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Race-Hate Crimes [7]

Race - hate crimes



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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Embargoed For Release
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Saturday, June 7, 1997

RADIO ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATION

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. This morning I want to talk about one of America's greatest challenges and greatest opportunities -- conquering the forces of hatred and division that still exist in our society so that we can move forward into the 21st century as one America.

We are clearly the world's most diverse democracy, bound together across all of our differences by a belief in the basic dignity of every human being's life and liberty and the right of every American who lives by our laws and lives up to his or her responsibilities to share in the full promise of the greatest nation on Earth.

Especially as we move into a new century with its global economic and its global society, our rich diversity is a powerful strength, if we respect it. We are clearly stronger as a nation when we use the full talents of all of our people, regardless of race or religious faith, national origin or sexual orientation, gender or disability. Much of America's story is really the stories of wave after wave of citizens struggling over our full history for full equality of opportunity and dignified treatment.

We stand today in sharp contrast to the racial, ethnic,

tribal and religious conflicts which continue to claim so many lives all around the world. But we have still not purged ourselves of all bigotry and intolerance. We still have our ugly words and awful violence, our burned churches and bombed buildings.

In a predominantly white suburb of Atlanta, Georgia last month, an African American couple was greeted with racial epithets as they moved into their new home. Just a week later, their home was sprayed with gunfire in the middle of the night. In a recent incident right here in Washington, D.C., three men accosted a gay man in a park, forced him at gunpoint to go under a bridge and beat him viciously while using anti-gay epithets. Last fall in Los Angeles, a Jewish student's dormitory room was bombed with a quarter stick of dynamite and a swastika was drawn near the door.

Such hate crimes, committed solely because the victims have a different skin color or a different faith or are gays or lesbians, leave deep scars not only on the victims, but on our larger community. They weaken the sense that we are one people with common values and a common future. They tear us apart when we should be moving closer together. They are acts of violence against America itself. And even a small number of Americans who harbor and act upon hatred and intolerance can do enormous damage to our efforts to bind together our increasingly diverse society into one nation realizing its full promise.

As part of our preparation for the new century, it is time for us to mount an all-out assault on hate crimes, to punish them swiftly and severely, and to do more to prevent them from

happening in the first place. We must begin with a deeper understanding of the problem itself.

That is why I'm convening a special White House conference on hate crimes this November 10th. We'll bring to the White House victims of hate crimes and their families to understand why the impact of these acts runs so much deeper than the crimes themselves. We'll bring together law enforcement experts and leading officials from Congress and the Justice Department to take a serious look at the existing laws against hate crime and consider ways to improve enforcement and to strengthen them. We'll bring together community and religious leaders to talk about solutions that are already making a real difference in communities all across our nation.

In preparation for the conference, Attorney General Reno has begun a thorough review of the laws concerning hate crimes and the ways in which the federal government can make a difference to help us to build a more vigorous plan of action. But, of course, the fight against hatred and intolerance must be waged not just through our laws, but in our hearts as well.

A newborn child today does not know how to hate or stereotype another human being; that behavior must be learned. And intolerance does not generally begin with criminal acts. Instead, it begins with quiet acts of indignity: the bigoted remark, the African American who is followed around the grocery store by a suspicious clerk, the gay or lesbian who is denied a job, the Hispanic or Asian who is targeted because of unfair stereotypes. To truly move forward as one community, it is just not enough to prevent acts of violence to our bodies, we must prevent acts of violence to our spirits.

By convening the very first White House Conference on Hate Crimes this November, America can confront the dark forces of division that still exist. We can shine the bright light of justice, humanity and harmony on them. We'll take a serious look at the laws and remedies that can make a difference in preventing hate crimes. We'll have the frank and open dialogue we need to build one America across all difference and diversity. And, together, we will move closer to the day when acts of hatred are no longer a stain on our community or our conscience; closer to the day when we can redeem for ourselves and show to the world the 220-year-old promise of our founders, that we are "One nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

Thanks for listening.

END

For internal use only:

<p style="text-align: center;">THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON HATE CRIMES November 10, 1997</p>

Q. What did the President announce in the Saturday radio address?

A. The President announced that he will host the White House Conference on Hate Crimes on November 10, 1997 (at the White House). The Conference will bring together a diverse group of Americans in an effort to find solutions to this problem. The President also announced that the Attorney General, in preparation for the Conference, has already begun to conduct a thorough review of the laws concerning hate crimes and the ways in which the federal government can make a difference. Her report will help build a plan of action to fight hate crimes.

Q. Is this a part of the President's Race Initiative?

A. The Hate Crimes Conference is separate. The Conference, while encompassing issues related to race, also involves other non-race based groups, such as gays and lesbians, the disabled, women, etc. Thus, while the White House Conference on Hate Crimes will take place at a time while the President is stressing themes of unity, the Conference will address issues beyond race.

Q. What are the goals of the Conference?

A. While examining the tragic impact hate crimes have on our society, the Conference will work to emphasize positive actions individuals and communities can take to help prevent hate crimes and to promote unity and an appreciation for our great diversity as a nation. The White House Conference on Hate Crimes will:

- promote unity by educating the public about the threat hate crimes pose to the fundamental principals of fairness and equal justice upon which our nation was founded, and by fostering a greater appreciation for the rich diversity of America;
- demonstrate the Administration's commitment to preventing hate crimes and highlight the current and future actions we are taking to achieve this goal;
- serve as an opportunity to examine and document the best practices to combat hate crimes, devise strategies, and prepare a report to aid communities in the fight against hate crimes.

Topics will include a discussion of crimes motivated by intolerance related to race, religion, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation/identity, disability; law enforcement efforts and best practices; community, educational and private initiatives; and help available for the victims.

Q. Who will be invited to participate?

A. Approximately 100 participants from all walks of life and from every region of the country, including:

- victims and their families
- community advocates
- public policy experts
- law enforcement professionals
- state and local government officials
- Members of Congress
- religious leaders
- Senior Administration officials from the White House and DOJ

FOR MORE INFORMATION: White House Office of Public Liaison -- Hate Crimes Conference Information number -- 202-456-5530

socarides 6-1611

HATE CRIMES — Q's and A's

Q: What is a hate crime?

A: As a general matter, a hate crime is a crime that is committed because of some characteristic of the victim, such as the victim's race, color, gender, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, disability, or familial status. However, it is important to understand that hate crimes are defined by federal and state criminal statutes, and these statutory definitions differ in their particulars from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. The principal federal hate crimes statute, for example, includes only those crimes committed because of the victim's race, color, religion or national origin; it does not include crimes committed because of the victim's gender, sexual orientation, or disability.

Q: Is the President supporting an expansion of the definition of a hate crime? Is he supporting changes to current federal law?

A: The President has called a conference on hate crimes for November 10, 1997. One of the issues that will be considered at the conference is whether the statutory definitions of federal hate crimes should be expanded.

Q: Is the Oklahoma City bombing case a hate crime? Is the McVeigh trial the reason why the President is speaking out now about hate crimes?

A: It would be inappropriate for us to say much at this point about the Oklahoma City bombing case, since Mr. McVeigh's trial is still in the penalty phase.

Q: Is the bombing of an abortion clinic a hate crime?

A: It depends on the circumstances. If the bombing is motivated by the perpetrator's gender-based bias, then the crime could violate a hate crimes statute if the statute defines hate crimes to include this type of conduct when it is motivated by gender bias. The principal federal hate crimes statute currently does not prohibit conduct motivated by gender-based bias.

Q: Why are hate crimes statistics unreliable? Why don't we know whether the number of hate crimes committed is going up or down?

A: Hate crimes statistics are unreliable because hate crimes are under-reported. There are several reasons why this happens. First, hate crimes reporting by state and local law enforcement agencies is voluntary under current federal law. Second, many of the most likely targets of hate crimes also are the least likely to report incidents to the police. For example, 60% of the victims of anti-gay incidents who reported their incidents to private tracking groups did not report the incidents to the police, in many cases because of a fear of mistreatment or unwanted exposure. Third, state and local jurisdictions often have disincentives to classify and compile statistics relating to hate crimes. Tracking hate crimes requires law enforcement agencies to do additional investigative work to determine the motivation behind crimes. In addition, many local political leaders believe that it would exacerbate racial tensions or harm their jurisdictions' reputations to acknowledge that crimes committed in their cities or towns were motivated by bias. The bottom line, however, is that the number of hate crimes actually reported to the FBI has gone up over the past several years — in 1995, the number was 7,947, reported by a total of 9,584 state and local jurisdictions.

HATE CRIMES -- BACKGROUND PAPER

Federal Hate Crimes Statutes

- There are four major federal hate crimes statutes:
 - 18 U.S.C. 245, the principal federal hate crimes statute, prohibits the use of force or threats of force based on race, color, religion or national origin to interfere with a person's exercise of any federally protected right enumerated in the statute, including enrolling in or attending public school or college, participating in any program or activity administered by a state or local government, working or applying for employment, serving as a juror in state court, traveling interstate, and using places of public accommodation.
 - Section 245 has significant limitations: (1) the statute does not prohibit conduct that is based on gender, sexual preference, or disability, and (2) it does not apply unless the victim is engaged in one of the enumerated federally protected rights at the time of the offense.
 - 42 U.S.C. 3631, enacted in 1968 as part of the Fair Housing Act, prohibits interference with certain federally protected housing rights based on race, color, religion, national origin, gender, disability, or familial status.
 - Section 3631 applies only to housing related matters.
 - The Hate Crimes Statistics Act directs the Attorney General to collect statistics on crimes based on race, color, religion, national origin, disability, and sexual orientation.
 - The Act contains no requirement that jurisdictions report hate crimes, nor does it provide funding as an incentive to encourage reporting by state and local jurisdictions. As a result, statistics collected pursuant to the Act are incomplete.
 - In addition, the Act does not require the collection of gender-based hate crimes.
 - The Sentencing Enhancement Act, passed as part of the 1994 crime bill, authorizes the imposition of enhanced sentences for federal crimes found to have been motivated by race, color, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, gender, or disability. The Act became effective in November 1995 and is just beginning to be used.

Hate Crimes Statistics

- Hate crimes statistics are maintained by the FBI, by some state and local law enforcement agencies, and by several private organizations. The number of hate crimes reported to law enforcement officials has increased over the past several years, but because of under-reporting and other factors it remains uncertain whether the total number of hate crimes committed in the United States is going up or down. In any event, the numbers are large.
 - The FBI has released reports on hate crimes statistics, based on reporting from state and local law enforcement agencies, each year since 1991. In 1991, 2771 state and local agencies reported a total of 4755 bias motivated crimes to the FBI. In 1995, 9584 state and local agencies reported a total of 7947 such crimes to the FBI. The fact that many jurisdictions, including several large jurisdictions, tell the FBI that they have no hate crimes to report leads many to conclude that the FBI's statistics present an incomplete picture of the national situation.
 - Several private groups track hate crimes. Some track all types of hate crimes, while others focus their efforts on tracking hate crimes against certain constituencies, such as gays and lesbians, Jews, Arab-Americans, Muslim-Americans, Asian-Americans, etc. Statistics kept by these groups tend to differ significantly from statistics kept by the FBI. First, some victims of hate crimes report their experiences to a group but not to the FBI. Second, several of the groups count incidents of verbal harassment as hate crimes even though such incidents do not constitute crimes in most states.
 - All of the reporting systems are plagued by under-reporting, for which there are several reasons.
 - First, many of the most likely targets of hate crimes also are the least likely to report incidents to the police. For example, 60% of the victims of anti-gay incidents who reported their incidents to private groups did not report the incidents to the police, in many cases because of a fear of mistreatment or unwanted exposure. Similarly, many hate crimes victims in immigrant communities do not report incidents to the police because they fear reprisals or deportation.
 - Second, state and local jurisdictions often have disincentives to classify and compile statistics relating to hate crimes. Tracking hate crimes requires law enforcement agencies to do additional investigative work to determine the motivation behind crimes. In addition, many local political leaders believe that it would exacerbate racial tensions or harm their jurisdictions' reputations to acknowledge that crimes committed in their cities or towns were motivated by bias.

Race-hate crimes

draft 6/4 2pm

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
RADIO ADDRESS ON HATE CRIMES
Saturday, June 7, 1997**

This morning, I want to talk about one of America's greatest challenges, and also one of our greatest opportunities: remaining strong as one America, and showing that we can live together, and move forward together, across all kinds of differences.

America is the world's most diverse democracy -- a nation of widely divergent backgrounds and beliefs, bound together by our common values. The earliest settlers came to our shores seeking freedom from religious persecution. And we cherish and uphold that same freedom today: if you believe in the basic dignity of every American's life and liberty -- if you live by our laws and live up to your responsibilities -- then you can share in the full promise of the greatest nation on God's earth.

Especially as we move into the 21st Century and a global economy, our diversity is a powerful strength. We are stronger as a nation because we harness the full potential of all our people -- regardless of race or religious faith, national origin or sexual orientation, gender or disability. People across the world see in America the reflection of their own great potential -- and they always will, as long as we give all our citizens, whatever their background, an opportunity to achieve their own greatness.

We're not there yet. We still see evidence of abiding bigotry and intolerance -- in ugly words and awful violence, in burned churches and bombed buildings. For all the progress we have made in civil rights and in human rights, these vicious acts of hatred remind us that we still have a long way to go.

In a predominantly white suburb of Atlanta, Georgia last month, an African-American couple was greeted with racial epithets as they moved into their new home. One week later, their home was sprayed with gunfire in the middle of the night. In a recent incident here in Washington D.C., three men accosted a gay man in a park, forced him at gunpoint to go under a bridge, and beat him viciously while using anti-gay epithets. Last fall in Los Angeles, a Jewish student's dormitory room was bombed with a quarter-stick of dynamite, and a swastika was drawn near the door.

There is never an excuse for violence against innocent citizens. But these kinds of hateful, senseless attacks -- committed solely because the victims have a different skin color, or practice a different faith, or are gays or lesbians -- threaten America's most cherished ideals. Each time one of these brutal acts of bigotry is

committed, it is an act of violence against America itself, making all of us less free to pursue our own beliefs; less safe to walk on any street and shop in any store; less able to build a stronger, more united community in which to raise our children.

As a nation, it is time for us to mount an all-out assault on hate crimes -- to punish them swiftly and severely, and to prevent them from happening in the first place. And we must begin with a deeper understanding of the problem itself. That is why I am convening a special White House Conference on Hate Crimes this November 10th. We will bring to the White House victims of hate crimes and their families -- to understand why the impact of these hateful acts is so much deeper than the crimes themselves. We will bring together law enforcement experts and leading officials from Congress and the Justice Department -- to take a serious look at the existing laws against hate crimes, and consider ways to strengthen them. We will bring together community and religious leaders -- to talk about the solutions that are already making a difference in communities across the country.

In preparation for this conference, I have asked Attorney-General Janet Reno to conduct a through review of the laws concerning hate crimes, and the ways in which the federal government can make a difference. Her report will help us build a plan of action to fight back against the scourge of hate crimes.

Of course, the fight against hatred and intolerance must be waged not just through our laws, but in our hearts as well. A child born today does not know how to hate or stereotype another human being. Together, we must make sure that child never learns how. Intolerance does not generally begin with criminal acts, it begins with quiet acts of indignity. The bigoted remark. The gay or lesbian who is denied a job. The African-American who is followed around the grocery store by a suspicious clerk. To truly move forward as one community, it is not enough to prevent acts of violence to our bodies. We must prevent acts of violence to our souls as well.

By convening the very first White House Conference on Hate Crimes this November, we will focus America's attention on the scourge of hatred and intolerance, and new ways to punish and prevent it. We will take a serious look at the laws and remedies that make a real difference in preventing hate crimes. And we will continue the frank and open dialogue we must have to truly build one America, across all our difference and diversity.

For more than 220 years, America has been a shining beacon for the world -- of democracy, of liberty, of creativity. Now let us be the world's beacon of harmony -- through the unforgiving rule of law, and through the forgiving grace of the human spirit. For that is the only way we can remain one nation under God -- indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. Thanks for listening.

5-2-97

Hate Crimes Mtg

P's remarks (Thursday)

1. Legislatⁿ - Bill Yemas^{ts} # 245 (?)
2 whs - phase 1 - consid. of 1st pt.
July - interim progress
2. Ent initiatives -
integrate at local level prog., invs resources at
st. local levels
3. Community outreach
4. Data problems - prob of measuring this phenomenon
5. Coordination issues - w/in dept / int-wide

Monday 2:00-3:30 -

- reps can attend
- provide input, etc.

// May want to hold up
announcements until
Cmt itself (EK)
70 per (OK)

Act isn't mandatory - no oblig. on law enf agt to provide approp
data / even if g's are asked, a reluctance to self-ID / L

Introduction

Hate crimes committed against lesbians, gay men, bisexual, and transgendered people continue to rise throughout the United States despite reported decreases in crime generally. This report analyzes incidents of anti-Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgendered violence (anti-LGBT)¹ occurring in New York City reported to the New York City Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project (AVP) and thirteen other community-based anti-violence organizations from across the country, including New York City, known as the "national tracking programs" of the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs (NCAVP).² The analysis contained in this report includes available information on victims of anti-LGBT crime, offenders and the response of local police departments for 1996.

NCAVP is a coalition of lesbian and gay victim assistance, advocacy and documentation programs located throughout the nation. Although NCAVP was officially created only in 1995, the members of the coalition have worked closely together for years to strengthen the national anti-violence movement, and to report and document anti-LGBT hate crimes. At its fourth annual round table in Chicago (September 6-8, 1996), the members of NCAVP formalized its membership process and adopted a mission statement. Part of NCAVP's mission is to educate the public at large about the extent and brutality of anti-LGBT violence including through the distribution of this annual report. This is the 12th annual national report on anti-LGBT violence based on documentation provided by local anti-violence programs across the country. AVP has participated in all twelve reports.

The New York City Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project, established in 1980, is a crime victim assistance agency that specializes in serving gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered and HIV-positive victims of bias crime, domestic violence, sexual assault, police abuse, and other forms of victimization. AVP runs a 24-hour hotline, provides counseling; advocacy; police, hospital and court accompaniment; and community mobilization services to individual victims of violence, and education and outreach to the community at large.

The purpose of this report is to show trends in violence against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered persons. It does not purport to document the actual, or even approximate, number of anti-LGBT incidents that occurred in New York City or in the United States in 1996. Extensive empirical evidence shows that anti-LGBT violence is vastly under-reported. NCAVP knows from dozens of prevalence surveys, academic studies and government-funded reports conducted over the last two decades that gay men and lesbians are disproportionately the victims of hate-motivated violence. Under-reporting, coupled with the fact that most areas of the country do not have local victim assistance or documentation programs means that a very large percentage of anti-LGBT violence remains undocumented.

Each of the programs participating in this report use the same intake forms, definitions and criteria for documenting anti-LGBT incidents.³ The participating programs define an anti-LGBT incident as one in which

¹ For the purpose of this report anti-LGBT violence will serve as an abbreviation for anti-lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered violence.

² See Appendix A for a complete list of participating programs. See Appendix B for summaries of selected incidents included in this report.

³ The standardization of statistic gathering was one of the first accomplishments of NCAVP. The incident documentation form is attached as Appendix C and the 21-page instruction manual on completing the form is available upon request.

there are sufficient objective facts to lead a reasonable person to conclude that the offender's actions were motivated in whole or in part by the offender's bias against gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgendered persons. In addition, this report documents violence against people with HIV/AIDS and those perceived as such.

The definition and the criteria⁴ used to determine bias motivation parallel the definition and criteria used by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to track bias motivation generally.⁵ To ensure the integrity of this report, no incidents where the anti-LGBT motivation was questionable were included.

In addition, the various reporting programs use consistent definitions for terms used in the report such as "offense," "incident," and "victim." These definitions closely follow the definitions used by the FBI. It should be noted, however, that one offense - harassment (verbal/sexual) - is not a crime in most states. This offense includes an offender directing anti-LGBT slurs at an individual. NCAVP programs document these offenses because of the psychological pain and fear harassment causes to victims, as well as the evidence that many persons who engage in verbal harassment often escalate their behavior to more violent acts over time. Only 6% of the incidents documented in this report involve the single offense of harassment (verbal/sexual).

⁴ Criteria include: a) the offender's use of anti-LGBT or AIDS-related language, b) a history of anti-LGBT incidents in the same area, c) a perception by a substantial portion of the LGBT community where the crime occurred that the incident was motivated by bias, d) a coincidence with a Lesbian/Gay event, such as Lesbian/Gay Pride Day or National Coming Out Day, e) some indication that the victim was selected for victimization because of his/her appearance, clothing (e.g., gay pride T-shirt), or behavior (e.g., couple holding hands), f) offender's membership in an identifiable hate group with a history of committing anti-LGBT violence, or g) victim's participation in activities promoting LGBT rights, or activities in response to AIDS.

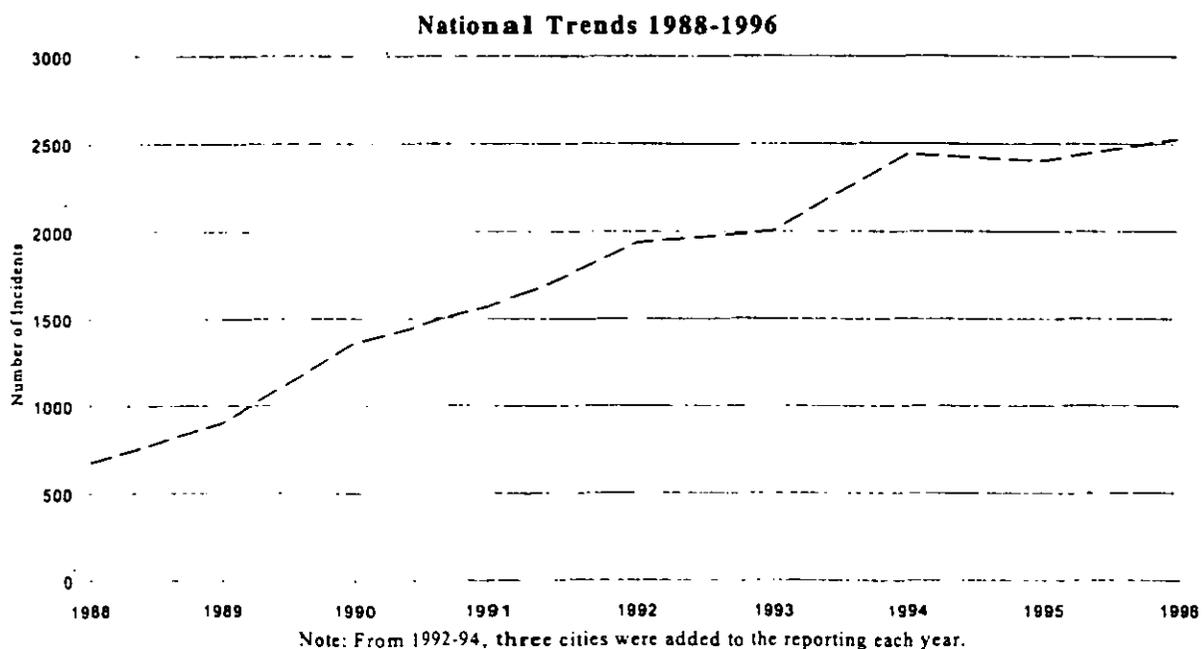
⁵ U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation (1992). *Uniform Crime Reporting Handbook*, p.38. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. See Appendix D for other definitions.

Summary of Findings

1996 marks the largest numbers ever recorded of violence against lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, transgendered persons, people with HIV/AIDS, and those perceived as such. These attacks were committed by more people with greater intensity and violence than ever before. Bias violence permeated practically all facets of peoples lives, reaching into their homes and their places of employment. This stark reality paints a frightening picture of what it is like to be lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, or HIV-positive in this country.

NATIONALLY, INCIDENTS OF ANTI-LESBIAN & GAY VIOLENCE INCREASE

In the 1995 National Report, the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs (NCAVP) predicted an increase in anti-lesbian/gay violence for 1996 based on the expectation of escalating anti-lesbian/gay rhetoric during the Presidential and Congressional election campaigns, the fervor surrounding the possible legalization of same-sex marriage in the United States, and reactions from the pending Supreme Court decision on Colorado's Amendment 2. This prediction was based on the experience of NCAVP members that anti-lesbian/gay violence increases when the community is used as a wedge in political arenas and the media (such as the controversy over gays in the military following the 1992 Presidential elections).



Tragically, **anti-lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgendered violence rose nationally by 6% in 1996.** A total of 2,529 anti-lesbian/gay incidents were documented by NCAVP's fourteen national tracking programs. This increase in the total number of reported incidents sharply contrasts with the touted decreases in all forms of me in most localities (in excess of 20% in some metropolitan areas).

Contrary to the conventional belief that most bias crimes are directed at property (such as graffiti and vandalism), a great majority of the violence against lesbian and gay men continues to be directed at individuals. Of the incidents reported, 95% were directed at individuals, while only 5% targeted property.

Across the nation, eight of the fourteen national tracking programs reported increases in incidents of anti-lesbian/gay violence and six reported decreases. Documented incidents increased in Chicago (+16%), Cleveland (+64%), Columbus (+3%), Detroit (+29%), El Paso (+34%), Los Angeles (+55%), Minnesota (+4%), and Virginia (+206%). Documented incidents decreased in Massachusetts (-7%), New York City (-8%), Phoenix (-60%), Santa Barbara/Ventura (-40%), St. Louis (-10%), and San Francisco (-3%).

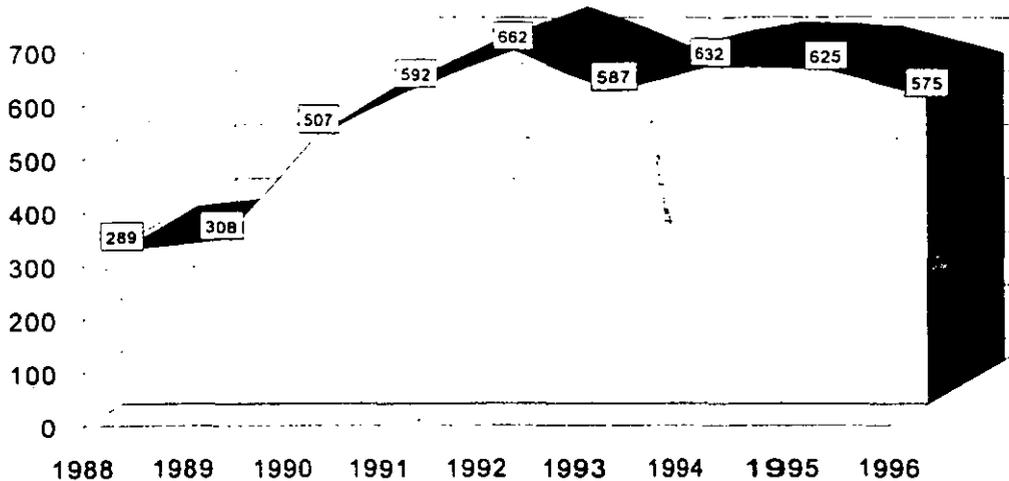
**Anti-Lesbian/Gay Incidents Reported to
National Tracking Programs 1995-1996**

Tracking Program Location	1995	1996	%Change
Chicago	83	96	+16
Cleveland	11	18	+64
Columbus	181	186	+3
Detroit	90	116	+29
El Paso	131	176	+34
Los Angeles	256	396	+55
Massachusetts	173	161	-7
Minnesota	218	227	+4
New York City	625	575	-8
Phoenix	84	34	-60
Santa Barbara/Ventura	50	30	-40
San Francisco	426	415	-3
St. Louis	49	44	-10
Virginia	18	55	+206
Totals	2395	2529	+6

**NEW YORK CITY INCIDENTS DECREASE SLIGHTLY:
LARGE DISPARITY BETWEEN BIAS CRIME AND DECREASE IN NYC'S VIOLENT CRIME**

Anti-Lesbian/Gay Incidents in New York

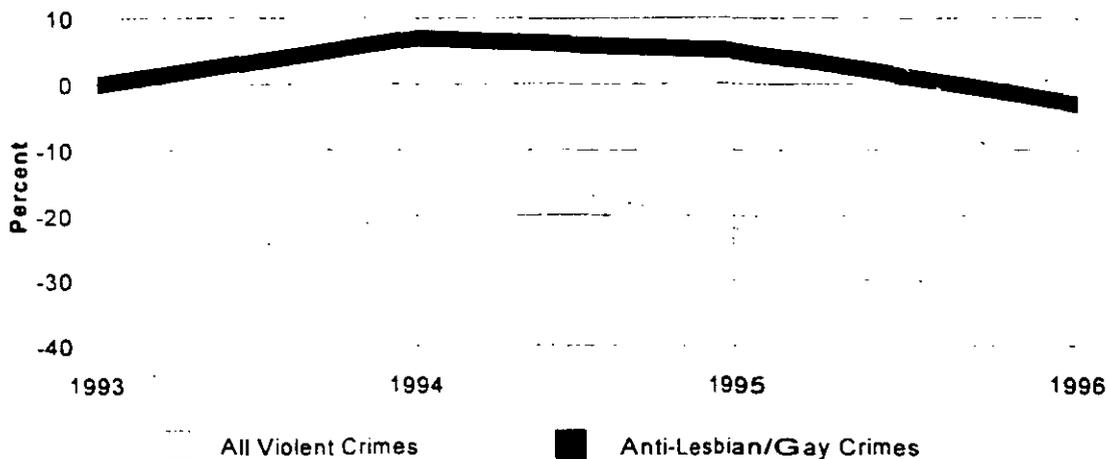
1988-1996



The New York City Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project (AVP) documented 575 anti-lesbian/gay incidents in 1996, a decrease of 8% from 1995. This decrease represented the most significant drop in reports of anti-lesbian/gay incidents ever documented by AVP in a single year, but far less significant than the highly publicized 15.56% plunge in violent crime reported by the New York City Police Department⁶(NYPD). In fact, the NYPD announced a 39% decrease in violent crime since 1993. During this same time period anti-lesbian/gay decreased only 2% in New York City.

NYC Violent Crime vs. Anti-Lesbian/Gay Crime

1993-1996



⁶New York City Police Department, "Weekly Crime/Complaint Comparison Report: Covering the week of 12/25/96 - 12/31/96."

INTENSITY OF VIOLENCE INCREASES

Nationally, not only did the number of incidents of violence increase, but the intensity and viciousness of the violence increased as well. This is clearly seen in the rise of the number of incidents that included assaultive offenses⁹ and the increasing severity of the resulting injuries from these offenses. The number of incidents which included at least one assaultive offense rose from 39% in 1995 to 41% in 1996. These assaultive incidents resulted in injury or death to 867 victims in 1996. New York City reported an even greater intensity of violence, with 44% of the incidents involving at least one assaultive offense, resulting in injury or death to 168 victims in 1996.

Nationally, the number of individuals injured increased 12% from 775 victims injured in 1995 to 867 victims injured in 1996. In addition, the level of injury inflicted was often severe: of those injured, 35% suffered serious physical injury (such as broken bones and permanent physical injury) or death. Another 58% of those injured required some type of medical attention, including 29% who received medical treatment in an emergency room or on an out-patient basis, 9% who were hospitalized, and 20% who needed, but did not receive, medical attention.

In New York City, 25% of the persons injured suffered serious physical injury or death. Of those injured, 52% required medical attention, including 31% who received out-patient or emergency room medical treatment, and 5% were hospitalized; another 15% sustained injuries requiring medical attention, but did not seek assistance.

The severe level of injury is corroborated by the change in the most common weapons used: from primarily thrown objects in 1995 (such as bricks, bottles and rocks) to hand-held club-like objects in 1996 (such as bats, clubs, pipes and other blunt objects). In New York City, bats, clubs and blunt objects were the most frequently used weapons; followed by knives and other sharp objects; followed by thrown objects, such as bottles, bricks, and rocks; then firearms. New York City experienced a dramatic increase in the use of firearms, with 18 incidents involving the use of guns, a 50% increase over 1995.

Another factor that confirms the escalating level of violence is the six year trend of increasing numbers of offenses per incident. An important measure of the overall severity of an anti-lesbian/gay incident, offenses per incident indicates the number of individual crimes/offenses perpetrated in a given attack. Between 1995 and 1996 the national tracking programs reported a 1% increase in offenses per incident, from 2.17 in 1995 to 2.20 in 1996. Although only a modest increase during 1996, offenses per incident has dramatically increased by nearly 50% since 1991. New York City continues to lead the country in number of offenses per incident with an average of 3.03 offenses per incident in 1996 up from 2.86 in 1995.

Further pointing to the increase in intensity of the violence, was the steep decrease in the number of incidents which involved *only* harassment, which is considered non-criminal behavior in most states. In 1995, 15% of the incidents reported involved only verbal/sexual harassment, while in 1996, merely 6% of the incidents involved only verbal/sexual harassment. In other words, 94% of the reported incidents were acts which constituted criminal behavior in most states. In New York City, 8% of the incidents reported involved only harassment.

⁹Assaultive offenses include Assault with a Weapon, Assault without a Weapon, Attempted assault with a Weapon (Including objects thrown), Sexual Assault/Rape and Murder.

RATIO OF OFFENDER-TO-VICTIM INCREASES

As the number of incidents increased, so did the number of offenders, with a 6% increase in the number of offenders from 4,211 in 1995 to 4,450 in 1996. More significantly, the ratio of offenders to victims increased 7% from 1.34 to 1.43 offenders-to-victims, indicating that the victims of anti-lesbian/gay violence are almost always outnumbered by the attackers. New York City, which experienced a decrease in incidents, had a 9% decrease in offenders from 1,248 in 1995 to 1,139 in 1996. The ratio of offenders-to-victims however, continued to increase in New York City as in the rest of the country, from 1.49 to 1.56 offenders-to-victims from 1995 to 1996.

Offenders were complete strangers in 41% of the incidents and clearly known in 37% of the incidents nationally (including neighbors, landlords, family members, acquaintances and roommates) indicating that bias crimes are committed by a known person at nearly the same rate as by a total stranger. In New York City, 45% of the offenders were strangers, while the victim clearly knew the offender in 31% of the incidents.

Nationally, the primary offenders continue to be teenagers and young adults, with 67% of the known offenders under 30 years of age, compared to 68% in 1995. The proportion of offenders under 18, however, increased significantly from 18% of known offenders in 1995 to 21% in 1996. In New York City, 63% of the known offenders were under 30 years of age, up from 57% in 1995; 20% of the known offenders were under 18 years of age, in line with the national statistics.

The number of female offenders increased from 418, or 12% of known offenders in 1995 to 596, or 15% of known offenders in 1996. This trend was not duplicated in New York City, where the number of female offenders fell 31% from 170 in 1995 to 117 in 1996.

ANTI-HIV BIAS & VIOLENCE INCREASES

A total of 294 incidents were classified as motivated by bias against people with HIV/AIDS or those perceived as such, a 5% increase over 1995. Anti-HIV/AIDS bias was the only motivating factor in 37% of the incidents, while 63% of the incidents involved both anti-gay and anti-HIV/AIDS bias, clearly demonstrating the continuing nexus between the two hatreds despite increased national education and media attention to the HIV/AIDS crisis.

New York City continues to lead the nation in incidents of HIV/AIDS-related violence with a total of 115 HIV/AIDS-related incidents, 50% (57 incidents) of which involved only HIV/AIDS bias, and 50% (58 incidents) involving both HIV/AIDS and homophobic bias.

DAILY ENVIRONMENT: MOST FREQUENT SITE OF BIAS CRIMES

Most anti-lesbian/gay bias crimes did not occur in and around LGBT bars or institutions, but on streets (although frequently in neighborhoods and areas with visible LGBT populations), and in and around the victims home. In 1996, 25% of the reported incidents occurred on a street or public area (such as a park); 22% took place in or around a victim's private residence; 16% happened in or around a LGBT bar, institution, or event; 13% occurred at the victim's workplace; and 8% took place in a public accommodation (such as a store, movie theater, or doctor's office). These percentages represent a change from 1995 where 25% of the reported incidents took place in or around the victim's residence; 24% occurred on the street or in a public area; 19% happened in or around a LGBT bar, institution, or event; 8% occurred in a public accommodation; and 7% occurred at the victim's workplace. In New York City, 30% of the incidents took place in or around the victim's home, 25% occurred on the street or public area, 12% happened at the victim's workplace, and only 10% occurred in or around a LGBT bar, institution, or event.

Nationally, there is a clear pattern of increased bias attacks when the community is most visible. The highest number of incidents occurred during Gay/Lesbian Pride Month in June (301) and May (228); the lowest in November (182) and January (174). This pattern was confirmed by New York City's data with the largest number of incidents occurring in June (83) and the fewest in March (28).

PROBLEMS WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSIST IN 1996

Although the rate of reporting incidents to the police increased to 40% in 1996 (compared to 36% in 1995), it was significantly less than the estimated reporting rate of 48% for all crime.¹⁰ This low reporting rate is attributed largely to mistrust and fear of secondary victimization by the police. The rate of reporting in New York has remained consistent for the past two years: only 37% of victims who reported anti-lesbian/gay incidents to AVP reported to the police.

The concern about improper police response to LGBT victims appears to be well placed. Nationally, nearly half (49%) of the victims who sought police assistance said the police response was indifferent (37%) or verbally or physically abusive (12%). In New York, police response was slightly better: only 45% of the victims who sought police assistance reported the response as indifferent (41%) or verbally abusive (4%); down from 47% indifferent, or verbally or physically abusive in 1995. The improvement in police response in New York City is at least partially due to AVP's police advocacy program, providing routine accompaniment to individual victims to report crimes, and regular police training and LGBT-sensitivity programs, especially in precincts with large numbers of anti-lesbian/gay victimization.

LESBIAN AND GAY-RELATED MURDERS DOWN: LEVEL OF BRUTALITY INCREASES

In 1996, the fourteen national tracking programs reported 21 gay-related murders, down from 29 murders reported for 1995. In addition, another 10 gay-related murders were reported by other programs. New York documented five anti-lesbian/gay-related murders, down from 12 in 1995.

Although the number of reported anti-gay/lesbian murders decreased from 1995 to 1996, the level of brutality increased with 12 or 57% of the murders marked by an extraordinary level of brutality known as "overkill." This is a significant increase over 1995, where only 33% of the reported murders involved overkill. Three of the murders documented in the New York area involved overkill.

Knives (or other sharp instrument, including a screwdriver) were the most frequently used weapon, involved in 38% of the murders reported. While firearms account for 68% of all homicides nationwide, they were used in only 33% of the gay/lesbian-related cases. Nineteen percent (19%) of the murders involved strangulation, 10% involved the use of blunt objects, and 10% involved the use of arson.

Three of the murder victims were women (14%), including two from the New York area. 17 of the victims were men (81%), and one of the victims was transgendered (5%).

¹⁰ U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics. (1985) *Reporting Crimes to the Police*. (Ref. No. NCJ-99432). Washington, DC: Department of Justice. Crimes of violence include rape, robbery, aggravated assault and simple assault.

AGENDA -- 6/3/97

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON HATE CRIMES ROLL-OUT

- I. Announcement at Radio Address Saturday, 6/7
 - a. To be recorded Thursday, 6/5 -- no outside guests
- II. Conference set for 11/10/97
 - a. Formal name
 - b. DOJ, Education, HHS, Treasury sign-off on date
- III. Content/Substance of POTUS remarks
 - a. DOJ review
 - b. Other resources
- IV. Outreach Plan
 - a. OPL calls to groups / outside validators -- Friday
-- assignments
 - b. Members of Congress
 - c. State and Local Elected Officials
 - d. Other Departments/Agencies (DOJ, HHS, Education, Treasury)
 - C. Others

HANDOUTS:

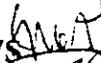
Memo to Potus
Draft one pager
LCCR Rept
CRS (DOJ) fact sheet
Anti-gay violence study (excerpt)
OPL Roll-out matrix

Race-hate crimes

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 19, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICHARD SOCARIDES 
THROUGH: SYLVIA MATHEWS 
MARIA ECHAVESTE 
RE: Proposed White House Conference on Hate Crimes

I. SUMMARY

This memorandum provides background information relating to hate crimes in America and proposes that you authorize the convening of a White House conference on hate crimes to be held in the fall of 1997. This memorandum also sets forth the goals, structure, timing, staffing and funding for such a conference.

This conference would be part of our overall unity plan, because it addresses hate crimes against *all* people. Also, it would fit into our race initiative, because it will include racially-motivated hates crimes.

II. BACKGROUND

Hate Crimes are a serious problem in America. Statistics collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation suggest that over 8,000 hate crimes occur each year, and it is clear that these statistics greatly understate the problem. Despite federal legislation designed to establish the incidence of hate crimes, uneven and under reporting by law enforcement agencies around the country make the actual situation very unclear. Recent media attention paid to some high profile incidents of hate related violence have helped to focus national attention on the problem.

In January, the Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights ("LCCR") met with senior White House staff. At the meeting, LCCR presented its recent report on hate crimes in America. The report recommends, among other things, that the Administration take steps to help educate the public as to the magnitude of the problem and look for possible solutions.

Under current federal law there are three different definitions of hate crimes. The principal federal criminal statute dealing with hate crimes, 18 USC 245, provides a traditional definition: attacks based on race, religion or national origin. The Hate Crime Statistics Act of 1990 expanded that definition, for the purposes of its provisions, to include crimes in which an individual becomes the victim due to their race, religion, sexual orientation, ethnicity or disability. The Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act of 1994 expands that definition further to include women. There are several proposals which call for the principal federal criminal definition to be expanded to provide broader coverage. Many of these proposals present important policy and constitutional issues.

III. PROPOSED CONFERENCE

Goals: A White House conference on hate crimes would:

- promote unity by educating the public in a dramatic way about the threat these crimes pose to the fundamental principals of fairness and equal justice upon which our nation was founded, and by fostering a greater appreciation of the rich diversity of America;
- demonstrate the Administration's commitment to preventing hate crimes and highlight current and future actions we are taking to achieve this goal;
- serve as an opportunity to examine and document the best practices for combating hate crimes and devise strategies and prepare a report to aid law enforcement and local communities in improved enforcement of existing laws and other strategies to fight these crimes; and
- provide a focus for consideration of proposals to encourage state and local governments to initiate hate crimes legislation and to develop a legislative and policy strategy with respect to the proposed amendments to existing federal law.

The theme of the conference should be forward looking. While it will, by necessity, examine the tragic impact hate crimes have on the American society, we will work to emphasize positive actions individuals can take to help prevent hate crimes and promote unity. Further, while the main focus of the Reconciliation\Race Initiative is on race, the hate crimes conference would be inclusive of all victims of crimes motivated by hate, including those motivated by intolerance of the actual or perceived religion, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation or disability of the victim.

Structure: The conference would last one day and be held at the White House. It would include approximately 100 participants from all walks of life and from every region of the country. They would be selected by a White House working group. The participants would include the victims and their families, advocates, law enforcement professionals, state and local

government officials, and religious leaders, etc. Senior Administration officials from the White House, the Attorney General and other officials from the Department of Justice and relevant agencies and departments would also participate. We would also identify and work closely with key Members of Congress in connection with the Conference.

The conference format would include the following:

- Welcoming remarks from the Attorney General and other administration officials in a morning plenary session to last about one hour.
- Four panel groups focused on different elements of the hate crimes problem (examples could include panels focused on some of the following: crimes motivated by race, religion, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation/identity, disability; the attackers and organized hate groups; law enforcement efforts and best practices; educational and private initiatives; help available for the victims, etc.) Panel participants would be pre-assigned based on their area of expertise. Each panel would include an Administration official and a pre-assigned chair.
- Remarks by you to an afternoon plenary session of all participants. We would work to have the afternoon session carried live on CNN and other networks, and/or by satellite feeds to venues in other locations. Your remarks would be introduced by a series of brief comments from victims, whose selection would illustrate the diversity and scope of the crisis. Your comments would outline the scope of the problem and suggest the Administration's response.
- Reports from the panel chairs and a round table discussion led by you. A short question and answer period involving the larger audience would also be included.
- A reception for participants.

A book of the conference proceedings would be produced and distributed to the participants and others. A letter from you outlining what can be done to fight hate crimes and including any specific proposals coming out of the conference could be more widely distributed.

Timing: The conference would take place in the fall of 1997.

Staffing: The Office of Public Liaison would take the lead in staffing. A working group to include Public Liaison staff and staff from other relevant White House Departments (Intergovernmental Affairs, Legislative Affairs, Cabinet Affairs, Communications, Domestic Policy Council, etc.) should be assembled to run the conference.

We would work closely with the Department of Justice in the planning and convening of the Conference. Senior staff in the offices of the Civil Rights Division, the Community Relations Service and the Deputy Attorney Generals Office at the Department of Justice have reviewed this memorandum and their comments have been incorporated herein.

Cost, Funding: The conference as outlined could be conducted at a cost of about \$20,000, exclusive of travel and lodging for participants. Outside funding, through a not-for-profit foundation or otherwise, may be available to provide transportation and lodging for some needy participants.

IV. RECOMMENDATION

We recommend that a White House Conference on Hate Crimes be convened as outlined above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Discuss further _____

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON HATE CRIMES
November 10, 1997
A Search for Solutions

[quote from statement announcing conference]
XX
XX
President Bill Clinton, June , 1997

THE CONFERENCE:

The President has announced that he will host the White House Conference on Hate Crimes on November 10, 1997. The Conference will bring together a diverse group of Americans in an effort to find solutions for the future. While examining the tragic impact hate crimes have on our society, the Conference will work to emphasize positive actions individuals and communities can take to help prevent hate crimes and to promote unity and an appreciation for our great diversity as a nation. The White House Conference on Hate Crimes will:

- promote unity by educating the public about the threat hate crimes pose to the fundamental principals of fairness and equal justice upon which our nation was founded, and by fostering a greater appreciation for the rich diversity of America;
- demonstrate the Administration's commitment to preventing hate crimes and highlight the current and future actions we are taking to achieve this goal;
- serve as an opportunity to examine and document the best practices to combat hate crimes, devise strategies, and prepare a report to aid communities in the fight against hate crimes.

Topics will include a discussion of crimes motivated by intolerance related to race, religion, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation/identity, disability; law enforcement efforts and best practices; community, educational and private initiatives; and help available for the victims.

THE PARTICIPANTS:

Approximately 100 participants from all walks of life and from every region of the country, including:

- victims and their families
- community advocates
- public policy experts
- law enforcement professionals
- state and local government officials
- Members of Congress
- religious leaders
- Senior Administration officials from the White House and DOJ

WHEN: The one-day conference will take place on November 10, 1997.

FOR MORE INFORMATION: White House Office of Public Liaison at 202-456-2930

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Race-hate crimes

CAUSE FOR CONCERN: Hate Crimes In America

STUDY FINDS 53% RISE IN
ANTI-GAY ATTACKS
LOS ANGELES TIMES/WASHINGTON POST
TUESDAY, MARCH 8, 1997
The number of reported anti-gay incidents
rose 53% in metropolitan Los Angeles last year.

San Francisco Chronicle
A STATE OF DENIAL
Turning A Blind Eye to
Hate Crimes

Killing of a
Couple Fear Based
Major Impetus

with 53, says
kabayshi.

Leadership Conference Education Foundation
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
Racism rally
reviewed today

USA
TODAY

ts in Rank
J. M. ...

HATE CRIMES AGAINST GAYS, LATINOS UP IN L.A. COUNTY

VIOLENCE: OVERALL, THE NUMBER OF INCIDENTS WAS SLIGHTLY LOWER THAN IN 1993. REPORT COMPILED BY POLICE AGENCIES AND WATCHDOG GROUPS SHOWS.
VIOLENCE TARGETING GAY MEN, LESBIANS AND LATINOS INCREASED SHARPLY LAST YEAR DESPITE A SLIGHT DROP OVERALL IN HATE CRIMES THROUGHOUT LOS ANGELES COUNTY, ACCORDING TO A COUNTY REPORT RELEASED WEDNESDAY.

January 1997

Foreword

For almost half a century, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and for more than a quarter century, the Leadership Conference Education Fund, have championed the idea that Americans of every heritage can live together, with equal rights and mutual respect.

Americans are proud that we are people of different backgrounds, faiths, viewpoints, and personal characteristics. But we are also one people, bound together not by bloodlines but by our respect for human rights and the Constitution.

Our diversity gives us variety and vitality. Our common commitment – to equal justice and equal opportunity for all – gives our nation unity and purpose.

In this report, a coalition representing a cross-section of Americans – working together under the auspices of the Leadership Conference Education Fund and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights – address and assess the problem of what has come to be called “hate crimes.”

Hate crimes are acts of violence directed against people because of their racial, religious, ethnic, gender or sexual identity. They are also acts of violence against the American ideal: that we can make one nation out of many different people.

That simple but powerful idea is what makes our nation different from others where people persecute each other because of how they look, how they speak, or how they worship God. In our own time, in troubled places such as the former Yugoslavia, the Middle East, Northern Ireland, Rwanda, and Burundi, we are witnessing once again the age-old tragedy of people committing horrific acts of violence against each other because they refuse to look beyond their differences to respect each other’s inherent human dignity.

We are releasing this report in the hope that our own country will overcome the problem of hate crimes and become what we were always intended to be. Let us be the United States of America – and, in the words that school children repeat each day, “One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.”

Arnold Aronson, President, LCEF

Dorothy I. Height, Chairperson, LCCR

CAUSE FOR CONCERN: HATE CRIMES IN AMERICA

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→ Gay and.

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The Flames of Hatred

Just around the holiday season, in December, 1994, a flier was tacked to the door of the Macedonia Baptist Church in Bloomville, South Carolina.¹ The message on the door of this African-American church was at odds with the Christmas spirit of peace and good will: It was an announcement of a Ku Klux Klan rally.

Six months later, after nightfall on June 20, 1995, the Macedonia Baptist Church was burned to the ground. Earlier that same morning, another African-American Church, the Mount Zion AME Church in nearby Greelyville, S.C., had also burned to the ground.

Local police arrested two young white men, Christopher Cox, 22, and Timothy Adron Welch, 23, in connection with the fires. The county sheriff, Hoyt Collins, said Welch was carrying a membership card for the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, one of the most active white supremacist groups in the state, when he was arrested.

Indicted for arson under state law, Cox and Welch have pleaded guilty and are awaiting sentencing. Meanwhile, two former Klansmen who federal authorities say masterminded the burning of the predominately black church in Bloomville were indicted recently on civil rights violations. The indictment also charges the two men with burning a Hispanic migrant camp in Manning, S.C. And the FBI is investigating the possibility that the fires at these two churches in Clarendon County, S.C., are linked to fires at other African-American houses of worship throughout the country.

From January 1, 1995, through June 27, 1996, there were 73 suspicious fires or acts of desecration at African-American churches.² For African-Americans and all Americans of good will, this wave of church burnings has prompted outrage and alarm. And it is awakening bitter memories of racist violence during the civil rights struggle – particularly the 1963 bombing of the Sixth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, that killed four young girls.

Appalling as it is, however, the searing image of burning churches stands for an even larger problem: the persistence of violent crimes against virtually every racial, ethnic, religious, and sexual minority, as well as against women. The reaction of some to recent controversies over immigration, welfare, and the languages spoken in public places – issues that go to the heart of America's identity as a caring, diverse and inclusive society – has increased the incidence of hate crimes against Hispanics, Asian-Pacific Americans, and others

who are stereotyped, often inaccurately, as newcomers to this country. And the persistence of religious, ethnic, and sexual intolerance creates and contributes to a climate where hate crimes are perpetrated against Jews, Arab Americans, gays and lesbians, women and members of other groups at risk of attack.

From killings and beatings to acts of arson and vandalism, these hate crimes injure or even kill thousands of people, terrify countless others, divide Americans against each other, and distort our entire society.

To be sure, hate crimes are symptoms of a host of social ills. For all the progress our nation has made in civil and human rights, bigotry in all its forms dies hard. And discrimination is a continuing reality in many areas of American life, including the workplace.

Among incidents that have attracted national attention:

- The bipartisan, blue-ribbon Federal Glass Ceiling Commission found that "Minorities and women are still consistently underrepresented and underutilized at the highest levels of corporate America." As the commission reported, 97 percent of the senior managers of Fortune 100 Industrial and Fortune 500 companies are white, and 95 to 97 percent are male.

According to the commission's findings, Americans who are not male, white, and Anglo find their pay and prospects held down. In the Fortune 2000 industrial and service companies, only 5 percent of senior managers are women, and most of them are white. In another example of apparent discrimination, African-American men with professional degrees earn 21 percent less than whites with similar jobs and credentials. And, although Hispanics comprise eight percent of our country's workforce, only 0.4 percent of managers are Hispanic.

The barriers against women and minorities often reflect the crudest and cruelest discrimination, even in major corporations.

For instance, in a plan that awaits approval by the courts and the federal Equal Employment Opportunities

Commission, Texaco has agreed to pay \$115 million to some 1,400 current and former black employees, \$26.1 million in pay raises over five years for black workers, and \$35 million for diversity-training programs.⁴

This action comes in belated response to a class-action lawsuit in which the 1,400 current and former employees

The barriers against women and minorities often reflect the crudest and cruelest discrimination, even in major corporations.

charged pervasive racial discrimination at Texaco. After years when Texaco dragged its feet in response to black employees' grievances, it was forced to respond when a downsized executive released a tape of top executives at the company's headquarters discussing racial issues. Among other remarks:

- An executive joked that "black jelly beans were stuck to the bottom of the bag." ["Jelly beans" apparently was a phrase used by a diversity consultant.]
- An executive vowed to "purge the s-t out of" papers involved in the discrimination case.
- And an executive expressed discomfort with African-American and Jewish holidays: "I'm still struggling with Hanukkah, and now we have Kwanzaa ... Poor Saint Nicholas, they have s-tted all over his beard."
- In that discussion, executives also made fun of Kwanza' symbols and of the African-American anthem, "Lift Every Voice and Sing."

The remarks recorded on the tape appeared to confirm longstanding contentions by black Texaco employees that they had suffered discrimination in promotions and even personal abuse:

- Some complained about being called "porch monkeys" and "orangutans" by co-workers.
- And a woman who was pregnant had her birthday cake decorated with watermelon seeds.

Sexual harassment represents not only abuse but also discrimination, since it discourages women from working in traditionally male jobs, distracts them from doing their best work, and deters them from seeking promotions.

Alarming, recent revelations suggest that sexual harassment may be reaching epidemic proportions in the military. At the U.S. Army's Aberdeen Proving Ground in Maryland, 19 women trainees have filed complaints of rape or sexual assault against almost 20 noncommissioned officers. One drill sergeant has been charged with rape, forcible sodomy, assault and making threats.

The sex scandal at Aberdeen has focused attention upon sexual harassment throughout the military. In an Army survey in 1995, 4 percent of all female soldiers said they had suffered from an attempted rape or sexual assault within the previous year - nearly 10 times the incidence of rape and

sexual assault outside the military. And a telephone hotline for women throughout the armed services received some 4,000 calls in its first week. Five hundred were evaluated as sufficiently serious to require further investigation.

And, even in an agency often called upon to investigate hate crimes - the Federal Bureau of Investigation - there have been reports of discrimination and abusive treatment of minorities.

In June, 1988, the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas found that "1) Hispanic agents suffer disparate treatment in the conditions of their employment; and 2) these conditions affect their promotional opportunities in an adverse manner." Among the incidents cited in the decision was an Hispanic woman in training who was told she "looked too ethnic."⁵

In June, 1988, the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas found that "1) Hispanic agents suffer disparate treatment in the conditions of their employment; and 2) these conditions affect their promotional opportunities in an adverse manner." Among the incidents cited in the decision was an Hispanic woman in training who was told she "looked too ethnic."⁵

In a case brought before the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's Denver Office in 1986, an African-American agent was found to have been the victim of racial harassment. Among other incidents:⁴

- The agent had a photograph of his two children on his desk. It was defaced with the face of an ape placed over his son's face.
- A toy scuba diver doll with its face, hands, and feet blackened by a marking pen was left in a container of water on the agent's desk.
- Pictures of an African in native dress, the bruised face of a black man, and a black man and a white woman were all placed in his mail slot at the office.
- Invitations to office functions with the words "don't come" written over them were also placed in his mail slot.
- Bogus phone messages were left for him.
- And his dictation was erased when he was away.

The prejudice and raw hatred revealed in these incidents is only one element of a combustible mixture of social problems that produces hate crimes.

Although some violent crimes are decreasing, hate crimes and arsons are increasing. Extremist movements are gaining in numbers and prominence, and their targets range from minority groups to the government itself. Public debate over social policy issues - from affirmative action to immigration to welfare - unfortunately is used by public officials to divide us from one another. Social

problems of all kinds are exacerbated by the economic anxieties prompted by corporate downsizing, stagnant wages, and vanishing health coverage and pension benefits. In such an environment, hate crimes persist as expressions of hatred, alienation, and an effort to intimidate and demean those perceived as a threat to one's own status.

It is often the case that symptoms themselves must be treated before illnesses can be cured. Hate crimes are a national emergency requiring national action.

Our nation's leaders took an initial step in recognizing the urgency of the problem with the passage in 1990 of the Hate Crime Statistics Act (HCSA) and its reauthorization in 1996. It requires the Department of Justice to compile data on crimes that "manifest prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity" and to publish an annual summary of the findings. The law helps local, state, and national law enforcement authorities coordinate their efforts against hate crimes. And its very existence makes a powerful statement that the United States of America celebrates the diversity of its people - and will not tolerate violent acts of intolerance.

Six years after the initial enactment of this law, it is even more urgent for Americans to work together against the epidemic of ultra-violent behavior motivated by bigotry.

This report is the first major comprehensive assessment of the hate crime problem in the United States. It is an effort of a task force of concerned national groups working together under the auspices of the Leadership Conference Education Fund, a non-profit organization that conducts research and education on civil rights, and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of 180 national organizations representing persons of color, women, persons with disabilities, older Americans, gays and lesbians, labor organizations, and major religious groups, committed to the enactment and enforcement of civil rights laws.

This report is an effort at public education and advocacy. We believe that hate crimes are a more serious problem than is generally recognized. And we maintain that this problem requires a unified and determined response by national and state leaders in government and

business, by law enforcement agencies at every level, by civic, religious, and educational organizations of all kinds, and by ordinary citizens in their communities, on their jobs, in their houses of worship, and in their schools.

Once and for all, now and forever, it is time to extinguish the flames of hatred in America.

This report is the first major comprehensive assessment of the hate crime problem in the United States. It is an effort of a task force of concerned national groups working together under the auspices of the Leadership Conference Education Fund, a non-profit organization that conducts research and education on civil rights, and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of 180 national organizations representing persons of color, women, persons with disabilities, older Americans, gays and lesbians, labor organizations, and major religious groups, committed to the enactment and enforcement of civil rights laws.

From Hate To Hurt: The Scope of the Problem

The federal government's definition of hate crimes – and its annual reports on total reported incidents – paint only a partial portrait of the problem.

The crimes:

The Hate Crime Statistics Act defines hate crimes as acts in which individuals are victimized because of their “race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity.” This definition fails to convey a deeper sense of the severity of hate crimes or their impact on individual victims, their families and communities, and our country. Nor does it address hate crimes against women simply because they are women. The definition in the federal Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act of 1994, includes women and persons with disabilities. In this statute, hate crimes are those in which “the defendant intentionally selects a victim, or in the case of a property crime, the property that is the object of the crime, because of the actual or perceived race, color, religion, national origin, ethnicity, gender, disability, or sexual orientation of any person.”

In 1993, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of Wisconsin's hate crime statute, which enhances the sentence of crimes in which the perpetrator “intentionally selects” the victim “because of” his or her characteristics, Wisconsin v. Mitchell, 113 S. Ct. 2194 (1993). The Wisconsin law was carefully written not to punish a person's prejudicial opinions, but rather to punish criminal intent and conduct.

Hate crimes are much more likely than other crimes to be acts of brutal violence. In comparison to other crimes, targets of hate violence are singled out because of their membership in a social group. Perpetrators are more likely to be marauding groups of predators looking for targets for their hatred. However, they can also be acquaintances, intimate partners or family members.⁷ Because the intention is to hurt, maim, or kill, hate-motivated crimes are five times as likely as other crimes to involve assault. And these assaults are twice as likely as other assaults to cause injury and to result in hospitalization.⁸

Thus, the individual victim of a hate crime is more likely to be severely injured in body, and in spirit as well, than the victim of an ordinary offense. Unlike someone who is robbed of a wallet, someone who is attacked for no reason except their membership in a targeted class is more likely to be beaten out of sheer cruelty. And – while crime victims often ask, “Why me?” – the answers are perhaps more hurtful for victims of hate crimes. Victims of hate crimes experience psychic pain regardless

of the motivation of the crime. However, it is one thing to be victimized for walking down a deserted street or wearing an expensive wristwatch; but it is perhaps more painful to be victimized simply for who you are. The cruelty of these crimes is magnified because they remind the victims of terrible things that had been done in the past to members of their group, or to them, their families, or their friends – pogroms against Jews, lynchings of blacks, rapes and beatings of women, lesbians and gay men, or grim memories in the minds of other groups.

As for the communities hit by hate crimes, these incidents make targeted individuals feel even more angry and alienated, increasing intergroup tensions of all kinds. Because victims are singled out because of who they are – and the targets of hate crimes are often community institutions such as synagogues or black churches – members of entire groups feel isolated and defenseless. Others, such as a survivor of domestic violence, must live with the fear and isolation of ongoing assaults. Rightly or wrongly, they often blame the police, the government, and other segments of society for their feelings of vulnerability. Sometimes, members of the groups that have been victimized lash out against members of other groups. Thus, hate crimes can set in motion a never-ending spiral of antagonism and divisiveness.

The victims:

Official statistics illuminate – but, greatly understate – the scope of the problem.

As required by the 1990 law, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) releases the totals each year for the numbers of hate crimes reported by state and local law enforcement agencies around the country based on race, religion, sexual orientation or ethnicity. These national totals have fluctuated around 6,000 or more hate crimes reported each year – 6,918 in 1992, 7,587 in 1993, 5,852 in 1994 and 7,947 in 1995. It should be noted that these are figures for “incidents.” The same incident may include several different “offenses” – for instance, an arson or assault may also result in death.

While more than 25,000 hate crimes reported in four years are alarming enough, the FBI statistics paint only a partial portrait of the problem. In 1994, for instance, the total number of law enforcement agencies that reported hate crimes to the FBI covered only 58% of the population of the United States. In 1995, the number of reporting agencies covered 75% of the population. The findings reflect only those cases where the victims reported

incidents to local law enforcement agencies, and these agencies had classified these incidents as hate crimes. In 1995, the FBI reported 355 incidents of hate crimes against Asian Pacific Islanders. For the same year, the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium's 1995 audit reported 458 incidents of hateful speech and hate crimes, and concluded that "anti-Asian violence is widely underreported."⁹ Further, the FBI collects no statistics on gender-based hate crimes, and its definition may exclude other forms of bias crimes such as attacks on Arab-Americans."

Yet even these incomplete statistics suggest the scope and sweep of the problem. Thus, of the 7,947 total incidents and 9,895 total offenses reported in 1995, there were 7,144 crimes against persons. These crimes included 4,048 acts of intimidation, 1,796 simple assaults, 1,268 aggravated assaults, 20 murders and 12 forcible rapes. Sixty percent of the incidents were motivated by racial bias, 16 percent by religious bias, 3 percent by sexual-orientation bias, and 10 percent by bias against the victims' ethnicity or national origin. All in all, there were 10,469 victims and 8,433 known offenders, not including offenses against women as a class.

The attackers:

As for the perpetrators of hate crimes, a surprisingly large number may be youthful thrill-seekers, rather than hardcore haters. According to a study conducted in 1993 for Northeastern University, 60% of offenders committed crimes for the "thrill associated with the victimization."¹⁰ Often, the perpetrators hoped their acts of violence would gain respect from their friends - a feeling that explains why so many hate crimes are committed by gangs of young men. As one young "gaybasher" explained: "We were trying to be tough to each other. It was like a game of chicken - someone dared you to do something, and there was no backing down."¹¹

The second most common perpetrator of hate crimes, reported under the Act is the "reactive offender" who feels that he's answering an attack by his victim - a perceived insult, interracial dating, the integration of his neighborhood, or his battered wife's decision to leave. Often, the "reactive offenders" imagine that the very existence of lesbians and gay men - or having to compete with women on the job - is an assault upon their values or their own identity.

The least common offender, reported under the act, is the hard-core fanatic, imbued with the ideology of racial,

religious, or ethnic bigotry and often a member of, or a potential recruit for, an extremist organization. While the oldest organized hate groups appear to be on the decline, new strategies are emerging where organized hatemongers incite impressionable individuals to commit acts of violence against targeted minorities.

The hate groups and their strategies:

Membership in the oldest and prototypical hate groups, the various groups that bear the name "Ku Klux Klan," is near a historic low of about 5500.¹² Another 17,000 people belong to similar groups. But these relatively low and seemingly declining numbers ought not lead people of good will to minimize the dangers of organized hate violence.

In part, the decline in organized hate groups is a tribute to the efforts of their opponents. For instance, in 1987 a lawsuit by the Southern Poverty Law Center resulted in a \$7 million judgement against the United States Klans of America. In 1993, the Center shut down the Invisible Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. And, together with the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), successfully litigated a \$12.5 million judgement against the White Aryan Resistance.¹³

But, with the success of these lawsuits, hate groups have adopted a new strategy. Instead of orchestrating and perpetrating their own acts of violence, the new hate groups increasingly are advancing their views through the Internet, literature distribution, broadcasts over public access television, and grassroots organizing.¹⁴

The question for many is: How do we preserve the constitutional right to free speech, while countering the calls to bigotry and even violence? Brian Levin, Project Director of Klanwatch, a project of the Southern Poverty Law Center, says:

• "There are racist, horrific, godless messages on the Net that encourage people to violence. They can say that every Black in the United States should be killed, that there should be another Holocaust. But the people posting these messages can't be prosecuted because they can't be specifically linked to subsequent action."¹⁵

Jerry Berman, Executive Director, Center for Democracy and Technology, said in testimony before the Senate

The second most common perpetrator of hate crimes, reported under the Act is the "reactive offender" who feels that he's answering an attack by his victim - a perceived insult, interracial dating, the integration of his neighborhood, or his battered wife's decision to leave. Often, the "reactive offenders" imagine that the very existence of lesbians and gay men - or having to compete with women on the job - is an assault upon their values or their own identity.

Judiciary Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology, and Government:

- "The question facing us, as an open society is how to respond to the most controversial and extreme uses of this new technology, this electronic, global Gutenberg printing press that turns all citizens into publishers who can reach thousands and even millions of people around the country and the world. As an open society, governed by the democratic principles of the First and Fourth Amendments, we tolerate and even encourage robust debate, advocacy and exchange of information on all subjects and in all media of expression, without exception...Constitutional law and long-standing law enforcement policy have dictated great restraint in order to avoid chilling legitimate speech activity."¹⁶

In short, the answer is to counter hate speech with more compelling speech promoting the vision of an America where we live together in mutual respect and celebrate our diversity. Several civil rights organizations, including the Anti-Defamation League, NAACP, ACLU, and the Simon Wisenthal Center have already begun this process, and the LCCR and LCEF will soon launch a joint Web Page to answer the hatemongers, advance intergroup relations, and promote an appreciation of how the civil rights movement has changed our country for the better.

Hate groups are recruiting among two very different sectors of the population – young people alienated from society and more mainstream adults who are angry at the federal government.¹⁷

Among young people, some of the readiest recruits are racist "skinheads." The "skinheads" are a cultural phenomenon dating back to the 1970's in Great Britain and the '80s here in the United States. In response to the counterculture of the '60s which favored long hair, androgynous attire, and easygoing attitudes towards life, some working class young people adopted the opposite style of grooming and clothing – shaven heads, tight-fitting jeans, and steel-toed boots. To be sure, the great majority of "skinheads" were neither violent nor racist – indeed, some espoused interracial harmony. But some skinheads were drawn to racism and violence, attacking blacks, Jews, gays, and members of other minorities.¹⁸ According to the ADL, the number of racist skinheads tripled in their first five years on the American scene, and at least 37 killings can be attributed to them.¹⁹

Another pool of recruits comes from the self-styled "militia" movements, paramilitary groups that are on the rise throughout the country and that attracted attention as possible suspects in the bombing of the federal office building in Oklahoma City in April, 1995. According to the most recent ADL report, militias have operated in at

least 40 states, with membership numbering at least 15,000.²⁰ To be sure, these groups appeal to opponents of government actions, such as taxation, gun control, and environmental regulations, and are more likely to espouse conspiracy theories about the Federal Reserve Board or the United Nations than explicitly racist doctrines about blacks or Jews. Nonetheless, some of the militia organizers have been associated with racist groups, such as Aryan Nations or the Klans. And, like other extremist movements, they use groups such as the militias to recruit people to their views.

Ken Toole of the Montana Human Rights Network uses a vivid metaphor to explain how hate groups recruit new followers by appealing to anti-government activists in the militias. "It's like a funnel moving through space," Toole says. "At the front end, it's picking up lots and lots of people by hitting on issues which enrage many people here out West. Then you go a little bit further into the funnel, and it's about ideology, about the oppressiveness of the federal government. Then, further in, you get into the belief systems. The conspiracy. The Illuminati. The Freemasons. Then, it's about the anti-Semitic conspiracy. Finally, at the narrowest end of the funnel, you're drawn into the hard core, where you get someone like Tim McVeigh [the accused Oklahoma City bomber] popping out."²¹

All in all, there are 150,000 to 200,000 hate group sympathizers, according to the Center for Democratic Renewal. And, according to Klanwatch, law enforcement officials have recovered a vast array of weapons, including anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons, military explosives, grenades, military assault rifles, Uzis, and other types of machine guns from hate groups and their sympathizers.

Organized or unorganized – cause for concern:

All this suggests that we may be witnessing not the decline of organized hate groups but their evolution. Just as we must remain vigilant against the Klan, so we must monitor and oppose the new breed of hate groups and paramilitary organizations.

While it is reassuring that the statistics indicate relatively few people who commit hate crimes are committed members of hate groups, the predominance of less-dedicated offenders also argues for national action. These offenders have caught the viruses of bigotry and violence that exist throughout our society – indeed, many believe that attacking members of minority groups or women will gain them the esteem of others. By changing the climate of opinion in our communities and conducting special programs to deter would-be offenders and rehabilitate existing ones, we can reduce the number of hate crimes.

The Human Face of Hate Crimes

In this most diverse society on earth, all of us are members of one or another minority – racial, religious, ethnic, cultural, national origin, sexual. That is why so many of us are vulnerable to hate crimes, and why violence motivated by bigotry has targeted so many different segments of society: African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and Asian-Americans; Jewish-Americans and Arab-Americans; Native Americans; recent immigrants; women; and gays and lesbians, to name just a few.

Of the 7,947 hate crime incidents reported to the FBI in 1995, sixty percent – 4,831 – were motivated by race. Of these, 2,988 were anti-black, 1,226 were anti-white, 355 were directed against Asian-Americans or Pacific Islanders, 221 were directed against multi-racial groups, and 41 were directed against Native Americans or Alaskan Natives.

Second to racially motivated hate crimes were hate crimes motivated by religious bigotry – 1,277 incidents in 1995. Of these, 1,058 – approximately 82% – were directed against Jews.

The third major category of hate crimes, accounting for 1,019 incidents in 1995, was motivated by animus against the victims' sexual orientation. Of these, 735 were directed against male homosexuals and 146 against lesbians.

The fourth category – ethnicity/national origin – accounted for 814 incidents with sixty three percent (516) directed toward Hispanics.

There is no systematic documentation of hate crimes against women because they are women, but women of all races and ethnic groups, and all social classes are targets of hate crimes.²²

These stories convey a sense of how hate crimes victimize Americans of different races, religions, ethnic groups, and sexual orientation, as well as women.

Attacks upon African-Americans:

Among groups currently included in the Hate Crime Statistics Act, the greatest number of hate crimes of any kind are perpetrated against African-Americans. From the lynching to the cross-burning and the church-burning, anti-black violence has been and still remains the prototypical hate crime – an action intended not only to injure individ-

uals but to intimidate an entire group of people. Hate crimes against African-Americans impact upon the entire society not only for the hurt they cause but for the history they recall, and perpetuate.

That is why the epidemic of fires at black churches has generated so much concern. Churches have always been the most important independent institution in the black community, and those who would attack African-Americans have often attacked their churches. As the historian C. Eric Lincoln writes in his recent book, Coming Through the Fire: Surviving Race and Place in America, the first recorded arson of a black church took place in South Carolina in 1822. White mobs torched black churches in Cincinnati in 1829 and in Philadelphia during the 1830's. After the Civil War, in their efforts to terrorize blacks and restore white supremacy, the Ku Klux Klan targeted black churches for vandalism and arson.²³

This long and painful history still casts a long shadow. As Deval Patrick, Assistant Attorney General for the Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice, recently declared: "In our society, arson of a church attended predominantly by African Americans carries a unique and menacing threat – that those individuals are physically vulnerable because of their race."²⁴

As civil rights activism and the desegregation of public schools and public facilities stepped up during the 1950's and '60s, so did burnings and bombings of black churches, Jewish synagogues, and other houses of worship whose congregations were multiracial or whose clergy supported integration. While there were hundreds of attacks on churches and synagogues, the most infamous was the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, where four young girls were crushed to death.

An example of the historic continuity in the attacks upon black churches is the troubled history of St. John Baptist Church in Dixiana, South Carolina. Founded in 1765, the church has been the target of attacks throughout its history – a period that spans the eras of slavery, the Civil War, Reconstruction, segregation, and civil rights.²⁵

In 1983, while Sunday services were underway, a group of whites shot out the church's windows. Coming back later in the day, they scrawled "KKK" on the door, destroyed the piano, smashed the crucifix, tore up the Bibles, scattered beer cans on the pews, and even defecated on the sacrament cloth. Over the next 12 years,

more than 200 people were arrested for acts of vandalism against the church. Then, on August 15, 1995, the church was burned down. And, in May, 1996, three white teenagers were arrested and charged with burning down the church.

St. John Baptist Church was one of at least 73 African-American churches that suffered suspicious fires or acts of desecration since January 1, 1995.

While the great majority of the incidents took place in the South, other parts of the country have not been immune. For instance, in January, 1994, two members of the Fourth Reich Skinheads were sentenced to prison terms for plotting an attack on the historic First African Methodist Episcopal Church in South-Central Los Angeles. The racist skinheads had hoped that the attack, which was averted by their arrest, would trigger a race war.²⁸

As the church-burnings have aroused increasing public concern, several commentators, including the editorial page of the New York Post, have called the issue a "hoax."²⁹ While there is not definitive evidence of a national conspiracy – and civil rights advocates have not contended there is – these facts cannot be obscured:

- 73 predominantly black churches have been burned or desecrated since January, 1995.
- A USA Today investigation found that, although a number of white churches have burned since January 1995, the rate of black church arsons is more than double what it had been in earlier years. And, of course, there are many fewer black churches (65,000) than white churches (300,000), so a much higher percentage of black churches have been burned.³⁰
- The USA Today investigation also found "two well-defined geographic clusters or 'arson zones' where black church arsons are up sharply over the last three years."

The zones are:

- 1) "a 200-mile oval in the mid-South that encompasses western Tennessee and parts of Alabama and Mississippi," and
- 2) another area that "stretches across the Carolinas, where the rate of black church arsons has tripled since 1993."³¹
- Of those who have been arrested or prosecuted for destroying black churches since 1990, the majority have been white males between the ages of 14 and 45. And, of the 39 people who have been arrested in

the arsons that occurred since January 1995, 26 have been white, 13 black.

- Since 1990, at least 13 of the arsons of black churches took place in January around the holiday commemorating the birth of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

All this suggests that President Clinton is correct: "We do not have evidence of a national conspiracy, but it is clear that racial hostility is the driving force behind a number of these incidents. This must stop."

As with hate crimes against other groups, acts of violence and intimidation against African-Americans are by no means confined to the destruction of houses of worship. Other examples of hate crimes against blacks include:

- On December 7, 1995, two African American residents of Fayetteville, North Carolina, were brutally and senselessly murdered by three soldiers who apparently identified themselves as neo-Nazi skin heads. Police said the soldiers were looking for black people to harass and shot the victims as they were walking down the street. A federal investigator

later said, "This [crime] gives new meaning to the definition of a hate crime."³²

- On Friday, March 29, 1996, an African-American woman, Bridget Ward, and her two daughters, Jamila, 9, and Jasmine, 3, moved into a rented home in the virtually all-white Philadelphia neighborhood of Bridesburg. Late that night, she heard young people marching down the street, chanting, "Burn, motherf---, burn." The next morning, Ward, who works as a nurse's aide, found racial slurs smeared on her house, ketchup spilled on the front side walk and back porch, and an oily liquid was splattered in the rear. From Mayor Rendell to ordinary citizens, including many of Ward's neighbors, most Philadelphians were horrified by the incident. Police patrols were stepped up on the block, and the department's Crisis Prevention and Resolution Unit, which typically handles racial incidents, investigated the crime. But Ward continued to be subjected to racial harassment, including a letter threatening her and her children. Five weeks after she moved to Bridesburg, Ward announced her intention to move. The acts of racial hostility against the Ward family are typical of hate crimes intended to keep members of racial, ethnic, or religious minorities out of many neighborhoods.³³

- In Fairfax County, Virginia, an affluent community near Washington, D.C., in 1993, a 41-year-old

As the church-burnings have aroused increasing public concern, several commentators, including the editorial page of the New York Post, have called the issue a "hoax."²⁹

black woman heard the doorbell ring at the home where she was house-sitting. When she looked out the window, she saw a cross burning 10 feet from the front door.³²

- A continent away, in 1994, in the Los Angeles suburb of South Gate, the white neighbors of a black woman burned a cross on her lawn, kicked her children, hanged and gassed her puppies, and placed "White Power" signs on her property.³³

- In Orland Park, Illinois in 1995, a black man who was talking with a white woman was attacked by a 25-year old white male who yelled racial slurs during the attack.³⁴

- In Berwick, Pa. a car driven by a black woman was struck repeatedly by a white man who yelled racial slurs and threatened to kill her and her son.³⁵

- In Harper Woods, Michigan, a black couple was threatened by a white man who said he would kill and dismember them if they moved into his neighborhood.³⁶

Attacks upon Jews:

Of attacks upon individuals or institutions because of their religion, the overwhelming majority - 82% of such crimes reported by the FBI for 1995 - were directed against Jews.

As with attacks upon African-Americans, hate crimes against Jews draw upon centuries of such assaults, from the pogroms of Eastern Europe to the Nazi Holocaust to the cross-burnings of the Ku Klux Klan in this country. Hate crimes against Jews in the United States range from physical assaults upon individuals to desecrations of synagogues and cemeteries and the painting of swastikas on private homes. As with hateful acts upon other minorities, the pain is increased by arousing feelings of vulnerability and memories of persecution, even extermination, in other countries and in other times.

Hatred against Jews is fed by slanders and stereotypes that have their origins in Europe extending back for centuries. These range far beyond the view that Jews were "Christ-killers" and include conspiracy theories involving "international bankers," the State of Israel, and groups ranging from communists to freemasons. Such views are spread by groups on the political right as well as on the left who find little basis for agreement except for their anti-Semitism. As in the past, these extremists have tried to exploit the hardships of Americans from unemployed industrial workers to hard pressed farmers. Similarly,

extremists associated with some black nationalist groups have promoted anti-Semitic conspiracy theories within the black community, exploiting the pain of poverty and discrimination and exacerbating tensions between African-Americans and Jews.

In a private survey of anti-Semitic incidents [it is important to note that this survey includes hateful speech as well as hate crimes] reported to the ADL in 1995, the group found 1,843 acts against property or persons.

In a private survey of anti-Semitic incidents [it is important to note that this survey includes hateful speech as well as hate crimes] reported to the ADL in 1995, the group found 1,843 acts against property or persons. This included 1,116 incidents of harassment and 727 incidents of vandalism.³⁷ Examples of hate crimes against Jews include:

- On July 16, 1995, in Cincinnati, a group of youths assaulted the son of a community rabbi, chasing him for about a block before they caught him outside the synagogue and beat him until he collapsed on the street. The next day, the group assaulted a 58-year-old recent immigrant from Russia in his own driveway. A group of five young men, aged 15 to 18, was arrested and convicted for the assaults. At the sentencing, the judge asked one of the young men, Brian Scherrer, why he had committed the crimes. He explained the attacks were part of a gang initiation and that one victim was chosen because "He was Jewish."³⁸

- On August 19, 1991, a traffic accident in Crown Heights, Brooklyn (a community with a long history of racial and religious animosity among African-Americans, Hasidic Jews, and Caribbean Nationals) resulted in the tragic death of seven-year old African-American Gavin Cato and injury to his cousin, Angela. The driver of the car was part of Grand Rebbe Menachem M. Schneerson's motorcade. The Grand Rebbe was a religious leader of Lubavitch Hasidic Jews. A riot followed over three days during which crowds roamed the streets yelling "Get the Jews" and "Heil Hitler." Jewish-owned homes, cars and other property were attacked. Yankel Rosenbaum, an Australian scholar, was stopped by a gang of twenty youngsters who yelled "Get the Jew." Rosenbaum was assaulted, held down, stabbed, and left bleeding on a car hood. He died.³⁹

- In Phoenix, Arizona, crime of vandalism erupted. A Maltese Cross, SS lightning bolts, "Dirty Jews go to Auschwitz," "Sieg Heil," and a swastika were spray painted on the Temple Beth El Congregation.⁴⁰

- Freddy's Fashion Mart was a Jewish-owned store in Harlem, New York, that rented space from a

black church and sublet some of that space to a black-owned record store. The land lord and owner of Freddy's wanted the Fashion Mart to expand. The owner of the record store didn't want to move and a protest of Freddy's was begun. Some people on the picket line, and their supporters, regularly engaged in anti-Semitic rhetoric. On December 8, 1995, Roland Smith, one of the protesters, entered the store with a gun and lighter fluid. He doused the store and set it on fire. Eight people - including Smith - died. Although none were Jewish, anti-semitism strife was an underlying factor.⁴¹

vices is a legitimate concern, much of the recent debate has echoed the nativist rhetoric of earlier eras. For instance, Ruth Coffey, the founder of Stop Immigration Now, told the Los Angeles Times: "I have no intention of being the object of 'conquest,' peaceful or otherwise, by Latinos, Asians, Blacks, Arabs, or any other group of individuals who have claimed my country." And Glenn Spencer, president of Voices of Citizens Together, which collected 40,000 signatures to qualify Proposition 187 for the ballot, said: "We have to take direct and immediate action to preserve this culture and this nation we have spent two centuries building up."

Attacks upon Hispanics:

Of 814 hate crimes in 1995 that were motivated by bias based on ethnicity or national origin, 63.3% - 516 in all - were directed against Hispanics.

In California and throughout the Southwest, long-existing antagonisms against Hispanics have been aggravated by the furor over immigration. With job opportunities declining at a time of defense cutbacks and economic recession, there have been renewed calls for restrictions against legal immigration and harsh measures against undocumented immigrants. In November, 1994, 59% of California voters approved a statewide referendum proposal, Proposition 187, which declares undocumented immigrants ineligible for most public services, including public education and non-emergency health care.

As with attacks upon African-Americans and Jews, attacks upon Hispanics are part of a history of hatred. In California and throughout the Southwest, there have been recurring periods of "nativism," when not only newcomers but longtime U.S. citizens of Mexican descent have been blamed for social and economic problems. During the Depression of the 1930's, citizens and non-citizens of Mexican descent were the targets of mass deportations, with a half million "dumped" across the border in Mexico. In the early 1950's, a paramilitary effort, with the degrading name "Operation Wetback," deported tens of thousands of Mexicans from California and several other southwestern states. The historian Juan Ramon Garcia describes the climate of fear and hatred that existed from the 1930's through the '50s:

"The image of the mysterious, sneaky, faceless 'illegal' was once again stamped into the minds of many. Once this was accomplished, 'illegals' became something less than human, with their arbitrary removal being that much easier to justify and accomplish."

While illegal immigration and its impact on public ser-

During the emotionally charged debate over Proposition 187, hate speech and violent acts against Latinos increased dramatically. And, in the aftermath of the approval of 187, civil rights violations against Latinos went on the upswing, with most of the cases involving United States citizens or permanent legal residents. All in all, in the Los Angeles metropolitan area alone, the County Human Relations Commission documented an 11.9% increase in hate crimes against Latinos in 1994.⁴²

Of 814 hate crimes in 1995 that were motivated by bias based on ethnicity or national origin, 63.3% - 516 in all - were directed against Hispanics.

For example:

- On November 12, 1994, Graziella Fuentes (54) was taking her daily one mile walk through the suburban San Fernando Valley, when eight young males 14 to 17 years old shouted at her that now that Proposition 187 has passed, she should go back to Mexico. After calling her "wetback" and other names, they threw rocks at her hitting her on the head and back.⁴³

Bigotry and hate crimes against Hispanics are not confined to California and the Southwest. From the Midwest, to the Northeast, to Florida, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cuban-Americans, and immigrants from other countries in Central and South America have been the targets of harassment and violence.

Here are several examples of hate crimes against Hispanics over the years:

- In the summer of 1995, Allen Adams and Tad Page were sentenced to 88 and 70 months, respectively, for their roles in the ethnically motivated shooting of four Latinos in Livermore, Maine. Three of the shooting victims were migrant laborers working in an egg farm, while the fourth was visiting his ailing mother, a migrant worker. The incident began at a store, where the victims were trying to make a purchase. Adams and Page, who were also at the store, taunted the victims with ethnic epithets, telling them: "Go back to Mexico or

[we'll] send you there in a bodybag." After the victims drove away from the store, Adams and Page chased them by car, firing 11 rounds from a nine millimeter handgun at the victims' automobile. One victim was shot in the arm, while another bullet hit the driver's headrest, just a few centimeters from the driver."

- On June 11, 1995, arsonists burned down the home of a Latino family in the Antelope Valley, California, city of Palmdale. They spray-painted these messages on the walls: "Wite [sic] power" and "your family dies."

- A Hispanic man at a camp for homeless migrant workers in Alpine, Calif., was beaten with baseball bats by six white men in October, 1992. The assailants later reportedly bragged about "kicking Mexican ass."

While not the focus of this report there have been well publicized reports of severe police beatings of Hispanics suspected of being undocumented immigrants.

- In April 1996, two Riverside County, California sheriff's deputies were videotaped beating two suspected undocumented Mexican immigrants. The man and woman were continuously struck with batons and the woman was pulled to the ground by her hair."

Bobbi Murray, an official with the Coalition for Human Immigrants' Rights of Los Angeles said in response to the beating: "We were really sickened when we saw it. But we're not inordinately surprised because we've been concerned for a long time that this inflamed election year rhetoric of bashing immigrants and singling them out as an enemy creates an atmosphere that gives license to this sort of stuff."

Hispanic rights organizations charge that Hispanic-Americans are often targets of a growing trend of abuse by private citizens and local law enforcement officials. They attribute the increasing abuse in part to the hostile political climate in which anyone who is perceived as an immigrant becomes a target for "enforcement" activities that are excessive, inappropriate, and often illegal.

Attacks upon Asian Pacific Americans:

Anti-immigrant sentiment also seems to be

feeding attacks upon Asian-Americans. A study found that there were 461 anti-Asian incidents reported in 1995 - 2% more than in 1994 and 38% more than in 1993. The violence of the incidents increased dramatically, with assaults rising by almost 11%, aggravated assaults by 14%, and two murders and one firebomb attack committed. The number and severity of the incidents increased significantly in the two largest states, California and New York."

As with other minorities, violence against Asian-Americans feeds upon longstanding discrimination and contemporary tensions. Chinese, Japanese, and other Asian-Americans have been subjected to cycles of intolerance since they first arrived in the United States more than a century-and-a-half ago.

In the mines and on the railroads in the middle of the Nineteenth Century, Chinese-Americans were exploited as cheap labor by their employers and bitterly resented by other workers. Soon, the courts were treating Chinese-Americans as second-class citizens. In People v. Hall, the California Supreme Court prohibited people of Chinese descent from testifying in cases involving whites. This decision shielded whites from prosecution for crimes committed against Chinese-Americans. And it made Chinese-Americans even more vulnerable to violence and discrimination. For instance, in 1887 in Hells Canyon, Oregon, 31 Chinese gold miners were shot to death. Their six killers either escaped or were acquitted.

During the years before and during World War II, as Japan became the enemy of the United States, Japanese-Americans were treated as a threat to the nation. They were targeted for an unprecedented and egregious violation of civil rights - forcible relocation to internment camps, with complete disregard for their rights to due process. And, even though China was an ally of the United States, Chinese-Americans were also occasionally subject to hostility by whites who felt that all Asians were the enemy.

In recent decades, Asian Pacific Americans have been the targets of a range of resentments. Anti-Japanese sentiments remaining from World War II have been

exacerbated by the resentment of economic competition from Japan and, more recently, South Korea. Although they are likely to have supported the governments of South Vietnam, Vietnamese immigrants have been the target of Americans' shame and anger at our defeat in the war in their native land.

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Since those who tend towards intolerance are often unable to distinguish one national origin minority from another, these resentments have spilled over into hostility towards all Asian Pacific Americans. Meanwhile, for those who hate non-whites or fear immigrants and their children, Asian Pacific Americans are one more target for their free-floating rage. And these antagonisms have been aggravated by the stereotype of Asian Pacific Americans as "a model minority" - harder-working, more successful in school, and supposedly more affluent than most Americans. It is an image remarkably similar to the stereotype of Jews - a stereotype that fuels a mixture of admiration and resentment. In addition, some people do not accept Asian Pacific Americans as legitimate Americans viewing them as perpetual foreigners.

These examples illustrate the range of hate crimes against Asian Pacific Americans:

- A 19-year-old Vietnamese American pre-med student in Coral Springs, Fla., was beaten to death in August, 1992, by a mob of white youths who called him "chink" and "Vietcong."⁵⁰

- On the afternoon of November 8, 1995, in the parking lot of a supermarket in Novato, California, Eddy Wu, a 23-year-old Chinese-American, was carrying groceries to his car when he was attacked by Robert Page, who stabbed him twice. Chasing Wu into the super market, Page stabbed him two more times. Wu suffered several serious injuries, including a punctured lung. In his confession, Page, an unemployed musician, said: "I didn't have anything to do when I woke up. No friends were around. It seemed that no one wanted to

be around me. So I figured, 'What the f-- I'm going to kill me a Chinaman.'" He also said he wanted to kill an Asian because they "got all the good jobs." Page pleaded guilty to attempted murder and a hate crime, and was sentenced to eleven years.⁵¹

- In August 1995, at a nightclub in Orange, California, an Asian Indian male was struck in the head with a metal pipe during a confrontation with a group of skinheads.⁵²

- In October 1995, in San Francisco, California, a white male dressed in skin head attire kicked a Pilipino male's leg, breaking his bone, and declared to him, "Death to all minorities."⁵³

- On June 18, 1995, Thanh Mai, 23, and two other Vietnamese-American friends visited a teen nightclub in Alpine Township, Michigan. At one point during the evening, when he was sitting alone, Mai was accosted by three drunken young white men who taunted him, "What the f-- are you looking at, gook?" Mai tried to walk away, but one of the young men, Michael Hallman, hit him in the face. Mai fell to the cement floor with such force that his skull split open, sending him into convulsions. He died five days later from major head trauma. Hallman was tried in January, 1996, and sentenced to only two to fifteen years for manslaughter. The prosecuting attorney did not seek hate crime penalty enhancement, denying that adequate evidence existed under the existing statute.⁵⁴

Attacks upon Arab-Americans:

Especially in times of crisis in the Middle East or during incidents of domestic terrorism, the two to three million Americans of Arab descent are vulnerable to hostility, harassment, and violence. But, because the federal government does not recognize Arab-Americans as a distinct ethnic group, the Justice Department does not report on how many hate crimes are committed each year against Arab-Americans.⁵⁵

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Arab-Americans suffer from being stereotyped as everything from exotic belly-dancers to desert nomads, terrorists, religious fanatics, and oil-rich sheiks. As with Jewish-Americans and Asian-Americans, Arab-Americans are often resented by residents of communities where they run small businesses. Arab Americans, many

of whom are recent immigrants, must also deal with problems of nativism and anti-immigrant attitudes similar to that faced by Hispanics and Asian Americans. Too often, the media blame Arabs or Muslims for incidents to which they have no connection, such as the bombing of the federal office building in Oklahoma City.⁵⁶ In fact, at least 227 incidents of harassment of Muslims were reported in a three-day period following the Oklahoma City bombing.⁵⁷

As with African-Americans and Jews, houses of worship are especially vulnerable. During 1995, at least seven mosques were burned down or seriously vandalized.⁵⁸

Illustrative of the types of hate crimes directed against Arab-Americans are:

- In Aurora, Colorado, a campus chapter of the American Arab Discrimination Committee received threatening letters and telephone calls as it sought to organize an "Arab Awareness Week." In an apparent effort to discourage the effort, the president of the chapter was assaulted on campus by two individuals.³⁹

- In Oklahoma City, following the bombing of the federal office building, an Iraqi refugee in her mid 20s, miscarried her near-term baby after an April 20th attack on her home. Unknown assailants pounded on the door of her home, broke windows and screamed anti-Islamic epithets.⁴⁰

Attacks upon Gays and Lesbians:

Attacks upon gays and lesbians are increasing in number and in severity. During 1995, 2,212 attacks on lesbians and gay men were documented by the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs - an 8% increase over 1994.⁴¹

More alarmingly, these attacks are becoming more violent. Nearly 40% of total incidents in 1995 involved physical assaults or attempted assaults with a weapon. These incidents resulted in injuries to 711 victims. Thirty-seven percent - 265 - of the people who were injured suffered serious injury or death. Of the victims who were injured, 38% received medical treatment in an emergency room or on an outpatient basis, 10% were hospitalized, and 19% needed, but did not receive, medical attention.⁴²

Worst of all, there were 29 gay-related murders. Most murders were accompanied by hideous violence including mutilation.

A sense of the brutality of the attacks can be conveyed by describing the weapons involved. In assaults involving weapons, bottles, bricks, and rocks were the most frequently used weapons, followed by bats, clubs, and blunt objects. Knives and other sharp objects were a close third.

Gays and lesbians seem most at risk of attack when there is emotionally charged political debate and heightened media coverage about their rights and their role in society. In recent years, these issues have been raised in the controversies over gays in the military, gay marriage,

and referenda in Oregon, Colorado, Maine, and other states and local communities. As with controversies about affirmative action and immigration, debates about gay/lesbian issues often demonize the members of minorities already subject to discrimination.

As with African-Americans, Hispanics, and other minorities, gays and lesbians often feel isolated and vulnerable because of the difficult relationship between their communities and many police departments. That is one reason why the rate of reporting incidents of violence against gays and lesbians to the police - an estimated 36% in 1995 - is significantly less than the estimated reporting rate of 48% for all crimes. Moreover, even when victims reported an incident to the police and stressed its biased nature, more than half the time police failed to classify the incidents as bias-motivated.⁴³

These incidents from 1995 are examples of the kinds of crimes committed against gays and lesbians:

- In Jackson Heights, New York, a 24-year-old gay man who was distributing HIV-related information was assaulted with a knife by a 17-year-old man. The victim suffered a severe cut on his elbow requiring medical attention. The perpetrator repeatedly referred to the victim as "faggot." The case is being prosecuted by the District Attorney's office as a bias crime.⁴⁴

- In Washington, D.C., three men accosted a gay man walking in a park and, at gun-point, forced him to go under a bridge. There, they beat him viciously. Before losing consciousness, he heard one of his assailants say, "We're going to teach this f---ing faggot a lesson!"⁴⁵

- In Minneapolis, Minnesota, soon after moving to a new apartment, an African-American

lesbian found a note reading "Hate Nigger Faggots" at her door. Over the next several weeks, she and her child were the target of verbal slurs from their neighbors, including: "You dyke," "you faggot," and "you nigger." After a burned cross was left outside her door, she moved.⁴⁶

Another sexual minority that is subject to violence is "transgendered" people, an umbrella term that includes transsexuals, cross-dressers, intersexed people (also known as hermaphrodites), and others whose sexual identity appears ambiguous. Transgendered people have been assaulted, raped, or murdered; these crimes should be included in the Hate Crime Statistics Act.

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Attacks upon Women – cause for concern and for classification as hate crimes:

In recent years, many women's advocates have spoken out about the alarming rate of violent physical and sexual assaults against women. Although the most common forms of violence against women have traditionally been viewed as "personal attacks," or even the victim's "own fault," there is growing recognition that, as one woman's advocate testified before Congress: "women and girls...are exposed to terror, brutality, serious injury, and even death because of their sex."⁷

Society is beginning to realize that many assaults against women are not "random" acts of violence but are actually bias-related crimes. However, the Hate Crime Statistics Act was passed, signed into law, and recently reauthorized without including hate crimes against women as a class.⁸ Other federal laws and many state hate crime statutes also exclude bias crimes targeting women.⁹

This is wrong – and should be corrected. As with hate crimes against racial, ethnic, religious, and sexual minorities, hate crimes against women are a form of discrimination. Gender-motivated violence reflects some men's efforts to dominate and control women. These crimes are encouraged by stereotypes of what women are and how women should act.⁷ And these crimes are often accompanied by hateful epithets against women as a group of people.

To be sure, not every violent assault against a woman is a hate crime – just as not every crime against an African-American is based on bigotry. And, men as well as women face robbery on the street and burglary in the home. However, crimes that present evidence of bias against women should be considered hate crimes. And, with these crimes, society should look for identifying factors similar to those present in other hate crimes.

These factors may include evidence of sexual assault, and the extreme brutality and cruelty that characterize bias-related crimes.⁷ Many crimes against women reflect a resistance to their efforts to achieve equality. These crimes are often intended to intimidate women into staying in – or returning to – their "place" of subservience to men at home, in the workplace, and throughout society.

Women of color experience discrimination based on gender as well as race, national origin, religion, language and sexual orientation. These forms of discrimination are not always separable.⁷ And, without protections against gender-based attacks, such women's unique experiences of intersecting forms of prejudice cannot be fully recognized – or remedied.

Because women as a class are not covered by the Hate Crime Statistics Act, the FBI keeps no records of gender-based hate crimes. Thus, there are no federal government surveys of hate crimes against women. However, statistics gathered on rapes and domestic assaults demonstrate the pervasiveness of violence against women. Approximately 683,000 adult women are raped each year.⁷ And, between 1992 and 1993, current and former husbands and other current and former intimate partners committed more than a million assaults, rapes, and murders against women.⁷

Some studies do attempt to identify the number of violent assaults against women that may be motivated by gender bias. For instance, in Arkansas, a mostly rural state with a population of 2.3 million, 81 women were murdered in 1990 in cases where robbery was not a motive, according to the Arkansas Women's Project.⁷ Some were raped and killed. Others were murdered with extreme cruelty and disfigurement.

Examples of crimes that are committed against women because they are women include:

- In Massachusetts in 1994, a "serial batterer" – a man who repeatedly sexually assaulted women with whom he lived – was found to have violated the state's hate crime law for his bias crimes against women. Four women recounted his abuse, including severe physical battering, rape,

death threats, and constant verbal abuse.⁷ In addition, He called the women "whores," "bitches," and "sluts," and made derogatory comments that they – and all women – are weaker than men and not as smart as men.⁷

- In Arkansas, a woman was found stabbed approximately 130 times in the breasts, vagina, buttocks, both eyes and forehead, two days after her second wedding anniversary. Her husband was charged with the murder.⁷

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America Answers Hate Crimes: What is being done

The statistics and examples demonstrate that violence against women is a severe problem – and suggests that the violence includes many bias-related crimes. The lack of precise data only highlights the need for resources to study and track the problem.

• OJJDP has also provided a \$50,000 grant to develop a curriculum for preventing and treating hate crimes by juveniles.

The federal response:

Under the Hate Crime Statistics Act of 1990 and its extension in 1996, the Attorney General collects data on the number of crimes committed each year that are motivated by “prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity.” The Attorney General has directed the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s Uniform Crime Reporting Program to collect the data and produce annual reports.

Meanwhile, the FBI has trained almost 3,700 staff members from almost 1,200 state, local, and federal law enforcement agencies on how to prevent, prosecute, and deal with the aftermath of hate crimes.

In these training programs, the FBI works with the Justice Department’s Community Relations Service (CRS). Created by the 1964 Civil Rights Act, CRS is the only federal agency whose most important purpose is to help communities cope with disputes among different racial, religious, and ethnic groups. CRS professionals have helped with Hate Crime Statistics Act training sessions for hundreds of law enforcement officials from dozens of police agencies around the country.

In 1992, Congress approved several new programs under the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act to combat hate crimes and reduce racial and religious prejudice:

- Each state’s juvenile delinquency plan must include a component designed to combat hate crimes.
- The Justice Department’s Office of Juvenile Justice Delinquency Programs (OJJDP) is conducting a national assessment of youths who commit hate crimes, their motives, their victims, and the penalties they receive for their crimes. The OJJDP has provided \$100,000 for this study.

In 1994, by a bipartisan majority, Congress passed the Violence Against Women Act, a comprehensive federal response to the national problem of violence against women.” This legislative package includes \$1.6 billion in funding over six years for improved law enforcement and prosecution programs, victims services such as domestic violence shelters and rape crisis centers, and education and research programs. It also includes new domestic violence offenses, changes in immigration law and other legal forms. Most significantly, it includes a civil rights remedy – a provision allowing a woman to sue in federal or state court for an act of gender-motivated violence that rises to the level of a felony.”

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In the aftermath of the rash of fires at black churches, and with the strong support of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, Congress passed and President Clinton signed into law the Church

Arsons Prevention Act of 1996. With bipartisan sponsorship by Reps. Henry Hyde and John Conyers and Sens. Edward Kennedy and Lauch Faircloth, it enhances federal jurisdiction over and increases the federal penalties for the destruction of houses of worship. And Congress and the Administration provided \$12 million for a federal investigation of the church fires. In addition, the Act gives a continuing mandate to the Hate Crime Statistics Act.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (USCCR) has undertaken a project to produce radio public service announcements on discrimination and denials of equal protection of the law. The first PSA “Discrimination: Just Out of Tune with America,” was recorded by Mary Chapin Carpenter and began running in January, 1996. The next PSA which will be recorded by Bill Cosby will carry the theme “Teach Children the Need to Be Tolerant and to Value Differences.”

The USCCR held community forums on the church burnings in six Southern states “to conciliate, find facts

and hear from people in the communities where the burnings took place." Transcripts of the forums and reports were issued on church burnings in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

The United States has ratified two core international human rights treaties that are relevant to the problem of hate crimes. In 1992, the United States ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, undertaking an international commitment to ensure that everyone in the U.S. enjoys the rights outlined in the treaty, including the right not to be subjected to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, "without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." In 1995, the U.S. presented its first compliance report to the Human Rights Committee, the United Nations body charged with monitoring State performance. The U.S. Government outlined federal laws that prohibit hate crimes and cited recent prosecutions by the Department of Justice's Civil Rights Division under these laws.

In 1994, the United States ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination which places additional responsibilities on States party to the treaty to take "special and concrete measures to ensure the...protection of certain racial groups or individuals belonging to them, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the full and equal enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms."

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The state and local response:

All of the states, with the exception of Nebraska, South Carolina, and Wyoming, and including the District of Columbia, have passed some form of hate crime statute. These laws have come in a variety of forms, including:

- Outlawing vandalism against religious institutions, such as churches and synagogues.
- Outlawing intimidation of individuals.
- Allowing for civil actions against perpetrators of hate crimes.
- Holding parents liable for the actions of their children.
- Requiring states to compile statistics on hate crimes.

In addition, some states have gone further by enacting statutes that "enhance" criminal penalties for hate-motivated crimes.

On the local level, there is good news – but there are also indications of gaps in the monitoring of hate crimes.

It is heartening that a growing number of law enforcement agencies are participating in data-collection under the Hate Crime Statistics Act. Almost 9,600 agencies participated in 1995 – an increase over the number of agencies that reported in 1994. But this still represents far fewer than the 16,000 agencies that regularly report other crime data to the FBI under the Bureau's Uniform Crime Reporting Program.

Another encouraging development is the founding of special bias units in a growing number of cities, including New York. (While creating the New York City unit was a positive step, there are still problems with under-reporting of hate crimes and police-community relations.) Officers in these squads are specially trained to be sensitive to victims of bias crimes. When victims find that police are sympathetic, they are more likely to report hate crimes and cooperate with investigations and prosecutions. And they make better witnesses at trials.

Successful bias units develop working relationships with minority communities, with prosecutors, and with officers from different law enforcement agencies. This helps law enforcement agencies at every level prevent, investigate, and prosecute hate crimes.

Yet another hopeful sign is the growing number of local governments that are sponsoring community education programs to reduce prejudice of all kinds and discourage hate crimes. In 1993, the U.S. Conference of Mayors and the Anti-Defamation League found that 72 cities – 42% of those that responded to the survey – indicated that they sponsored or participated in local prejudice reduction programs.⁴²

In response to the outbreak of church arsons, three governors of southern and border states, James Hunt of North Carolina, David Beasley of South Carolina, and Don Sundquist of Tennessee, have set up commissions to examine and improve race relations.

Private initiatives:

Civil rights, religious, civic, educational, and business organizations have long played a leading role in combating bigotry and crimes motivated by bias.

For instance, since 1992, the Leadership Conference Education Fund (LCEF) has been conducting an informational campaign in partnership with the Advertising Council to promote interracial understanding and combat bigotry of all kinds.⁴³ The campaign includes public service announcements in English and Spanish, with the message: "Life's too short. Stop the hate." These TV and radio announcements were developed by the Mingo Group, a black-owned and managed advertising agency.

In addition, with a contribution from the Procter and Gamble Fund, the LCEF is developing programs targeted to children to promote understanding and celebrate our diversity. With the Advertising Council and the Griffin Bacal agency, the LCEF developed the "Don't Be Afraid, Be a Friend" campaign to encourage children to make friends across racial, ethnic and disability lines and not to respond to the differences among people with fear and hate. The "Don't Be Afraid, Be a Friend" campaign has received more than \$20 million of free television air time. In keeping with the children's theme, LCEF's new public service announcement, targeted at children 4-7 years of age, is based on a poem, "The Crayon Box that Talked," written by the President of Random House Entertainment.

In addition to the partnership with the Advertising Council, the LCEF has worked with Nickelodeon, the children's cable television station, to produce vignettes on diversity and tolerance. The spots feature children of varied racial and ethnic backgrounds and a child in a wheelchair talking about diversity, getting to know each other, and how they would like to be perceived. And the LCEF has also developed a brochure for parents on why it is important to talk to children about racism, prejudice, and diversity.

Similarly, the Anti-Defamation League has developed a number of hate crime training resources that are available to communities and law enforcement officials. These include a new comprehensive guide to hate crime laws, a seventeen-minute training video on the impact of hate crime and appropriate responses (prepared in cooperation with the New Jersey Department of Law and Public Safety), and a handbook of existing hate crime policies and procedures at large and small police departments.

Meanwhile, the ADL's A World of Difference Institute has developed prejudice reduction initiatives for use by educators, employers, and civic leaders. These programs help people develop the skills, sensitivity, and knowledge to combat bigotry and encourage understanding and respect among diverse groups, from classrooms, to communities and workplaces.

Another program dedicated to prejudice reduction is the American Jewish Committee's Hands Across the Campus program. In place in 15 cities and approximately 150 public and private schools, the program includes administrative, teacher and student training and lesson plans and student activities for use in English and social studies classes.

People for the American Way's STAR (Students Talk About Race) Program trains college volunteers to lead discussions in high school and middle school classrooms to provide a forum for youth to share their personal thoughts and experiences, to reflect on complex issues like prejudice and citizen responsibility, and to learn the value of tolerance in today's society.

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In addition to the Southern Poverty Law Center's legal work against hate groups, its Teaching Tolerance project provides training and curriculum materials for teachers including the Teaching Tolerance Magazine. The Center has just established a Teaching Tolerance Institute that will bring together for the first time in the summer of 1997, 30, K-12 teachers for intensive training in tolerance and the development of tolerance-related action plans for their schools and communities.

This year, public outrage over the arsons of black churches has prompted renewed efforts to promote racial reconciliation. Private citizens, businesses, religious and civic groups have raised more than \$10 million to help small congregations rebuild their church buildings. In other gestures of support, bankers have offered low-interest loans and individuals have offered to help rebuild the churches themselves.⁴⁴

The National Council of Churches has played a leading role in bringing Americans together to heal their differences and rebuild the churches. The council's general secretary, Joan Brown Campbell, said: "For the first time in almost 20 years, I see...the possibility of a partnership of white people, African-Americans, of Christians, Jews, and Muslims...I sense the possibility of a new coalition that wants to address the underlying issue of racism and bigotry."⁴⁵

The Center for Democratic Renewal in collaboration with the National Council of Churches and Center for Constitutional Rights conducted a six-month preliminary investigation of the church burnings and issued the results of their investigation in Black Church Burnings in the South.⁶ These organizations and others, including LCEF and LCCR, co-hosted a leadership summit on hate crimes, Challenging Hate in America, in Atlanta in December 1996.

Four leading human rights groups have launched a new initiative, "Bigotry Watch," to monitor and respond to acts of intolerance of all kinds throughout the nation. The effort's sponsors are the National Urban League, the Anti-Defamation League, the National Council of La Raza, and the National Conference. These groups have also called for a national conference on "pluralism."

In a corporate effort to advance interracial understanding, the Levi Strauss Foundation is contributing more than \$5 million to Project Change, designed to help communities reduce racial prejudice and promote harmony. It has programs in Knoxville, Tenn., Valdosta, Ga., Albuquerque and El Paso. And Levi-Strauss Chief Executive Officer Robert Haas is meeting with fellow CEOs and asking them to "step up to the plate" on race relations.

On another front, the National Task Force on Violence Against Women, a coalition of over 1700 organizations, chaired by the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund with the strong support of the National Organization for Women, has been instrumental in gaining national recognition of the problem of violence against women. This coalition helped pass the Violence Against Women Act and its groundbreaking civil rights remedy for gender-based hate crimes. Now, the coalition is monitoring federal support and implementation of the law.

Recommendations

While much is being done to promote respect for diversity and to combat crimes based on bias, much more is needed. Federal, state, and local governments, educational, religious, community, and business organizations, and individual citizens all should assume even more responsibility to make sure that no individuals in our country are injured because of who they are.

Here are some recommendations for action by every sector of society:

1) Exercise national leadership: National leaders from every sector of society – including government, business, labor, religion, and education – should use their prestige and influence to encourage efforts to promote tolerance and harmony and to combat bigotry. Although much progress toward reducing hate-crime violence and discrimination in American life has been achieved over the past 30 years, steps must be taken now to avoid losing ground. We strongly urge President Clinton to convene a White House conference in 1997 to focus on more effective ways of fighting ongoing discrimination, bigotry and intolerance, and to identify ways that all persons in this country, both citizens and immigrants, can live and work together in greater harmony.

2) Enforce existing laws: The nation must reprioritize the enforcement of federal and state civil rights laws. The recent revelations about pervasive discrimination and personal abuse against African-Americans at Texaco are another reminder that bias and bigotry are still part of American life. The fact that a tape leaked by a disgruntled former executive confirms earlier allegations by black employees is one more indication, if any were needed, that claims of discrimination should be thoroughly investigated, not casually dismissed.

Unfortunately, discrimination in employment, housing, and even public accommodations is still prevalent, as evidenced by similar incidents at companies ranging from the national restaurant chain, Denny's, to real estate agencies throughout the country. In August 1996, the Wal-Mart Stores Inc. settled a law-suit filed by eleven Hispanic men, all U.S. citizens, who were forced by Wal-Mart store personnel to leave a Wal-Mart store in Amory, Mississippi, and informed that it was the store's policy not to serve Mexicans.

Existing civil rights laws against all forms of discrimination are an important part of America's effort against bigotry, bias and hate crimes. These laws should be aggressively enforced. Moreover, significant increases in funding for all federal civil rights enforcement agencies is essential and should be included in the FY'98 budget. Offices such as the Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, the EEOC, the Department of Education's Office

of Civil Rights, the Department of Labor's Office of Federal Contract Compliance, the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Fair Housing Enforcement Office, the Department of Agriculture's Office of Civil Rights are illustrative of those offices that need increased funding to address both the short and long-term problems associated with discrimination and with hate crime violence in the United States.

3) Renew America's commitment to vigorously combat hate crimes: Congress should renew the Hate Crime Statistics Act (HCSA) without a sunset provision, and expand its coverage to include gender. This will make an important statement that America will not tolerate hate crimes. It will also provide a continued mandate for law enforcement agencies at every level of government and communities and citizens all across the country to continue monitoring, preventing, prosecuting, and, in every way, combating hate crimes. In giving the HCSA a permanent mandate, Congress should provide more funding for training assistance and implementation. This will help all 16,000 law enforcement agencies throughout the nation participate in reporting hate crimes.

a) Reauthorize U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Congress should reauthorize the United States Commission on Civil Rights. The Commission identifies, analyzes, and reports on the major civil and human rights problems confronting the nation; including the persistence of bigotry and discrimination, tensions among different groups, and hate crimes motivated by bigotry and influence.

Since 1990, the Commission has been especially effective, holding hearings on racial and ethnic tensions in major metropolitan areas and in the Mississippi-Delta region. It has also been vigilant in response to the church fires. In fact, the recent findings of the Commission have sparked a renewed discussion about the persistence of racism in American society.

b) Restore funding for Community Relations Service. Congress should also restore funding for the Community Relations Service (CRS) of the Department of Justice, whose budget has been cut in half after some members of Congress sought to eliminate it entirely. CRS works to resolve group conflicts and racial tensions in communities across the country. It offers mediation and technical assistance to communities trying to address hate motivated incidents. It is an invaluable resource that must be preserved and strengthened.

c) Improve data collection. For the HCSA, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, the Community Relations Service and other efforts against discrimination and intolerance to succeed, the nation needs accurate and

up-to-date demographic information about the racial, ethnic, and religious composition of the population. The need for federal data is essential to effective enforcement of civil rights laws. That is why it is so important that Congress allow the Census Bureau to take all available steps to reduce the persistent, disproportionate undercount of racial minorities and the poor in the 2000 census. With guidance from state and local officials and business and community leaders, the bureau has developed a plan to make sure that every person is counted, including those who historically have been hardest to reach. Congress should approve, not impede this plan, including census efforts at "sampling" residents in low-income communities.

4) Expand coverage of federal criminal civil rights statutes: Federal criminal civil rights statutes should also be expanded to remove the requirement that victims be engaged in a federally protected activity at the time of the crime. Coverage of the law should be expanded to include gender, sexual orientation and immigration status. Law enforcement agencies should also consider identifying specific ethnic groups, such as Arab-Americans, who have been targets of hate violence. The coverage of state laws should also be expanded along these lines. Unless all hate-motivated incidents are identified, monitored, and documented, the full extent of the severity and prevalence of this violence cannot be adequately addressed.

Tougher hate crime laws should be enacted at both the state and local levels, including "penalty-enhancement" provisions that impose harsher punishments for criminal acts motivated by bigotry. While bigotry cannot be outlawed, if it leads to criminal conduct, that conduct can and should be punished. Hate crime statutes demonstrate an important community commitment to confront crimes prompted by prejudice. Police departments should be required to enforce these laws, and prosecutors should utilize them when appropriate.

5) Create hate crime units: Local police departments should create hate crime units, with specially trained officers and outreach efforts to minority communities. These units are indispensable for preventing, investigating, and prosecuting hate crimes, for convincing potential offenders and potential victims alike that communities are committed to combating hate crimes. There should also be victim assistance programs for those who suffer from hate crimes.

6) Encourage communities to participate: Congress and the Administration should encourage local law enforcement agencies to participate in the HCSA data collection effort. They can require that Department of Justice technical assistance grants be dependent on participation in the HCSA data collection effort. And they can also make such participation a requirement for receiving funds from the Justice Department's Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS). Additional federal

funding should be included to cover the costs of local law enforcement participation.

Linking community policing to the effort against bias-related crimes can be especially effective. Hate violence can be addressed effectively through a combination of presence, prevention, and outreach to the community that is the hallmark of community policing. Congress and the Administration should see that new officers hired and trained under the COPS initiative begin to receive training in how to identify, report, and respond to hate violence.

Communities should also encourage efforts by businesses, labor unions, civic groups and concerned citizens. The response by communities, companies, civic organizations, and ordinary citizens to the arsons of African-American churches is a model for how America should answer hate crimes. Schools, businesses, congregations, and communities all across America should initiate or intensify efforts to promote respect for diversity and to discourage acts of intolerance. The projects described in this report, as well as other efforts by the NAACP, National Council of La Raza, the Anti-Defamation League, and National Urban League, among others, are all models for what can and must be done.

7) Debate the issues with reason, not rancor: In a democracy, there should be free and open debate about public issues. Political questions about immigration, abortion, affirmative action, and gay rights among others can and should be debated. But Americans of all backgrounds and viewpoints should find ways to debate these issues without demonizing one another. Public debate should be an appeal to reason, not an incitement to violence.

8) Prepare the next generation of Americans for a diverse society: The disturbingly large number of young people who commit hate crimes underscores the need for educational programs on the importance of civic responsibility, cultural diversity, and a respect of cultural differences in the United States. As the Citizens' Commission on Civil Rights has urged, the federal government should promote democracy-building and citizenship initiatives - efforts such as teaching about the Bill of Rights and the parts that many different groups have played in our national history. The Department of Education should make information available about successful prejudice-reduction and hate crime prevention programs and resources. Local communities and school systems should offer programs on prejudice awareness, religious tolerance, conflict resolution, and multicultural education.

9) Use the Internet to Educate: Like many persons in our society, we are increasingly concerned about the use of the Internet to promote doctrines espousing hatred and violence. We also appreciate, however, the importance of the First Amendment to our Constitution in protecting the

speech of all in our pluralistic society. In that regard, the Internet is a marketplace of ideas and information – the public forum of the future. Moreover, the Internet has a growing utilization among young people, and therefore, must be considered in any serious public education campaign to address the problem of hate-related violence in America.

Recognizing the limitations of what government can or should do in addressing the problem of hate speech on the Internet, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and the Leadership Conference Education Fund have proposed direct action. We will construct an Internet web-site devoted to civil rights and a greater understanding of the importance of civil rights laws in building the “more perfect Union” which is our national promise. The LCCR/LCEF plan to develop what may be called “the definitive civil rights web-site,” means that in addition to its own content, the new web-page will connect to the existing web-sites of LCCR members, thereby expanding its reach considerably.

10) Comply with International Law: Racism in America, and hate crimes as tangible evidence of racism, has attracted the attention of the international community. In 1994, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Contemporary forms of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance came on mission to the United States and last year filed an extensive report citing a “pattern of increased racist violence” in the U.S. The report concludes that “racism and racial discrimination persist in American society,” despite the fact that “knowledge of the extent of racist violence in the United States continues to suffer from the lack of a uniform and accurate source of information.”

In its periodic reports to the U.N. treaty monitoring bodies, the government should fully detail the extent of the hate crime problem in America – not just cite to laws on the books that criminalize hate crimes – and outline steps it is taking to eliminate the causes of hate crimes through increased enforcement, expansion of existing law, and educational programs. The U.S. should file its delinquent report on compliance with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and should actively seek the participation of civil rights groups in the U.S. in the preparation of this report.

These recommendations themselves are intended as a starting-point for a national discussion on how Americans can not only prevent hate crimes but promote positive relationships among people of every heritage. In this effort, the sponsors of this study are eager to work together with other Americans of goodwill.

Race-hate crimes

AGENDA -- 6/5/97

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON HATE CRIMES ROLL-OUT

- I. Radio Address has been taped for Saturday, 6/7
 - a. Embargoed text available Friday pm
 - b. Tape of remarks to be played on conference call Friday

- II. Outreach Plan
 - a. OPL calls to groups / outside validators -- Friday
-- assignments
 - b. Members of Congress
 - c. State and Local Elected Officials
 - d. Other Departments/Agencies (DOJ, HHS, Education, Treasury)
 - C. Others

Dennis Hayashi HHS
Norma Cantor DOE
Lemuel Thornton - DOE

Childs Commission

Cruz Reynoso
Hans Frank

HANDOUTS:

- Draft Talking points
- Draft one pager
- OPL Roll-out matrix

HATE CRIMES - Q's and A's

Q: What is a hate crime?

A: As a general matter, a hate crime is a crime that is committed because of some characteristic of the victim, such as the victim's race, color, gender, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, disability, or familial status. However, it is important to understand that hate crimes are defined by federal and state criminal statutes, and these statutory definitions differ in their particulars from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. The principal federal hate crimes statute, for example, includes only those crimes committed because of the victim's race, color, religion or national origin; it does not include crimes committed because of the victim's gender, sexual orientation, or disability.

Q: Is the President supporting an expansion of the definition of a hate crime? Is he supporting changes to current federal law?

A: The President has called a conference on hate crimes for November 10, 1997. One of the issues that will be considered at the conference is whether the statutory definitions of federal hate crimes should be expanded. ~~But the President has not taken a position on this issue, and he expects to wait until he has had an opportunity to learn more about it.~~

Q: Is the Oklahoma City bombing case a hate crime? Is the McVeigh trial the reason why the President is speaking out now about hate crimes?

A: It would be inappropriate for us to say much at this point about the Oklahoma City bombing case, since Mr. McVeigh's trial is still in the penalty phase. ~~But the evidence presented at the guilt phase of the trial indicated that Mr. McVeigh committed this heinous offense not because of the victims' race, gender, or other traditional hate crimes characteristics, but because of his animosity toward the federal government.~~

Q: Is the bombing of an abortion clinic a hate crime?

A: It depends on the circumstances. If the bombing is motivated by the perpetrator's gender-based bias, then the crime could violate a hate crimes statute if the statute defines hate crimes to include this type of conduct when it is motivated by gender bias. The principal federal hate crimes statute currently does not prohibit conduct motivated by gender-based bias.

Q: Why are hate crimes statistics unreliable? Why don't we know whether the number of hate crimes committed is going up or down?

A: Hate crimes statistics are unreliable because hate crimes are under-reported. There are several reasons why this happens. First, hate crimes reporting by state and local law enforcement agencies is voluntary under current federal law. Second, many of the most likely targets of hate crimes also are the least likely to report incidents to the police. For example, 60% of the victims of anti-gay incidents who reported their incidents to private tracking groups did not report the incidents to the police, in many cases because of a fear of mistreatment or unwanted exposure. Third, state and local jurisdictions often have disincentives to classify and compile statistics relating to hate crimes. Tracking hate crimes requires law enforcement agencies to do additional investigative work to determine the motivation behind crimes. In addition, many local political leaders believe that it would exacerbate racial tensions or harm their jurisdictions' reputations to acknowledge that crimes committed in their cities or towns were motivated by bias. The bottom line, however, is that the number of hate crimes actually reported to the FBI has gone up over the past several years — in 1995, the number was 7,947, reported by a total of 9,584 state and local jurisdictions.

HATE CRIMES – BACKGROUND PAPER

Federal Hate Crimes Statutes

- There are four major federal hate crimes statutes:
 - 18 U.S.C. 245, the principal federal hate crimes statute, prohibits the use of force or threats of force based on race, color, religion or national origin to interfere with a person's exercise of any federally protected right enumerated in the statute, including enrolling in or attending public school or college, participating in any program or activity administered by a state or local government, working or applying for employment, serving as a juror in state court, traveling interstate, and using places of public accommodation.
 - Section 245 has significant limitations: (1) the statute does not prohibit conduct that is based on gender, sexual preference, or disability, and (2) it does not apply unless the victim is engaged in one of the enumerated federally protected rights at the time of the offense.
 - 42 U.S.C. 3631, enacted in 1968 as part of the Fair Housing Act, prohibits interference with certain federally protected housing rights based on race, color, religion, national origin, gender, disability, or familial status.
 - Section 3631 applies only to housing related matters.
 - The Hate Crimes Statistics Act directs the Attorney General to collect statistics on crimes based on race, color, religion, national origin, disability, and sexual orientation.
 - The Act contains no requirement that jurisdictions report hate crimes, nor does it provide funding as an incentive to encourage reporting by state and local jurisdictions. As a result, statistics collected pursuant to the Act are incomplete.
 - In addition, the Act does not require the collection of gender-based hate crimes.
 - The Sentencing Enhancement Act, passed as part of the 1994 crime bill, authorizes the imposition of enhanced sentences for federal crimes found to have been motivated by race, color, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, gender, or disability.

Hate Crimes Statistics

- Hate crimes statistics are maintained by the FBI, by some state and local law enforcement agencies, and by several private organizations. The number of hate crimes reported to law enforcement officials has increased over the past several years, but because of under-reporting and other factors it remains uncertain whether the total number of hate crimes committed in the United States is going up or down. In any event, the numbers are large.
- The FBI has released reports on hate crimes statistics, based on reporting from state and local law enforcement agencies, each year since 1991. In 1991, 2771 state and local agencies reported a total of 4755 bias motivated crimes to the FBI. In 1995, 9584 state and local agencies reported a total of 7947 such crimes to the FBI. The fact that many jurisdictions, including several large jurisdictions, tell the FBI that they have no hate crimes to report leads many to conclude that the FBI's statistics present an incomplete picture of the national situation.
- Several private groups track hate crimes. Some track all types of hate crimes, while others focus their efforts on tracking hate crimes against certain constituencies, such as gays and lesbians, Jews, Arab-Americans, Muslim-Americans, Asian-Americans, etc. Statistics kept by these groups tend to differ significantly from statistics kept by the FBI. First, some victims of hate crimes report their experiences to a group but not to the FBI. Second, several of the groups count incidents of verbal harassment as hate crimes even though such incidents do not constitute crimes in most states.
- All of the reporting systems are plagued by under-reporting, for which there are several reasons.
 - First, many of the most likely targets of hate crimes also are the least likely to report incidents to the police. For example, 60% of the victims of anti-gay incidents who reported their incidents to private groups did not report the incidents to the police, in many cases because of a fear of mistreatment or unwanted exposure. Similarly, many hate crimes victims in immigrant communities do not report incidents to the police because they fear reprisals or deportation.
 - Second, state and local jurisdictions often have disincentives to classify and compile statistics relating to hate crimes. Tracking hate crimes requires law enforcement agencies to do additional investigative work to determine the motivation behind crimes. In addition, many local political leaders believe that it would exacerbate racial tensions or harm their jurisdictions' reputations to acknowledge that crimes committed in their cities or towns were motivated by bias.

HATE CRIMES — RECENT EXAMPLES

- In Fayetteville, North Carolina, three soldiers from Fort Bragg killed an African American couple in a racially motivated attack. (December 1995)
- In Chicago, Illinois, a 13 year old African-American was severely beaten by three white youths while in a white area of the city. (March, 1997)
- In Manning, South Carolina, two former members of the Ku Klux Klan burned down a black church and set fire to a Hispanic migrant camp. (June, 1995)
- In Houston, Texas, a 46 year old gay man was stabbed to death outside a gay bar. Two defendants, members of a neo-Nazi group, were charged with a first-degree felony. (January 1996)
- In Dallas, Texas, a man entered a synagogue with an assault rifle and, after pointing the weapon at a worshiper, fired shots in the air while shouting anti-Semitic epithets. The man then walked to the parking lot, where he fired shots into the building and a sign. (April, 1997)
- In Lubbock, Texas, three self-described white supremacists, drove to the black section of town looking for African Americans, lured three African American men to their car, and then shot them at close range with a short-barreled shotgun, each taking a turn at the trigger. One victim died; the other two were seriously injured. (October, 1994)
- In Morgan City, Alabama, a trailer park manager and a trailer park resident conspired to burn a trailer to intimidate Mexican farm workers to move out of the trailer park. (July, 1994)

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON HATE CRIMES
November 10, 1997
A Search for Solutions

[quote from statement announcing conference]
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President Bill Clinton, June , 1997

THE CONFERENCE:

The President has announced that he will host the White House Conference on Hate Crimes on November 10, 1997. The Conference will bring together a diverse group of Americans in an effort to find solutions for the future. While examining the tragic impact hate crimes have on our society, the Conference will work to emphasize positive actions individuals and communities can take to help prevent hate crimes and to promote unity and an appreciation for our great diversity as a nation. The White House Conference on Hate Crimes will:

- promote unity by educating the public about the threat hate crimes pose to the fundamental principals of fairness and equal justice upon which our nation was founded, and by fostering a greater appreciation for the rich diversity of America;
- demonstrate the Administration's commitment to preventing hate crimes and highlight the current and future actions we are taking to achieve this goal;
- serve as an opportunity to examine and document the best practices to combat hate crimes, devise strategies, and prepare a report to aid communities in the fight against hate crimes.

Topics will include a discussion of crimes motivated by intolerance related to race, religion, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation/identity, disability; law enforcement efforts and best practices, community, educational and private initiatives; and help available for the victims.

THE PARTICIPANTS:

Approximately 100 participants from all walks of life and from every region of the country, including:

- victims and their families
- community advocates
- public policy experts
- law enforcement professionals
- state and local government officials
- Members of Congress
- religious leaders
- Senior Administration officials from the White House and DOJ

WHEN: The one-day conference will take place on November 10, 1997

FOR MORE INFORMATION: White House Office of Public Liaison at 202-456-2930

Community Relations Service U.S. Department of Justice

Hate Crime: The Violence of Intolerance

*Rose M. Ochi, Director, Community Relations Service
Assistant Attorney General*

The Community Relations Service (CRS), a unique agency of the U.S. Department of Justice, is the Federal Government's "peacemaker" for community-wide conflicts and tensions arising from disputes based on race, color, and national origin. Created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964, CRS is the only Federal agency dedicated to preventing and resolving racial and ethnic tensions, incidents of violence, and civil disorders. For more than 30 years, CRS has assisted in settling destructive conflicts and disturbances. In 1996, CRS helped governors, tribal leaders, mayors, police chiefs, school superintendents, and community leaders bring 827 cases of community-wide conflicts to peaceful closure in all 50 States.

In 1996, CRS was involved in 178 hate crime cases that caused or intensified community-wide racial and ethnic tensions. As authorized by the Civil Rights Act of 1964, CRS became involved only in those cases in which the criminal offender was motivated by the victim's race, color, or national origin. Of all hate crime offenses reported to the U.S. Department of Justice's Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in 1995, 71 percent were motivated by the victim's race, color, or national origin.

Hate Crime

Hate crime is the violence of intolerance and bigotry, intended to hurt and intimidate someone because of their race, ethnicity, national origin, religious, sexual orientation, or disability. The purveyors of hate use explosives, arson, weapons, vandalism, physical violence, and verbal threats of violence to instill fear in their victims, leaving them vulnerable to more attacks and feeling alienated, helpless, suspicious and fearful. Others in the victim's population may become frustrated and angry if the local government and other

groups in the community cannot or will not accept and protect them. When perpetrators of hate are not prosecuted as criminals and their acts not publicly condemned, their crimes weaken even the strongest community.

Of all crimes, hate crimes are most likely to create or exacerbate tensions, which can trigger larger community-wide conflict, civil disturbances, and even riots. The immediate expenses are police, fire, and medical personnel time, injury or death, business and residential property loss, and damage to vehicles and equipment. Long-term, recovery is hindered by a decline in property values, which results in lower tax revenues, scarcity of funds for rebuilding, and increased insurance rates. Businesses and residents abandon these neighborhoods, leaving empty buildings to attract crime, and the quality of schools declines due to the loss of tax revenue. A municipality may have no choice but to cut services or raise taxes to cover the loss of income or leave the area in its post-riot condition until market forces of supply and demand rebuild the area.

Victims and Perpetrators

From 1992 to 1995, the FBI received reports of more than 25,000 hate crimes from State and local law enforcement agencies. In 1995, the most recent figures reported covered only about 75 percent of the Nation's population. There were 7,947 separate hate crime incidents involving 9,895 total offenses, 10,469 victims, and 8,433 known perpetrators. Of the offenses, 1,710 were violent crimes, 8,159 misdemeanors, and 26 listed as other. The crimes included 20 murders, 12 forcible rapes, 1,268 aggravated assaults, 1,796 simple assaults, and 4,048 acts of intimidation.

Among the known perpetrators, 59 percent were white, and 27 percent were black. Of these, 65 percent were teen-agers and young adults. A 1990 poll of 1,865 high school students found that more than 50 percent said that they had witnessed a racial confrontation "very often" or "once in a while." Nearly half of the respondents admitted they thought that the victims were getting what they deserved.

Some young offenders commit hate crimes as a "thrill" with their peers or while under the influence of drugs or alcohol; some as a reaction against a perceived threat, protecting the safety and property value of their "turf"; some out of resentment over the growing economic power of a particular racial or ethnic group and engage in scapegoating; and others to rid the world of "evil."

Examples of CRS Hate Crime Casework

General Casework:

In **Augusta, Michigan**, two black families experienced a series of hate crimes, including a cross burning and a vandalized vehicle. When tensions increased across the community, CRS worked with representatives from more than 25 churches, law enforcement agencies, schools, and community organizations to develop both short- and long-term planning to eliminate hate crimes.

The U.S. Attorney requested CRS assistance after a number of hate crimes and other incidents created community-wide tensions in **Clarksville, Tennessee**. CRS helped local officials establish a Human Relations Commission to mediate disputes and conflicts.

After a white youth from **Guthrie, Kentucky**, was killed by several black males in **Robertson County, Tennessee**, for displaying on his truck the confederate flag, the emblem of the youth's high school, regional tensions flared, marked by cross burnings and other incidents. CRS worked with Federal, State and local officials to restore racial harmony, including assistance to the mayor of Guthrie in establishing a Community Relations Commission to help ensure stability.

After three black youths were wounded in a Ku Klux Klan (KKK) drive-by shooting of a black nightclub in **Lexington County, South Carolina**, CRS conducted a series of conciliation meetings with the youths' families, State and county government and school officials, and black and white citizen groups.

In **St. Louis, Missouri**, an Asian refugee sitting in his automobile in front of his house was killed by a black youth. The

black youth was part of a gang preying upon the refugee community, which is located adjacent to a poor black neighborhood. Long-simmering ethnic-racial tensions were exacerbated by the murder, and civil disturbances appeared imminent. CRS helped Federal, State and local officials, and community and religious organizations develop a process that addressed both immediate and underlying causes of the tension.

Schools:

CRS assistance was requested by school district officials and leaders of 17 community organizations to reduce racial tensions in a high school in **Fairbanks, Alaska**, after the KKK directed its recruitment activities toward the white students of the school and a series of hate crimes incidents against black and native Alaskan residents.

CRS conciliators contacted administrators of a high school in **Tucson, Arizona**, when learning of two months of recurrent racial violence between white, black, and Hispanic students, with one incident requiring the response of more than 120 law enforcement officers. CRS helped restore stability in the schools and ease racial tensions in the community.

In **Suffolk County, New York**, administrators of school districts requested CRS assistance when hate crimes and racial conflicts increased tensions in the county's schools and communities. At a **Brookhaven** high school, CRS responded when racial tensions escalated into violence after white students distributed flyers promoting white supremacy. In **Deerpark**, CRS mediation and conciliation services helped students, parents and officials stop hate crimes and racial violence in middle and high schools.

Housing:

In **Independence, Kansas**, CRS was contacted when the home of a black family was firebombed, one in a series of incidents and threats to force the families to move from an all-white neighborhood. By working with various State and local government agencies and community groups, CRS reduced tension in the town's communities.

In **Rome, Georgia**, CRS was asked by a Hispanic minister to help end racial conflicts arising from the movement of Hispanic families to a previously all-black apartment building. Hate crimes, including violent assaults, robberies, and vandalism, increased the tensions among all residents. CRS helped resolve the conflict by working with State and local government officials and Hispanic and black community leaders.

In **Wilmington, Delaware**, the U.S. Attorney asked CRS to resolve tensions and conflicts involving Hispanic and black residents of a housing complex, which was marked by arson, violence, and intimidation. CRS mediated the tensions and established a mediation process to maintain stability by working with local government agencies and residents of the complex.

In **Omaha, Nebraska**, CRS assistance was requested by Federal and State authorities after two black families were relocated from a primarily white housing complex after a series of firebombings, vandalism and verbal threats. CRS helped the police department develop an educational program to teach citizens about hate crime.

Business:

In **Milwaukee, Wisconsin**, an Asian-owned store targeted for protests and a boycott by black residents was fire-bombed. When existing community-wide tensions were heightened by comments on a local talk show by boycott leaders, CRS successfully mediated the long-running dispute at the request of the State's U.S. Attorney.

In **Philadelphia, Pennsylvania**, CRS mediated a dispute between Korean and black business owners and employees in a public market that had escalated tensions in the community and affected the market's business.

In **Bridgeport, Washington**, the relatively rapid demographic shift in a multi-county area from primarily white to a majority of Hispanic agricultural workers contributed to a series of hate crimes and racial conflicts, including the murder of two Hispanic men by two white men, formation of armed vigilante groups, and a Hispanic boycott of white-owned businesses. CRS worked with local government agencies and civic, business and community organizations to develop a process to end existing tensions and prevent future conflicts.

CRS Best Practices to Prevent Hate Crimes from Escalating Racial and Ethnic Tensions into Community-wide Conflict or Civil Disturbances

From years of experience with hundreds of hate crime cases that have caused or intensified community-wide racial and ethnic tensions, CRS offers certain best practices to prevent hate crimes and restore harmony in the community.

When left unresolved, simmering racial and ethnic friction can be triggered by a hate crime into a community-wide

conflict or civil disturbance. Communication and interaction between majority and minority groups is often a key factor in preventing tensions or restoring harmony.

- *A Human Rights Commission (HRC) can facilitate and coordinate discussions, training, and events for the benefit of everyone in the community. An HRC can create a forum for talking about racial and ethnic relations and encouraging citizens to discuss their differences, concerns, fears, suspicions, commonalities, hopes, and dreams. The focus could be on the common features of community life, including economic development, education, transportation, environment, cultural and recreational opportunities, leadership, community attitudes, and racial and ethnic diversity. The Commission might use multicultural training and events to promote harmony and stability in the community.*

A core responsibility of government is to protect the civil rights of its citizens and advance its inherent obligation to ensure good racial and ethnic relations. This tenet cannot be abrogated and commitment to it requires no special funding. A local government can confirm its commitment to the safety and well-being of its citizens by establishing an ordinance against hate crime activity or enhancing the punishment for hate crime. It can also encourage compliance with existing equal opportunity statutes.

- *A local government may establish an ordinance against hate activity modeled on any existing hate crime law in effect in that State. Punishment is enhanced by promulgating guidelines or amending existing guidelines to provide varying offense levels for use in sentencing. There should be reasonable consistency with other guidelines, avoidance of duplicative punishments for substantially the same offense, and consideration of any mitigating circumstances that might justify exceptions. Compliance with existing statutes can be achieved by training law enforcement officers to enforce existing statutes, imposing fines or penalties when ordinances are violated, reviewing licenses or privileges, reviewing tax exempt status, reviewing licenses to do business within the municipality, and providing incentives or awards. A local government may also establish local boards or commissions to review and analyze hate crime activity, create public service announcements, and recommend measures to counter hate activity.*

Racial and ethnic tensions increase during periods of economic downturns. From this tension, hate crimes may occur when an unemployed or underemployed member of one group vents anger on the most available scapegoat,

members of another group.

- *Coalitions of representatives from political, business, civic, religious, and community organizations help create a positive climate in the community and encourage constructive dialogue. The coalitions can recommend initiatives to help racial and ethnic communities affected by the loss of jobs, including programs and plans to help local government ensure an equitable disbursement of public and private funds, resources, and services.*

Hate crimes can often be prevented by policies designed to promote good racial and ethnic relations.

- *Local governments can assure that all members of the community have access to full participation in the municipality's decision-making processes, including equal opportunity for minorities to be represented on appointed boards and commissions. To do this, local governments can institute a policy of nondiscrimination in appointments to each board and commission. The policy could require listing all appointive boards and commissions, and notifying all racial and ethnic groups of open appointive seats.*

Racial and ethnic tensions increase in schools when there are rapid demographic or socio-economic changes in neighborhoods that feed the school. Tensions may result from the perception of unequal education opportunities or disparate practices in hiring faculty and staff within the school district.

- *Preventing and dealing with hate crimes in schools are the responsibility of school and police officials, who should work together to develop a plan to handle hate crimes or defuse racial tensions. Hate crimes can be school-related, community-related, or a combination of both. Officials should consider respective prevention and response roles, potential trouble sites or activities, and plan for phased intervention and withdrawal to prevent escalation over a perceived reaction by police or school officials. Tension can also be eased by regular communication with parents, students, media, and other community organizations, and by mediation and conflict resolution classes.*

Rumors aggravate more than 66 percent of all civil disturbances. When racial or ethnic tensions could be heightened or triggered by exaggerated rumors, a temporary rumor control and verification center is an effective mechanism to ensure accurate information.

- *A temporary rumor control and verification center typically is operated 24 hours a day during the crisis period by a local government agency. It is staffed by professionals and trained volunteers, with one telephone number connected to specially installed telephones. The media and others should publicize the telephone number.*

The influence of the print and broadcast media on preventing and investigating hate crime cannot be overstated. The media is critical in shaping public condemnation against the act and its perpetrators as well as the law enforcement response.

- *The media can play an important role in preventing hate crimes from increasing tensions or escalating tensions into community-wide conflict or civil disturbances. Local officials should designate an informed single-point-of-contact for hate crime information. Accurate, thorough, and responsible coverage and reporting significantly improve the likelihood that stability and harmony will be restored. The media can promote public understanding of mediation and conflict resolution processes, and help alleviate fear, suspicion, and anger.*

During the transition by a local law enforcement agency from traditional policing to community-oriented policing, retention of the agency's Community Affairs/Relations Office is an issue to be carefully considered.

- *During the transition to community-oriented policing, some law enforcement agencies may choose to close their community relations office, believing that their community policing officers on the beat will learn who the key community leaders are in their patrol sectors. If this is done, the department must make certain it does not lose institutional knowledge about community leaders and the mutual working relationship as well as the means to learn about and work with young, up-and-coming leaders. The experience gained by officers permanently assigned to monitor and work on community relations matters should be used in this transition period as well. If the office is to be disbanded, then, while in the planning stages, community leaders who have worked with the officers in the past should be consulted on the proposed changes.*

Findings on the exact number of hate crimes and trends are difficult to establish and interpretations of a hate crime vary among individuals, law enforcement agencies, public and private organizations, and community groups.

- A municipality should require its law enforcement agency to adopt the model policy supported by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (tel. 703/836-6767) for investigating and reporting hate crimes. This model policy uses the standard reporting form and uniform definition of hate crime developed by the FBI after passage of The Hate Crime Statistics Act, 28 U.S.C. 534, enacted April 23, 1990, as amended by the Church Arson Prevention Act of June 1996. The FBI offers training for law enforcement officers and administrators on developing data collection procedures. For more information, call the FBI toll-free at 1-888-UCR-NIBR. CRS and the FBI recommend a two-tier procedure for accurately collecting and reporting hate crime case information. It includes: (1) the officer on the scene of an alleged bias crime making an initial determination that bias motivation is "suspected"; and (2) a second officer or unit with more expertise in bias matters making the final determination of whether a hate crime has actually occurred. For more information, see the FBI's Training Guide for Hate Crime Data Collection, referenced on page 7 of this document.

Multi-jurisdictional or regional task forces are an effective means of sharing information and combining resources to counter hate crime activity.

- Some local governments have institutionalized sharing of expertise and agency resources through memorandums of understanding, which are activated in times of tension, conflict, or civil disturbances. For example, creating a coalition of public and private agencies and community organizations will give cities in the county or region a complete and thorough range of resources and information to promote racial and ethnic relations and counter hate crimes. This network or consortium can also work with another type of coalition, one created especially to investigate and prosecute hate crimes. Such a coalition could include the district attorney's office, the city attorney's office, law enforcement agencies, and civil rights, community, and educational organizations. This partnership links communities that are facing intergroup tensions with prosecutory and law enforcement agencies and community-based response organizations.

Nearly two-thirds of all known perpetrators of hate crimes are teenagers or young adults. A victim/offender restitution program or offender counseling program can be an effective sanction for juveniles.

- An educational counseling program for young perpetrators of hate crime helps dispel stereotypes, prejudice, fears, and other motivators of hate crime. Counseling may include sessions with members of minority groups and visits to local correctional facilities. In addition, "restorative justice," the concept of healing both the victim and the offender while regaining the trust of the community, may be an appropriate sanction. The offenders are made accountable and must repair both the physical and emotional damage caused by their actions.

To ensure a comprehensive response to hate crimes, the needs of the victims must be served.

- For more information on how to meet the diverse needs of both the immediate and secondary victims of hate crimes, contact the Office for Victims of Crime (OVC), U.S. Department of Justice. OVC also provides funding for State offices to provide victim assistance and victim compensation services. Telephone OVC at 202/305-4548, or visit their home page at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/ovc/>.

CRS Services that Defuse Hate Crime Activity

When hate crimes threaten the stability of racial and ethnic relations or escalate community-wide tensions, CRS offers five types of services. To determine the best service(s), CRS conciliators meet with elected officials and community leaders, analyzing a variety of indicators, including causes, potential for violence or continued violence, extent of dialogue between the various racial and ethnic groups, and their interest in helping to restore harmony and stability. With this information, CRS proposes role(s) and potential service(s) and establishes goals and objectives by working with local government and community leaders. The five services are:

- **Mediation and Conciliation.** Mediation and conciliation are two techniques used by CRS to help resolve community-wide tensions and conflicts arising from hate crimes. Rarely will hate criminals mediate or conciliate with their victims. Rather, CRS conciliators provide representatives of community groups and local government leaders with an impartial forum to attempt to restore stability and harmony through orderly dialogue and clarification of the issues that divide the community. CRS establishes with the parties the groundrules of the forum and guides the discussion.

- **Technical Assistance.** CRS can assist local officials and community leaders with developing and implementing policies, practices, and procedures to respond to hate crimes and garner the support of residents and public and private orga-

nizations to ease tensions and help end conflicts. CRS can also help local law enforcement agencies create hate crime units to prevent, investigate, and prosecute hate crimes. Creation of such units sends the message to everyone that these crimes will not be tolerated.

- **Training.** CRS can conduct training sessions and workshops to teach patrol officers how to recognize a hate crime scene, gain support of the community early in the investigation, and begin the search for victims and witnesses to the crime. CRS can teach community leaders and volunteers how to reduce the likelihood of further hate crimes, as well as how to assist in the investigation by law enforcement agencies. Volunteers can serve in such valuable roles as rumor control, initiating community watch patrols, and raising public consciousness about types of hate crimes and those who perpetrate the offenses. Some examples of CRS training are:

In Massachusetts, CRS conducted workshops at the Hate Crime Prevention Training conference attended by teams comprising law enforcement and school officials from across New England. CRS focused on cross-cultural tensions and school mediation classes to prevent conflict.

In New Jersey, CRS sponsored a two-day training conference for more than 60 representatives from law enforcement agencies across Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Workshops included creating and staffing hate crime units, identifying hate crimes, mobilizing government and community organizations, and collecting, analyzing, and disseminating hate crime information.

In seven Florida cities identified as at-risk based on racial and ethnic tensions, CRS and the Florida Department of Law Enforcement conducted training workshops on preventing and planning for civil disturbances.

- **Public Education and Awareness.** CRS can also conduct hate crime prevention and education programs in schools, colleges, and the community. These programs break down barriers, build bridges of trust across racial and ethnic lines, develop mutual respect, and reduce fear. Such programs build on shared values and interests.

In 1996, CRS services were requested by more than 150 school districts and 100 colleges. CRS helped to quell racial conflicts and violence, reduce tensions, develop plans to avoid potential incidents, and conduct training programs for students, teachers, administrators, and parents. CRS offers six school-based programs. The most requested is *Student*

Problem Identification and Resolution (SPIR), a conflict resolution program designed to identify and defuse racial tensions involving students at the junior and senior levels. *SPIR* assists school administrators in addressing racial and ethnic tensions through a carefully structured process that involves students, teachers, administrators, and parents. A further development of this program, called *SPIRIT*, involves local law enforcement agencies as key partners in the design of an action plan. CRS now trains officers to conduct the *SPIRIT* program as a part of a process to strengthen cooperation among law enforcement and school officials. CRS also offers the following training sessions: *Conflict Dialogues*, *Conflict Mediation*, *Student Problem Solving Skill Building*, *Teacher Conflict Management Training*, and *Administration Conflict Prevention and Management*.

- **Event Planning.** CRS, at the request of either local officials or demonstration organizers, can assist in contingency planning to ensure that marches, demonstrations, and similar events occur without exacerbating racial and ethnic tensions and minimizing the prospect of any confrontations. CRS assistance is often requested by local officials when the KKK and counter-demonstrations are scheduled or when marches and demonstrations are to be held on municipal property.

For example, CRS has helped the following municipalities handle KKK rallies and counter-demonstrations: **Fort Payne, Alabama; Simi Valley, California; Denver, Pueblo and Colorado Springs, Colorado; Newark, Delaware; Fort Walton Beach, Miami, Miami Beach and Tallahassee, Florida; Forsyth County, Georgia; Rolling Meadows, Springfield, Wheaton, and McHenry County, Illinois; Fort Wayne and Indianapolis, Indiana; Salina and Topeka, Kansas; Annapolis and Thurmont, Maryland; Charlotte and Hillsdale, Michigan; Clarksdale, Mississippi; Kennett and Hillsboro, Missouri; Columbus, Ohio; Holidaysburg and New Hope, Pennsylvania; and Cheyenne, Wyoming.**

Customer Service Standards Community Relations Service

Our goal is to provide sensitive and effective conflict prevention and resolution services. CRS will meet the following Standards:

- We will clearly explain the process that CRS uses to address racial and ethnic conflicts and our role in that process.
- We will provide opportunities for all parties involved to contribute to and work toward a solution to the racial or ethnic conflict.
- If you are a participant in a CRS training session or conference, you will receive timely and useful information and materials that will assist you in preventing or minimizing racial and ethnic tensions. If you would like more information, we will work with you to identify additional materials and resources to meet your needs within three weeks of learning your need.
- We will be prepared to provide on-site services in major racial or ethnic crisis situations within 24 hours from the time when your community notifies CRS or CRS becomes aware of the crisis.
- In non-crisis situations we will contact you to discuss our services within three days of when your community notifies CRS or when CRS becomes aware of the situation.

Publications and Resources

American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, *Anti-Arab Racism in the United States-1995* (\$4). 4201 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20008. 202/244-2990.

American Jewish Committee, *Skinheads: Who They Are And What to Do When They Come to Town and Bigotry on Campus: A Planned Response*. 165 East 56 St., NY, NY, 10022. 212/751-4000.

Anti-Defamation League, *1997 Hate Crimes Laws*. 823 United Nations Plaza, NY, NY 10017. 212/490-2525.

Bureau of Justice Assistance, U.S. Department of Justice. *A Policymaker's Guide to Hate Crimes and Stopping Hate Crime: A Case History from the Sacramento Police Department*. 800/688-4252.

Center for Democratic Renewal. *When Hate Groups Come to Town*, (\$18.95). P.O. Box 50469, Atlanta, GA 30302. 404/221-0025.

FBI, Criminal Justice Information Division. *Hate Crime Data Collection Guidelines and Training Guide for Hate Crime Data Collection*. 304/625-4995.

Federal Law Enforcement Training Center, *Hate/Bias Crimes Train-the-Trainer Program*. National Center for State, Local and International Law Enforcement Training. 912/267-3240.

Japanese American Citizens League. *Walk with Pride: Taking Steps to Address Anti-Asian Violence*. 1765 Sutter St., San Francisco, CA 94115. 415/921-5225.

Klanwatch, *The Intelligence Report*. Southern Poverty Law Center, 400 Washington Ave., Montgomery, AL 36104. 334/264-0286.

Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations. *Hate Crime in Los Angeles County in 1996*. 320 West Temple St., Los Angeles, CA 90012. 213/974-7601.

National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, *Audit of Violence Against Asian Pacific Americans*. 1001 Connecticut Ave., Suite 522, NW, Washington, DC 20036. 202/296-2300.

National Conference (formerly the National Conference of Christians and Jews) provides training and technical assistance to end racism and religious bigotry. 71 Fifth Ave., NY, NY 10003. 212/807-8440.

National Council on Crime and Delinquency, *Hate Crime Prevention Resource Guide*. 685 Market St., Suite 620, San Francisco, CA 94105. 415/896-6223.

Office for Victims of Crime, U.S. Department of Justice., *National Bias Crimes Training: For Law Enforcement and Victim Assistance Professionals*. 202/305-4548.

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice. *A National Hate Crime Prevention Curriculum for Middle Schools*. 800/638-8736.

People for the American Way. *Democracy's Next Generation II: A Study of American Youth on Race*. 2000 M St. NW, Washington, DC 20036. 202/467-4999.

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(713) 718-4862 (fax)

Region VII - Central

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