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gender role ideology, homophobia and hate crime: linking attitudes to macro-level anti-gay and lesbian hate crimes

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The relationship between traditional gender role ideology and homophobia has frequently been suggested in social science literature. Few studies, however, have empirically examined the relationship between these cultural conceptions, and far fewer studies have linked gender roles and homophobia to actual behaviors. This study fills a gap in the existing literature by incorporating attitudinal measures of gender role ideology and homophobia from the General Social Survey with macro level indicators of gender stratification when examining acts of gay and lesbian hate crime victimization. Specifically we estimate whether macro level indicators of attitudes toward gays and lesbians and gender views have direct and indirect effects on incidents of hate crime. We find that homophobia and gender stratification directly influence the incidents of hate crime victimization. Although we also find an empirical relationship between gender role ideology and homophobia, homophobia does not mediate the relationship between gender role ideology and incidents of hate

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crimes based on sexual orientation. Implications of our findings are discussed.

The recent rise in the number of hate crimes against gays and lesbians, including a couple of brutal, high-profile murders, has increased calls for hate crime legislation specifically protecting sexual orientation (Human Rights Campaign 2002; National Gay and Lesbian Task Force 2002). However, there has been little consensus as to whether such legislation is warranted. Indeed, debate has been raging as to whether hate crime legislation mandating protection for gay men and lesbian women is a fundamental civil right, or an unwarranted special protection for an immoral minority (Button, Rienzo, and Wald 1997; Green 2000; Herman 2000; Jacobs 2002; Perry 2001). A study that assesses public sentiment towards gender roles and homophobia may inform this debate.

Sociological and psychological studies have addressed issues of heterosexism, homophobia, and support for gay civil rights at the individual level (Comstock 1991; Franklin 1998; Herek 1984, 1992; Plasek and Allard 1985). Research abounds on the correlates and predictors of homophobia across different groups of people, yet no studies have examined the relationship between homophobia and hate crime victimizationat at the macro level. Is it possible to capture the relationship among attitudes, structural inequalities, and the actual incidents of criminal hate? Do gender role attitudes and homophobia translate into gay and lesbian victimization when gender stratification is controlled for? The purpose of this research is to conduct macro level analyses that estimate the impact of anti-gay and lesbian attitudes, traditional gender role ideology, and gender stratification on hate crimes based on sexual orientation.

Research of this nature is critical for providing a more inclusive theoretical framework for the study of homophobia. Previous studies have suggested how different ideologies influence anti-gay rhetoric for individuals (Birken 1997; Edwards 1989) in specific instances. However, this research has been criticized for its inability to predict actual behavior from attitudinal measures. In addition, previous studies have typically been limited to a single area or instance of hate crime. Our study moves beyond the existing literature in

important ways. First, we offer a macro level study that links gender role ideology and homophobia to hate crime incidents across multiple urban areas. Second, our examination takes into account the direct link between attitudinal data and the incidents of hate crime, as well as the potential for indirect effects as homophobia can mediate the relationship between gender role ideology and anti- gay and lesbian hate crimes. That is, in addition to utilizing a Poisson-based procedure that estimates the direct effect of our constructs on incidents of hate crime, we propose a structural equation model (SEM) that allows us to simultaneously estimate the direct and indirect relationships among gender role ideology, homophobia, and hate crimes. Third, we control for the presence of important city level constructs in our research, such as religion, education, and the degree of economic disadvantage and gender stratification in U.S. cities. Overall, our study is unique in that it provides an exploratory look at the incidents of hate crime across multiple urban areas and links attitudinal data to city level constructs of gender stratification and hate crime.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Prior research into specifically anti- gay and lesbian hate has tended to focus either on the manifestation of homophobia at the individual level (notable exceptions include Comstock 1991; Franklin 2000; Herek and Berrill 1992; Tomsen and Mason 2001) or on the development of hate crime legislation through pressure from social movement organizations (for example, see Jenness and Grattet 2001). Those studies that have been conducted tend to focus on examination of individual attitudes rather than acts (Bernstein and Kostelac 2002; Franklin 2000; Herek 1984; Herek and Glunt 1993). It seems that most research has assumed anti- gay and lesbian sentiment automatically translates into, and accounts for, negative behaviors (Bernstein and Kostelac 2002; Franklin 2000). As Franklin (2000) explains, ''hate crime statutes presume that perpetrators are motivated by hatred or animosity toward specified minority groups'' (340). In terms of anti- gay and lesbian prejudice, this is generally referred to as homophobia.

The rhetoric of homophobia is often couched in the language of traditional gender role ideology (Beneke 1997; Blumenfeld 1992; Kimmel 1994; Pharr 1997). As Herek

(1992) explains, ''Heterosexuality is equated ideologically with 'normal' masculinity and 'normal' femininity, whereas homosexuality is equated with violating the norms of gender'' (97). Hegemonic masculinity describes the idealized form of masculinity in a particular social situation (Connell 1995; Messerschmidt 1999). Maintenance of hegemonic masculinity involves engaging in certain practices that ''prove'' one's manhood. For some, crime may even be legitimated as a way to perform masculinity, especially if other avenues are blocked (Messerschmidt 1999). Men who do not maintain the necessary gender performance to support the ideals of hegemonic masculinity are stigmatized as not ''real'' men, or, even worse, as gay. Kimmel (1994) argues that homophobia forms the central organizing principle for normative definitions of masculinity. As most men are thought to engage in practices that sustain hegemonic masculinity, this construct provides a framework under which one can examine aspects of homophobia (Bufkin 1997; Connell 1995; Kimmel 1994; Messerschmidt 1999).

Vilification of gay men and lesbians is linked to their perceived transgression of approved gender expressions. Indeed, the link between traditional gender role ideology and anti-homosexual sentiment has been frequently suggested in social science and psychological literature (Cotten-Huston and Waite 2000; Ficarrotto 1990; Kite and Deaux 1987; Kurdek 1988; Macdonald and Games 1974; Thompson, Grisanti, and Pleck 1985). Henley and Pincus (1978) report that the relation between sexism and ''gayism'' (anti-homosexual attitudes) is explicit in the association of both with sex role stereotypes.

The notion of cultural heterosexism is of critical importance in trying to understand the nature of the discourse surrounding homophobia. Heterosexism refers to an ''ideological system that denies, denigrates and stigmatizes any non-heterosexual form of behavior, identity, relationship or community . . . heterosexism is manifested both in societal customs and institutions'' (Herek 1992:89). This concept provides the backdrop for understanding homophobia, as there is a clear assumption that the world *must* be heterosexual. Furthermore, it implicates how sexuality and gender are intertwined to produce homophobia. This is a crucial component for understanding anti- gay and lesbian hate as it suggests how cultural belief systems that consistently denigrate gay

men and lesbians, and describe them as not being ''real'' men or ''real'' women, perpetuate and encourage hate crimes.

It could be argued that victimization of gays and lesbians serves as an extreme manifestation of the dominant cultural values of heterosexism. Therefore, collective expression of both gender role ideology and homophobia—cultural heterosexism—(Franklin 2000; Herek 1992; Kimmel 1994) can impact the level of anti- gay and lesbian hate crimes. Previous research also has found that the intensity of homophobia at the individual level is impacted by gender (Connell 1995; Kimmel 1994), age (Kite and Whitley 1998; Kurdek 1988; Morrison et al. 1997; Whitley 1987), education (Kurdek 1988; Strand 1998), religious ideology (Birken 1997; Edwards 1989; Henley and Pincus 1978; Herek 1984; Larsen, Reed and Hoffman, 1980; Newman 1989; Peplau, Hill, and Rubin 1993), and adherence to traditional gender role ideology (Cotten-Huston and Waite 2000; Ficarrotto 1990; Stark 1991). Therefore, these constructs are important considerations in our conceptual framework and should be controlled for in our empirical analyses.

CONCEPTUAL MODEL

Theoretical notions of cultural heterosexism and the seemingly incontrovertible link between traditional gender role ideology and homophobia are the bases of our analysis and serve as key constructs in our conceptual framework. Figure 1 displays the possible linkages among traditional gender role ideology, homophobia, and hate crime. As shown here, we are interested in estimating the direct and indirect linkages between gender role ideology, homophobia and incidents of hate crime victimization at the city level.

First, we believe that the collective expression of liberal gender role ideology will directly impact the incidents of hate crimes based on sexual orientation, when controlling for important predictors of hate crime victimization (religion, education) and the degree of gender stratification in the area (see Figure 1). That is, we expect that:

> H1: Liberal gender role ideology will decrease the level of hate crime victimization based on sexual orientation.

We also expect homophobia (or negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians in terms of civil rights and issues of

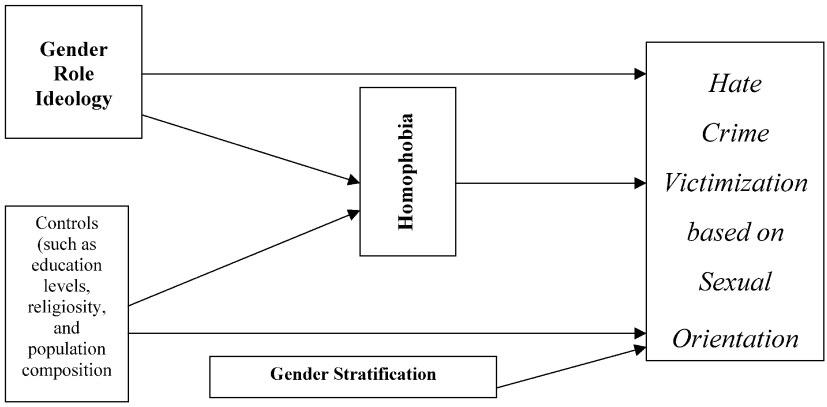

FIGURE 1 Conceptual Linkages Among Gender Role Ideology, Homophobia and Incidents of Hate Crime.

morality) to be a strong predictor of hate crimes at the city level. Specifically, we predict that:

H2: Homophobia will increase the incidents of hate crime victimization based on sexual orientation.

Gay bashing provides an opportunity for men to ''prove'' their masculinity when other, legitimate, avenues are blocked (Kimmel 1994; Messerscmidt 1999). Therefore, areas with high levels of gender stratification and/or inequalities between the sexes will lead to less hate crime as there is less threat to hegemonic masculinity.

H3: Gender stratification will decrease the incidents of hate crime.

Finally, we investigate the possibility of an indirect link among gender role ideology, homophobia, and hate crime. We propose that homophobia may serve as a mediating condition for the relationship between gender role ideology and hate crime. As homophobia is embedded in the language of sexism, we would expect that areas with liberal gender roles will be less homophobic and it is this that subsequently results in less hate crime. That is, we also expect that:

H4: Liberal gender role ideology will decrease hate crimes when mediated by (reductions in) homophobia.

We acknowledge that incidents of hate crime may reflect law enforcement patterns and efforts more so than actual behavior. Researchers have suggested that limitations in police reporting, law enforcement practices, and politics cast doubt on the accuracy of anti- gay and lesbian victimization data (Boyd, Berk, and Hamner 1996; Franklin 2002; Martin 1995; Nolan et al. 2002). While addressing this issue is beyond the scope of this study, we recognize our empirical test may explain the differences in enforcement patterns across urban areas more so than the actual incidents of hate crime.

DATA AND METHODS

The study utilizes data from multiple sources. Specifically, information is drawn from the General Social Survey (GSS 1996–2000), the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) and U.S. Bureau of Census. In order to link individual level attitudinal measures of gender role ideology and homophobia with macro level indicators of gender stratification and hate crimes, these three data sources must be integrated, which requires a common unit of analysis. The city is a geographical unit shared in the databases. Thus, U.S. cities serve as the unit of analysis in this study. The UCR and census data sources provide macro (e.g., city) level measures while the GSS examines individual responses to survey items for persons randomly sampled across the United States. We aggregate GSS attitudinal data to the city level as described below.

Using region codes and population size information provided by the GSS, it is possible to find respondents' specific locations (Kleck 1996). As Kleck explains, there will generally only be one city with the exact population number in thousands (SIZE variable) within a given region (REGION variable). Therefore, it is possible to match respondents to specific cities within the nine region classifications with accuracy (for a detailed explanation, see Kleck 1996). These geographical codes were used to link the attitudinal GSS data to the other data sources (e.g., structural characteristics of cities and hate crime statistics). Importantly, as Kleck (1996) indicates, only GSS respondents residing in cities with

a population of 100,000 or larger can be accurately located in this manner. Therefore, our analysis is based on those 73 U.S. cities with populations of 100,000 or more represented in the GSS in 1996, 1998, and 2000 (see Table 1 for a complete list of cities).

TABLE 1 Descriptive Statistics on Average Hate Crime Count

City	State	Hate crime count (Average)
Anchorage	AK	1.33
Glendale	AZ	.40
Phoenix	AZ	31.00
Tempe	AZ	2.00
Tucson	AZ	4.00
Anaheim	CA	.40
Glendale	CA	.40
Hunt Bch.	CA	.00
Inglewood	CA	.20
Los Angeles	CA	57.80
Modesto	CA	2.20
Riverside	CA	3.20
San Bernardino	CA	1.40
San Diego	CA	26.40
San Fran	CA	99.80
San Jose	CA	6.40
Santa Ana	CA	1.00
Simi Valley	CA	.00
Denver	CO	3.60
New Haven	CT	2.40
DC	DC	1.60
F Lauderdale	FL	1.00
St Pete	FL	.80
Tallahassee	FL	.40
Chicago	IL	19.60
Evansville	IN	—
Ft Wayne	IN	.60
Gary	IN	—
Indianapolis	IN	.38
Kansas City		—
New Orleans	LA	1.60
Detroit	MI	—

(*Continued*)

TABLE 1 Continued

City	State	Hate crime count (Average)
Lansing	MI	—
Minneapolis	MN	14.00
St Paul	MN	2.00
Kansas City	MO	1.80
St Louis	MO	4.20
Springfield	MO	4.40
Jersey City	NJ	.40
Newark	NJ	.40
Paterson	NJ	.00
Albany	NY	10.00
Buffalo	NY	.00
New York	NY	78.60
Rochester	NY	.00
Syracuse	NY	.20
Yonkers	NY	.00
Durham	NC	1.20
Cincinnati	OH	1.00
Cleveland	OH	1.00
Columbus	OH	14.20
Oklahoma	OK	1.00
Philadelphia	PA	.60
Knoxville	TN	.38
Memphis	TN	—
Nashville	TN	—
Arlington	TX	1.60
Austin	TX	13.60
Corpus Christi	TX	.80
Dallas	TX	9.40
Fort Worth	TX	5.00
Houston	TX	10.60
Plano	TX	.40
Waco	TX	.00
Alexandria	VA	1.60
Chesapeake	VA	.00
Hampton	VA	.00
Newport News	VA	.00
Norfolk	VA	.25
Richmond	VA	.00
Virginia Bch	VA	.00
Seattle	WA	19.80
Spokane	WA	3.00

Dependent Variable

The Hate Crime Statistics Act, passed in 1990, mandates collection of ''accurate'' hate crime information nationwide. This data would then be included in the Uniform Crime Report (UCR). From 1996, hate crime data collection became a permanent feature of the UCR. Despite this, however, conducting empirical research into anti- gay and lesbian hate crimes is complicated as the data quality is rather poor (Green, McFalls, and Smith 2001; McDevitt, Balboni, and Bennett 2000; Nolan, Akiyama, and Berhanu 2002). For example, at the time of writing, only 28 states include sexual orientation as one of the enumerated biases in hate crime statutes, thus seriously limiting accurate reporting of anti- gay and lesbian victimization. Furthermore, examination of the investigative process surrounding bias crime has suggested that hate crime rates are influenced more by local police practices and local politics than actual levels of criminality (Boyd, Berk, and Hamner 1996; Franklin 2002; Martin 1995; Nolan et al. 2002). Therefore, it has been argued that hate crime figures represent reporting characteristics as opposed to criminal incidents. Despite the limitations of using UCR data, it remains one of the only national databases containing information about anti- gay and lesbian hate victimization.[1] As such, it is a useful tool for preliminary investigation of national hate crime trends.

[1]There are two additional sources of data on hate crimes. In July 2000, the Bureau of Justice Statistics added items to address hate crime victimization. Specifically the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) questions ask victims if they believe the crime they experienced was motivated by prejudice or bigotry, or if specific behavior of the offender and/or evidence led them (the victims) to perceive bias. While the NCVS will provide detailed information on hate crime incidents as well as estimates of how much hate crime goes unreported to law enforcement agencies, the questions are limited in that they do not provide information by type of bias motivation (e.g., race, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc.), which is necessary information in our research. Second, in recent years the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) has moved away from UCR to a National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS). While NIBRS is a more comprehensive and detailed crime reporting system, which will capture a wide range of information on specific incidents, the number of agencies currently participating is limited. For example, in 1999, 3,396 agencies submitted NIBRS data from 17 states, which represents only 13% of the total population. Thus, these data are promising sources of hate crime statistics in the future, however, due to the fact that they were implemented only recently, they are too limited in scope and geographic coverage for our current research aims.

The dependent variable is the actual number of hate crimes based on sexual orientation, from the UCR, for each of the 73 cities included in the analysis (see Table 1). Due to the low frequency and year-to-year variations in hate crimes, an average was calculated using hate crime statistics from 1994–1998; years that overlap with the GSS data. This procedure also increases the likelihood of having enough incidents to construct a valid measure of hate crimes, in addition to reducing missing data issues. For the five years of hate crime data used, hate crime counts were missing for one year in eight cities (Indianapolis, IN; Knoxville, TN; Waco, TX; Chesapeake, VA; Newport News, VA; Norfolk, VA; Richmond, VA; and Virginia Beach, VA) and two years in one city (Anchorage, AK). In these cities, a mean substitution procedure was used where a count was estimated for the missing year based on an average count for the other years. Across the 73 cities, the average number of hate crimes was 7.1415 with a standard deviation of 17.3769.

Independent Variables

Attitudinal Measures

The attitudinal measures are drawn from the General Social Survey (GSS), a near annual, cross-sectional survey of non-institutional persons aged 18 or over, and residing in the United States. The GSS is a random national sample of adults conducted by the National Opinion Research Center. The attitudinal measures were selected on the basis of theoretical relevance from the GSS for the years of 1996, 1998, and 2000 (see Kleck 1996), which lead to a total of 628 respondents who reside in cities with a population of 100,000 or more. Attitudes toward homosexuality were measured using three questions from the GSS: two questions dealt with the civil liberties of gay men, one question dealt with the respondents' perceived morality of homosexuality. Individual responses were aggregated to the city level to reflect widespread attitudes and then merged with the other data sources.

Attitudes toward gay civil liberties were measured using the following questions: ''And what about a man that admits he is a homosexual. Suppose this homosexual wanted to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed

to speak or not?''; and ''And what about a man that admits he is a homosexual. Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university? Or not?'' Responses were dummy coded such that 1 = allowed, and 0 = not allowed. It should be pointed out that this question deals exclusively with gay men. There is no indication that the beliefs expressed could also be applicable to lesbian women. Using reliability analysis, these two measured were combined into a scale (alpha = 0.8754).

Beliefs concerning the morality of homosexuality were captured using the following question: ''What about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex—do you think it is always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all?'' This question was included as it measures a different kind of attitude concerning gay men and lesbian women. Rather than concentrating on civil liberties for homosexuals as a social group, it focuses directly on individual, specific behaviors. In terms of examining the legislative impact of attitudes toward gay men and lesbians, this measure is critical as it is oftentimes how homosexuality is portrayed—highly sexualized—by those opposing gay civil rights. The responses to this question were dummy coded such that 1 = not wrong at all, and 0 = wrong in some or all contexts.

The gender role ideology scale was based on five questions tapping attitudes toward women, and women's roles in society (alpha = 0.6421). These questions asked about support for women working outside the home, whether women working affected young children, whether a working mother can establish a strong bond with her children, whether it was more important for a woman to assist her husband than pursue her own career, and whether it is better for a woman to stay home and care for the family while the husband works. For the sake of uniformity, all items in the scale were recalculated such that 1 = liberal gender role attitudes, and 0 = conservative attitudes.

Gender Stratification

Data were also obtained from the U.S. Bureau of Census (1991) for the purpose of including macro level indicators of gender stratification and various control measures in the regression analysis. Gender stratification is based on

combining two constructs that reflect gender disparities in economic resources. The two indicators include: the ratio of male to female median income for persons aged 16 and older and the ratio of male to female unemployment rate.

Control Measures

Census data also were used to control for the city's population size, percent white, racial residential segregation, and percent of the population living below the poverty line in our analyses. The percentage in poverty measure is defined as the percentage of the population with income below the official poverty line. Percent white is computed by dividing the number of whites by the total city population. Racial residential segregation is measured by the index of dissimilarity. Additionally, in an effort to take into account political power or political influence of women, we include a dummy measure of the mayor's gender (where a code of 1 indicates female mayor and code of 0 indicates a male mayor).

Last, we control for education and religion using data available in the GSS. To measure educational levels, two sets of dummy variables were created; high school (1 = Yes) and college (1 = Yes). Religion was measured through responses to the question, ''How often do you attend religious services?'' The response categories were as follows: several times a week, every week, nearly every week, 2–3 times a month, about once a month, several times a year, less than once a year, never. For the purposes of this analysis the first four response categories were recoded as 0 = religious, and the remainder as 1 = non-religious. The descriptive statistics for all measures utilized in the analysis are provided in the Appendix.

RESULTS

Table 2 displays the results when examining the relationships among attitudinal variables of traditional gender role ideology, homophobia, and anti- gay and lesbian hate crime counts in urban cities. Our initial statistical tests revealed that ordinary least squares (OLS) regression estimation is not appropriate for our analysis due to the skewed and rare nature of the dependent variable. Traditionally, previous studies have addressed small counts on a dependent variable by

TABLE 2 Posisson-Based Regression Results of the Impact of Gender Role Ideology and Homophobia on Incidents of Hate Crime ($N = 73$)

Variable	*B*	St. error	Z-score
Liberal Gender Role Scale	.259	.168	1.54
Morality of Homosexuality	−.576**	.133	− 4.33
Gay Civil Rights Scale	.841*	.372	2.26
Religion	−.663**	.155	−4.21
High School Education	−1.201**	.365	−3.29
College Education	.621**	.173	3.58
Sex of Mayor	.121	.197	.61
Racial Segregation	.803	.544	1.48
Gender Stratification Index	−4.86**	.519	−9.34
Percent White	.047**	.007	6.77
Percent Poverty	−.111**	.019	−5.81
Constant	2.495	1.85	
LL	−173.604**		
Pseudo R^2	.508		

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$.

computing an aggregate rate and then applying a log transformation to the variable so that it may be used in an OLS multivariate regression analysis. However, recent work by Osgood (2000) and Osgood and Chambers (2000) outline the inappropriateness of this technique and offer Poisson-based regression as a more useful and potentially reliable method to be used when examining rare counts (instead of rates). We utilize the Poisson multivariate procedure in this research. Furthermore, we converted the hate crime counts into the equivalent of a rate by including the logged population size variable as an exposure variable in the model and constrain the coefficient to equal 1 (Osgood 2000). Also, an interpretation of the results will include multiplying the average hate crime rate by a value of exp (bx_k) (see Osgood 2000).

Table 2 displays the result of the Poisson regression procedure. In this table, our measure of liberal gender role ideology is not statistically significant. That is, we find that areas with liberal attitudes toward gender roles do not significantly reduce the incidents of hate crimes, as predicted in our first hypothesis. However, we find support for the link

between homophobia and hate crime (hypothesis 2) although not consistently in the expected direction. That is, every one standard deviation increase in supportive attitudes toward gay civil rights is associated with a 41.6% increase hate crime events (exp. $[.841 \times 414] = 1.416$), while a standard deviation increase in opinions concerning the *morality* of homosexuality significantly reduce hate crimes by 23% in areas where homosexuality is viewed as ''not wrong'' (exp.$[-576 \times .454] = .769$). High school education and religiosity are both negatively related to hate crime rates (the religion variable is coded in such a manner that as *non*-religiosity increases, hate crimes decrease). Interestingly, college education is significantly positively related to hate crime incidents. Specifically, one standard deviation increase in college education is associated with a 33% increase in incidents of hate crime (exp. $[.621 \times .460] = 1.33$).

Of the remaining constructs included in the model, both gender stratification and poverty are inversely related to hate crimes. That is, we find that areas with higher levels of inequality between males and females (thus less gender equality) have significantly less hate crime victimization based on sexual orientation. This relationship is consistent with our prediction (hypothesis 3). In addition, gender stratification is the strongest predictor ($z = -9.34$) of hate crime in our model, in that one standard deviation increase in gender inequality is associated with 79.4% reduction in hate crimes (exp. $[-4.86 \times .325] = .206$). Percent white also is positively correlated with hate crime incidents, which is consistent with previous literature.

DIRECT AND INDIRECT LINKAGES: THE EVIDENCE

Recall that a central claim in much of the literature is the incontrovertible link between gender role ideology and homophobia (Kurdek 1988; Macdonald and Games 1974; Thompson, Grisanti, and Pleck 1985). This assertion led us to an additional hypothesis that the relationship between gender role ideology and hate crime could be mediated by homophobia (see hypothesis 4). To test this, we estimate a structural equation model (SEM) that allows us to simultaneously test the direct and indirect links among liberal gender role ideology, homophobia, and hate crime victimization as specified in our

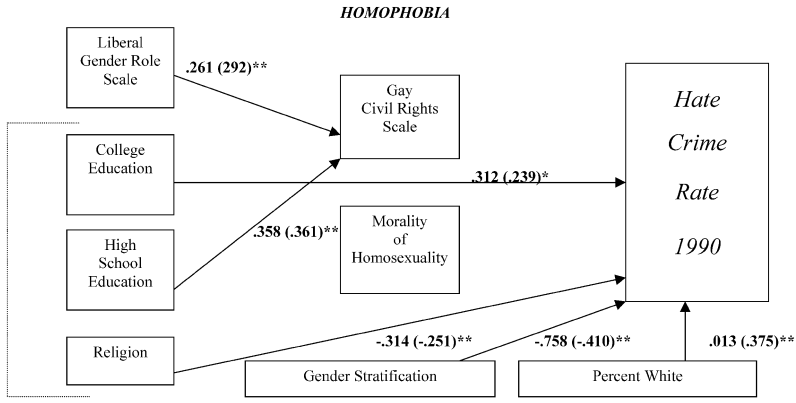

FIGURE 2 Structural Equation Model of the Relationship Among Gender Role Ideology, Homophobia and Incidents of Hate Crime, $N = 73$. (Standardized Coefficients in Parentheses.) $X^2 = 7.710$, $p = .657$, TLI = 1.010, CFI = 1.000, RMSEA = .000

conceptual framework (see Figure 1). Using AMOS (version 4.0), Figure 2 displays the results of utilizing this modeling procedure. The chi-square test and other statistical tests of model fit are reported in the figure. Overall these test statistics reveal the paths represent a good fit to the data.

In terms of our hypothesis, we find that areas with liberal gender roles are more likely to have supportive attitudes toward gay civil rights (B = .261) but this relationship does not impact hate crime victimization. That is, these data do not reveal an indirect link between gender role ideology and hate crime when mediated by homophobia. The remaining paths displayed in this figure support the direct effects between our constructs and hate crime as reported in Table 2.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This research provides mixed support for the relationships among gender role ideology, homophobia, and hate crime. Attitudes toward gays and lesbians are indeed significant predictors of hate crime victimization, although liberal gender role ideology does not translate to less hate crime, directly

or indirectly, through measures of homophobia. In particular, we find that beliefs surrounding the morality of homosexuality are significant predictors of hate crime victimization. Previous empirical research finds that gay (and lesbian) victims of hate crimes are often attacked for their perceived lack of morality (Comstock 1991; Herek and Berrill 1992). Indeed, the discourse of homophobia is infused with language condemning the so-called immorality of homosexuality (for detailed discussion see Herek and Berrill 1992).

Gender inequality was found to negatively impact hate crime victimization, in support of the conceptual model. High levels of structural gender inequality suggest that men are in positions of power relative to women, and therefore may not need to turn to gay bashing and violence to affirm their masculinity (Bufkin 1997; Herek 1992; Kimmel 1994; Messerschmidt 1999). As West and Zimmerman (1991) explain, the process of ''doing gender'' reaffirms the ''essential'' nature of men (dominance) and women (deference). As gender is situationally accomplished (West and Zimmernan, 1991), proving one's masculinity is particularly important to those men for whom other avenues to the hegemonic ideal may be blocked. Therefore, it seems that urban areas with *less* gender inequality (or more gender equity) have significantly higher counts of gay and lesbian victimization. Gay bashing provides proof of manhood and serves as a resource for accomplishing hegemonic masculinity (Bufkin 1997; Franklin 2000; Messerschmidt 1999; Perry 2001).

The surprising relationship between support for gay civil rights and an increase in hate crime victimization can be partially explained by examining geographical distribution of the hate incidents. Research by Green et al. (2001) has suggested a strong correlation between the population density of gay households and anti- gay hate crime. In other words, those areas with a high concentration of gay and lesbian households show an increased incidence of hate crime victimization (Green et al. 2001). In terms of our research, the link between support for gay civil rights and an increase in hate crimes therefore becomes a function of the population distribution. Not only does a high concentration of gay and lesbian households suggest increased support for gay civil rights, it also provides a larger population at risk of hate victimization.

Gay bashing also may be seen as a reaction to the perceived loss of white, male privilege by those most directly affected (Franklin 1998; Perry 2001). Indeed, prior research has suggested that most hate crime perpetrators are young, white men (Comstock 1991; Franklin 2000; Herek and Berrill 1992). With this in mind, it is therefore not surprising that we found a significant relationship between race and hate crime.

The results of the study suggest some critical differences in predicting attitudes and acts. Indeed criticisms of purely attitudinal research that suggest actual behavior differs from ideology and belief seem justified. The results presented here indicate key discrepancies between predictors of homophobia and the actual hate crime incidents. Perhaps homophobia is an ideology that, in practice, is modified by other, external factors. It also is possible that there is a substantial difference between voicing support for gay and lesbian civil rights, and actually approving of gay and lesbian behavior. Furthermore, the need for hate crime legislation in general is a hotly debated issue, the details of which are beyond the scope of this research (See Jacobs and Potter 1998; Jenness and Grattet 2001). These are areas that would benefit from further, in-depth research.

The results of this study suggest that the attitudinal correlates of homophobia and structural measures of inequality are somewhat useful in predicting hate crime incidents based on sexual orientation. Although this study has methodological issues concerning the geographical coding of GSS variables, it is a critical first step in the process of understanding the relationships among attitudes, structural inequalities, and actual existence of criminal hate. Policy implications are inherent within this increased understanding of the relationship between attitude and behavior, from the changing of political platforms supporting particular kinds of legislation, to the formation of antiviolence programs aimed specifically at potential perpetrators. Finally, addressing issues of statewide influences on variations in victimization facilitates the development of programs specifically aimed at impacting the law. As such, policy implications of this research are critical for civil rights groups, as it allows them to focus attention and resources on those segments of the population more willing to support their legislative appeals.

This research presents a challenge to expand empirical investigation of the phenomena of hate. As explained in other research, the investigative processes surrounding bias crimes are impacted by law enforcement patterns and local politics (Boyd, Berk, and Hamner 1996; Franklin 2002; Martin 1995; Nolan et al. 2002). Our findings may reflect these reporting practices as opposed to the incidents of hate crime victimization. A concerted effort is needed by both hate crime scholars and hate crime activists to address data quality issues. While other data sources are now available, such as the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) and National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), information on hate crimes is still limited. For example, if the NCVS were to expand the existing measures on hate crime victimization, then it could be a critical tool in enhancing our understanding of hate victimization. Volunteer organizations such as the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs (www.ncavp.org) also conduct incident monitoring and reporting programs in select states, which can be used either as a model for data collection, or to provide more in-depth information on hate violence in those specific areas. If these issues are not addressed then research into, and understanding of, this topic will be stymied. Even the simplest descriptions of hate crime prevalence would be impossible to describe.

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APPENDIX

Descriptive Statistics on Predictor and Dependent Variables ($N = 73$)

Variable	Mean	St. deviation
Average Hate Crime Count	7.1415	17.377
Liberal Gender Role Scale	.703	.460
Morality of Homosexuality	.284	.454
Gay Civil Rights Scale	.784	.414
Religion	.649	.481
High School Education	.784	.414
College Education	.297	.460
Sex of Mayor	.86	.346
Population size (log)	12.63	.897
Racial Segregation	.545	.173
Gender Stratification Index	3.488	.325
Percent White	65.25	17.92
Percent Poverty	17.17	6.10