Building Hate Crime Response Capacity in Community-Based Organizations
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It is important to note that from the inception of the United States in 1776 through the mid-1900s, almost 200 years, there was extremely limited, if any at all, legal protection against acts of verbal and/or physical violence motivated by the identity of the victim. Identity based verbal and physical violence was normalized, occurred with impunity, and in most cases was considered legal. Additionally, identity based exclusion from economic opportunity, housing, healthcare and education were legal practices that, although now illegal, still continue in the present day. The legal definitions of hate crime have been established in law by the tireless advocacy of victims, activists, allies and elected officials determined to make identity based hate illegal and punishable.

1964

**CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964**

Prohibits public discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

- Mainly prohibits employment discrimination
- Only covers six federally protected activities

1990

**THE HATE CRIME STATISTICS ACT (HCSA)**

Required data collection by FBI about crimes that manifest evidence of prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity

* 1994 - amended to add disability
* 2013 - expanded religion category by adding seven new religions and an anti-Arab bias motivation to the HCSA

2009

**MATTHEW SHEPARD AND JAMES BYRD, JR. HATE CRIMES PREVENTION ACT (HCPA)**

Transcended the prerequisites of the Civil Rights Act and previous legislation by no longer requiring victims to be engaged in one of six federally protected activities to constitute as a hate crime, and added protections to include gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, and disability.

- The first statute allowing federal criminal prosecution of hate crimes motivated by the victim’s actual or perceived sexual orientation or gender identity.
- Allows the federal government to provide assistance in the investigation and prosecution of hate crimes—or, in limited circumstances, to investigate and prosecute hate crime cases when a locality is unable or unwilling to prosecute.

2022

**EMMETT TILL ANTI-LYNCHING ACT OF 2022**

Classifies lynching as a federal hate crime, punishable by up to 30 years in prison. Anti-Lynching legislation was first introduced in 1916, 106 years prior to the passage of this law.
History of Hate Crime

Hate crime is defined nationally as a “criminal offense against a person or property motivated in whole or in part by an offender’s bias against a race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, ethnicity, gender, or gender identity” (Federal Bureau of Investigation). Hate crime legislation in the United States begins with the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964, which protects individuals’ rights to engage in six federally protected activities such as applying for a job, and prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex, or national origin (U.S. Dept. of Labor, n.d.). The Hate Crime Statistics Act (HCSA) was enacted 26 years later in 1990. HCSA established a standard definition of hate crime and recognized the need to gather data to determine prevalence and patterns in order to tackle the issue (Iwama, 2018). Under the HCSA, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was given the responsibility to gather data on hate crime, and in 1994 the act was amended to recognize that the negative impact of hate crime extends beyond the individual victim, and is therefore subject to harsher penalties (Iwama, 2018). In 2009, Congress passed the Matthew Shephard and James Byrd Jr. Hate Prevention Act (Cheng et al., 2013). This legislation came eleven years after the separate murders of James Byrd, Jr. and Matthew Shepard, who were both killed in 1998. These crimes shocked the nation because of their clear hateful motives in terms of race and sexual orientation respectively (Ainslie et al., 2003). This Act transcended the prerequisites of the Civil Rights Act and previous legislation by no longer requiring victims to be engaged in one of six federally protected activities to constitute a hate crime, and by adding protections to include gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, and disability (United States Department of Justice, 2009).

Most states, forty-five in total, have their own hate crime laws (Anti-Defamation League, n.d.), and in Texas specifically, there is a hate crime statute that was initially passed in 1993, in which a committed crime can be enhanced in punishment if prosecutors are able to prove motivation based on hate or discrimination beyond a reasonable doubt (Texas Department of Public Safety, n.d.). This enhancement increases the punishment for the misdemeanor or felony in question to the next highest category of offense (Texas Penal Code § 12.47(a)). In Texas in 2020, there were 309 hate crimes reported against people, 149 against property, and 9 against society, with the largest bias motivation being race/ethnicity/ancestry (U.S. Department of Justice, 2020).

Racism and Hate Crimes

Racism accounts for 58% of the motivation for hate crimes (religion is second at 21%) in the United States according to categorization by the FBI (Masucci & Langton, 2019). This number is potentially much higher as some hate crimes motivated by religious discrimination also have an element of racism; for example, Anti-Muslim hate crimes tend to target those who have the “Muslim look” and have little bearing on whether the victim practices the Islamic religion (Kaufman & Niner, 2019). The racial landscape of the United States has a large influence on hate crimes and since the 2016 presidential election, race-based violence and hate crimes have increased (Garibay et al., 2020). Research also demonstrates a connection between temporal clustering of hate crimes (King & Sutton, 2013), meaning a preceding event can act as a trigger to an uptick in racial hate crimes. For example, anti-Muslim hate crimes after 9/11 and anti-Black hate crimes after the filmed beating of Rodney King by police officers.

More recently, the COVID-19 pandemic has prompted a surge in anti-Asian hate crimes across the United States (Gover et al., 2020). Additionally, a study on the impact of unpunished hate crimes found that racial hate crimes are not only a symptom of a racist society, but also may encourage racial prejudices if not treated seriously (Sullivan et al., 2016). Racially dominant groups in America that hold social power have historically resented the presence of other less established groups. Hence, a recurrent process of othering occurs where those...

1 The Emmet Till Anti-Lynching Act was passed in February of 2022, after this study concluded.
in power fear those who look different, speak differently, etc. (Gover et al., 2020). As a result, those who have been historically oppressed experience racism and xenophobia in the form of exclusion and violence, or hate crimes, in order for those in power to maintain the social hierarchy (Gover et al., 2020). It is argued that research on individual racism can be helpful in discerning the behavior of perpetrators of hate crime (Toporek, 2013). In this way, examining racism can act as a catalyst in understanding the connection between violence and the pursuit of power, which may help to exemplify signs of violence and to develop prevention strategies (Toporek, 2013).

**Reporting and Hate Crimes**

The necessity of reporting hate crimes has long been described as an integral part of determining a more accurate and complete picture of hate crime in the United States. Currently, a limited amount of reported hate crime data and subsequent research exists (Cuevas et al., 2021). Bias crimes are an important public health concern for those who suffer from them and should be treated as serious offenses with more standardized reporting methods to assure accurate views of how prevalent they are (Cuevas et al., 2021).

Currently, FBI statistics only include hate crimes reported by state or local police, leaving out any hate crimes that victims did not report or that victims were too scared to report to police due to reasons such as their immigration status or general distrust (Cuevas et al., 2021). Civil society organizations and agencies have the ability to fill in some gaps in hate crime reporting by providing a place for clients to feel safe sharing what happened to them without facing perceived repercussions that may occur with police (Schweppe et al., 2018). Civil society hate crime reporting also identifies victim support as a natural next step to hate crime reporting. This civil society engagement has been shown to provide greater long-term success in victim recovery from trauma symptoms after suffering a hate crime (Schweppe et al., 2018).

Another factor that influences victims’ willingness to report hate crimes are the parameters of legal protection in their respective state (Valcore, 2018). Forty-six out of fifty states in the United States now have laws against hate crimes, and the construction of reporting systems is an aspect of compliance with these laws (Jin, 2021). While the majority of states have laws against hate crimes, only 30 include sexual orientation, and, according to the Anti-Defamation League, only 17 include gender identity as protected groups, thus potentially limiting reports of hate crimes committed towards these groups (Valcore, 2018).

Additionally, another influence on the accurate reporting of hate crimes is police officers’ ability to identify the hate crime when responding to it and reporting the crime correctly. Hate crimes pose more of a challenge for police to identify due to the unique set of issues that converge to make a crime classifiable as hate based (Nolan et al., 2015). Nolan and colleagues conducted a systematic review of official case narratives and statistics and found undercounting of hate crimes in official data was evident. The results of this study have implications regarding officer training that focuses on identifying a hate crime and responding in a way that validates the victim and makes them feel able to report every detail when speaking with police (Nolan et al., 2015).

Globally, countries such as the United Kingdom have written national action plans to increase hate crime reporting. Countries, such as Chile, also reported discrepancies in reporting (Vergani et al., 2020). Vergani and colleagues (2020) found that under-reporting of hate crimes in Chile could be due to biases in data. Overall, underreporting hate crimes is a common issue for most countries and further research should be done to refine accurate reporting measures.
Response to Hate Crime

While hate crimes now have a legal designation, there are various responses that go beyond law enforcement, policy, and perpetrator punishment. A fieldwork study conducted with over 2000 victims of hate crimes demonstrated that there have been huge failings in terms of response through meaningful engagement with diverse communities and delivering effective criminal justice interventions, which exacerbates the feelings of distress felt by victims (Chakraborti, 2018). It was found that practical toolkits and evidence-based training on hate crime prevention and victimization can be successful tools toward creating effective responses. Additionally, creating channels and partnerships among different audiences and creating campaigns which raise awareness and improve recording have been shown to be pivotal for organizations who are addressing hate crimes (Chakraborti, 2014).

Social media and online tools have emerged into the conversation around response to hate crime. A study was conducted on how a group of LGBTQ students created a virtual community used to process the mass shooting hate crime at Orlando’s Pulse night club in 2016. The study found that this virtual forum, where the students shared resources, coping strategies, and personal connections, supports the finding that online networks play a role in supporting individuals who feel psychological distress or traumatization based on a hate crime aimed at their identity group (Jackson, 2017). Another study looked specifically at college campuses and the use of a bias response team to respond to hate incidents (LePeau, 2016). This study found that creating connection and individual change can potentially be a catalyst towards larger change. While this study was focused on campuses, it provides foundational support that teams dedicated to responding to hate crimes have the potential to impact systemic processes that perpetuate systems of oppression from which hate crimes originate (LePeau, 2016).

There are also examples of communities coming together to respond to hate crimes after an event impacts them. A study that looked at the city of Jasper, Texas in response to the murder of James Byrd, determined that the role of local social institutions is integral in responses to community crisis (Wicke & Silver, 2009). The power of local organizations to mobilize, calm, and provide direction to communities can serve as a model for hate crime response (Wicke & Silver, 2009). In another town, Bloomington, Indiana, an anti-Semitic hate crime shocked residents and they responded by creating an ad hoc community group called Bloomington United (Isaac, 2000). This coalition brought together leaders from the Jewish, LGBTQ, and Black communities to speak out against hate crime in their community. The widespread community support that this movement garnered was not the only response needed to address hate crime, but a response that provided connection opportunities for community members (Isaac, 2000).

Another study looked at international organizations and how their responses can support increased action at the respective national level (Junuzovic, 2019). It was found that pressure from international and community organizations can be a large factor in influencing policy on hate crime and bringing awareness to the issue (Junuzovic, 2019). Further, it was found that while international organizations are effective in addressing hate crime, there is little publicly available data evaluating their work. By addressing this, best practices could be emulated across organizations, and capacity building programs could be built in more intentional ways (Junuzovic, 2019).

Law Enforcement Response to Hate Crime

It has been stated that “hate/bias crimes tear at the very fabric of American society—a society based on clear and certain truths intended for all citizens and communities and distinctly stated in the Declaration of Independence” (Bouman, 2003, p. 22). Hate crimes have the power to tear apart communities, and law enforcement must be adequately trained in order to have an effective response (Bouman, 2003). Even when hate crime trainings are provided for law enforcement, at times,
“a series of structural, organizational, operational, and individual barriers are undermining its delivery and effectiveness” (Hardy et al., 2020, p. 4). Law enforcement training must be effectively executed in order for hate crime reporting and prosecution to be successful.

Law enforcement responses throughout history have been dependent upon the laws surrounding hate crimes at the time. Research has shown that contemporary hate crime policing, and prosecution remain less vigorous in places where lynching was more prevalent prior to 1930 (King et al., 2009). Not only is policing dependent upon the laws, but also the social perceptions of hate in the communities where police officers work. Law enforcement officers are less likely to take a report of hate crime seriously in an area that does not have a specific stance against hate, racism, and bias crimes (Kings et al., 2009).

Research in countries outside of the United States have shown similar trends, that law enforcement responses tend to be uneven across communities, even when more standardized trainings are provided (Perry & Wortley, 2021). When cities take initiative to foster closer relationships between law enforcement and community agencies and liaisons, like the Seattle Safe Place Initiative, law enforcement response is improved, communities feel safer overall, and hate crimes are reduced because they are responded to appropriately (Ritter, 2020).

In general, research has shown that law enforcement response to hate crimes is dependent upon the societal views of hate crimes at the time, the prevalence of past racism in the community, and the training offered to police officers. Research was scarce for this topic, and more needs to be done to examine at the role training has in police response to hate crime and how their responses differ across communities.

**Collaboration as a Response to Hate Crime**

Universal underreporting of hate crimes influence and can hinder ideal response levels. It has been estimated that if reporting was to become more accurate, the resulting response would be better for victims and work towards lowering hate crime overall. (Dunlop et al., 2020). A group that can potentially provide collaboration with law enforcement is social workers. One study showed that “community social workers could form meaningful partnerships with technology experts and leverage this relationship into an expanded practice skill with tangible improvements to the communities they work with” (Dunlop et al., 2020 pg. 1). A case study in Canada found that the collaboration between social workers and law enforcement could be successfully used to fight hate crimes in different neighborhoods using technology to track specific locations of crimes as well to provide more safety services to individuals (Dunlop et al., 2020).

Another group that can provide collaboration in helping to lower rates of hate crimes are workers’ unions across the country. In Bloomington, Illinois, organized labor unions took a public stance against racism and intolerance which now serves as a model for unions building coalitions with other groups to address broad issues of racial intolerance (Matejka, 2000). Seattle, Washington took a similar stance in 2015 by planning what they called the “Safe Place Initiative,” which was written in a partnership between police and LGBT community liaisons over a period of eight months to increase victim confidence in reporting hate crimes, provide community education, enhance business and school collaboration with police, and demonstrate a significant law enforcement commitment (Ritter, 2020). Through both initiatives, first in Bloomington and then in Seattle, what proved successful to better help victims of hate crimes was collaboration between law enforcement and other community-based organizations, as well as all involved groups taking a public stance against racism and intolerance towards minoritized groups (Matejka, 2000; Ritter, 2020).
Civil society organizations and local agencies possess unique knowledge that can serve to benefit law enforcement in responding to hate crimes (Whine, 2019). Local agencies have a closer perspective on the needs of the neighborhoods they serve which is typically different than that offered by police. Through collaboration, these perspectives can be combined to offer better resources and reporting methods to victims. Overall, research points to more collaboration between police and local community organizations, no matter the level, to have a better understanding of the needs of each specific neighborhood and what would make community members more comfortable reporting to police. There are limitations to the research available, such as most being centered around the LGBT community, and only using a few cities in the United States as examples. Further research needs to be done to expand the knowledge available about collaboration between law enforcement, specific professions, and community-based organizations to fight hate crimes.

Hate Crime Impact on Communities

Historical records and research related to hate crimes articulate the concept that violence affects more than just the individual victim(s) of the crime. Crimes that target an identity group in which many identify, such as the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer (LGBTQ)+ community, create a ripple effect of psychological harm that extends beyond the victim (Jackson, 2017).

A study that evaluated a focus group of people who identify as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual (LGB), and the extent at which an anti-LGB crime spread beyond the victim to impact the community, provides empirical support for the longtime argument that hate crimes extend beyond the immediate victim into the reference community (Bell & Perry, 2015). These findings suggested that anti-LGB hate crimes have a “profound and negative” impact on the members who identify as a part of the LGB community; study participants reported experiencing depression, pain, vulnerability, and psychological effects on their well-being (Bell & Perry, 2015). Another study that took place after the Orlando shooting at the Pulse nightclub on June 12, 2016, analyzed responses of LGBT people of color to the crisis (Ramirez et al., 2018). The thematic findings revealed that victims experienced personal identification with the victims of the crime, and a clear expression of feeling personally attacked (Ramirez et al., 2018). This visceral connection with a hate crime was found to either lead to a want for connection and participation in social change, or a disengagement from the community as a result of fear (Ramirez et al., 2018).

In 1998, the murder of James Byrd in Jasper, Texas overwhelmed the entire town in a collective trauma as the crime escalated into a social crisis (Wicke & Siver, 2009). Communities can unravel under the pressure of a traumatic incident, typically because the incident triggers a broader collective memory of past traumatization (Ainslie & Brabeck, 2003). In Jasper, evidence of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) was found in both Black and White accounts of the hate crime and post-experience (Ainslie & Brabeck, 2003). In the aftermath of the killing of James Byrd, collective trauma was felt across racial identity groups, and among the community as a whole. This trauma lasted for months after the event and manifested in different ways and actions by community members.

Hate Crime Impact on Individuals

Trauma is defined as “an event, series of events, or a set of circumstances that is experienced by individuals as physically or emotionally harmful or life threatening and that has lasting adverse effects on the individual’s functioning and mental, physical, social, emotional, or spiritual well-being” (SAMHSA, Trauma and Violence, 2019). The individual impact of trauma, regarding hate crime and oppression, is typically nuanced in description and more difficult to research. Hate could be centered around any aspect of the person’s identity, but the result is that “individuals may be left with substantial physical injuries along with extensive psychological trauma, all of which may contribute to avoidant behaviors and social isolation” (Paterson et al., 2019, p. 994). Avoidant behaviors and social isolation are

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As the authors of this manuscript, we refer to the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Queer Community as LGBTQ+. The varying uses of the acronym refer to the same identifications, but match the study being discussed.
common symptoms of PTSD after a traumatic event, and the research has shown support for hate motivated crimes to cause these correlating symptoms (Paterson et al., 2019).

When looking specifically at hate crimes experienced by those who identify as LGBT, being a direct or indirect victim of a hate crime is positively associated with vulnerability, emotional responses, and behavioral intentions (Paterson et al., 2019). Paterson and colleagues (2019) found that while some indirectly experience hate crimes, such as through media or other’s stories, the experience can still cause trauma and PTSD symptoms for the victims. Direct victims of hate crimes are more likely to exhibit acute symptoms of psychological trauma, including PTSD, thought to be due to the more violent nature of hate crimes committed against the LGBTQ community (Paterson et al., 2019). Since hate crimes are also “symbolic attacks against difference, which are intended to send messages of hate to entire groups of people,” these symptoms are also commonly experienced by individuals who identify as a member of the same community as the victim but only hear about the crime later through the media (Paterson et al., 2019, p. 995).

In general, research shows that bias and hate crimes are qualitatively different than other crimes, can result in greater victim trauma, and as such deserve to have more standing in the court system of the United States (Fetzer & Pezzella, 2019). Overall, bias motivated attacks are significantly more likely to result in psychological trauma than attacks not motivated by bias (Fetzer & Pezzella, 2019). A significant amount of research about victim trauma caused by hate crimes has focused on members of the LGBTQ+ community. Further research should expand on the effects of hate crimes on other minoritized and religious populations.

Trauma-Informed Practice

Trauma informed practice has the ability to address the health consequences of trauma through an integrative response that incorporates an understanding of the effects of trauma, the multiple pathways to recovery, and the potential for re-traumatization (Tebes et al., 2019). While trauma informed practice in general is vital to working with clients who have been victims of hate crimes and are facing the traumatic aftereffects, practitioners must also consider a culturally respectful approach that examines how an individual’s culture might affect how they display trauma symptoms (Helms et al., 2010). If an assessment for trauma is done that is not culturally responsive or racially informed, then the results could be otherwise invalid (Helms et al., 2010). It is difficult through assessment alone to differentiate effects of racism and ethno-violence on a person’s mental health status, but it is possible when completed by well trained professionals who have a good understanding of cultural humility (Helms et al., 2010).

Trauma informed practice should also consider the vicarious trauma that can be faced by professionals who work with clients who have experienced traumatic events. Vicarious trauma can influence how successfully professionals respond to calls about traumatic events, and how well they are able to treat signs of trauma and PTSD (Hallinan et al., 2019).
This study received Human Subjects approval from the University of Houston’s Institutional Review Board (IRB) prior to beginning. Once IRB approval was received, Community Based Organizations (CBOs) were contacted to request their participation in this study. After organizations were identified, they were asked to provide the names of 3 to 5 individuals employed by the organization who could discuss the organization’s response structure and process related to hate crimes. Furthermore, organizations were asked to identify stakeholders that represent a cross section of the different facets of the organization. One to five participants from each community-based organization were interviewed for the study. In addition to the CBOs, resource interviews were conducted with representatives from several law enforcement organizations (LEOs).

Sample

A purposive sampling approach was used in this study. Organizations who are members of the Houston Coalition Against Hate were recruited to participate in the study. In addition, participating organizations were asked to provide recommendations for other CBOs that might be interested in participating. Ten community-based organizations participated in the study from the Greater Houston area. There were one to five participants from each organization that completed the interviews for the study for a total of 24 participants from CBOs. The community-based organizations that were represented in this study ranged from less than ten staff to over a thousand. The CBOs varied with regard to the types of services that they provide from direct services to more consultative roles. All CBOs are located in Houston and serve clients in the greater Houston region.

Additionally, three law enforcement organizations participated as resource interviews. There was one participant each from two of the LEOs and two participants from one of the LEOs for a total of 4 participants in the resource interviews.

Data and Methods

This study utilized a qualitative approach. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in a virtual format using the Zoom platform in keeping with social distancing protocols during the Covid 19 pandemic. Each participant completed a consent form prior to participating in the study. Two or three members from the research team conducted each interview. At the start of each interview, the researchers provided an overview of the study and answered any questions that participants had regarding any aspect of the study. Each interview lasted between 40 minutes to an hour.

Once interviews were completed, they were transcribed and data analysis was completed utilizing the transcripts. Interview transcripts were uploaded into the Dedoose software platform which was used to code the data. All five team members coded the transcripts to identify key themes. Relevant excerpts from the transcripts were uploaded in an excel file to conduct a second round of coding. Finally, themes were organized into three primary categories: Definitions, Experiences, and Responses.
**What is the current hate crime response capacity of community-based organizations?**

1. How does your organization define a hate crime?
2. How does your organization respond to hate crimes?
3. Has anyone in your organization experienced a hate crime?
4. Has your organization experienced a hate crime?
5. In your opinion, does your organization know how to report a hate crime?
6. In your opinion, does your organization know how to support victims of hate crimes?
7. Does your organization have a relationship with law enforcement?
8. Does your organization work with other organizations? If so, what organizations?
9. What organizations does your organization partner with to respond to hate crimes?
10. Does your organization have a response plan or designated response team related to hate crimes?
11. Has your organization participated in training about hate crimes?
12. Are there events other than hate crimes that your organization has a response plan and/or designated response team for?

*Measures*: A 12-item questionnaire was developed for the study to assist in answering the primary study question.
RESULTS

Definitions

Organizational Definition

A few participants were able to clearly articulate an organizational definition of hate or hate crime. This definition acknowledged that hate crime "attacked a group of people...through words, actions, violent or physical" and indicated the spectrum of actions that can constitute a hate crime. Most were unable to articulate an organizational definition, and a few indicated that their community-based organization had no definition. Many however, believed that their organization did have a definition of hate and/or hate crime, often reflecting, "if we don’t, we should.”

"...there’s a crime and it’s typically due because of some prejudice around someone’s religious beliefs or racial beliefs or sex – or race, sorry - race or ethnicity or sexual orientation. So, it - it’s a – it’s crime motivated by someone’s identity. That - that’s how I view it and I’m making a big assumption that like everyone in our team understands that the same way.”

Participants recognized the merit of having an organizational definition of hate crime as well as the complications associated with defining hate and hate crime given the narrow boundaries of the legal definition and the myriad ways individuals and organizations experience hate. Participants did not have a nuanced understanding of the difference between a hate crime, a hate event, or the use of hate language. Participants often acknowledged that hate and hate crime were common experiences for clients; however, are uniquely related to the community the crime occurred in, the community-based organization working with the client, and the motivation of the perpetrator, further complicating the boundaries of crafting an organizational definition of hate crime.

“When it comes to defining like terms that affect the community like a hate crime, it requires the involvement of the community’s participation in building off what it is and understanding of what it means legally and from our perspective, it’s like making sure that the community is aware and that they agree with the definition.”

Additionally, participants indicated that legal definitions of hate crime are too narrow to utilize with funders when aiming to receive funds to support clients that have experienced hate.

“...when we talked to the – the funding sources, we – we said we wanted it to define it as hate bias crime. So, it doesn’t even have to rise to the level of a crime. As long as we can “show that you’re being targeted for being the other, whatever the other is, they were fine with that.”

Personal Definition

Participants did provide personal definitions of hate and hate crime that were inclusive of derogatory speech, aggressive behavior and violent action motivated by an individual’s identity. Participants who identified as immigrants often reported that experiencing hate crimes was forecasted by family members and socialized as a reality of living in the United States. These participants reported sharing their own experiences of hate crimes with clients.

“It’s (hate crimes) hard to explain, but you know it when it happens to you.”
Experiences
Organizational Experience

Participants reported a variation of organizational experiences with hate crimes. Some participants indicated that their organizations have been the target of hate speech and vandalism at or near their physical space as well as in virtual spaces – particularly social media platforms.

Additionally, organizations that serve immigrant populations reported frequent reports of hate crime and/or incidents of bias from clients served by the CBO based on actual or perceived vulnerabilities related to immigration status. These organizations indicated the realities of traversing service to clients and the animus directed at them for working with immigrant populations.

Lastly, CBOs have been targeted with hate speech, primarily on social media platforms, in reaction to a public political stance or demonstration of support that the CBO has made. It should be noted that virtual hate speech is often met with virtual support for the organization. Furthermore, protocol associated with blocking perpetrators and deleting their social media posts seemed to be clear and implemented with regularity.

"...through our program, we run a hotline. And so, we do often get calls where folks want to report "illegals" or you know, they use hateful language. And we don’t engage with them, we don’t entertain those conversations, and we just kindly let them know this is not the work that we do and give ourselves permission to end that call."

Client Experience

Participants stated that their clients have reported a range of trauma. Many of the undocumented clients have reported being victimized by people who are known to them as well as by strangers. Some of these incidents have resulted in extreme harm such as being stabbed multiple times and, in another incident, a former client was killed. Some incidents are more minor in action but are experienced as substantial by clients.

Other participants discussed trauma that clients experienced prior to immigrating to the United States. Clients resettling or seeking asylum in the US have often had to flee their homes based on hate and threat of violence related to:

"their religion, their ethnic background, sometimes sexuality, sometimes gender."

Client trauma also stemmed from their religious beliefs, language of origin, and trying to assimilate to American culture. Participants reported that clients are often unwilling to share stories of their experiences of hate based on a lack of trust and cultural norms that discourage sharing such information.

"...not wanting to rent to [people] who are newly arrived because they don’t have that income history. And then, I mean just little like micro aggressions... in terms of what I’ve seen like, you know, doctors not providing interpretation or if – if you are in the room with the [client], they kind of direct their questions to you instead of asking the [client]."

Results

"...a lot of them are not always open about what they go through until like maybe a few months in where they form that trust with their case managers and they wanna express what’s going on...So, when their kids are in school, they experience hate from like, you know, other students for being different in their neighborhoods and different places until they kind of start to assimilate and to just kind of change out...their identity of what they know to be just to fit in with, you know, a new environment."
Participant Experience

Although participants were not asked about personal experiences with hate or hate crimes, the topic emerged in most of the interviews. When describing personal experiences, participants articulated events that had taken place in their own lives as well as experiences they have encountered in the workplace. These experiences appear to produce tensions related to belonging in American society, immigration status, historical knowledge as well as frustration and disbelief about the prevalence of hate and hate crime in society. Additionally, participants articulate the tension of working to improve social conditions and access to resources for clients in a social context that personally was not inclusive and, at times, hostile toward identity groups that the participants belong too.

"I graduated at 17 and at 18, I bought my first computer and in that year, I learned more than I learned at 11 years I was in school. And that's because I was able to read things, I was able to analyze my history through my own viewpoint, not sold to the idea of that's written into this textbook."

"...it's really difficult to go through that and not be enraged and not go through a bunch of trauma in the process. And then how do you use that in a way they can help you and other people?...I've seen people go through that process and instead of rage, they go through this dehumanization of themselves where they don't know how to deal with what happened because how do you deal with it? And then they go through these depression stages and then now, they're in this place where they don't know how to move... and then they're blamed for not knowing how to ask for help."

Related to experiences within the workplace, participants frequently discussed micro-aggressions, not hate crimes, often indicating that "hate" was an experience frequently reported by individuals or clients as opposed to occurring within the organization. Participants shared that while their co-workers do not share their own experiences, they believe many staff experience microaggressions and just do not talk about them. Often, participants' descriptions of their experiences of micro-aggressions in the workplace met the definition of hate language. Participants reflected on the need to address challenges related to a lack of inclusive behavior and/or language within their organizations as a first step to define hate as an organization.

"...for my own experience... since I was a child, I've experienced so much racism in elementary, in middle school, in high school from my teachers. And I didn't realize like, "Oh, [that] was really racist"... I didn't capture that until I was an adult. And like I didn't know that's what was happening. My father and my mother have both been victims of - I think most people will call them hate crimes, they would just say, 'that's just being in America.'"

Participants repeatedly shared that if clients are to assimilate into American culture, to feel safe, they must give up part of their culture. This process of shedding one's culture primarily included their language, traditions, and clothing. Participants who reported sharing lived experiences with their clients often shared personal experiences of safety and assimilation believing that their own cultural experiences can positively impact their clients and help clients assimilate more easily and safely.

"there's not any formal training on hate crimes that I'm aware of"

Naming these interactions as micro-aggressions requires further interrogation to assess whether this language is meant to minimize and thus make these interactions more manageable, as hate remains an elusive and complicated term to define. One participant indicated that it would be helpful if organizations responded more proactively to microaggressions to obtain a more accurate understanding of the motivation for the behaviors. This would help to determine whether these incidents should be classified as hate/bias motivated.
Responses

Response to Hate Crimes

While participants were mostly unable to share organizational definitions of hate and/or hate crime, they reflected that knowledge of hate crime and options for reporting and/or responding exist in segments of their organizations. A few participants indicated that a reporting procedure was specifically expressed in their employee handbook, while the majority of participants reported that knowledge of hate crimes experienced by clients and reporting options exist in silos within their organizations. Those departments or teams that work directly with clients who are at greater risk of suffering a hate crime, are more likely to hear reports of hate crime and/or incidents of bias. Participants working in these areas within their CBO reported knowledge of a team/departmental reporting protocol that had been more often verbally established, rather than documented as a policy or protocol of the CBO.

"I think our program, having done this work, has a strong understanding, but I do feel that other programs not doing this work every day could benefit from training on how to troubleshoot community members coming in with trauma, whether it be a hate crime or not, and just how to crisis manage in a way that's calm and can be supportive of the community member coming in and seeking that assistance."

Participants working outside of these more direct service areas acknowledged that client facing departments/teams know how to report hate crime and/or incidents of bias. Participants from one CBO reported knowledge of an organizational leader being responsible for reporting hate crime and/or incidents of bias. All participants attributed leadership as the responsible parties for reporting and responding to hate crimes and/or incidents of bias in their organizations; however, most were unable to detail procedural steps to initiate engagement from leadership.

"No, we don’t have like a playbook in that case. It would be if someone came in to our reception and said, “You know, someone just – you know, just hit me and called me a racial slur or - or a slur against my sexual orientation.” There would be, I think, the receptionist would just be calling, calling, calling, like who – [they may know] … that they had previous professional experience in this area but it would be really I think calling individual people, trying to figure out, what do I do now?"

Most participants reported that often the CBO does not have a formal policy or practice regarding hate crimes. Several staff were compelled to create responses of their own, knowing that their response was not a CBO-led response. Participants that work in CBOs with a clear policy and process were easily able to describe steps and expectations for responding.

The most common response to questions about reporting hate crime was to call the police. The second most common response was to report the incident to leadership, beginning with the participant’s direct supervisor.

"...let’s just say someone were to come in and something escalates to something severe, obviously we have ... staff to where they could take the problem down and out, and of course they would immediately notify HPD or proper law enforcement if it escalated to that. If it’s someone just running their mouth, obviously I think they would be escorted out, but if it’s something beyond that, I think our security [would] notify [law enforcement]."
"If there’s anything that happens on...our property, we’re involving our staff...it’s very clear that [hate crime] gets reported and gets elevated.... I always feel very confident that [the leader will]...know how to triage or manage a situation that is inclusive of staff that are impacted... inclusive of how we - our ethics, morals, and values as an agency, right? But also making sure people stay safe and - and privacy is respected.... I think that as long as teams on the ground know to elevate it and gets to [leadership] I always feel like, you know, I handle it."

These responses, in the majority of participant CBOs, are not informed by a documented protocol or policy, but are based on participant experience, procedural assumption, and intuition. Participants indicated that a protocol for reporting would be useful to them. Additionally, emphasis was placed on the need for "first responders", in this case, front desk staff/reception staff, to be trained and knowledgeable on reporting protocol as these employees are often first to interact with a victim of a hate crime.

Consistently, when participants were unaware of a CBO’s definition of hate, they were also unaware of a formalized response plan or a response team to address hate crimes. Many participants stated that while they were unaware of a formal response/team, that did not mean that no plan or team existed. Of note, when participants could not articulate organizational definitions of hate or response protocol, they pivoted to discussing the importance of the CBOs mission and were careful to convey that they did not want to represent the CBO in a negative manner. Furthermore, participants would discuss different responses taken by other CBOs and how they would like hate crime to be addressed by their employer.

Response Influences: Leadership

Numerous participants reported that within the structure of the CBO, significant power lies with the Board of Directors. Some participants indicated that board members are viewed as having a stronger voice than staff, and board members decide if an event is addressed in a public release. Responding to a public hate event can be viewed as being too controversial by the board thus prompting no response from the CBO. Additionally, some participants reported having a process that must be followed before they are able to release statements which typically involve organizational leadership and the board of directors. This process can be time-consuming and can result in the release of a public statement being untimely or ineffective, or both.

"And I think that there’s a certain unwillingness to do that and it is really frustrating when - it doesn’t matter how much my supervisor or how much I say or do for the team or with the team if the higher-ups who control the broader messaging don’t have our backs."

Multiple participants discussed the exclusion of frontline and/or management staff, often most proximate to client experiences with hate crime, from the creation of an organizational response. This exclusion was perceived to leave staff at various levels within the CBO feeling disconnected from CBO responses which creates opportunities for errors in public statements. Many participants expressed a desire for the CBO to make public statements about hate crimes that are informed by the experiences and wisdom of staff within the CBO who work directly with clients. Numerous participants shared a lack of communication between front line/management staff and leadership, thus feeling excluded from the creation of response statements and/or response protocols for the CBO. Participants indicated that the absence of a statement or other form of public response by a CBO is still a form of communication.
Response Influences: Funding

Participants indicated that when a hate crime/incident of bias occurs, the CBO may experience internal pressure to respond from their employees as well as external pressure to have no response from Boards of Directors, funders, and organizational leadership. This external pressure may be explicitly stated or perceived by the CBO. For example, a CBO that receives a significant amount of government funding may be hesitant to make any public statements in response to hate crime that the CBO may perceive to have a detrimental impact on these funds. This perception of funding loss is heightened when government leaders appear to have differing views than the CBO on hate events. Funding is often specific to programming and staff duties, which restricts how money can be spent. Funding also influences the types of services that organizations provide. Furthermore, some participants indicated they believed that their organizations are restricted from making public statements about certain issues for fear of upsetting their donors, which might put them at risk for losing funding.

Response Influences: Scope Creep

When describing CBO responses to hate crimes, multiple participants used the phrase “stay in our lane” to describe the potential scope creep a CBO may experience by focusing more on hate crime. Although many participants acknowledged that hate crime was prevalent in the communities they serve and germane to the experiences of their clients, the organization may lack the skill set to respond to hate crime or find that addressing hate crime falls outside of their organizational mission.

“I think we’ve got enough to do…that, you know, we need to be very clear about what our mission is and stay in line with our mission. Obviously address anything that could interfere with our ability to do our mission, but our mission I don’t think is to combat hate crimes…I don’t think anyone would say that would be our mission.”

Additionally, participants wrestled with how to determine which hate crimes or hate incidents to respond to given the myriad ways in which individuals or groups can be victimized for an array of identities. Outside of an expressed connection to the mission or vision of the organization, it was difficult to identify a starting point for any kind of prioritizing method for responding to hate crime to assist the CBO.

“…there’s always room for – for – for us to do more. It just – I guess it would depend on whether or not we chose a specific thing to – to always respond to or if it was just kind of whatever we all felt most about ‘cause there’s just so many different things you can respond to.”

Response Influences: Victim’s Barriers to Reporting

Participants indicated that reporting a hate crime or bias incident is dependent upon the victim’s desire to report. Victims of hate crime are often hesitant to report for a diverse number of reasons including but not limited to: experiences with law enforcement in country of origin, historical trauma, documentation status, feeling that nothing will be done, previous experiences, and fear of retaliation. Participants also indicated that victims may at times know the perpetrator(s) and “snitching” can be dangerous for them; thus, victims may be hesitant to report.

“not saying something is saying something”.

Results

“The Trump administration was pretty effing terrifying for everyone that lived through it that serves any of these communities. And I know even when it was like - when it was [CBO mission] related, I censored myself because we had federal funding for [CBO mission]. We were - we had a - a [federally funded] grant. So, I know, I’m even guilty of it because I was like, “Look, like…” In a - in a Trump administration, absolutely they would do something specifically retaliatory against one organization. Absolutely. You were just one Trump tweet away from like having protestors outside your building. So, I definitely was censored in - in the Trump administration. I think that that chilling effect reached everyone.”
Partners

Collaboration

Participants identified a range of collaborations with various CBOs. Some of the organizations mentioned include the following:

- Houston Immigration Legal Services Center (HILSC)
- Houston Area Women’s Center
- Houston Refugee Consortium
- Asian Chamber of Commerce
- Anti-Defamation League (ADL)
- Catholic Charities
- The Alliance
- Boniuk Institute
- Interfaith Ministries
- Greater Houston Partnership
- Volunteer Organizations Active in Disaster (VOAD)
- YMCA
- Academic Institutions
- Homeless Coalition of Houston
- Refugees Services of Texas
- Elected Officials
- Star of Hope
- Houston Coalition Against Hate
- Faith Based Organizations
- Salvation Army
- Texas Association Against Sexual Assault (TAASA)
- Law Enforcement Agencies
- The Way Home
- Texas Council on Family Violence
- HS Gay Student Alliance
- Houston In Action
- School Districts
- United States Holocaust Museum
- Yahad-in Unum
- USHMM
- Silverman Latin American Institute
- Asian American Student Organization at UT Austin
- HS youth program
- Mi Familia Vota
- Alliance for Multi-Cultural Services
- Buffalo Soldiers Museum
- HMAC
- Asian Society
- MECA
- Jewish Federation of Greater Houston
- Boys and Girls Club
- Education in Motion
- Japanese American Citizens League (JACL)
- Chinese Community Center
- Indivisible Houston
- Voter Rights Initiative - March On
- Rainbow Coalition through Jesse Jackson
- Rainbow Coalition
- American Leadership Forum
- Houston Museum District Association
- Deportation Defense Houston Project
- Houston Leads
- BakerRipple
- Houston Endowment
- Texas Organizing Project (TOP)
- United We Dream
- Episcopal aHealth Foundation
- Workers Defense Project
- Organization Latino de Trans (OLT)
- Various Advocacy Groups

The types of collaborations varied from organizations drafting statements supporting specific communities after an event, focusing attention on murders in specific communities, collaborating on programming designed to dismantle racism, connecting members to resources, and facilitating communications among different organizations.

Law Enforcement

Most of the participants indicated that their organization had positive relationships with law enforcement. Participants discussed working with law enforcement over many years to build up a trusting and collaborative relationship. This work included: offering trainings, providing space for meetings and office space, and generalized support for law enforcement officers. Examples of positive relationships include training programs for law enforcement, where cadets complete a curriculum at a CBO as a part of their community engagement training. Other organizations have created opportunities for law enforcement to engage with them in different capacities. When law enforcement officers have a consistent presence within the CBO’s, relationship building increases. Moreover, when the CBO has law enforcement officers as staff, as in the case of security personnel specific to a CBO, the ability to foster relationships with other law enforcement groups increases as well.

Conversely, some participants discussed a conflictual relationship with law enforcement acknowledging challenges between their clients and law enforcement. These participants discussed how attempts have been made to influence law enforcement to recognize how certain practices further traumatize clients who have experienced past negative encounters. Additionally, these participants indicated that they have provided suggestions for things that law enforcement can do to create a safer interaction with their clients but did not feel like law enforcement was receptive to their suggestions.

In many communities, tension with law enforcement is long standing and negative experiences with law enforcement are common, particularly for
African American and immigrant communities served by the CBOs in this study. Participants indicated that historical and current trauma influences reporting of hate crimes or bias incidents. Generational experiences with law enforcement also influence the perceptions that community members may have of law enforcement even without direct negative interaction according to participants.

“…[it] also goes into generational trauma, right? Because they hear how their parents may have been treated... or the struggles that they went through with law enforcement... And they [children] too already have that instilled fear in them.”

Willingness to report hate crimes was also indicated to have relationship to the layered vulnerability a client experiences in their life most often based on identity related to race, class, gender, English proficiency, and immigration status. This willingness is heavily influenced by client experiences of law enforcement officers using derogatory identity-based language toward them, thus fostering a lack of trust between community members and law enforcement officers.

Many of the participants discussed the challenges of working with undocumented clients who have been victims of violent crimes. They discussed reasons why they would be reluctant to report incidents to police for fear of being deported. In addition, clients who feel like they have been victimized by law enforcement in the past are also apprehensive about involving law enforcement when they are victimized by different violent crimes.

Not all of the client interactions reported were negative. Some participants indicated that clients engage with law enforcement in community meetings to keep abreast of crime reports in their neighborhoods. They view these relationships with law enforcement as essential to attempting to keep their communities safe.

Participants were eager to suggest how relationships with law enforcement officers could improve, including but not limited to, having officers included in community meetings, and officers increasing their awareness of community members discomfort with them attending meetings dressed in full uniform. This request should not be understated. Officers attending community meetings while in full uniform reinforces the “us vs. them” lived experiences among many community members.

CBOs are challenged to balance the need to engage law enforcement for events/public safety and the fears/resistance of clients to engage in activities when there is a police presence.
Training

Need for Training/Consultation

The majority of the participants indicated that they are in need of training to define hate, developing a process for reporting hate crimes, and providing support for victims of hate crimes. Participants indicated a need to ensure all staff know how to respond to specific situations and have a clear protocol to follow related to hate crime. Participants also indicated a need for a formalized new hire orientation that would ensure that all employees received the same information with regard to the definition of hate crime and the organization’s plan for responding to and supporting victims of hate crimes. Furthermore, participants stated that these trainings need to be provided to all members of the organization, so that clients are treated consistently no matter who they encounter at the organization.

“Yes. I wanna say yes because everyone comes from a lot of different backgrounds and everyone’s experiences are not the same. So, I feel like everyone takes – takes in things differently. So, just having those trainings to where everyone understands each other’s differences and as well as similarities could definitely benefit them.”

Trauma Training

CBO staff reported an increased need for trainings related to trauma and to hate crimes. Participants often face limited choices for trainings funded by the CBO and reported that frequently they are left to find trainings on their own. There was no lack of positive comments about consistent trainings; participants discussed how trainings “help staff realize how different people are, and how differently they experience hate.”

These comments were not limited to client experiences and often related to the experiences of their co-workers. As previously reported, many staff share their own experiences of hate or trauma with clients; however, trainings are often the only space that allows for the sharing of these experiences among staff in the organization.

When trauma-informed trainings are inconsistent or lacking altogether, participants often expressed confusion between crisis intervention practices and trauma-informed practices. When trauma-informed trainings are offered, participants reported feeling more knowledgeable about the subject and reported that training positively impacted their work.

Participants reported that training opportunities are often not offered at all levels of staff, fostering inconsistent skill sets, inconsistent definitions of common terms, and the lack of a shared language around hate and trauma. All participants expressed an interest in continued trainings for all staff.

“I want my team to be able to understand the prevalence of hate crimes, what is a hate crime, why this should be treated so seriously, why – and – I want them to know everything about it so that they don’t have an ignorance to the issue. I want them to be aware, I want them to be educated, I want them to be advocates.”
RECOMMENDATIONS

1 **Define Hate Crime:** Many community-based organizations would benefit from having a uniform definition of a hate crime. An organizational definition of hate crime is an important foundational element of building hate crime response architecture. This definition provides boundaries for an organization to remain within and can provide the opportunity to clarify the particular response or range of responses that the organization will implement in response to hate crime. A process that includes all staff, client-facing and administration, in the creation of a definition is important to facilitate shared understanding and leverage the wisdom found in the lived and professional experiences of staff.

2 **Establish a Response Protocol:** All agency personnel should be trained on the organizational definition of a hate crime as well as receive training on what protocol to follow if a hate crime is reported. This protocol needs to clearly communicate steps related to interaction with a client/community member reporting that they have been a victim of a hate crime, documentation of the incident, and the personnel elevation within the organization. This protocol should be a mandatory training for all employees that is reviewed on an annual basis. This protocol should be trauma informed to support victims of hate crimes as well as employees interacting with victims.

3 **Train Often and Train Everyone:** Hate is complicated, and people have varied interactions with hate. Regular training provides space to clearly define terms like bias, micro-aggressions, hate language, hate crimes, and hate events. Creating shared understanding of these terms creates a common language and allows a CBO to be more precise with responses, both internal and external to their organization. All staff should be trained as well as volunteers and Board Members.

4 **Provide Vicarious Trauma Support:** Explore the experiences of employees that interact with reports of hate crimes and staff monitoring hate in virtual spaces. Create time to process these experiences with staff and embed supports within the organization that reduce the impact of vicarious trauma.

5 **Establish Working Relationships with Law Enforcement:** While many organizations report positive relationships with law enforcement agencies, there are still opportunities to improve this relationship. CBOs should engage law enforcement in discussions with regard to how they interact with communities that have traditionally held a mistrust for law enforcement. CBOs can ask that law enforcement wear plain clothes, when possible, when interacting with clients. CBOs can request a training from law enforcement agencies on the most effective ways to support victims of hate crimes and report hate crimes.

6 **Assess CBO Response Assets:** The size, structure and mission of CBOs greatly vary. Identifying assets like physical spaces, skills, relationships, and resources specific to the CBO that can be used to support a response to hate crime are important to building a community-wide response.

7 **Create a Response Ecosystem:** Many factors impact a CBO’s ability and/or willingness to respond to hate crime. Working with other CBOs when responding to hate crimes creates an ecosystem of organizations that can respond to hate crime, creating “safety in numbers.” A collaborative approach to responding to hate crime can lead to a stronger and more expedient response to support not only the victim of the hate crime, but also the broader community impacted by the act of hate.


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