

objectives

AFTER COMPLETING THIS LESSON, YOU WILL BE ABLE TO:

- List the different channels of anti-hate crime sentiment that have developed in this country over the last couple of decades and how the problem has been portrayed;
- List and discuss different types of extra-legal responses to hate crime;
- Talk about responses implemented by the gay and lesbian community to deal with bias-motivated violence;
- Describe and discuss the convergence of other social movements and the emergence of an anti-hate crime movement; and
- Identify key organizations in the modern anti-hate crime movement.



*Please do the following
required reading for Lesson
Eight:*

- The Emergence and Implications of American Hate Crime Jurisprudence, Chapter 27 of *Hate and Bias Crime: A Reader* (BP)

How can we think about "calls for reform" around hate crime? Over the last three decades, hate crimes in particular and hate-motivated violence more generally have become the subject of highly politicized public debates - including mandates that "something must be done" amid proposals for both legal and extra-legal reform. Increased public discussion of hate crimes has taken many forms.



For the short version, [see here](#).

Critical Thinking

Search the web for a recent news editorial (last six months) and an older news editorial (more than ten years ago) regarding hate crime. How does sentiment seem to differ (if at all)?

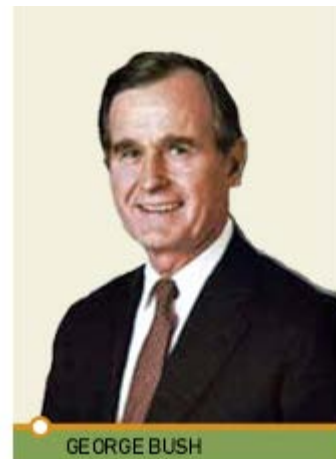


Editorials in many of the nation's most prestigious papers have addressed the problem of hate crime control:

- "D.A. seeks to expand hate crime unit" - *The Christian Science Monitor* (August 13, 1999)
- "Push for stiffer laws to curb hate crimes" - *Boston Herald* (December 5, 1999)
- "Hate-crimes legislation must head Washington's agenda" - *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution* (April 26, 2000)
- "Clinton urges more action on hate crimes" - *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* (May 7, 2000)
- "Action urged on hate crimes law" - *Los Angeles Times* (February 13, 1998)
- "Crime Motivated by Hate is Different" - *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* (October 27, 2004)
- "Inaction Wears Thin on Hate Crimes" - *Salt Lake City Desert Morning News* (November 18, 2005)
- "Strengthen Hate Laws" - *Austin Daily Texan* (June 13, 2006)
- "Caving In on Hate Crimes" - *New York Times* (December 10, 2007)
- "State More Diverse, Less Safe" - *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (August 26, 2008)
- "Protect More People from Bias Crime" - *Detroit Free Press* (August 26, 2008)
- "[Matthew Shepard Act](#)" - *New York Times* (May 5, 2009)

Official hearings before both houses of Congress have addressed issues of "how best to control bias-motivated violence." In 1990, President George H.W. Bush addressed the topic of hate in his [State of the Union Address](#). President George W. Bush has demonstrated a reluctance to recognize a special status for hate motivated violence. In 1999, the then presidential candidate remarked, "I've always said all crime is hate crime. People, when they commit a crime, have hate in their heart. And it's hard to distinguish between one degree of hate and another." During his campaign, the second President Bush stated that he opposed hate crime laws in general because they create "special categories of victims." For an analysis of Congressional hearings on hate crime, see [Valerie Jenness's work](#) on the topic.

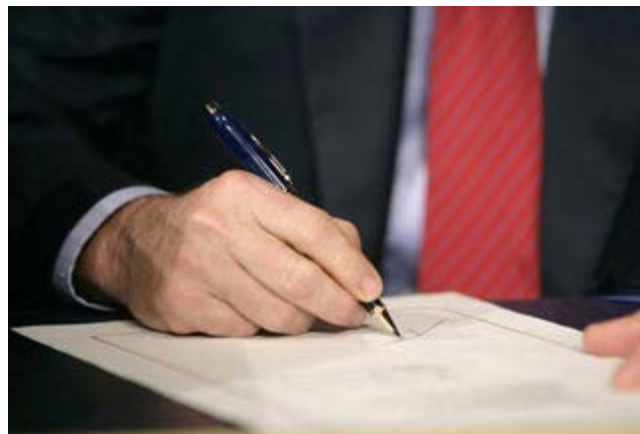
Proclamations from politicians on both the right and the left have called for the social control of hate crime. For example, in his [1990 State of the Union Address](#), President Bush (1990) acknowledged and addressed the problem when he said, "Everyone of us must confront and condemn racism. Anti-Semitism. Bigotry and hate. Not next week, not tomorrow, but right now."



This declaration was later underscored by John Conyers, Jr., member of the U.S. House of Representatives, who argued, "Whether based on sexual orientation, race, religion, or ethnicity, bigotry and the violence it inspires poses a grave threat to the peace and harmony of our communities. The need to alert Americans to this threat is great" (Conyers 1992:xv).



Representative Conyers was one of the lead sponsors of the Local Law Enforcement Hate Crimes Prevention Act (2005), a bill which, among other things, expanded the federal definition of hate crime to include violence based on actual or perceived religion, national origin, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, or disability. The bill, an amendment to the Children's Safety Act of 2005, passed by bipartisan vote of both houses of Congress and became law when it was signed later that year by President George. W. Bush.



Critical Thinking

Conduct a web search of how politicians view hate crimes. For example, you might search the sites of MSNBC, the *Los Angeles Times*, and other media outlets. Do you find many politicians who refute hate crime legislation? [See, for example, this article.](#) What are some possible explanations for your findings?



An increasing number of publications attest to the urgency and scope of the problem of hate-motivated violence in the United States. Journalists, activists, politicians, educators, law enforcement officials, and social scientists have written volumes on the causes, manifestations, consequences, and control of hate crimes.

- [Southern Poverty Law Center's Intelligence Report](#)
- [California Attorney General's Civil Rights Commission on Hate Crimes](#)
- [FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Hate Crime Statistics](#)



Combined, these vocalizations and publications have ensured that select types of conduct - bias-motivated violence - have become identifiable as a social problem in need of remedy. But the question remains: What has been done about hate crime in terms of social control?

We will answer this question by looking at two general types of social control: (1) extra-legal social control, and (2) legal responses to hate crime. Let's first consider some forms of social control that fall outside the legal realm.

By the end of the 20th century, a number of U.S. minority communities - including communities of color, women's communities, immigrant communities, the disabilities community, non-Christian communities, and gay and lesbian communities - had formed organizations and coalitions to address bias-motivated violence. In order to understand how community action has unfolded, let's take a look at what one particularly mobilized community, the gay and lesbian community, has done to respond to bias-motivated violence against gays and lesbians.



Critical Thinking

Before proceeding to the next screen, describe three specific types of extra-legal community responses you think might curb violence against gays and lesbians.



Although their tactics and strategies differ, the basic goal of gay and lesbian anti-violence projects across the United States is the same: to respond to and ultimately stop violence against gays and lesbians. Descriptively speaking, the efforts undertaken by these organizations primarily center on four types of strategies:

1. Documenting anti-gay and lesbian violence;
2. Establishing crisis intervention and victim assistance programs;
3. Sponsoring public education campaigns; and
4. Undertaking surveillance efforts in the form of street patrols.

Critical Thinking

How did the strategies that you came up with compare to the four popular types currently being employed. Did you come up with strategies not listed? If not, try to do so now.



Since the 1970s, gay and lesbian activism has "discovered" violence against gays and lesbians. Documenting anti-gay and lesbian violence is the most prevalent form of political action currently being undertaken by gay and lesbian communities in response to anti-gay and lesbian violence. The majority of gay and lesbian anti-violence projects have established a documentation program to record incidents of anti-gay and lesbian violence in their community. Moreover, many of these organizations define documentation as their primary purpose.



As one of the largest gay and lesbian anti-violence projects in the country, [San Francisco's Community United Against Violence \(CUAV\)](#) declared that "the first mission of CUAV is to collect, analyze, interpret, track and distribute statistics relevant to hate crime activity."

Gay and lesbian anti-violence projects independently document violence or describe themselves as "agents" of the [National Gay and Lesbian Task Force's \(NGLTF\)](#) effort to document anti-gay and lesbian violence throughout the United States. For most of these organizations, documentation of anti-gay and lesbian violence is accomplished via a volunteer staffed "homophobia hot line" or "anti-violence/anti-hate hotline."

Documentation efforts vary in terms of the type of violence recorded, and by extension the types of violence recognized. Most organizations follow the guidelines established by federal and state legislation. They document only those forms of hate-motivated violence that have been criminalized via the adoption of legislation (that is, a hate crime) or are recognized by the Federal Hate Crimes Statistics Act.



Critical Thinking

Documentation efforts have long been a way of assessing the existence of a problem and tracking changes to determine the progress of the problem and efforts to remedy it. Documentation provides the "evidence" needed to gain supporters and champion a cause.

As a student interested in crime, can you think of other popular types of documentation efforts? How have these been used to garner support and resources?



In *Violence, Discrimination, Threats and Harassment Against Gay Men, Lesbians, and AIDS-Affected People in North Carolina* (1990), the North Carolina Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality (NCCGLE) only documents anti-gay and lesbian violence that is in accordance with the guidelines put forth by the Federal Hate Crimes Statistics Act.



Similarly, Detroit's [Triangle Foundation](#) stated that "our statistics will be reported to the U.S. Department of Justice according to the Hate Crimes Statistics Act."



A few organizations have adopted a more expansive approach to documentation by recording "hate incidents" in addition to "hate crimes." Hate incidents include forms of violence against gays and lesbians that may not be recognized by law enforcement authorities, including that which is perpetrated by gays and lesbians.

For example, Cleveland's Mary Ann Finnegan Project has documented "anti-gay/lesbian victimization." This includes not only the types of violence recognized in hate crimes legislation, but also incidents of same-sex incest, child abuse/neglect, unwarranted HIV testing, and domestic abuse/violence.

Regardless of whether organizations adhere to restrictive or expansive definitions of hate-motivated violence, efforts to document anti-gay and lesbian violence are generally undertaken in order to challenge official reports produced by law enforcement agencies and legislative bodies. This challenge, in turn, serves to highlight the under-reporting of both official crime and undetected hate-motivated violence against gays and lesbians.

Ft. Lauderdale's Gays United to Attack Repression and Discrimination (GUARD) reported in its 1991 anti-violence report: "Statistics show that only about 2% of all hate crimes are reported. In other words, 98% of all hate crimes are not reported, so that the true number of such crimes probably are at least 50 times greater than those reported here. Of the reports received by GUARD, over 50% were not reported to the police."

Similarly, Cleveland's Stonewall Union Anti-Violence Project reported that "across the United States, Gay/Lesbian Anti-Violence Projects consistently document a 1 to 10 ratio between violence reports known to local police and those reported to Gay/Lesbian community advocates."

These reports point to an epidemic of victimization, most of which goes unrecognized. Moreover, they encourage gay and lesbian victims of violence to "go public" as a necessary first step toward uncovering, documenting, and publicizing the prevalence and incidence rate of "crime" and violence being perpetrated against gays and lesbians. This, in turn, is a precursor to the establishment of services for survivors of anti-gay and lesbian violence.

Critical Thinking

In previous lessons, several reasons were posited for the under-reporting of hate crime victimization. List three reasons that explain why victims fail to report. Consider the long-term ramifications of their silence.



In the process of rendering visible acts of criminal as well as non-criminal bias-motivated violence against gays and lesbians, contemporary gay and lesbian activism has identified the need for crisis intervention and victim assistance programs for survivors of violence.

For example, the [Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual & Transgender Community Center of Colorado](#) reported that in the beginning it "strictly gathered reports of hate crimes to be compiled for statistical data. Only minimal victim assistance services could be provided and there was nothing in place to meet the needs of people facing discrimination or living in abusive or violent relationships." Many gay and lesbian anti-violence projects combine documentation and victim assistance efforts by using "hotlines" as both a vehicle for reporting violence/victimization and providing victim assistance.

More often than not, victim assistance programs developed as a result of the "findings" emanating from hotlines. A growing number of reports of domestic violence experienced by gays and lesbians was the impetus for some organizations to undertake victim assistance and intervention programs.

**The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual & Transgender
Community Center of Colorado**

Critical Thinking

We have seen at least two organizations that deal with same-sex domestic abuse and violence. Discuss how these problems are compounded and what the implications for reporting might be.



In a 1987 newsletter, San Francisco's [Community United Against Violence \(CUAV\)](#) explained how the "discovery" of domestic violence mandated organizational expansion, which included service provision:

"During 1986, 46 gay male victims of domestic violence came to CUAV for assistance despite the fact that the organization has never promoted services related to domestic violence. . . . [Our] proposal requests funding for an 8 month program to provide services to victims of gay male domestic violence (battering victims). As of February 1987, this program will become part of Community United Against Violence. CUAV's response to gay male domestic violence will be a broadening of our existing service components to include this victim population."

Spokespeople for gay and lesbian communities increasingly regard domestic violence amongst gays and lesbians as "one of the most serious problems facing the gay community today" (Farley, cited in Island and Letellier 1991:n.p.). Accordingly, service provisions designed to respond to this problem are being undertaken and institutionalized by representatives of gay and lesbian communities across the United States.

Most victim assistance programs encourage survivors of anti-gay and lesbian violence to report the incident and, if possible, to pursue legal action. Antiviolence projects have adopted such slogans as: "If you are a victim of violence - REPORT IT!" (New York City's Anti-Violence Project), "Gay Bashing Can't Be Stopped Unless You Report It" (GUARD), and "Blow the Whistle on Hate Violence" (Gay and Lesbian Community Action Council of Minneapolis; Community United Against Violence).



In addition to encouraging reporting, victim assistance programs encourage survivors to pursue formal legal action by filing reports and preparing for prosecution. They distribute posters and pamphlets that offer advice to victims of anti-gay and lesbian violence on how to proceed with legal action, including how to report the details of the crime and the perpetrator, how to pursue victim compensation, and what to do if legal officials and agencies are not cooperative.

Baltimore's Justice Campaign, Cleveland's Mary Ann Finnegan Project, New York City's Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project, and Michigan's Triangle Foundation distribute wallet-sized cards that give specific instructions on how to file police reports and start the legal process after an incident of victimization has occurred. Stop the Hate offers steps for how communities should deal with crime.



Imagine you are the victim of a bias-motivated attack. For a variety of reasons, you do not contact the police. Given that you are aware of alternative ways to report and other resources that may be available you decide to investigate these first.

Go on the web and simulate documenting your victimization. Find out what types of support and resources may be available to you.

Describe this process. Did you find this service helpful? Why or why not?

To participate in the discussion, select OUTLINE from the TOOLS menu. Once you are back at the OUTLINE, select the appropriate FORUM from this lecture.



Many organizations not only encourage survivors of anti-gay and lesbian violence to pursue formal legal recourse, but provide support services for such action as well.

For example, the Connecticut Lesbian and Gay Anti-Violence Project "tries to support victims by helping them find attorneys, filing complaints, and writing letters on their behalf to the police, employers, and other appropriate organizations." A volunteer for Chicago's Horizons Community Services' Anti-Violence Project explains the importance of legal advocacy: "As the court advocate, I accompanied survivors to court 88 times, an average of 7 times per month. Twenty-seven (27) cases were prosecuted and there were 11 convictions. This gives a 41% conviction rate, which is nearly double the 1990 conviction rate of 21%. With an advocate people are more likely to be willing to take a case to court and they are more likely to follow through with the process of prosecution which can take months or even years."

Gay and lesbian sponsored anti-violence projects emphasize that it is the victim's decision whether or not to pursue legal action; this is evidenced by qualifying statements such as "if you choose to call the police" and "even if you do not call the police" appearing in the flyers, pamphlets, and posters distributed by gay and lesbian anti-violence projects.

Some of the anti-violence project organizations aim their educational efforts toward the general public, those presumably not in the "at risk" population.

For example, the Connecticut Lesbian & Gay Anti-Violence Project maintains a commitment to "educating the non-gay community about the realities of our lives." Without fail, educational efforts aimed at the general public involve highlighting the scope of anti-gay and lesbian violence in both local communities and throughout the country. The primary way this is accomplished is by publicizing statistics that reveal an epidemic of violence.

Gay and lesbian sponsored educational efforts aimed at the "at risk" community (that is, gays and lesbians) usually take the form of "awareness training" and "safety training" designed to prevent victimization. The content of these programs focus on acknowledging a "high risk" environment, which has been well-documented and publicized, and preparing to enact individual self-defense tactics. Specifically, they revolve around identifying the nature of the "risk environment" and encouraging those (most) "at risk" to undertake preventative measures to secure their safety.

In one example, gay and lesbian community representatives are encouraging gays and lesbians to rely upon whistles for self-defense. At least seven organizations stress the importance of carrying a whistle in anticipation of anti-gay and lesbian violence. As a pamphlet from Horizons Community Services' Anti-Violence Project explained: "A whistle can stop a crime. Attackers expect passive victims. Blowing a whistle to call for help or to show that help is on the way can throw an attacker off balance and give the victim time to escape."



Gay and lesbian [anti-violence projects](#) also provide tips for self-protection to the gay and lesbian community that focus on how to situate and present yourself in public. They advise gays and lesbians to:

- "Stay Alert: Awareness Is Your Best Self-Defense! Trust Your Feelings: If You Think Something is Wrong, You're Right! Project Confidence: Don't Look Like an Easy Target" (San Francisco's CUAV);
- "Trust Intuition. Risk embarrassment, being wrong, or possibly over-reacting" (IRATE - Irate Radical and Terrorism Through Empowerment); and
- "Be aware of your surroundings and trust your feelings. Be aware of who is in front of you and who is behind you. It's OK to turn around and look!" (Gay and Lesbian Community Action Council of Minneapolis).

Horizons Community Services' Anti-Violence Project in Chicago further advises: "Your first line of defense on the street is projection: am I projecting strength and security with my body language or weakness and insecurity? Carry yourself with your head up, shoulders back, eyes alert and aware and walk briskly with a sense of purpose."

The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force's (NGLTF) Anti-Violence Project endorses these techniques as appropriate and effective responses to domestic violence. Their self-defense bulletin encourages gays and lesbians to: "Learn some basic self-defense techniques. Many gay people grow up believing they're unable to defend themselves; they underestimate their real power. Simple self-defense techniques are designed to help you injure your partner, allowing you to escape."



Before you begin this topic, think about other types of surveillance and vigilance group you are aware of. For example, the Guardian Angels was a popular vigilance group developed in 1979. Their mission was not to intervene, but to provide a presence that would deter would-be perpetrators from intimidating others. What do you think about vigilantism? Visit the [Guardian Angel website](#) to learn more about this type of extra-legal intervention.



Gay and lesbian anti-violence campaigns have also focused on increasing vigilance and enhancing surveillance as a mechanism for reclaiming public space. This has occurred through the development of street patrols.

Although few in number, street patrols constitute an increasingly frequent gay and lesbian sponsored community response to anti-gay and lesbian violence (Galst, 1991). They are first and foremost designed to enhance surveillance as a way of minimizing the level of threat to gays and lesbians in local communities.

Unlike [ACT-UP](#) and Queer Nation, which have a well-established history of confrontational and militant direct action efforts, street patrols are not established to "greet violence with violence." Rather, they are established to prevent violence from occurring by enhancing surveillance, increasing public visibility, and reclaiming public space.



For example, volunteers for [CUAV's](#) Safety Monitoring Program operate as liaisons with police to ensure that public events with large numbers of gays and lesbians in attendance (such as AIDS vigils, parades celebrating "Coming Out Day," and ACT-UP demonstrations) ensue with minimal anti-gay and lesbian violence occurring in response to the event.

As the *San Francisco Chronicle* (1993:18) reported: "You may have seen the team of Safety Monitors in bright red t-shirts, radios hooked onto their belts, mingling with the crowd and helping out when trouble arises. These people are CUAV volunteers who are trained to look out for any possibility of trouble. Specially trained, they learn violence prevention and de-escalation techniques to help give them skill to be 'out' and confident in the thick of crowds. Many of CUAV's Safety Monitors have successfully intervened in numerous situations that, without their help, may have become dangerous - possibly even lethal. . . . CUAV's mission is to prevent violence and make our communities safe."

The reclamation of public space also has been undertaken through the establishment of street patrols following the tradition of the Guardian Angels in particular and neighborhood watch programs more generally (Galst 1991). As Seattle's *Gay Community News* reported (1992:10-11), "The message is simple: queer folks are banding together and walking the streets in cities around the United States to protect their own."

In an effort to prevent violence in their communities, newly formed street patrols, such as New York's [Pink Panther Patrol](#), Massachusetts's Pynk Panthers, Seattle's Q-Patrol, Houston's Q-Patrol, and San Francisco's Community United Against Violence's (CUAV) Street Patrol, have emerged as a visual deterrent strategy. The San Francisco Street Patrol explained that groups "patrol neighborhoods to deter violent attacks and stop bashings before they occur." Similarly, Seattle's Q-Patrol began to patrol the streets in February of 1991. According to their training manual, they do "not escalate violence, act as a vigilante squad, or carry weapons." Rather, they "intervene in bashings as they occur, make citizens arrests, and discourage violence before it occurs."

Gay and lesbian anti-violence projects have sponsored educational campaigns and surveillance efforts that take as a starting point, and repetitively highlight, that the environment in which gays and lesbians live their lives is replete with indiscriminate, unpredictable, and arbitrary violence. These projects have emerged to sustain efforts aimed at protecting people from violence, while simultaneously attempting to change the conditions that lead to such violence. They have approached these goals by documenting the incidents and prevalence of anti-gay and lesbian violence, establishing crisis intervention and victim assistance programs, sponsoring public education campaigns, and undertaking enhanced surveillance efforts in order to reclaim public space.

Moving beyond the example of anti-LGBT crime, search the web for evidence of other forms of extra-legal responses to hate crime (such as those being undertaken by educational institutions, religious institutions, and so on). Discuss with your cohort the type of things you found.

To participate in the discussion, select OUTLINE from the TOOLS menu. Once you are back at the OUTLINE, select the appropriate FORUM from this lecture.



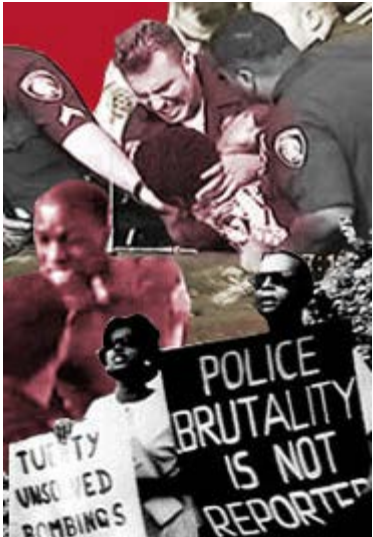
How can we think about social movements as an extra-legal form of social control of hate crime?

In the later part of the 20th century, multiple social movements and attendant organizations converged to address the problem of bias-motivated violence against minorities, most notably the African-American civil rights movement, the women's movement, the gay and lesbian movement, the disabilities rights movement, and the crime victim movement.

These movements united to comprise the modern anti-hate crime movement, which is committed to publicizing the contours of hate crime and developing a social response to such violence. Although the modern civil rights movement, the women's movement, the gay and lesbian movement, and the disabilities movement differ in extremely important ways, they historically have shared a common commitment to publicizing and combating violence directed at minorities because of their minority status.



Before the invention and institutionalization of the term hate crime, the modern civil rights movement politicized violence against racial minorities, for example, police brutality against blacks.

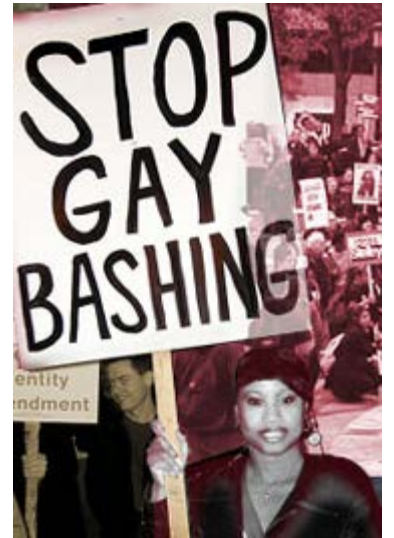


The women's movement politicized violence against women, such as rape and domestic violence.



The woman suffrage parade marches down Pennsylvania Avenue from the U.S. Capitol to the White House. (March 3, 1913)

The gay and lesbian movement politicized violence against homosexuals, especially "gay bashing." The [Chicago Anti-Bashing Network](#) has been very influential in addressing corporate discrimination and police brutality against gays, lesbians, and other minority groups.



The disabilities movement politicized violence against persons with disabilities - for example, so-called "mercy killings" of those deemed unfit to live meaningful lives. Among others, the Massachusetts District Attorney's Office has championed this cause.

See [this article](#) for a recent, high profile "mercy killing" case.

Search the web for similar types of campaigns or coalitions dealing with crimes against people with disabilities. Conduct a similar search for organizations that protect children from violence. Describe similarities and differences in your findings.

To participate in the discussion, select OUTLINE from the TOOLS menu. Once you are back at the OUTLINE, select the appropriate FORUM from this lecture.



As these civil rights movements have sought to expand legal, economic, educational, and social opportunities for select minority constituencies, they sponsored anti-violence projects to combat discriminatory violence directed at race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and (dis)abilities-based constituencies.

These anti-violence projects, developed before the emergence of a hate crime discourse in the United States, disseminated a commonly expressed theme: Violence is not merely a secondary result of the various systems of discrimination; rather, it is central to their maintenance and, as such, must be eradicated.

In contrast to these progressive movements, a considerably less progressive U.S. social movement - the crime victim movement - has also played a crucial role in responding to hate crime. Typically deemed a conservative movement (Weed 1995), the crime victim movement is comprised of a fairly diverse range of groups, including some of the civil rights groups discussed above, committed to putting forth a basic grievance: Victims of crime, especially violent crime, not only need but are entitled to special assistance, support, and rights as crime victims.

From the point of view of those involved in the crime victim movement, "the criminal justice system was not perceived as providing certainty of justice for the criminal or the victim" (Weed 1995:21).

Advocates for victims' rights argue that both legal and extra legal mechanisms are needed to recognize and serve those injured by crime, especially violent crime. One result of this advocacy has been the passage of a "crime victim bill of rights" in almost every state in the United States (Weed 1995).

The anti-hate crime movement emerged through a fusion of the strategies and goals of several identifiable precursor movements - most notably, the now well-institutionalized African-American civil rights movement, the women's movement, the gay and lesbian movement, the disabilities movement, and the crime victims' right movement. These laid the foundation for a new movement to question, and make publicly debatable, issues of "rights" and "harm" as they relate to a variety of constituencies. One of the major achievements of the anti-hate crime movement is that it unites disparate social movements, what some would refer to as "strange bedfellows" (Jenness and Grattet 2001).

As liberal, progressive movements, the civil rights, women's, disabilities, and gay and lesbian movements "called attention to the personal costs of minority groups' political victimization," the more conservative crime victim movement "called attention to the political context of personal victimization" (Maroney 1998:579), as this [list of victims' rights](#) illustrates.

To fully understand the U.S. anti-hate crime movement requires familiarity with some of the key organizations that comprise this movement. Beginning in the late 1960s and continuing into the present era, a plethora of organizations have come to comprise the anti-hate crime movement in the United States. Emerging at the national, regional, state, and local levels, these organizations play a key role in documenting instances of violence that target minority members of the community, identifying and publicizing harm associated with bias-motivated violence, submitting proposals for reform, calling on the law to intervene on behalf of select injured constituencies, and providing social services to victims of bias-motivated violence.

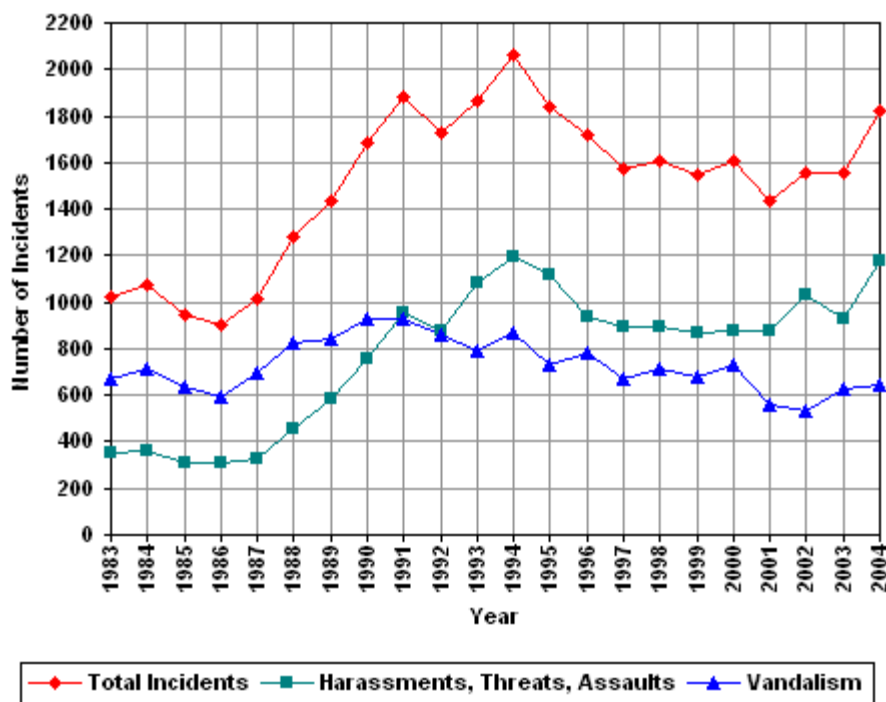
Let's consider just a few of the key organizations in the modern anti-hate crime movement.

The most established U.S. anti-violence organization, the [Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith \(ADL\)](#) was founded in 1913 to stop the defamation of the Jewish people. The ADL is concerned with many types of bias crimes, but its primary focus is anti-Semitic violence.

Since 1979, the ADL has tracked anti-Semitic violence and published an annual "Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents," as shown on this screen. Based on data reported to ADL regional offices around the nation, these reports describe various "acts of harassment, threat and assault against individuals, their property and their institutions" (Anti-Defamation League 1990: 1). Moreover, these reports consistently revealed a substantial increase in anti-Semitic vandalism and violence from year to year until 2004. Between 2004 and 2008, however, the ADL noted a steady decrease in the number of anti-Semitic incidents (Anti-Defamation League 2008: 1). The ADL also produces and disseminates other publications on bias-motivated violence in an effort to bring attention and redress to a reported anti-Semitic violence.

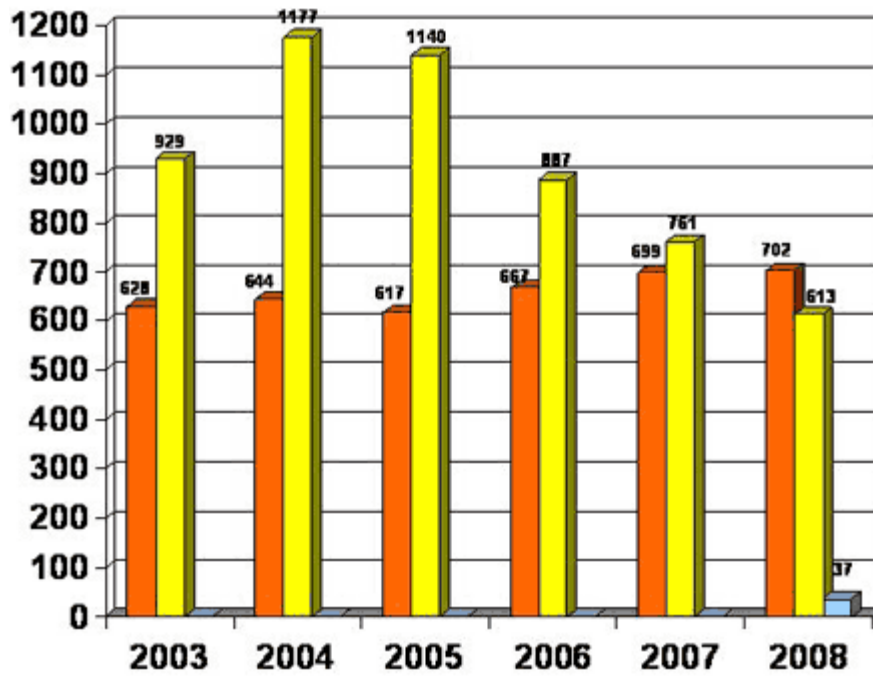
In response to the findings documented in these types of publications, the ADL's counteraction program has sought to increase media exposure, establish and sustain education programs, demand more effective law enforcement, and actively support new legislation designed to combat a reported rise in anti-Semitic and racist violence.

Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents, 1983-2004 (National)



ADL Audit Figures: 2003-2008

Number of Incidents



Critical Thinking

Take a look at the hate symbols collected and posted by the ADL. Count the number of symbols you recognize. Do you find any of these symbols nonoffensive? Go to the [ADL's website](#) to learn why it may be important to recognize these symbols.



In 1981, the ADL's Legal Affairs Department drafted a model hate crimes bill to be introduced in state legislatures. Like other lesser-known organizations, including many civil rights groups, the ADL's work has underscored the victim status of those harmed by violence because of their race and/or religion. In recent times the ADL has broadened its concerns to include more types of hate-motivated conduct. Most notably, after coming to the conclusion that gender-based crimes could not be easily distinguished from other forms of hate-motivated violence, the ADL added gender to its model hate crimes legislation in 1996.

[The Prejudice Institute](#) (formerly known as The National Institute Against Prejudice & Violence in Baltimore, Maryland) has broadly focused on what is now termed "ethnoviolence."

The Institute's Howard J. Ehrlich defines ethnoviolence as "an act in which the 'other' is an ethnic group, an ethnic member, or a person perceived to be an ethnic group representative or identified with an ethnic group. Ethnoviolence is a subset of group violence" (Ehrlich 1989: 71). Comprised of acts that are motivated by racial, religious, or ethnic prejudice, ethnoviolence includes physical assaults, verbal harassment, attacks on people's homes, and various forms of vandalism.

The Prejudice Institute acts as a clearinghouse of information on reported incidents of intergroup conflict. It also studies the effects of victimization, tracks the quantity and quality of news media activity, publishes reports and educational materials, and works with lawmakers advising on appropriate state and federal legislative remedies. In addition, the Institute provides training, education, and counseling within communities.

Since its founding in 1984, the Institute has published and made available to the public a series of documents, including "Striking Back at Bigotry: Remedies Under Federal and State Law for Violence Motivated by Racial, Religious, or Ethnic Prejudice" (National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence 1991). This document inventories the criminal and civil remedies available under federal and state law for violence motivated by racial, religious and ethnic hatred. It is intended primarily to inform victims of these crimes and their attorneys of the various avenues of legal recourse against offenders of bias crime. The goal is to enable attorneys and their clients to arrive at the most effective combination of legal remedies to fully vindicate the victims' rights.

As one of the Institute's membership letters declared: "Central to all of our work is our own motivation to help people break free of the norms of denial and the culture of silence that has characterized intergroup relations in the U.S. through its history." For this reason, the Prejudice Institute is recognizable as a central player in the anti-hate crime movement.

Founded in 1979, the Center for Democratic Renewal (CDR), formerly known as the National Anti-Klan Network, is an Atlanta-based anti-racist organization with offices in Kansas City and Seattle. According to their bi-monthly newsletter, *The Monitor* (1991:23), the CDR is "leading the fight against bigoted violence and hate group activity in America today. The CDR is a multi-racial, multi-ethnic, interfaith, non-profit organization dedicated to promoting constructive, non-violent responses to hate violence and the white supremacist movement."



Like the ADL and the NIAPV, the CDR acts as a national clearinghouse for efforts to counter hate group activity and bigoted violence through public education, community response, leadership training, and research. The CDR primarily has been concerned with monitoring and making public racist and far right violence, especially that which is associated with the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and related organizations.

The CDR has published periodicals that bring attention to the issue of discriminatory violence, including "They Don't All Wear Sheets: A Chronology of Racist and Far Right Violence," "Peddling Racist Violence for a New Generation: A Profile of Tom Metzger and the White Aryan Resistance," and "Ballot Box Bigotry: David Duke and the Populist Party."

In addition to tracking the organization and activities of the KKK and other organizations associated with the far right, the CDR collects data on bias-motivated violence and seeks legal and extra legal redress in light of their discoveries.

Although the CDR's original focus was on racist violence, over the years it has developed a much broader agenda. Like the ADL and the NIAVP, over the years the CDR has increasingly devoted attention to violence against women as well as gays and lesbians. One of their recent publications, "When Hate Groups Come to Town: A Handbook of Effective Community Responses," contains sections on "Anti-Gay Bias and Homophobic Violence" and "Violence Against Women and Hate Violence" (Center for Democratic Renewal 1992).

[The Southern Poverty Law Center \(SPLC\)](#) is a nonprofit foundation supported by private donations. Located in Montgomery, Alabama, the SPLC's [Intelligence Project](#) was formed in 1981. Originally called "Klanwatch," the program was created after SPLC investigators working on a civil suit related to racist violence discovered evidence of a nationwide resurgence in Klan activities. At its inception, the program was charged with monitoring activities of the Ku Klux Klan, but its scope rapidly broadened to include much more. Operating as a private intelligence agency, the project currently monitors hate crimes and tracks the activities of a variety of domestic hate groups across the U.S., including neo-Nazis, racist Skinheads, Christian Identity adherents, black separatists, extremist militias and others. Because a majority of the violent hate groups it monitors have no association with the Klan at all, the name of the program was officially changed in 1998 from Klanwatch to the Intelligence Project.

The Intelligence Project maintains one of the most complete lists of white supremacist movements and their leaders in the United States, compiles perpetration and victimization data based on police and news sources, and pursues legal redress by bringing lawsuits against such organizations as the Klan's Invisible Empire in Alabama, Texas, North Carolina, and Georgia and the White Aryan Resistance in Oregon. The Project also publishes the Center's award-winning [Intelligence Report](#) and, in addition, offers training to help law enforcement officials and human rights groups combat organized racism.

Although violence against traditional targets of the KKK remains the Project's primary focus, the organization acknowledges the importance of devoting attention to anti-gay and lesbian violence. Indeed, it uses the term "hate violence" to refer to "crimes committed by whites against minorities, Jews, and gays where there is evidence of bias motivation" (Klanwatch 1989: 28).

[Click here](#) to view the Project's interactive, state-by-state map of U.S. hate groups.

Exercise

Navigate through [the SPLC's](#) website to find a list of issues of the Intelligence Report. Open a few of these issues to get a feel for the tone of the publication.

The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) was founded in Washington, D.C., in 1973 to promote the interests of gays and lesbians in the United States. The NGLTF houses various projects, including the privacy/civil rights project, the lesbian and gay families project, the campus organizing project, and the anti-violence project (Vaid 1995). The NGLTF's Anti-Violence Project was established in 1982 to contribute to the overall goals of the NGLTF, including the specific civil rights and social change goals articulated by other divisions within the NGLTF.

In particular, the NGLTF's Anti-Violence Project devotes attention to promoting an appropriate official response to anti-gay violence, improving the treatment of lesbians and gay men by the criminal justice system, and assisting local communities in organizing against prejudice and violence. By using a combination of incident reports and survey research, these data are reported in such publications as "Anti-Gay Violence, Victimization and Defamation in 1987" (National Gay and Lesbian Task Force 1987) and "Anti-Gay/Lesbian Violence, Victimization & Defamation in 1990" (National Gay and Lesbian Task Force 1991).

Shortly after the publication of these reports, the NGLTF began to rely upon the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Projects, an umbrella organization comprised of many anti-violence projects, to produce and disseminate annual reports on violence directed at gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender people. These reports summarize known incidents of violence against lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender individuals.

In addition to sustaining data collection efforts that result in publications such as these, the NGLTF also continues to pursue legal and extralegal redress for violence directed at gays and lesbians. Indeed, by 1990, "within lesbian and gay communities across the United States there was an unprecedented level of organizing against violence" (The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force 1991:22). Literally hundreds of gay and lesbian resource and community centers and anti-violence projects have emerged to respond to the multitude of threats that violence poses to gays and lesbians.

The former Director of the NGLTF, Urvashi Vaid, acknowledged the successful work of these organizations when she proclaimed: "[T]he gay and lesbian anti-violence movement has made stunning advances in a very short period. From 1982 to today, the movement has won near universal condemnation of gay-bashing from governmental, religious, and civil bodies. We got gay bashing classified as a hate crime motivated by prejudice as hate, secured passage of bias-penalty bills, produced studies into the causes and solutions to homophobic violence, and secured funding for a range of service programs" (Vaid 1995:207-208).



As Weed (1995:57) describes, "The founding of the [National Organization of Victim Assistance \(NOVA\)](#) in 1975, and a decade later the National Victim Center (NVC), helped provide a larger focus to the efforts of thousands of grassroots crime victims' groups that address the specialized concerns of particular crime victims. To accomplish this, the National Center for Victims (NCV) serves as a national resource for over 8,000 organizations and many thousands of individuals each year" (National Victim Center 1993).

Critical Thinking

It is important to remember that our criminal justice system was set up to relieve the crime victim of the responsibility of vindicating the wrongs done to them (tit-for-tat feuding would be a good reason). Although the system was originally set up for the victim, over time, the victim has become invisible. The Victim's Rights movement came about to reintroduce the victim. Why do you think it might be important to retain the involvement of the victim?



As a nonprofit organization, the [NVC](#) engages in a number of activities designed to reduce the consequences of crime on victims. Most notably, the NVC: (1) compiles statistics and produces a national report, which is then made available to libraries, governmental agencies, and political organizations across the United States; (2) publishes the journal *Victimology*, which is also distributed to libraries, governmental agencies, and political organizations across the United States; (3) engages in legal advocacy at the state and national level in order to protect and restore the rights of crime victims; (4) raises funds to support programs and efforts across the country; and (5) sponsors educational efforts designed to make citizens, law enforcement officials, crime victims, and offenders aware of their rights as victims.

As a National Victim Center Annual Report (1993:1) summarized, "Our goal is to raise the consciousness of the entire nation with a powerful message: Victims are not to blame for the crimes committed against them. They deserve rights in the criminal justice system and services and programs to aid in their painful recovery." This message is embraced and promoted by all the organizations and social movements described in this chapter. It is also, of course, a central message of the anti-hate crime movement in the United States.

The organizations that comprise the anti-hate crime movement have, almost single-handedly, "discovered" and publicized the existence of hate-motivated violence in the United States. Although these movements differ in various important ways, they nonetheless share a commitment to uncovering, politicizing, and seeking redress for those victimized by bias-motivated violence. Moreover, the organizations comprising the U.S. anti-hate crime movement have brought newfound attention to hate-motivated violence as a form of discrimination by gathering, compiling, and publicizing statistical information.

Jacobs and Potter (1998) have detailed how advocacy groups that collect and report hate crime statistics use those statistics to further their claims, especially the claim that violence motivated by bigotry is growing at an alarming rate. Moreover, "by calling attention to the criminal victimization of their members, these advocates may hope to mobilize law enforcement resources on behalf of their members, and, more broadly, to make out a moral and political claim in furtherance of their groups' agenda and social and political goals" (Jacobs and Henry 1996:368).

The anti-hate crime movement's efforts to document the incidence and prevalence of hate-motivated violence in the United States are generally undertaken to establish the existence of such violence - to direct newfound attention to old conduct - and to challenge official reports produced by law enforcement agencies and legislative bodies. To mount this challenge, statistical portraits generated by the anti-hate crime movement are distributed to law enforcement agencies, government officials, members of minority communities, the general population, and lawmakers.

This information highlights both undetected and unreported hate-motivated violence and hateful expressions, results in a well-documented and publicized rise in violence motivated by bias, and provides a rationale for social and legal services to those victimized by bias-motivated violence.

Finally, these organizations operate to monitor and publicize the evolving contours and consequences of bias-violence connected to racism, nationalism, anti-Semitism, sexism, and heterosexism. At the same time, they promote the interests of select constituencies by demanding changes in public policy, including the law. Not surprisingly, this extra-legal work has been translated into newfound legal concerns, policies, practices, and outcomes.

summary

IN THIS LESSON YOU LEARNED:

In the latter part of the 20th century newfound efforts to respond to bias-motivated violence emerged to take many forms. From public protest to educational campaigns to the pursuit of legal change, these efforts have resulted in significant changes in how we think about "hate crime" as a modern social problem. In the modern moment, "hate crime" proper has become a taken-for-granted crime control issue, with an array of stakeholders attempting to control or curb hate crime by using both legal and extralegal means.

