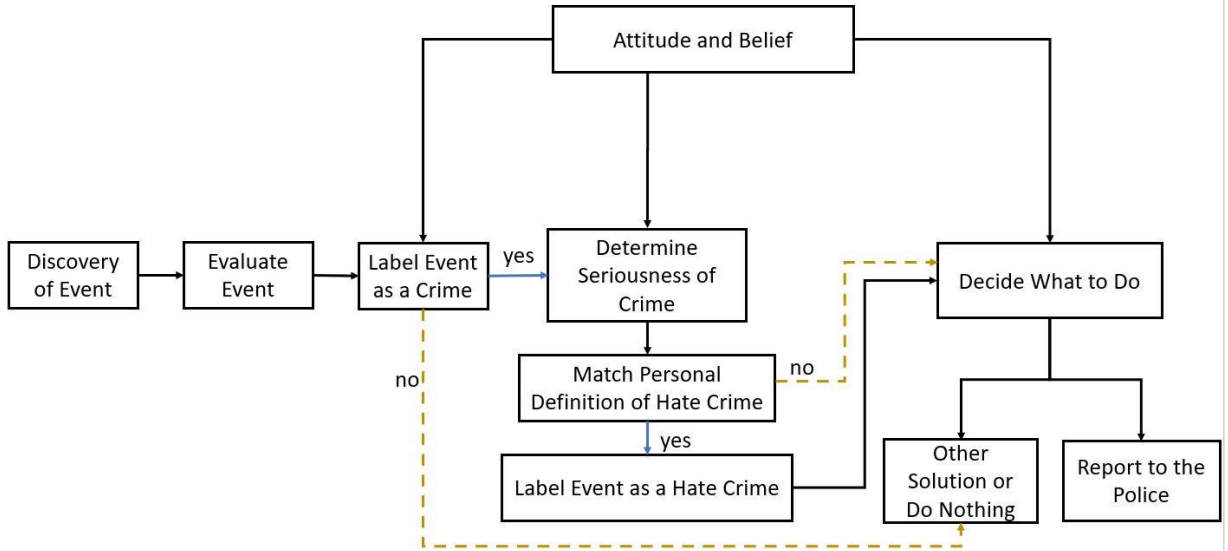
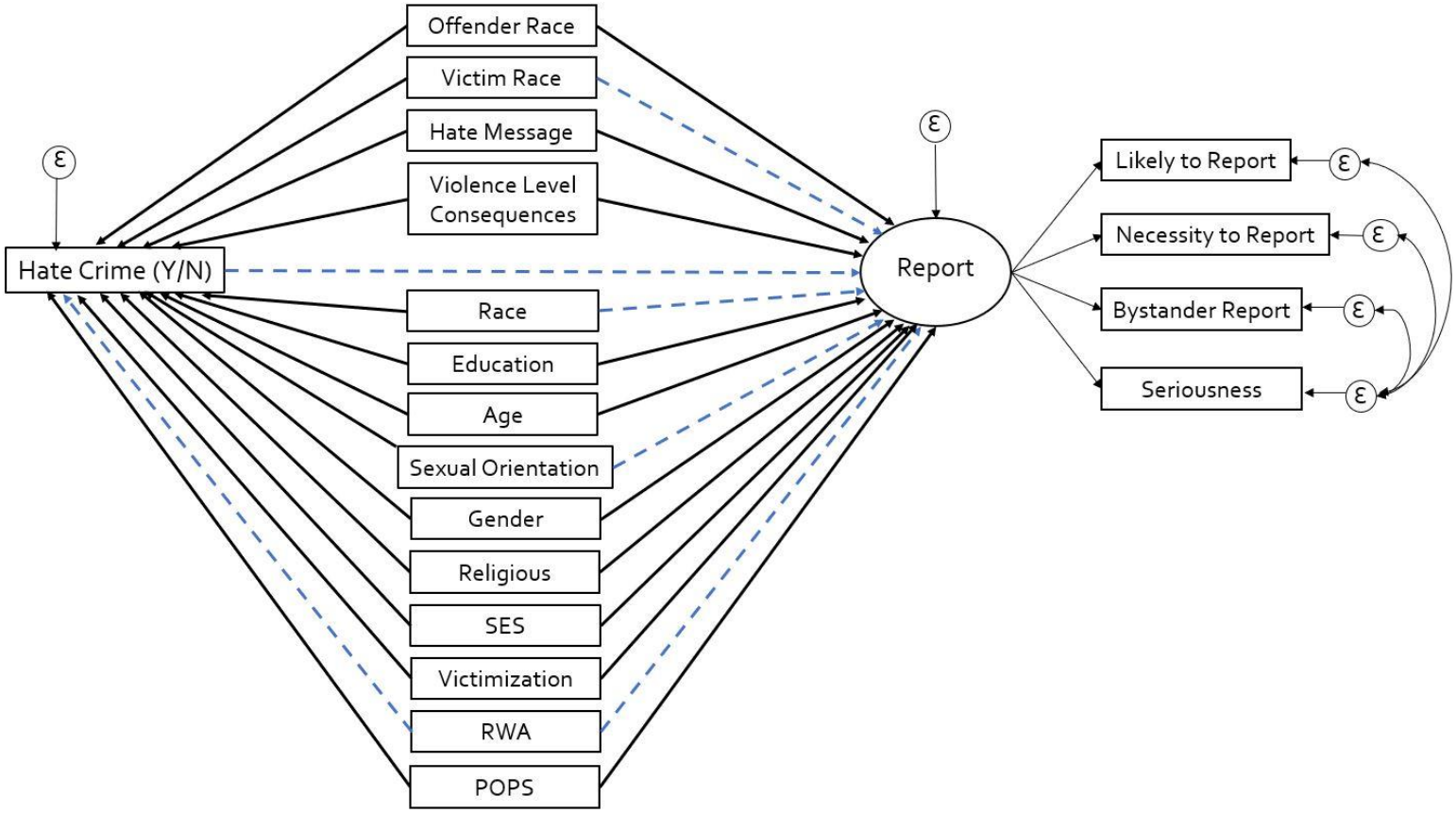
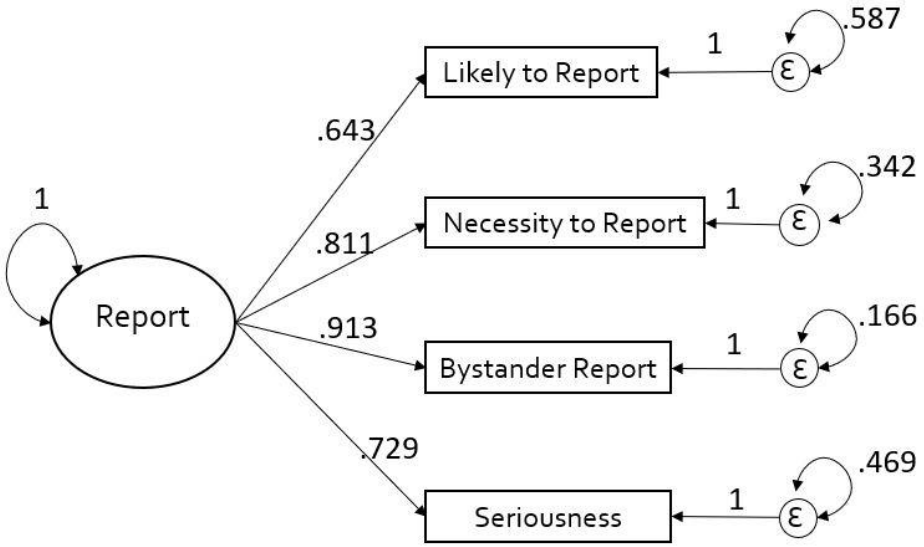


Figure 4.3 Hypothesized Structural Equation Model.



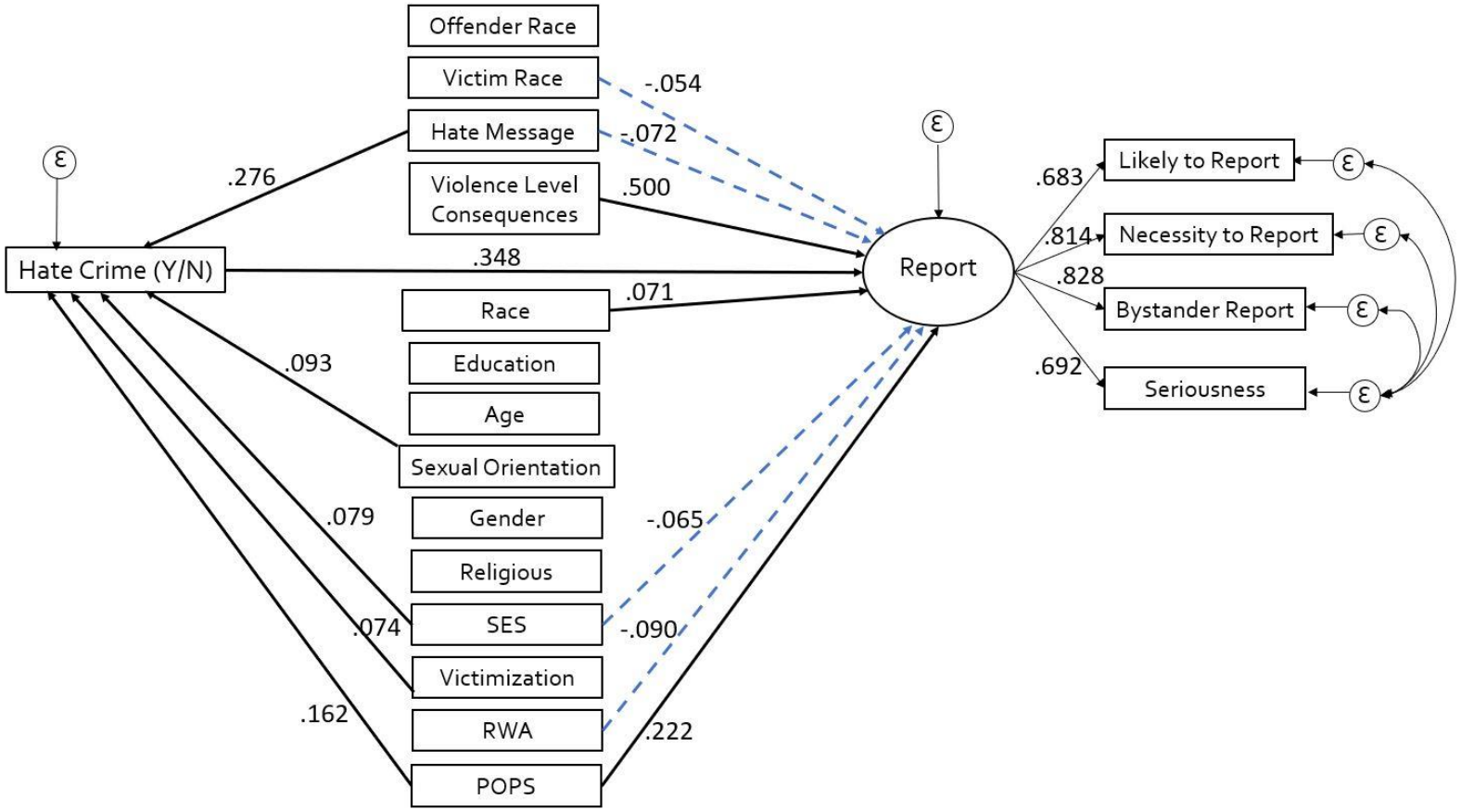
Note: Boldface arrows indicate structural component. Ɛ = error.

Figure 4.4 Confirmatory Factor Analysis (*n*=2,251)



Note: Robust SEM with Diagonally Weighted Least Squares (DWLS) estimated. Standardized coefficient reported. All coefficients significant at .001. Non-Normed Fit Index=.987; root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = 0.105; standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) = .038; Comparative Fit Index (CFI) = .996; Tucker Lewis Index (TLI) = .987; degrees of freedom = 6.

Figure 4.5 Structural Equation Model for Reporting Outcome, Perceiving A Hate Crime, Incident Variables, Beliefs, and Demographics (*n*=2,251)



Note: Robust SEM with Diagonally Weighted Least Squares (DWLS) estimated. Standardized coefficient reported. All coefficients significant at .01. Non-Normed Fit Index=.988; root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .039; standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) = .048; Comparative Fit Index (CFI) = .979; Tucker Lewis Index (TLI) = .995; degrees of freedom = 44.

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION

Official data and decades of literature have documented the issue of underreporting of crime victims. As a relatively new federal offense, hate crime also suffers from the issue of underreporting, especially among marginalized populations who are more often targeted by bias offenses. The underreporting issue impedes the observation and perception of the scale, the severity, and the scope of hate crimes, which may result in inadequate resources allocation to combat such offenses and support hate crime victims.

While researchers have been working to identify the determinants toward hate crime reporting through the official data, less is known about cases that are never classified as bias motivated at the first place. Hate crime is a social construct that is conceptualized and defined through judgments about the meaning of bias and prejudice as well as the causal link between motivation and criminal act. The muddiness of hate crime definition, the great variation of hate crime statutes across states, and the symbolic meaning behind hate crimes all impact individual's judgement about what is a hate crime.

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate what and how factors at the incident level and individual level influence the perceptions of a bias incident and the willingness to report such incidents. Following a three-paper format, this dissertation research explores the overarching research question by integrating a power-relation framework with a social psychological approach and providing empirical evidence to offer insights to tackle the underreporting issue of hate crimes.

The findings in this dissertation lead to some vital conclusions regarding the influence of the power-relation embedded in bias incidents and how respondents' own

racial identities and pre-existing attitudes and beliefs affect their perceptions of racial hate crimes and reporting behaviors.

First, racial hate crimes should be viewed as both a product and a tool to reinforce the imbalanced power relations in society. In Chapter 2, I found that the public's recognition of racial hate crimes largely depends on the exhibited asymmetrical power relations among the victim and the offender, regardless of the direction of the racial hierarchy. While previous research had indicated that inter-racial conflicts were more likely to be classified as a hate crime with higher certainty than intra-racial incidents (Gerstenfeld 2003; Lyons 2008b; Zaykowski 2010), it was unclear whether this conclusion would hold when extending the analyses beyond White-Black dyads or Majority-on-Minority incidents. Chapter 2 extended the analyses to Minority-on-Majority and Minority-on-Minority patterns. Results further indicated that rather than identifying racial hate crimes as simply a Majority-on-Minority pattern, respondents are more sensitive to incidents with offenders and victims from different racial groups, regardless of the direction in power relations in the incidents. This finding challenges conclusions from previous studies that reduced hate crimes to a White-on-Minority pattern, which had ignored the nuance and complex realities of the racial relations in the US as well as neglecting racial hate crimes being a suppression power in perpetuating racial inequalities.

This observation holds in Chapter 3 as well. In Chapter 3, I discussed how respondents' own racial identity influenced their perception of racial hate crimes to participate in the meaning-making process of constructing racial hate crimes. The findings from Chapter 3 revealed that White survey respondents tend to downplay the existence of inter-racial hate crimes committed by a White offender (Brewer 1999; Gini 2007; LeVine

and Campbell 1972; Lyons 2006, 2008a), while some minority respondents formed a collective identity as a way to gain power and to mobilize criminal justice resources as a group. As such, I argued that the racial identity of the observer is a key factor in constructing the perception of racial hate crimes, which adds an extra layer of complexity on top of the racial dynamics between the offender and victim involved in the hate crime incidents.

The second conclusion from my research is that individuals' pre-existing attitudes and beliefs, as a reflection of the social structure, are crucial in forming racial hate crime perceptions and reporting decisions, as well as maintaining and challenging the power relations. In both Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, I presented findings of positive perceptions of police leading to more recognition of racial hate crimes. Chapter 4 discussed how the Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale (RWA) and Perception of Police scale (POPS) demonstrate significant direct effects on reporting to the police, although opposite in directions. The negative direct effect of RWA implies that respondents are not surprised by the level of racial conflict presented in the vignettes and thus reduces the likelihood to report to the police. The absence of surprise of racial conflict, coupled with the perceived power relation in the incident and individual's racial realities, led to the construction and reproduction of a normalized societal imagination full of racial conflict.

The results for POPS led to a crucial implication for the study of police legitimacy. For POPS, the results are consistent and strong in predicting racial hate crimes and reporting to the police, revealing an important but undocumented cooperation mechanism with the criminal justice system. This finding implies that research focusing only on measures of reporting behaviors, but not individuals' definition of certain crimes, may

underestimate the effects of the perception of police on reactions to crime. The overall measures of police legitimacy may be especially deficient with populations who face extra obstacles to mobilize criminal justice responses, which perpetuates historical inequalities and compromises the effects of policies and programs that aim to ameliorate police legitimacy.

The third conclusion from my research is that the effect of the relationship between incident characteristics, pre-existing attitude and belief, and reporting behaviors are not linear; instead, racial hate crime reporting should be studied as a mediator in driving the actual response to a potential racial hate crime. In Chapter 4, I built a Generalized Structural Equation model to unpack the paradox of the claimed increased seriousness of racial hate crimes and disproportionated reporting rate. As the first attempt to model the decision-making process from labeling a racial hate crime to reporting to the police, Chapter 4 found high alignment with the findings from previous chapters and revealed some inconsistency in the effect of incident characteristics and pre-existing attitudes and beliefs on racial hate crime perception and reporting to the police. I further discussed the dual effects of the presence of hate messages in perceiving and reporting hate crimes.

5.1 Contributions to the Discipline

By using a factorial survey experiment with randomized vignette assignments, this dissertation research explores the topic of hate crime perceptions and reporting behaviors to determine factors that contribute to individuals' judgment principles of racial hate crimes and their decision to report to the police. Chapter 2 illustrates that the relative racial positions of the victim and the offender, in addition to the presence of hate messages and

perception of police, are prevalent in determining a racial hate crime. Chapter 3 examines how the designation of a racial hate crime is affected by the respondent's own racial identity. Built upon the Model of Crime-Victim Decision Making (Greenberg and Ruback 1985), Chapter 4 proposes and presents a modified model to establish the central role of racial hate crime perception in the decision of reporting to the police.

Since hate crime is a relatively new form of a criminal offense, both in the United States and worldwide, criminological theories on explaining hate crimes and hate crime reporting remain scant. This issue is closely related to the complexity of hate crime itself. As a crime established based on non-biased offenses, hate crimes share some similarities with parallel offenses but also remain unique in many ways. Instead of applying an existing criminological theory, this dissertation explores racial hate crimes via a power-relation lens while integrating a social psychological approach. I argue that racial hate crimes should be viewed as a social phenomenon that is not only a manifestation of racial hierarchy in society but also functions as a means to reinforce the racial orders so as to maintain the power relations in society. This dissertation also explored perhaps the most obvious paradox of claims on hate crimes, that is, the disproportionate reporting rates compared to the increased harm from the biased motive.

Specifically, my dissertation research contributes to larger bodies of literature on hate crime and hate crime reporting in the following ways. First, this research is among the few studies known to examine racial hate crime perceptions at the individual level, revealing the importance of introducing a critical perspective on the gap between legal definition and individuals' perceptions. Second, integrating a psychological approach allows for an investigation into how systematic discrimination is deeply embedded in US

society and culture. Third, through the subgroup analyses based on respondents' racial identity, the current research advocates for the inclusion of racial minorities who are often the target of racial hate crimes yet are reluctant to interact with law enforcement. Fourth, the modified model of racial hate crime reporting reveals a clear mechanism understudied in the field of hate crime reporting and non-biased crime reporting. Furthermore, by utilizing the factorial vignette experiment as opposed to relying on the official data, this study provides an alternative way to examine the cause of the "dark figure" of racial hate crimes. Capturing the true prevalence of hate crime is both crucial and meaningful. On the one hand, it will direct us toward better policies and response strategies to both prevent and fight such incidents as well as support victims. On the other hand, it outlines the whole structure of the social environment people are living in. Finally, including an exhaustive universe of vignettes with 72 versions provides a unique methodological contribution and yields more detailed information about determinants of racial hate crimes among the general public.

5.2 Limitations and Future Research

This dissertation is a starting point for further research on hate crimes and hate crime reporting. As with all research studies, there are limitations to this study. This section reviews some limitations and points to future research for enhancement.

First, due to the limited resources available in order to get a sufficient sample, I had to make a few compromises during the research design. One of the biggest challenges was to control the vignette universe. For example, I could not separate racially motivated crimes from ethnically motivated crimes. Ideally, these two types should be separated in data

collection and analyses. Another example would be to exclude psychological harm as a consequence. As a nature of factorial survey experiments, the vignette universe will be doubled with an additional dimension with only two levels. While this study cannot make inferences on the dimensions and levels not included, future studies may investigate the omitted dimensions and levels with a more specific interest and focus.

Another issue with research design is the inability to separate respondents' race and ethnicity. The survey did not offer an option of bi-racial or multi-racial either, which might generate more detailed and nuanced results than what has been presented.

A possible limitation of this study was the lack of a more comprehensive explanation of hate crimes in general. As a part of a large factorial survey experiment, this dissertation only used data on racial/ethnic hate crimes. The findings and conclusions of racial hate crimes could be cross-validated with hate crimes motivated by sexual orientation and religious affiliation. The modified model presented in Chapter 4 will be most improved by using more observations across different hate crime motivations.

While not perceived as a specific limitation of this research, the limited depth of survey data and quantitative methods would benefit from qualitative investigations. For example, a focus group or in-depth interview with survey respondents would complement this research by explaining *how* power-relations and broader social structures are internalized into one's decision-making process of hate crime perceptions and reporting. The vignette design also followed previous studies on general crime reporting. Qualitative analysis on hate crime reporting would offer more insights considering the uniqueness of hate crimes that have been revealed in this research.

As briefly mentioned above, the results on POPS open the possibility of reimagining police legitimacy, procedural justice, and cooperation with the criminal justice system, which may expand the current field of policing studies and offer insights toward policy and community practice.

APPENDICES

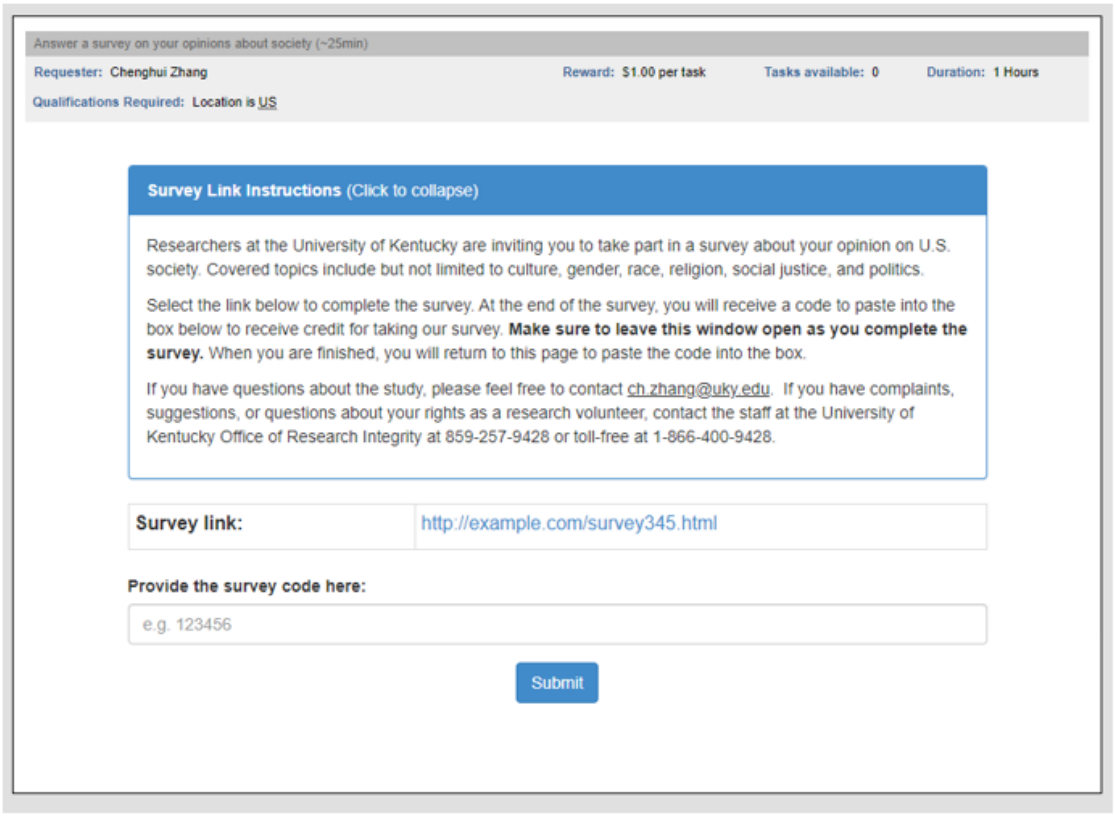
APPENDIX 1. RECRUITMENT PAGE

Title: Answer a survey on your opinions about society (~25min)

Description: You are invited to take part in a survey about your opinion about U.S. society. Covered topics include but not limited to culture, gender, race, religion, social justice, and politics.

Keywords: survey, opinions, demographics

Survey Link Instructions



APPENDIX 2. COVER LETTER

Dear Participant:

Researchers at the University of Kentucky are inviting you to take part in a survey about your opinion about the U.S. society. Covered topics include but not limited to culture, gender, race, religion, social justice, and politics.

The person in charge of this study is Chenghui Zhang, a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Kentucky Department of Sociology. She is under the supervision of Dr. Janet Stamatel at the University of Kentucky Department of Sociology. There may be other people who assist in the data analysis at various times during the study as well.

Although you may not get personal benefit from taking part in this research study, your responses may help us understand more about the opinion of U.S. residents on society and culture. Some volunteers experience satisfaction from knowing they have contributed to research that may possibly benefit others in the future.

You may not qualify for this study if you are under age 18 years old or you are not a U.S. resident. There will be screening questions to determine your eligibility to participate in the main study. If you do not meet the criteria, you will not receive the compensation. The survey/questionnaire will take about 25 minutes to complete. There are no known risks to participating in this study. In the survey, you will read hypothetical scenarios and answer questions based on your opinion.

This survey is being hosted by Amazon.com and involves a secure connection. Please familiarize yourself with the Terms of Service addressing confidentiality that are available at: http://www.mturk.com/mturk/welcome

You will be paid one U.S. dollar for taking part in this study. To receive this payment, you will receive a completion code upon survey completion to submit to MTurk. After the confirmation from MTurk, your cash payment will distribute through your MTurk account. If you are determined to be ineligible for the study, you will be directed to the end of the survey and will not receive the completion code. You may also withdraw from the survey at any point. However, you will not receive the payment if you choose to withdraw from the study and do not submit the completion code to MTurk.

Your response to the survey will be kept confidential to the extent allowed by law. Researchers will not collect identifiable information as part of the research. However, as part of your agreement with Amazon's MTurk (*see details*), your worker ID will be collected for the purpose of distributing monetary compensation on the website. The researchers will not associate your worker ID with your response. Your worker ID will be removed or deleted as soon as the payment has been distributed. This information will not be shared with anyone. When we write about the study you will not be identified.

Once the research team receives participants' responses, the data will be kept on password-protected computers that can only be accessed by the researchers. The retention period of

your answers and data will be at least six years after the end of the IRB approval period. Your answers may be used for future research or shared with other researchers without your additional informed consent.

We hope to receive completed questionnaires from about 5,000 people, so your answers are important to us. Of course, you have a choice about whether or not to complete the survey, but if you do participate, you are free to skip any questions or discontinue at any time.

Please be aware, while we make every effort to safeguard your data once received from the online survey company, given the nature of online surveys, as with anything involving the Internet, we can never guarantee the confidentiality of the data while still on the survey company's servers, or while en route to either them or us. It is also possible the raw data collected for research purposes will be used for marketing or reporting purposes by the survey/data gathering company after the research is concluded, depending on the company's Terms of Service and Privacy policies.

If you have questions about the study, please feel free to ask; my contact information is given below. If you have complaints, suggestions, or questions about your rights as a research volunteer, contact the staff at the University of Kentucky Office of Research Integrity at 859-257-9428 or toll-free at 1-866-400-9428.

Thank you in advance for your assistance with this important project. To ensure your responses will be included, please copy your completion code and paste it to the MTurk after you complete your survey.

Sincerely,

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APPENDIX 3: SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Consent

Do you agree to participate in this study?

a. Yes, I AGREE to participate.
b. No (quit the study now)

Screener 1

In this section, you are asked to answer some questions about yourself. Please choose the best answer that fits you.

Are you living in the U.S.?

a. Yes
b. No

Are you age 18 or older?

a. Yes
b. No

Instruction

In this section, you are asked to read several brief descriptions of fictional scenarios. Please read them CAREFULLY because you will be asked to make judgments after reading them.

Some may seem like similar incidents, so reading carefully will help you to understand the differences in each of the fictional scenario for you to take into consideration.

For each scenario, you will be asked to answer a series of questions.

Vignette

Dakota is [*White /African American/ Hispanic*]. Sam is [*White /African American/ Hispanic*].

One day, Sam was walking in the street. As Sam passed near Dakota, Dakota [*threatened to beat Sam up/ beat Sam up*] [*without saying a single word/ yelling derogatory racial slurs*].

Sam [*walked away immediately and was not bothered by this incident at all/ was lightly injured but did not need to go to the hospital/ was severely injured and staying in the hospital for a whole week*].

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat agree, strongly agree)

- This incident should be considered a crime.
- This incident is serious.
- This incident is motivated by the Sam's race.

- Sam is likely to report this incident to the police.
- If you witnessed the whole incident, you would report it to the police.
- Sam should report this incident to the police.

After the incident, Sam decided not to report the incident to the police. In your opinion, how likely was it because of the following reasons? (Extremely unlikely, somewhat unlikely, neither likely nor unlikely, somewhat likely, extremely likely)

- Sam was not sure if it was a crime.
- Sam took care of the incident in another way.
- Sam did not have enough evidence.
- There was no severe consequence.
- Police would not think the incident was important enough.
- Police would not be effective.
- Police would be biased.
- Police would not believe Sam's version of what happened.
- Sam did not want to get Dakota in trouble with the law.
- Sam was afraid of payback by Dakota or the others.
- It was too much trouble for Sam to report to the police.

Screener 2

Please select blue below.

Right-Wing Authoritarianism

In this section, you are asked to answer questions about your opinions.

There are no right or wrong answers for any of the following statements.

Please read each of the statements carefully and indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement. (Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat agree, strongly agree)

- Our country needs a powerful leader, in order to destroy the radical and immoral currents prevailing in society today.
- Our country needs free thinkers, who will have the courage to stand up against traditional ways, even if this upsets many people.
- The old-fashioned ways and old-fashioned values still show the best way to live.
- Our society would be better off if we showed tolerance and understanding for untraditional values and opinions.
- God’s laws about abortion, pornography and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late, violations must be punished.
- The society needs to show openness towards people thinking differently, rather than a strong leader, the world is not particularly evil or dangerous.
- It would be best if newspapers were censored so that people would not be able to get hold of destructive and disgusting material.

- Many good people challenge the state, criticize the church and ignore the normal way of living.
- Our forefathers ought to be honored more for the way they have built our society, at the same time we ought to put an end to those forces destroying it.
- People ought to put less attention to the Bible and religion, instead they ought to develop their own moral standards.
- There are many radical, immoral people trying to ruin things; the society ought to stop them.
- It is better to accept bad literature than to censor it.
- Facts show that we have to be harder against crime and sexual immorality, in order to uphold law and order.
- The situation in the society of today would be improved if troublemakers were treated with reason and humanity.
- If the society so wants, it is the duty of every true citizen to help eliminate the evil that poisons our country from within.

Perception of Police Scale

In this section, you are asked to answer questions about your opinions.

There are no right or wrong answers for any of the following statements.

Please read each of the statements carefully and indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement. (Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat agree, strongly agree)

- Police officers are friendly.
- Police officers protect me.
- Police officers treat all people fairly.
- I like the police.
- The police are good people.
- The police do not discriminate.
- The police provide safety.
- The police are helpful.
- The police are trustworthy.
- The police are reliable.
- Police officers are unbiased.
- Police officers care about my community.

Screener 3

I have paid attention to this survey.

a. Yes
b. No

Demographics

In this section, you are asked a few questions about yourself. Please choose the statement that fits you the best.

Are you a U.S. resident?

a. Yes
b. No

In which state do you currently reside? (Drop down options)

What is your race/ethnicity?

a. White (non-Hispanic)
b. African American or Black (non-Hispanic)
c. Hispanic or Latino
d. Asian
e. American Indian or Alaska Native
f. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
g. Multiracial
h. Other (Please specify)

What is your religious affiliation?

a. Roman Catholic
b. Protestant
c. Orthodox (Russian/Greek etc.)
d. Jewish
e. Muslim
f. Hindu
g. Buddhist
h. Atheist
i. Other (Please specify)

What is your sexual orientation?

a. Heterosexual
b. Homosexual
c. Bisexual
d. Other (Please specify)

What is your gender?

a. Male
b. Female
c. Transgender
d. Gender non-conforming
e. Other (Please specify)

Age (Type in)

What is your highest level of school completed or the highest degree received?

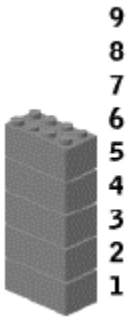
a. Less than high school
b. High school graduate

c. Some college
d. 2-year degree
e. 4-year degree
f. Professional degree
g. Master or doctorate
h. Other (Please specify)

Self-Identified Social Economic Status

Think of a building block as representing where people stand in the United States. At the top of the block are the people who are the best off – those who have the most money, the most education, and the most respected jobs. At the bottom are the people who are the worst off – those who have the least money, least education, the least respected jobs, or no job. The higher up you are on this block, the closer you are to the people at the very top; the lower you are, the closer you are to the people at the very bottom.

Where would you place yourself on this block?



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2012 –2015	Law School, Tongji University, Shanghai, CHINA **LL.M.**, Jurisprudence (with thesis)
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PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS

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AWARDS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND HONORS

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2019	ACJS Doctoral Summit Scholarship Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences
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2018	Clifford C. Clogg Scholarship ($4,600) ICPSR Summer Program in Quantitative Methods of Social Research University of Michigan Inclusive Pedagogies Graduate Learning Community ($2,000) University of Kentucky
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PUBLICATIONS

Zhang, Chenghui. (2022). "Perceiving Racial Hate Crimes: A Power Relation Perspective". *Journal of Experimental Criminology*. Springer. doi: 10.1007/s11292-022-09501-5

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UNDER REVIEW

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[*]**Zhang, Chenghui**, and Xinyi Situ. "Describing Victims Who Don't Report: A CART Analysis on NCVS Violent Crime Reporting".

Chahal, Jaspreet K., Andrea Pals, Caihong Li, **Chenghui Zhang**, Xian Wu, and Diane R. Follingstad. "Student Help Seeking Behaviors Across Different Types of Campus Victimizations".

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