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**PATTERNS OF HATE CRIMES AND
HATE INCIDENTS IN NEW YORK CITY**

by

KOMLA SAM GANU

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1998

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract**PATTERNS OF HATE CRIMES AND
HATE INCIDENTS IN NEW YORK CITY**

by

Komla S. Ganu

Adviser: Professor Charles Winick

Hate crimes/incidents are rooted in historical prejudices and negative stereotypes formed about the various groups based on the social categories of race, ethnicity, national origin, class, gender, religious conviction and sexual orientation. The agents through whom these prejudices and stereotypes ulcerate and proliferate in society are the major hate groups and their adherents. Extracting from the existing theories such as the Simple Self-Interest, the Classical Prejudice, and the Group Position models, I conceptualized that hate crimes/incidents in New York City are largely the result of pre-existing stereotypes formed about the various groups who are locked-up in communities or neighborhoods where they are compelled to share available resources. The interactions that emanate from these arrangements where visibly differentiated groups are the

participants generate conflicts and tensions which produce high incidents of bias. Utilizing the NYPD and CCHR's bias incidents data covering 1991-1995, I compiled summary tables and geographic illustrations of the data based on the 59 community districts (CDs) of the City. Those CDs with high levels of forced interactions among the various groups also have high levels of bias involving racial, anti-Semitic and anti-gay incidents. These CDs can be classified into two major groups. Group one includes areas of high commercial, cultural, educational and civic centers, and harboring major transportation hubs. Group two consists of CDs with racial and ethnic group interstitial zones and neighborhoods in transition demographically. While the data revealed that bias incidents are not unidirectional as previously found, whites are more likely to be perpetrators of racial bias incidents than other racial groups; blacks are mostly the perpetrators of anti-Semitic incidents than other groups; and Hispanics are more likely to be perpetrators of bias against gays than any other group. Asians and Jews are less perpetrators of bias crimes than the other major groups of the City. Males are overwhelmingly the perpetrators of all bias crimes in the City than females. While racial bias incidents are best explained by the Classical Prejudice and Simple Self-Interest models, anti-Semitic and anti-gay incidents are predicated mostly on the Classical Prejudice model. Some recommendations for policy are also discussed.

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INTRODUCTION

Definition of Hate Crime

A hate crime is a crime in which the perpetrator's motive and consequent action is precipitated by a real or perceived difference in a characteristic of the victim which identifies him or her as belonging to a group which the perpetrator dislikes.

After the Civil War which liberated the slaves, there was still much widespread violence being perpetrated against the free slaves by the people of the ex-Confederate South as well as the North. Violent attacks and numerous lynching episodes prevented African Americans from full participation in the political and economic activities of the country. They were without many rights until changes related to various court decisions and the 1960s civil rights movement. Racially motivated violence and anti-Semitism became more serious problems after World War II. However, violence against women and homosexuals was still generally overlooked nationally, and by many states.

After the civil rights era of the 1960s, considerable legislation was passed nationally and locally to protect people against violence induced by specifiable hatreds. The national Hate Crime Statistics Act, passed in April of 1990, required the Justice Department to collect data on hate crimes for five years from all states that would voluntarily furnish such data, covering bias motivations based on race, religion, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. Efforts to define hate crimes and legislate them nationally and locally were greatly helped by reputable civil rights organizations like the Anti-

Defamation League (ADL), National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), The Center For Democratic Renewal and the Klan Watch.

Although hate crimes are not necessarily different in effect from other crimes that are committed against persons or properties, they must be understood differently because they involve distinct jurisdictional elements. For example, what constitutes a hate crime in New York City might not be so construed in Buffalo or Rochester because of differences in local jurisdictional definitions. In New York City, the New York Police Department (NYPD) defines hate crime as any offense or unlawful act motivated in whole or in part by the race, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation and disability (perceived or real) of a person, group or place (The Mayor's Advisory Council 1989; Mayor's Community Assistance Unit 1992, Vol. 14/1). A special unit of the NYPD called the Bias Incidents Investigation Unit (BIIU) handles the bias cases. When a crime is deemed to be bias motivated, the various statutory provisions governing the jurisdiction where it occurs are applied. These provisions, in many cases raise the bias crime to a degree more serious than if it were ordinary crime, thus enabling penalty enhancement at the time of sentencing. Many jurisdictions, including New York City, have also added civil action provision to their statutes which enables victims to bring civil proceedings against perpetrators for monetary remuneration for pain and suffering.

New Yorkers are also protected by a broader definition from the City's Commission on Human Rights (CCHR). The CCHR defines a hate crime/incident as "any act motivated by prejudice against a person's, group's or place's race, religion, ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation, national origin, age, gender, alienage or

citizenship status, and homelessness or class/income status” (see Title 8 of the City’s Civil Rights laws). Given these definitions, while NYPD’s efforts are centered on bias incidents which are criminal in nature and on the apprehension of perpetrators of such incidents, the CCHR’s preventive efforts are not limited to bias crimes only but also encompass non-criminal bias incidents which may have potential for erupting into community unrest in the City.

With its long history as a port of entry for immigrants, many of whom stayed, and its recent period since changes in immigration law permitted the tremendous influx of non-Western European immigrants in the 1980s, the City’s demographic picture has become increasingly diverse.¹ Perhaps not surprisingly, according to the 1990 census, New York City is the sixth most segregated city in the U.S. The choices of where to live and whom to associate with are markedly defined along racial and ethnic lines. Even community leadership in the various neighborhoods is defined along ethnic or religious boundaries (Mayor’s Final Report 1989). With these kinds of divisions, tensions have been mounting among the various communities, and race relations in the City are difficult today. New Yorkers appear to have grown increasingly racist and ethnocentric. A single minor impoliteness from a member of one ethnic group towards a member of another, can erupt into endless violence that manifests all the elements of copycat, revenge and intergroup intolerance theories variously used to explain conflict situations

¹According to the New York City Department of City Planning (*The Newest New Yorkers, 1992*), foreign-born persons in New York City rose by almost 25% in the 1980s to 2,082,000 persons (28.2% of the City’s total population), making it the highest level since 1940 when the census indicated 2.1 million (or 28.7% of the total population) of the City’s bona fide residents as foreign born.

(City Commission on Human Rights 1993; Levin 1992; Governor's Task Force Final Report 1988).

The **copycat** theory holds that there are people who see or hear about certain bias incidents and try to emulate the perpetrator's motive and modus operandus. The **revenge** theory on the other hand states that in a publicized bias incident, some members of the victim's group try to retaliate against the perpetrator's group. For example an incident between a Korean green-grocer and a Haitian customer led to an organized boycott of the Red Apple stores in 1990-1991 by some of the neighborhood blacks for several months. Similarly, the revenge phenomenon was responsible for the increased bias attack against whites in the City during the periods following the killing of Yusuf Hawkins in 1989, and the attack on two African American children in the Bronx in January of 1992. The seriousness of **intergroup** tensions can also be seen in some aspects of what goes on at the campuses of the City's institutions of higher learning. The graffiti on the restroom walls of some of these institutions depict what is consciously simmering in some students.²

In recent memory, incidents of racial and ethnic violence in the City have dominated both local and national headline news. On December 8, 1995, a deranged African American man walked into a Jewish owned establishment in Harlem with a gun and ordered all black people out of the store, then killed all Caucasian looking employees of the store and then set the store ablaze before killing himself. The City is doused daily with hate language from all quarters, from the street corners (like the Yahweh Ben

²*Campus restroom graffiti contain racial epithets, anti-Semitism, and anti-Gay expressions with vulgarities that often parallel those expressed in organized hate groups' literature.*

Yahweh group), to some of the notable local politicians, to radio and television personalities like Bob Grant and Rush Limbaugh, the print media, and on the internet.³ Unfortunately, the Supreme Court has acted in affirmation of the legality of hate language or speech by striking down on June 22, 1992 a St. Paul Minnesota ordinance designed to curb bias crimes including intimidation tactics such as cross-burning and swastika graffiti (New York Times, June 23, 1992, p.A16).

Other incidents of tragic proportion which make hate or bias crime one of the most salient issues confronting the City include: the spray painting of African American youth in the Bronx in January of 1992 by a group called the Albanian Bad Boys; the killing of Julio Rivera on July 2, 1990 by members of a hate group called Death Machine Skinheads, also known as the Doc Marten Stompers (DMS)(ADL 1993; CCHR 1993); the fatal beating of John Espinoza, a City employee by a gang called Spics Must Die (SMD) in October of 1994; the activities of some hate groups such as the SMD, United States Criminals, and The Master Race (TMR) in Bayside Queens and in Dyker Beach and Bensonhurst sections of Brooklyn as reported by the Daily News; the arrest of the Tinnirrello brothers in 1995 charged with a string of brutal beatings of Chinese immigrants as well as of a 28-year old Hispanic man in Bensonhurst "for no other reason than ethnicity", according to Brooklyn District Attorney Charles Hynes (Daily News September 29, 1995).

³Numerous documents from white supremacists' groups have surfaced on the internet. Some of these documents are revisionist histories while others are racist paraphernalia denigrating blacks, Jews, and homosexuals. According to Rabbi Abraham Cooper, associate dean of the Simon Wiesenthal Center (Los Angeles), it is easy to find Web sites operated by neo-Nazis, skinheads, and other racist groups... "For them [the hate groups], it [the internet] is a technology made in heaven." (New York Times, 01/10/96, p.A10).

In the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn in 1991, events following an auto accident in which a black child, Calvin Gato, was killed were misconstrued by the black residents and the situation erupted into one of the biggest incidents of community unrest in the City. A group of black teenagers went on the rampage shouting "kill the Jews, kill the Jews." As a result, innocent Lubavitcher student Yankel Rosenbaum was killed. What all these cases have in common is that they fit into both the revenge and copycat theories of key analysts (Levin 1992; City Commission on Human Rights 1993), and they all had much media publicity. There are hundreds of other cases which never had publicity but do have real victims. "A single incident can be the tragedy of a lifetime to its victim and may be the spark that rends and disrupts an entire community." (Governor's Task Force Final Report 1988, p. ES10).

Most of the attention in the existing literature has been given to case studies of incidents such as "Howard Beach", "Yusuf Hawkins", and "Crown Heights." The significance of this study is its movement beyond numerical accounts of bias trends in the City to examine these numbers in terms of their relationship to other factors in the various neighborhoods and larger national trends. For law enforcement agencies and community based organizations to stay focused in their efforts to combat bias crimes or incidents, they must be able to know where the "hot spots" are in the City and what are the dynamics in these "hot spots."

My interest in this inquiry hinges on two main factors. First, as a West African, when I first arrived in the United States (in North Carolina) as a student, I was bewildered to see the racial divide among students on campus. Seating patterns and

other associations among students in the school cafeteria and student lounges were based on the color line. Black students congregated on one side, while whites on another. But strangely too, I found out that we the international students (comprising Africans, Asians, Europeans, and South Americans) on campus formed a clique and socialized as a group. These informal arrangements on campus presented a great deal of impediments and disappointment to my life-long dream to learn and live the American culture I had come to admire so much from watching American movies while growing up in Ghana and Togo. I could not understand why Americans are so much divided along racial and ethnic lines. Even when I moved to New York City in the late 1970s, I found every effort to socialize freely and naturally with people of other racial and ethnic groups was infinitely difficult and draining. Here in New York City, there is a great deal of division among people of African ancestry too. Quite often, we see Afro-Caribbean people cooperating against African Americans or African Americans against African immigrants. Based on my work experience with the City Commission on Human Rights, similar patterns prevail among Latinos, Asians and European groups in the City.

The second factor that compelled me to undertake this inquiry is the nature of my current employment. I started working at the New York City Commission on Human Rights from the Spring of 1992 as a Human Rights Specialist. I was first assigned to the Commission's elite five-person Bias Prevention and Response Team (BPRT), the CCHR's equivalent of NYPD's BIU. As part of my responsibilities, I covered the CCHR's Bias Hotline once a week as an intake person. And it was here that I came in contact with hate crime victims first hand, their feelings and the nature of hatred being

meted out to them. The effect from listening to the victims as they narrate their stories to me was very profound. At one point I felt they were affecting my health because I was absorbing some of these stories personally. As time goes on, I was reassigned to the Commission's research division as a research associate to be in charge of the bias data and the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) data. While serving in this capacity (from 1993 onwards), I conducted several qualitative and quantitative studies and through these studies, I was exposed to much data on local and federal levels. It was from this background that I developed an interest in understanding the phenomenon of hate and started conceptualizing the topic in terms of how well it could be organized into a dissertation study.

The study is divided into five major parts. Part one deals with the conceptual issues and review of the literature. It also highlights the ideologies and activities of the major hate groups and their influence on the local scene. Part two features the methodology and data. Part three presents the findings; these include the patterns that emerge from the statistical compilations and geographic displays of the data based on the City's community district maps. Part four covers the analysis based on the findings in relation to the underlying theories. Four case studies are used as part of the analysis to illustrate some of the dynamics involved when major bias incidents occur in the City. Part five deals with the conclusion and recommendations, including models of selected community-based conflict resolution groups in the City whose examples might be emulated to reduce such incidents in the future.

PART I

CONCEPTUALIZATION AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

CHAPTER 1.

THE ROOTS OF HATE

The phenomenon of hatred and prejudice presents a complex human problem which cannot be drawn in a single paradigm. There are several persuasive and plausible theories in the literature which attempt to explain the roots of prejudice and hate as presented in many human relations. In my view, however, these efforts only succeeded in delineating aspects of the phenomenon.

Baird and Rosenbaum (1992) identify three views: those of the fundamentalists, social psychologists and biologists which try to explain and rationalize the roots of hate and prejudice among humans.

The fundamentalists' view, which is theologically based, explains hatred and prejudice among humans as hereditary from the "original sin" of Adam and Eve.

Because of our descent from these two sinful human beings, we as progeny have a sinful

nature. Prejudice, bigotry and hatred are part of that sinful nature inherent in our human lineage.

The social psychologists' view holds the belief that hate and prejudice are learned behaviors that we acquire through years of stereotyping (Allport 1954; Ehrlich 1973). They assert that humans have a need to classify and categorize other persons they encounter in life in order to be able to manage their interactions with them. It is not only members of the Klan-type organizations who have this disposition. In many cultures in order to differentiate themselves from one another, human groups use different means to identify their group. Such means include various forms of painful body mutilations such as tribal marks, tattoos, tooth-filing, circumcision and the wearing of symbols (like swastikas as used by Nazis in Germany) and traditional garb.⁴

The biological perspective is embedded in evolution. This view holds that humans like other animals, seek to promote their own genetic protection and reproduction in the future of their species and are poised to fight against actions that would result in potentially "hybrids" thus leading to all sorts of xenophobic behaviors as we have found in Nazi Germany, and today among many white supremacist movements as well as some Black Muslim groups and various Bosnian factions. From this

⁴ *Where there are no visible physical differences among regional ethnic groups, artificial and/or cultural differences are invented to establish distinctions. For example, the Greeks try to differentiate themselves from the Turks by the display of passion towards the color blue, which is their national flag; they wear blue sashes, and smoke cigarette from blue packets. The Turks on the other hand identify with the color red, therefore wear red sashes and smoke from red boxes. Passion for these types of differences is what Freud refers to as "the narcissism of minor differences". They serve as an investment in ourselves as to who we are as well as defining who and what we are not.*

perspective stem the “One Drop of Blood” rule, “telegany”, the idea of eugenics and other forms of scientific racism.

The “One Drop of Blood” is an informal rule in the U.S., especially in the deep South, which automatically classifies a person with “one drop of ‘black’ African blood” as black (Wright 1994). Of course, blood is not black but pigmentation is genetically determined. The Christian Identity movement takes this “One Drop of Blood” and eugenics idea a step higher, in the name of racial purity, by coining the term “telegany”: if a white woman is impregnated by a black man and gives birth to a mulatto and she then goes on to marry a white man and have his child, this second child, although born to two white parents, could not be considered white because his or her “blood” had been contaminated through the mother and was therefore a hybrid in having “shared” a womb with a “non-white” (Ridgeway 1991). Eugenics, however based in science and thus apparently the opposite of telegany and/or “race mixing” it is based on the breeding of animal stock and by analogy to genetically maintaining a stock of human “pedigree”. This was first conceived by the eccentric English scientist Francis Galton and later embraced by Nazi Germany and a host of other white supremacist movements around the world that accord racial superiority to people of the Anglo-Saxon, Celtic and Nordic strains. Telegany and “race mixing” therefore reverse every effort and achievement of eugenics because it produces “hybrids” of human stock as opposed to human pedigrees which leads to racial purity (see excerpt from Hitler’s “Mein Kampf” in Melady 1966). These are the dominant views that helped to shape the white supremacists’ exclusionary positions against non-whites from the human race. Jews are excluded too, because,

according to the white supremacists, their blood became “contaminated” with those of pre-Adamic people during the intermarriages that took place during the times of Ezra and Nehemiah.

In a theoretical review of the study of prejudice, social psychologist Howard Ehrlich (1973) used a more expanded version of Baird and Rosenbaum’s theoretical categories of explanation by exploring three psychological aspects of prejudice, the cognitive, the conative, and the affective dimensions. These, he concludes, shaped the human propensity to hate others, especially those who are different from the hater.

The cognitive dimension of prejudice as defined by Ehrlich is the centerpiece of the social psychologists’ perspective as indicated earlier above (Baird and Rosenbaum 1992). This view, according to Ehrlich, relies on stereotyping and the assignments of stereotypes to groups. This is the process of a coherent structuring of one group’s beliefs about others and quite often, results in negative stereotypes. Once the belief structure about a group is in place, it is handed down from one generation to another through socialization. The vehicles used in this process include language, music, literature, and other forms of the arts, and sciences. As a cliché that allegedly is reported on the campuses of Oxford University, the Englishman says “I hate Americans but I never met one I didn’t like yet”.

As illustration of this dimension, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) designed a scale which illustrates the continuum of social relationships among human groups (see figure 1.1). On the scale, in a descending order, is cooperation, respect, tolerance, predilection, prejudice, discrimination, and scapegoating. At center on this scale is the

period of predilection. This is the period of contact or exposure to one group of humans by another group, typically a period of discovery. It is also known as the formative stage where group members (especially the dominant group among all the groups locked up in one geographic location or social setting) begin forming their stereotypes and structuring them into their belief system and perceptions about the other group(s). Once the stereotypes have taken root in the society and become irreversibly structured in the psyche of the individuals, they have developed into prejudice (Allport 1954). Negative stereotyping about a group in a hypothetical society leads downward towards scapegoating, while positive stereotyping leads upward towards cooperation or acceptance into the dominant group.

Figure 1.1

THE CONTINUUM OF HUMAN SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

COOPERATION	+
RESPECT	↑
TOLERANCE	
— PREDILECTION —	
PREJUDICE	
DISCRIMINATION	↓
SCAPEGOATING	—

Source: Anti-Defamation League, 1986.

As world examples, negative stereotyping about Jews and blacks is very much ingrained in Western Europeans' psyche and culture. William Shakespeare in his "Merchant of Venice" depicts Jews as conniving, money hungry, bloodthirsty, and unscrupulous people and that it takes a "savvy" English lawyer to free innocent victims from their financial entrapments such as "a pound of flesh for my money" as demanded by Shylock. A similar theme reverberates in Christopher Marlowe's "The Jew of Malta". The lesson often drawn from the works of these two icons from the English canon is that both men wrote during the Elizabethan era (in the 16th - 17th centuries). The Jews were expelled from Europe from the 13th-15th centuries (specifically, from England in 1290, France in 1394 and Spain in 1492) therefore making it impossible for these men to have had any personal unsavory experience with them.⁵ It is therefore apparent that the only information these men might have obtained about the Jews were lingering negative stereotypes.⁶

In his analysis of the social division of labor in society, Emile Durkheim asserts that the reason why the Ewes of West Africa develop a lot of proverbs, maxims, and/or

⁵ See Anti-Defamation League (1986), *A World of Difference, Teacher-Student Resource Guide*, p. 171.

⁶ This analogy was also drawn by Elliot Aronson (see Baird and Rosenbaum, 1992, pp. 111-124). It should be noted that it was in the same (mid) 14th century, during the period of the Black Death, that Jews were blamed by the Europeans for poisoning the very wells that they drank from themselves. The problem was that the Black Death decimated the Europeans population while sparingly touching the Jewish population, therefore the blame. Experts accounted for this mystery by the strict dietary rules observed by the Jews, so that their population was able to hygienically elude the virus that caused the Black Death. Also contributing to hatred towards Jews at the time in Europe was warfare- both civil and external- resulting from the Reformation which heightened consciousness of the need to trust only fellow "co-believers". The Jews were the first "non-believers", to Christians in Europe. From the thirteenth century they had to wear distinctive badges or hats so that they could at all times be recognized. In Italy and Germany those who remained (in the 16th century) were segregated in ghettos which were gated and locked at night.

other figurative speeches in their language is because they are primitive people. "More advanced societies are only slightly fertile in this way during the preliminary phases of their existence" (see Durkheim's *Division of Labor in Society* 1984, p. 120). Yet every evidence in Western literature and scholarship at the time, from Geoffrey Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales" (late 14th century) to Shakespearean series (late 16th - early 17th centuries) point to usage of proverbs, maxims, idioms and other figurative speeches as indicators of the richness of a language and the culture that forms it, rather than something presumably advanced as "civilization". Every human group had a "primitive" origin and there is no exception: Ewe is not a modern language. In the West until today, many cultural and civic institutions still utilize thousand-year-old Latin maxims as their mottoes. There still exist in Western parlance the proverbial "*goose that lays the golden eggs*", "*one does not step into the same river twice*", "*every dog has its day*", etc. George Bush's advice to Michael Dukakis during their presidential campaign in 1988 was "*If you can't take the heat, get out of the kitchen.*" The Clinton administration had purportedly "*put a lot of issues promised in his campaign on the back burner*". Perhaps, I am "*making a mountain out of a mole hill*", but these are just few of the usage of figurative speech among the people of the most advanced society on earth. Yet Durkheim accepts Ellis' 1890 analysis about the Ewes' usage of proverbs, idioms and figurative speech as evidence of "primitivism" in his sociological analysis without being critical. Why? At the time Durkheim wrote the *Division of Labor in Society*, these stereotypes about Africans were the rule rather than the exception (see Bernal 1987).⁷

⁷*The Europeans' first contact with the West Africans (about 15th century) was one of the saddest epochs in human history. From their initial scramble for Africa to the establishment of proper*

Other forms of stereotypes include the attempt to remove the group and its members from humanity. White supremacists still today refer to “people of color” all over the world as “pre-Adamic” and “mud people”: and say they don’t have a conscience because they can’t blush (blood in the face). People of African ancestry have been generally believed by Europeans to have more savage libidos in their genetic make up, therefore they are the most lowly of creatures and are treated the same (see Center for Democratic Renewal 1992; Bernal 1987). At the turn of the century, these stereotypes about people of African descent led to the exhibition of a ten-year old black boy, Josef Moller, at the Antwerp Zoo as part of the animal species: similarly in New York City, a pygmy boy, Ota Benga was exhibited in the Bronx Zoo at the Monkey House in 1906 as an “African homunculus” representing the “missing link”(Sleeter and McLaren 1995). These are just a few of the atrocities Thomas Melady defines as “man’s inhumanity to man” in his work “The Revolution of Color”. Such are the legacies of stereotypes based on cognition.

The Conative Dimension of prejudice, according to Ehrlich, is traditionally measured by social distance; its major social categories are the determinants of

colonial powers. they had no regards for the Africans, their culture, religions, and languages. Africans were never acknowledged by Europeans for any contribution towards civilization of humankind (see Gioseffi, 1993, p. xxiii); they were quickly drawn into as terrible a form of slavery as the world had ever seen; their religion and belief systems were never treated with reverential respect, they were termed paganism. So were their names. Today, the average West African bears a Western first name(which is purported to be saintly and civilized), his real African name is hidden in his middle initial followed by a last name which is African only because it could not be altered without losing the person’s lineage. His language is often referred to as dialect, even those which had been codified long ago and are distinctively different from other regional languages. The African situation in regards to the Europeans’ contact with them is, perhaps, best depicted by the West African writer, Chinua Achebe, in his novel “Things Fall Apart.” Here too, because of lingering stereotypes, both Ellis and Durkheim had failed to distinguish “religious ants” from “hungry ants”, as long as they show up in a chapel, a synagogue or a mosque, they must be there for their redemptive imperatives.

stratification or distance such as age, gender, race, class, religion, nationality, ideology, personality [and sexual orientation]. From all these categories, numerous studies point to race as the strongest factor people consider in the United States in imposing personal distance (Triandis 1965; Bogardus 1966; Ames and Sakuma 1969, as cited in Ehrlich 1973). This is mainly because the issue of race involves physical distinctiveness which produces stark visible dissimilarities and in turn, makes the target group easily identifiable for social distance. In other words, **the more visible the dissimilarities (i.e., skin color, hair, and build) the greater the polarity for social distance.** This visibility hypothesis does not pertain only to racial categories. It can obviously include gender, religion and sexual orientation. In New York City, social distance transcends mostly into residential segregation primarily based on race and ethnicity and then by class.⁸ As noted above, New York City is ranked as the sixth most racially segregated city among sixty major metropolitan areas studied in the U.S., with a dissimilarity index of 82.2 (Massey and Denton 1993). Because this segregation has tended to be forced on “people of color” by whites, any spatial crossover by the latter in the name of integration is always met with conflicts and at times, tragedies. Most racial bias crimes or incidents in the residential neighborhoods of the City are linked to the general antagonism of whites wanting to maintain their social distance from blacks and other minorities (City Commission on Human Rights 1993; Governor’s Task Force 1988). However, findings

⁸*Blacks in the City suffer adversely from the two variables (race and class) that are strongly represented on the social category scale as determinants of social distance. First, because of the color of their skin, they rank at the bottom of the racial scale and therefore, are readily rejected as friends or neighbors. Second, overwhelming proportion of blacks are poor therefore, are concentrated in the ghetto. Blacks in the City therefore experience both class and race isolation(see Massey and Denton, 1993).*

from Garofalo and Martin (1993) indicate that bias incidents in New York City are not unidirectional as indicated in much of the literature; rather, in most instances they are reciprocal.

If cognitive and conative meanings are involved in prejudice, so too are emotions. Ehrlich defines the Affective Dimension as intrinsically linked to the emotional state of the actor in a behavior. It is deemed emotionally based because the expression of negative or positive attitudes towards any group predicated on existing stereotypes is indicative of the emotional state of the actor. Because the actor is able to accept the stereotype and his own conduct based on that stereotype (despite any factual contradictions pointing in the other direction), the actor is seen as emotional. Ehrlich himself remains critical of this hypothesis in that the assertions of its causal power had emanated solely from nonsystematic observations.

In a more sociological postulation, Bobo and Hutchings (1996) identify four theoretical models which explain the roots of intergroup hostility in the major metropolitan areas of the United States. These are: 1) simple self-interest; 2) classical prejudice; 3) stratification beliefs; and 4) Blumer's group position model. Relying on the 1992 Los Angeles County Social Survey (LACSS) data, Bobo and Hutchings empirically tested the feelings of competitive threat among whites, African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans. The original data include measures which examine group affect, stereotypes, and feelings of social distance. It is particularly within the framework of these theories that I draw my concepts and form most of my hypotheses on hate crimes in New York City.

1) The Simple Self-Interest Model

This is the model Bobo and Hutchings refer to as the “straightforward pocketbook logic”. It is a logic that tries to rationalize the motives behind group hostilities. Bobo and Hutchings’ findings in regard to this model include the following:

Among White respondents, perceptions of threat from each targeted group are influenced by level of education, but in a nonmonotonic fashion. The most highly educated Whites (16 or more years) usually express the least sense of competitive threat, while generally those with a high school degree (12 years of education), not the most poorly educated, express the strongest competitive threat. Whites with high incomes tend to perceive less threat than their low-income counterparts. Asian American and Latino respondents who are foreign-born tend to perceive greater competition with Blacks than do their native-born co-ethnics.

The above patterns somewhat support the Self-Interest Model in that individuals who are economically secured feel less vulnerable from the out-group (i.e., whites with high incomes perceiving less threat from the out-group than their low-income counterparts). The belligerent groups vying for their material interests (i.e., jobs, housing, services, and preservation of their culture) try to exclude other groups from participation. (The struggle involved here resembles a herd of hungry animals feeding at a very small trough.) Under this model, the in-group, usually whites, tries to protect their neighborhoods from minority integration, citing reasons such as declines in property values and services, competition for neighborhood scarce resources, and introduction of foreign cultures into the neighborhood they consider their home “turf”. Minorities on the other hand fear white intrusion into their neighborhoods, especially when this is being

done under the guise of gentrification. This creates displacement problems as housing costs skyrocket and the poor residing in these neighborhoods can no longer afford to live there. They get cut off from their vital cultural institutions and social networks they have built over the years.

The individuals normally caught up in these forms of hostilities are those who feel vulnerable because they are either unemployed or in low income job sectors and facing neighborhood changes that might impose unbearable costs of adaptation or flight from the undesirable changes. According to the City Commission on Human Rights (CCHR), about 85% of the bias incidents happening in the City's residential areas are predicated on housing issues and the usage of public space in the various neighborhoods (see also Governor's Task Force 1988). **This means that changing neighborhoods, integrated neighborhoods, and areas of high interaction among diverse groups in the City are more likely to have bias problems than homogeneous (i.e., segregated) neighborhoods.** The undergirding rationality in the self-interest model is that material interests of the individuals take primacy over tolerance and peaceful coexistence. Here, there is no predisposition towards being hostile or prejudiced in the individual's psyche against the members of the out-group as is the case in the classical prejudice model.

2) The Classical Prejudice Model

This model is in line with Ehrlich's cognitive perspective in regard to its underlying stereotypical learning imperatives. It is a model which finds no external objective material interests as rationales to hatred but rather a disposition acquired from years of learning and coding of stereotypes into the individual's psyche (Allport 1954; Ehrlich 1973).⁹ Since the premise of this form of hostility is purely based on stereotypical learning, it translates into ignorance and lack of accurate information about the target group. According to Bobo and Hutchings, this deficiency can be eradicated through education and proper exposure to the out-group.

Gay aversion fits much better into this model than into the simple self-interest model because homosexuality cuts across racial, ethnic, religious and cultural lines. Therefore, gays do not form a particular conventional out-group which can engage into a direct competition with an in-group over any objective material interest. Instead, homophobic tendencies have moral or religious inclinations more than clashes over competing progressive social interests.¹⁰ A survey of the victims of gay antipathy found

⁹Members of white supremacy groups are usually endowed with these psychological dispositions and often find their targets of hate among minority groups, Jews, and homosexuals. Since they lack any rationale for their feelings of hate towards members of the out-groups, they invent them. For example, the fabricated document about the Jewish leaderships called "The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion", translated by Victor E. Marsden; the early beliefs about gayness as a psychological disorder, and the pre-Adamic views about blacks and the rest of the colored world (see Ridgeway, 1991; Center for Democratic Renewal, 1992; Zeskind, 1986).

¹⁰ There are a few references in the Bible which seem to prohibit homosexuality; these include Leviticus 18:22, 20:13; Genesis 19; Romans 1:18-32; 1 Corinthians 6:9; Timothy 1:10; Jude 7; and Revelations 21:8; but the one that seems to be most explicit is Leviticus 20:13; which states "If a man lies with a male as with a woman both of them have done a detestable thing, they shall be put to death, their blood is upon them." So, here we have male homosexuality particularly being prohibited by the Bible.

that physical attacks against gays and lesbians seem to be morally accepted by the public because they occur in the presence of observers or passers-by who look on nonchalantly (CCHR 1991). Since the Bible seems to have emphasized the atrociousness of male homosexuality (see Leviticus 20:13) and the United States reflecting the Judeo-Christian tradition, relies on the teachings of this tradition to form its public attitudes about homosexuality, I postulate that male homosexuality is resented more intensely than female homosexuality and in turn is reflected in the nature of attacks against gays and lesbians. To be more precise, **gay men are more likely to receive physical attacks than are lesbians.** This is based on the common belief that straight men who as men are more aggressive than straight women are likely to be the perpetrators of the anti-gay bias crimes, thus culminating in more physical attacks on gay men than lesbians. The issue here therefore stems from the gender of both perpetrators and victims.

3) The Stratification Belief Model

This perspective reveals two views which guide the socio-economic ladder in the United States. The individualistic view, according to Bobo and Hutchings, is that because of the numerous opportunity channels in the U.S., anyone who cannot succeed here has failed simply because he or she did not try hard enough or was not smart enough. The individual is to blame for his or her own failure and there is no need to perceive members of any group as a competitive threat. Conservative scholars interpret this individualistic theory in a more pseudo-scientific way, which ascribes the failure of

African Americans to their genetic make up, that is, they cannot achieve because there is something genetically operative which makes them less intelligent, or otherwise inferior to the white race.¹¹ The structural perspective, on the contrary, claims that, there are inequalities in the opportunity structure in the United States which are to blame for the failure of members of certain social groups. They perceive the existence of constraints such as discrimination and other institutional hindrances based on race, gender, or social class that make it harder for certain group members to achieve or excel on the opportunity scale. While the individualistic argument is used to counter affirmative action programs, the structural perspective is blamed for promoting hostility because it encourages the idea of group threat.

The hate that emanates from this model is strictly economically based and may incite community unrest on a grand scale because it entails a systematic build-up of tensions among opposing groups negotiating the prevailing economic structure.¹² The

¹¹ *Two recent conservative race based studies, Michael Levin's and that of Richard Herrnstein & Charles Murray, "The Bell Curve") put African Americans at the bottom of the intelligence scale. They both assert that students of African descent score lower on IQ tests and are less mathematically and scientifically inclined because of their genetic composition. Part of the framework for these theories was laid down by Oscar Lewis' study of the Mexican poor (called the "Culture of Poverty") and that of Daniel Patrick Moynihan, which focused on the ghetto and the disintegration of the black family through what he termed as a "tangle of pathology." Both of the latter postulate that the survival techniques learned by the poor eventually take the place of their original culture and become so ingrained that even when the opportunity becomes available for their poverty situations to be altered, those learned behaviors are difficult to abandon, therefore they become hindrances to their socio-economic mobility. Both latter scholars clearly blame the prevailing socio-economic structural conditions for these pathologies, but their views were undermined and twisted in later conservative scholarship and interpretation (see Massey and Denton 1993; Wilson 1987) into a more "essentialist" position.*

¹² *Both the Church Avenue boycott in New York City in 1990-1991 by some local African Americans in Brooklyn as a retaliation of an incident in which a Korean grocer was accused of shoving a Haitian woman, and the Los Angeles riot following the Rodney King verdict in 1992 were interpreted in the literature as African Americans' perception of Asian Americans as an economic threat, therefore the hatred towards them; from the African Americans' own perspective, the tension between the two communities originates from Korean merchants'*

group's actual position on the socio-economic scale determines whether or not it is perceived as a competitive threat.

4) Blumer's Group Position Model

This comprehensive sociological model synthesizes the simple self-interest, the classical prejudice, and the stratification belief models into one coherent paradigm. Blumer asserts that feelings of competition and hostility originate from a historically accepted status quo which defines groups' positions in the social order. This historical predisposition ascribes to in-group members the positions they should rightfully occupy in respect to the out-group.¹³

In order for the group position model to prevail in a society, four conditions must be met: 1) the myth of in-group superiority must exist; 2) there must be visible

incivilities towards the African Americans in their daily interactions (see Bobo and Hutchings, 1996).

¹³ *The caste system of India is based on this principle in that, regardless of your efforts and intelligence, you do not hold any position in Indian society outside your caste (see Melady, 1966). The group position ascription in the social order is what the structural perspective refers to as constraints within the system which unfairly hampers members of the out-group, i.e., minorities, while helping the in-group members to excel. (The Christian Identity movement's dislike for the United States government stems from their claim that the U.S. government has become Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG), that white people are not to be ruled by any other people but their own kind and by "birthright" they are to dominate and colonize the world (Ridgeway, 1991; Zeskind, 1986.) The remedies for these inequalities are the affirmative action programs which the individualistic perspective stands against.*

characteristics which easily distinguish the out-group members as aliens and different from the members of the in-group; 3) “authority” to certain rights, resources, and privileges are readily accorded to members of the in-group; 4) out-group members, come on to see the necessities of these rights, privileges, status, and resources for socio-economic mobility, crave for a better share of them from the in-group who had been enjoying these rights for so long. The fusion of these four elements creates the group position mentality and the ensuing antagonisms which, according to Blumer, are negotiated by the various social group leaderships through “public discourse and political struggle” (Bobo and Hutchings 1996). Suppression of women as a group in most societies by men is better explained by the group position model than all the other models discussed above. The discussion of the hate phenomenon, therefore, would be incomplete without examining the roots of the domination and violence being perpetrated against women by men in various societies of the world today.

Gender Based Bias

Violence against women in American society (and elsewhere in the world) is a serious problem. Yet very few states in the United States include gender in their hate crime statutes¹⁴ This is mainly because the United States, like many other countries in the world, is a society in which the male experience is the experience that defines most

¹⁴ *The states currently with a firm inclusion of gender as a protected class in their hate crime legislation are: California, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, Vermont and Washington DC.*

of the societal norms. The crimes which victimize women are, in many respects, different from those that victimize Jews, Gays, Blacks, and other minority groups around the world. Women in particular suffer from gender-based crimes like rape, sexual assault, genital mutilation, and quid-pro-quo sexual harassment in employment, conflict situations resulting to refugee camps and shelters, and above all, the age-old crime of domestic violence and male oppression.

Here in the United States, females represent about 52% of the population and have proven themselves time and again in many sectors of life and profession that they are just as capable as men, yet their status has always been relegated to a level lower than that of men. Some argue that the level of violence against women in American society today should be seen as a backlash against the rise of women fighting for equality just as was manifested during the civil rights era against minorities by racists and white supremacist groups.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the gender based bias against women in the Western psyche could be traced from classical time, through the period of the Enlightenment, and to modern day stereotypes and misogynists' beliefs.

Gender specific bias permeates Western philosophy and literature of all the periods mentioned above. For example, Plato stated in his Republic that a woman is only a lesser man. Aristotle thought women may be said to be an inferior man. Philosophers and scholars who spearheaded the Enlightenment movement and advocated human rights, of all people, largely failed on the equality of women. Rousseau, for instance,

¹⁵ *While the hate groups in the United States do not have a clear policy on status of women, they strongly resent the growing feminism and their organizations in the nation. They expect their women to be submissive to them and not to strive for any power position in their organizations.*

denied women as having any aesthetic sensibility. Women, he stated, have no love or proper knowledge of any art and they lack any genius. Nietzsche, on women, is a bit milder than Rousseau and others. He believed that women are bad, but not much worse than men, and that woman was God's second mistake. Given this background, negative stereotypes about women festered through time and reached their height around the 19th century with the development of a new method known as anthropometry or the measurement of the human body: and its subdivision, craniometry, the measurement of the skull. It was this method that Paul Broca and his protégés employed callously in 19th century France to arrive at the conclusion about the inferiority of women and blacks to white men.

Broca, according to Stephen J. Gould, weighed the brains of 292 dead white men and calculated an average weight of 1325 grams, against 140 dead women's brains averaged 1144 grams, with a difference of 181 grams which equals 14% less than the males' brain (Gioseffi 1993, pp.118-124). From this outcome, Broca concluded that women have smaller brains than men and therefore are less intelligent than men.

The flaw in Broca's methodology and sample selection was uncovered by Gould in his "Mismeasure of Man" (1981). Gould examined Broca's data and found that Broca's women were considerably older than his men, and his men were, on average, about a foot taller than his women. Broca did not control for these factors in measuring the brain weights despite the fact that brain weight decreases with age, and increases with height. Brain weight is also affected by the cause of death (i.e., from degenerative diseases), and the length of illness before death.

Broca's conclusion was expanded further in 1879 by one of his followers, Gustave Le Bon. Le Bon asserted that among the most intelligent races (like the Parisian), a large number of women have brains with sizes close to those of gorillas. From this assertion, he concluded that women are therefore the most inferior forms of human evolution and likened them to children and savages because they are fickle minded and lack the capacity to reason. "The day when, misunderstanding the inferior occupation which nature has given her, women leave the home and take part in our [men's] battles, on this day a social revolution will begin, and everything that maintains the sacred ties of the family will disappear." (Le Bon as quoted by Gould in Gioseffi 1993, p.121).

Because of the biases stemming from such subjective scholarship by men against women, women's experiences have never been taken seriously in Western thought until recent years. The male experience is the primary definer of the norms. Sexism and misogynists' beliefs stemmed from these stereotypes and contributed to the bad experiences and the fears instilled in women in the "reality of man's world."

Violence against women is often perpetrated by people with a lot of power acting in an official capacity of state or government. From the work-force to the war-front, acts of intimidation and dehumanization are perpetrated against women all over the world. During World War II, Philippino and Korean women were flagrantly abused by the occupying Japanese soldiers. Here in the United States, misogynists are not hesitant, when the opportunity prevails, to brutalize women and at times young girls in order to fulfill the usual male's lust for female sexuality or their display of power, control and

ego. Such violations are often confounded by the specific hatreds legally declared bias crimes such as the brutal attack by a gang of black youths on a white woman jogger in New York City in 1989 which became to be known as “the Central Park Jogger” case: but as often as not, they involve men and women of the same race, for example, the gang rape of a young white woman in a New Bedford, Massachusetts bar by a group of white men, as onlookers, mostly males, cheered; and the gang rape of a black high school student by a group of black male students in a restroom of Martin Luther King Jr. High School in New York City in 1997. Such crimes and countless cases of domestic violence terrorize women every year because of their gender, but legislators of many states in the U.S. are unwilling to include gender as one of the protected classes under their hate crime statutes. The argument is that gender violations such as rape and domestic violence against women are already given special treatments in the existing laws and therefore do not warrant any other protection in bias laws. Both New York State and the City of New York are among jurisdictions yet to include gender specific laws in their hate crime statutes. Therefore, any gender violation in these jurisdictions is treated just like any other crime. The City Commission on Human Rights’ inclusion of gender as part of its protected classes is a policy order issued by the Commission’s then Chair, Dennis DeLeon under the Dinkins’ administration and because it is a “toothless” law, it may not command much respect from the City’s women. Over all the five-year period (1991-1995), only two calls were recorded by the Commission’s “Hotline” as gender based bias violation against women.

There is a serious problem of underreporting of gender based violence by victims to proper authorities. This is possibly because most victims feel that they will not be taken seriously enough, a matter over which NYPD policies have some control. Besides, violence against women is usually perpetrated by their close acquaintances such as husbands, lovers, fathers, brothers, and children, therefore making it hard for the victims to turn them over to authorities. Unless more serious consideration is soon given to the plight of women in relation to the violence that most of them are subjected to by men, the nation's 130 million or so females will continue living in fear and anxiety. Thus it is not a denial of the seriousness of their situation that I do not discuss them here, but rather I concentrate on what are declared prejudice and bias crimes.

Historically, in the United States, the myths of 'whites' (especially Anglo-Saxon Protestants') superiority were interwoven into the nation's religious, social, educational and economic interests. Minorities, particularly African Americans, have been both overtly and covertly discriminated against in the areas of employment, housing, education and public accommodation (Nasaw 1979; Steinberg 1981; McClellan and Reese 1988; Fine 1991; Massey and Denton 1993).¹⁶ The advent of the Civil Rights

¹⁶ *Before the Civil Rights movement of the late 1950s into the 60s, blacks in the South were faced with adverse discriminatory practices termed "Southern Jim Crowism", and milder forms in the northern states. According to David Nasaw(1979), with the support of certain state ordinances, blacks were discriminated against in employment, housing, and education. Able and willing black job-seekers were denied employment, and yet if caught not working, they would be arrested under the local vagrancy ordinances and charged. The fine for vagrancy violations was often free hard labor for some landed local aristocrats. In education, during the ante-bellum era blacks' education was proscribed by law in the South and by tradition and popular prejudice elsewhere in the country. Fines for teaching blacks (whether free or slave) in the early part of the 19th century was increased to \$100 in Virginia, South Carolina's was supplemented with six months imprisonment, Georgia's was \$500 plus time, North Carolina up to \$200, Alabama \$500. The penalty for freed blacks teaching slaves was much severe including whipping. In the post-bellum periods, blacks' employment was restricted to certain jobs and for most part proscribed by the unions and trade organizations. Education for blacks were limited to industrial training*

movements of the 1960s was the culmination of the awakening of minority groups and women to the necessity of their participation in enjoyment of the rights, privileges, and resources of the country. This then led to a period of extreme hostility and inter-group antagonism in the country as self-perceived “out-groups” saw the opportunity to gain “a piece of the pie” and to counter all the prevailing myths and stereotypes about its members, as “identity politics” became more overt. Affirmative action programs instituted in the areas of employment, education, and housing to offset years of inequalities exacerbated the in-groups’ anger because they weakened their positions relative to the out-groups. Some from the conservative camps labeled these programs as “reverse discrimination” which only intensified group hostility. Still for the most part, through the affirmative programs and related changes of norms, racial and gender integration has occurred in most spheres of the American socio-economic sector. But the struggle continues in all forms of bias or hate expressions from members of one group towards the other in the name of some material interests, from psychological predispositions from years of stereotyping, from perceived socio-economic threats or judgments of group’s position in the social order. Thus, the anti-Semite, the homophobe,

which would hold them down in their Southern environments as servants and laborers (see McClellan and Reese, pp. 290-291 & 297). The ploy was to not put blacks in direct competition with the poor Southern whites by giving them equal educational opportunities. The following from McClellan and Reese (page 297) reflects the climate and the educational agenda of the country in the early 20th century, “Hence, the promotion of black industrial education became an official policy of the GEB [General Education Board]. In a 1914 confidential report to its members, the Board stated that from 1902 to 1914 it had made “intensive and constructive” efforts to accomplish three main goals: to develop a new method and organization in medical education; to train a new type of businessman through the Harvard Graduate School of Business; and to develop industrial education in Negro schools.”

the racist and the misogynist can all be located in the theoretical models discussed above. with varying degrees.

In applying and testing the tenets of these models in this dissertation, I examine the extent to which the struggle over group position appears in New York City's 59 community districts in terms of bias crime. My hypotheses are based on the three major types of bias crimes which plague the City, namely, racial, anti-Semitic and anti-gay incidents.¹⁷ It should be understood that the subject is so complex that there is no one theory that can fully explain all the issues surrounding the above mentioned major types of incidents. Nonetheless, I hope to be able to link some of the existing theories like the Simple Self-Interest Model, the Classical Prejudice Model and Blumer's Group Position Model to the nature of bias incidents occurring in the City. I shall also examine alternative theories and see how they help to explain bias in the City's 59 community districts.

THEORETICAL STATEMENT

Building on Ehrlich's conative dimension perspective of prejudice, it would appear that visibility of the dissimilarities about a group from the in-group is paramount in establishing social distance. The same theme reverberates in Bobo and Hutchings'

¹⁷ *Anti-Semitism throughout this work follows the conventional usage in the hate literature to refer to bigotry directed towards Jews despite the fact that the term "Semite" includes the language groups of Hebrew, Arabs, Assyrians, Phoenicians, Ethiopic and Amharic. Anti-gay would also be used here interchangeably with anti-homosexual to describe both male and female homosexuality. Where the distinction is necessary, lesbian or lesbianism would be used to distinguish female homosexuality from male.*

extension of Blumer's theory of group position. I examine this visibility theory in light of the racial, anti-Semitic, and anti-gay incidents in the City. From the Simple Self-Interest Model, I examine the extent to which the protection of individual material interests may in fact promote bias in changing neighborhoods. From the Classical Prejudice Model, I look at the way individual psychological disposition may promote gay aversions and to what extent male homosexuality is more resented than female. Anti-Semitic bias tends to be more complicated in terms of the undergirding theories. Thus, I compare the applicability of the visibility theory, the Group Position theory, and the Classical Prejudice theory.

Hypotheses

1) Visibility of any protected group in the City increases bias against that group. Accordingly, bias is much higher for blacks, gays and lesbians than any other groups (Ehrlich 1973; CCHR 1992, 1993). (Visibility here entails skin color, mannerisms and ethnic/group concentration.) For gays and lesbians, their visibility is revealed by certain mannerisms and more particularly by group concentration. For this hypothesis, I examine the number of bias cases occurring within certain known group-concentrated areas to other selected community districts i.e., anti-gay incidents within community district 2 (The Village) in Manhattan versus other districts and anti-Semitic

incidents in districts 1, 9 and 12 (Williamsburg, Crown Heights and Borough Park sections respectively) of Brooklyn versus other districts.

2) Hate crimes, according to the literature, can be directed towards persons, groups, properties and or institutions. **Anti-Semitic bias crimes are more likely to involve institutions and/or properties than any other type of bias incidents** (Levin 1992). This perhaps is due to the fact that Jewish institutions such as synagogues and Yeshiva schools are more visible in the various communities of the City than other institutions in terms of ethnic and religious affiliations and more distinguishable as such than are their congregants from other whites.

3) The literature suggests social integration as a major remedy for bringing understanding of our differences. According to Levin (1992), bias crimes or incidents are the results of an interplay of attitudes, demographics, economics, and tensions. Under the premise of the Simple Self-Interest and the visibility theories, my hypothesis is that **bias incidents are associated with areas of high levels of interaction among the various groups in any given community; and that the number of such incidents is higher when racial or ethnic differences are sharper and more visible (i.e., between black and white)**. In other words, bias crimes are more likely to occur in areas where we have frequent interaction among distinct groups than in areas occupied by homogenous groups (these include integrated residential areas, interstitial zones, cosmopolitan commercial zones, major transportation hubs, and public parks and places).

4) **The proportion of young people being victimized in bias crimes/incidents is directly related to the proportion of young people as perpetrators.** The vast body of

literature on the subject points to young people as the overwhelming majority of perpetrators of bias crime in the City, which suggests that these incidents are part of larger patterns of youth on youth violence (Garofalo & Martin 1993; CCHR 1993; Levin 1992). This is also apparent from the fact that young people tend to spend more of their leisure time “hanging out” in the neighborhood than adults. Therefore, they are more prone to become involved in bias incidents in the neighborhood (Governor’s Task Force 1988).

5) Gay men are more likely to be victimized for their sexual orientation than are lesbians. Generally speaking, male homosexuality appears to be resented more than female’s. Perhaps one contributor to explaining this difference could be rooted in the Bible (Leviticus 20:13) which explicitly proscribed male homosexuality as a detestable act, as well as the greater visibility of some gay men’s stereotypical appearance. But male homosexuality may simply be more visible than lesbianism. Also, males are the greater perpetrators of all bias crimes, as will be discussed in detail later in the findings chapter. In the anti-gay incidents, 64% of the perpetrators were males while a mere 4% were females (and 80% of victims were males while 15% were females), suggesting that high victimization of gay men may have stemmed from the general power struggle among men. However, in about 32% of the anti-gay incidents the perpetrator’s gender was not known (see table B24 in appendix B).

6) **Gay bias crimes are far more likely to involve physical assault or offensive contact than any other offense type** such as criminal mischief, larceny, and burglary (Levin 1992; Comstock 1991). Many of these assaults are very brutal in nature.¹⁸

Drawing from these hypotheses, I regard segregated minority neighborhoods like Harlem, Washington Heights, the South Bronx and Bedford Stuyvesant as not likely to be "hot spots" for bias crimes or incidents. That is true only if one controls for isolated incidents like the burning of Freddy's clothing store in Harlem in 1995 and the way news content is structured and otherwise explained around minorities and their neighborhoods. In Harlem, residents have always been receptive to people of other racial or ethnic groups, especially if they are contributing to the economic growth of the area. White, Jewish, and Korean merchants have always scrambled for the Harlem market because they flourish there through the residents' patronage (New York Times, December 14, 1995 p. B1). This situation was created in part by the departure of middle class blacks to the suburbs, when the end of legal segregation opened commercial opportunities to whites and Asians in Harlem, while white enclaves in Brooklyn have seen no similar exodus of its middle class to create such voids in its commercial sector.

On the other hand, areas known to be white ethnic enclaves such as Bensonhurst, Canarsie, and Howard Beach tend to be areas of high bias incidents mainly because many residents, citing economic values, property values and services, try to prevent integration.

¹⁸ According to Levin (1992), "An analysis of the Boston Police Department's bias crime statistics show bias-motivated assaults are more severe than their non-bias counterparts. The Director of Victim Services at New York's Bellevue Hospital recalled, "Attacks against gay men were the most heinous and brutal I encountered. They frequently involved torture, cutting, mutilation, and beating, and showed the absolute intent to rub out the human being because of his preference." (p. 167)

Many young people in these relatively affluent neighborhoods often elect themselves as the protectors of the invisible walls that hedge their communities against minority groups and employ every means to drive them away from their "turf" (Governor's Task Force 1988; see also Bobo and Hutchings 1996).

Previous studies indicate that bias crimes in the City are perpetrated mostly by people under 20 years of age (Garofalo & Martin 1993; CCHR 1993; Levin 1992). The median and mean ages of perpetrators were 18 and 20 years respectively compared to 27 and 25 years for non-bias crimes; and youth offenders comprised 58% of the perpetrators of bias crime in the City (Levin 1992). Findings from the Gay and Lesbians' Anti-Violence Project (AVP) anti-gay report for 1994 were similar to those of CCHR's (1993), and Levin's (1992) with respect to the age of perpetrators. As noted, anti-gay bias crimes are mostly perpetrated by males against gay men. The five-year data revealed (see Chapter 4 for details) 80% of the victims to be men and 64% of perpetrators being males. Only 15% of the victims and 4% of perpetrators were females (see tables B23 & B24 in appendix B for details).

On the average, anti-gay incidents have been on the rise in the City since 1987, and June 1994 topped all months in the 14 years that records have been kept (AVP 1994). This one month record increase was attributed to the gay athletic games hosted by the City in June of 1994. This event alone had increased the **visibility effect** on the City's gay community, therefore contributing to the increased attack on them.

The 1988 Governor's Task Force conducted survey of students in New York State to measure the effect of contact among members of ethnic groups and attitudes towards

members of the contacted group by asking "if the respondent had had a member of another race, religion, or sexual orientation at their house as a dinner guest ." The results were that personal contact with members of other ethnic groups had a positive effect on both social attitudes (i.e., accepting other ethnic group members as neighbors) and personal attitudes, such as dating other ethnic group members. However, personal contact with or exposure to a gay person as a guest showed a greater increase in negative feelings among the students towards gays and lesbians (Governor's Task Force 1988).

In the same survey, the Task Force found a high level of openness among youths in the state in their expression of anti-gay aversion and hostility against homosexuals in comparison to other types of biases such as those deemed to be racial or ethnocentric. Obviously such openness about anti-gay biases is not limited to youth. According to the CCHR's survey of the City's gay community (see *End the Hate*, 1991), in most cases, attacks on gays and lesbians seemed to be socially acceptable because they often occur in the presence of observers or passers-by who are not concerned. The extent to which people condone gay aversion is often reflected in state and national policies. In 1986, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Georgia State statute prohibiting sodomy. Many states had used Leviticus to shape and direct state policy towards homosexuality despite the constitutional issue of separation of church and state (Comstock 1991).¹⁹ Thus, most states (including New York) still do not include sexual

¹⁹*There are few references in the Bible which seem to prohibit homosexuality ; these include Leviticus 18:22, 20:13; Genesis 19; Romans 1 : 18-32; 1 Corinthians 6:9; Timothy 1: 10; Jude 7; and Revelations 21:8; but the one that seems to be most explicit is Leviticus 20:13; which states "If a man lies with a male as with a woman both of them have done a detestable thing, they shall be put to death, their blood is upon them."*

orientation in their own bias statutes as one of the protected classes. Even at the federal level, a bill merely mandating reporting of hate crimes nationally was held up for many years before passage in 1990 because of its inclusion of sexual orientation bias crimes (Garofalo & Martin 1993).

Anti-Semitic incidents in the City had also been on the rise from 1987 through 1992 and reached an all time high of 228 cases in 1992 (CCHR's yearly reports, 1985 through 1994). The ADL also has documented a steady increase in campus anti-Semitism across the nation from 1988 through 1994 with sharp increases in 1990 and 1994. Locally, in 1994 there were three anti-Semitic incidents in New York University, two incidents at Queens College, and one at York College. These incidents include anti-Semitic vandalism, speeches and comments on college campuses by people like Khalid Abdul Muhammad of the Nation of Islam and Professor Leonard Jeffries of City College. Incidents of these kinds from the black community create backlash from liberal whites as well as Jews against blacks because the former feel betrayed by the black community with which they had worked fervently during the civil rights era. Jewish intellectualism in particular was very instrumental in planning and strategizing at the time in the fight for civil rights for all minorities. It is worthy to note that some white liberals gave even their own lives for this cause. In another incident at Queens College, the school's newspaper ran a holocaust-denial advertisement in February of 1994, an act not only hurtful to the holocaust survivors, but glaringly showing support for the revisionists' theories and ideologies. All of these serve as a resource for the local anti-Semites because the activities of the so called spokespersons define who the enemy is in their hate messages.

The dynamism of these spokespersons and their groups' ideologies are discussed in detail in the chapter 2 below.

In this chapter I have discussed the roots of prejudice and stereotypes and illustrated some world examples as to how they help perpetuate hatred among human groups. I have reviewed major theoretical explanations for bias crimes, as legally defined, and derived hypotheses to be tested by the data. I have also touched on the much forgotten but serious issues pertaining to gender based bias. I now turn to examine how prejudice and stereotypes are expressed by major hate groups in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

MAJOR HATE GROUPS

The socio-psychological determinants of prejudice having been examined in chapter 1, here I turn to describing the many separate forms in which they are expressed; each with its own distinct rationale for the psycho-emotionally felt and socially determined particular bias

This chapter is devoted to reviewing the major hate groups in the United States, their doctrines and ideologies in the phenomenon of hate. A hate group here includes white supremacists' organizations subscribing to the doctrines and ideologies of the Christian Identity movement or the Klan type organizations which represent the far right; and the black supremacists' groups (i.e., the Yahweh Ben Yahweh group, and the Nation of Islam) that are often found on the far left of the U.S. socio-political and ideological spectrum. There are also other fringe groups operating in the United States that are either sympathizers of or members of the PLO, or Islamic Fundamentalists. Their activities at times translate into terrorism as manifested in the World Trade Center bombing in 1993 and that of Oklahoma City in 1995. The relevance of these groups in the discussion of local hate crimes is that they provide the ideological framework and the morale for local bigots, anti-Semites, and homophobes to perpetrate their hate acts against people who are defined as different from them. They also serve as the "mind

conditioners” for young adults through the dissemination of hate messages and paraphernalia through public access radios, television networks, the internet, comic books and video tapes.

THE FAR RIGHT

The Christian Identity Movement

The Christian Identity movement is a quasi-religious movement in the U.S. with its roots in British Israelism (Zeskind 1986; CDR 1992).²⁰ It is a movement that tries to unite the white supremacists’ organizations under a new religious veneer derived from their own interpretation of the Bible which has become their hate manifesto. Christian Identity therefore creates a theological rationale for all the white supremacists’ organizations to feel at ease with their psychological dispositions towards hatred for Jews, gays and non-whites of the world. Its doctrine holds that the descendants of the people of Northern Europe, the Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, and Nordic people, are the chosen

²⁰ *British Israelism is a movement that claims that the Anglo-Saxon-Celtic people are the true lost tribe of Israel from biblical times. The origin of this belief could be traced to the 1840 work of a Scot, John Wilson entitled “Our Israelitish Origin”; and that of Edward Hine in 1871 called “Identification of the British Nation with Lost Israel”(see Zeskin 1986, p. 15). This belief was organized into a movement in Britain by a group called The Front. It was from this group that the idea arrived in the U.S. in the early 20th century, spearheaded by the editor of the Dearborn Independent, William Cameron. The name “Christian Identity” came from the identification of the British Nation to the lost tribes of Israel. Both British Israelism and the Christian Identity movement believe that the “ blessings of greatness and wealth through birthright” were inherited by the United States and Great Britain through the two sons of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh. (Ephraim, which refers to Great Britain stands for “a nation”, and Manasseh which supposedly is the United States represents “a company of nations”)(Zeskin 1986, p. 19).*

people: and are the lost Tribes of Israel. They claim that Jews, as we know them today, are impostors, hybrids and children of Satan because they had defected from God's laws through race and blood mixing which had largely occurred through intermarriages during the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. Blacks and the rest of the colored world are referred to as pre-Adamic and "mud people" (an euphemism for sub-humans) who are without souls because they can't blush. Movement members assert that the Bible is against integration and racial equality, that any Christian denomination which is advocating for them is anti-Christ. They have no tolerance for homosexuals whom they refer to as "Sodomites" and who supposedly, are going to suffer worse calamities than AIDS for disobeying God's laws.²¹

While the Christian Identity seems to be in agreement with the New Right (mostly Christian Fundamentalists) on issues such as homosexuality, abortion, women's rights, school prayer, and affirmative action, they disagree with them on a number of other issues. Identity resents the New Right's open support for Jews and the Jewish state, integration, democracy, and the United States Government. Democracy, they claim, is just the flip side of communism and capitalism represents the ancient Babylonian system of usury. They believe and accordingly resent the Federal Reserve for its interest rate system, and the U.S. government, which they referred to as the Zionists Occupation Government (ZOG), as both being controlled by Jews who have brought about the whole usury system. They call for the overthrow of "ZOG" and the establishment of a "Christian Republic" in which there will be neither Jews nor blacks because by God's

²¹ Key figures among the Identity leadership who preach this theology include Robert Miles, Alan Poe, Richard Butler, Jack Mohr, Pete Peters, and Thom Robb.

decree. whites are not to be ruled by any other races except themselves.²² They also have theological differences with many Christian Fundamentalists over what they call the “End Times”, a period of tribulations in which they will become the true soldiers of Christ in charge of affairs until all the undesirables and the anti-Christ are wiped out. The Fundamentalists call this same period as “The Rapture”. Christian Identity adherents dispense with the “Rapture” theory by calling it a “hoax” and “Jewish fable”.

Christian Identity, according to Zeskind, plays two major roles for the white supremacists. On one hand, it creates religious unity among the diverse racist political and ideological groups and on the other, it draws people with religious dispositions into the racists’ movement by convincingly carving out a new religious veneer which is nothing more than the racist, anti-Semitic, and homophobic perspectives of the British Israelism. The linkage between Identity and British Israelism could be traced to Fordism in the 1920s as a period marked by new fermentation of anti-Semitism in the United States.

In the 1920s, Americans received news about an insidious Jewish conspiracy uncovered by the czarists, which was designed by the worldwide Jewish cabal to put the entire world’s affairs into their control. The conspiracy was named “The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion.” In May of 1920, Henry Ford began publishing the contents of the Protocols in his Michigan weekly newspaper called the Dearborn Independent. These

²²*It was under this principle of overthrowing the Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG) that the “Turner Dairies” were formulated by William Pierce, the founder of the National Alliance (a sub-group of the Christian Identity movement). As a result, numerous violent underground paramilitary organizations sprung up from the Aryan Nations by the help of the Identity leaders Richard Butler in Idaho and Bob Miles in Michigan. These groups include “The Order”, founded by the late Bob Mathews; The White Patriot Party (NC), led by Glenn Miller; and The Posse Comitatus founded by Jim Wickstrom.*

publications helped to legitimize and publicize the concocted story about the so-called Jewish conspiracy and also heightened the feelings of anti-Semitism in the U.S. from 1920s onwards. Given his prominence in developing the automobile industry, the endorsement and promotion of these sentiments by Ford in the 1920s came to be termed as “the other Fordism”, in hate literature. The newspaper articles about the Jewish conspiracy were written by the editor of the Dearborn Independent, William Cameron. Cameron was a member of a group called the British Israelis, and from time to time would write about the Anglo-Saxon-Celtic- Nordic people being the true lost tribes of Israel and the “chosen people” as opposed to those claiming to be Jews. During Cameron’s tenure at the Dearborn Independent, practicing Jews were blamed for every ill of the time. They were blamed for Freemasonry, communism, and problems in agriculture. Paradoxically, Jews were also accused of being in control of the banks, the trade unions, capitalism and inventors of the worldwide usury system (see Zeskind 1986; Ridgeway 1990). Before its termination in 1927, Ford succeeded in compiling all the published articles about the Jews in the Dearborn Independent into a book called “The International Jew” of which over half a million copies were allegedly sold worldwide. After the termination of the publication of the International Jew articles in the Dearborn Independent, Cameron went on his own to publish other racist articles in his magazine called Destiny. It was through this and consequent events that the name Identity would take off among the white supremacists’ movements and eventually become to be known as the Christian Identity in the United States, which signifies the “racial” identity of the Lost Tribes of Israel.

Henry Ford thus contributed tremendously to the current level of anti-Semitic feelings in the United States, especially among the white supremacists who uncritically subscribed to the tenets of the International Jew as a legitimate document. The invention of the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion opened up a new set of theoretical supports among the racist movements in the world, as more recently espoused in revisionists' theories about the holocaust and other racists' schools of thought on blacks' suffrage in slavery and Southern Jim Crowism.

Revisionists' Movement

Revisionism is an international phenomenon among the racist white supremacists in Europe, Canada, and the United States also directed against Jews but without the religious rationale of the Christian Identity movement. Currently, their premise is that the whole story about the holocaust and the gas chambers at Auschwitz and Treblinka was a hoax, that Hitler had no plan for or ever ordered any systematic killings of six million Jews. Here in the United States, in order to give credence to these claims, the founder of the Liberty Lobby, Willis Carto established the Institute for Historical Review (IHR).

The IHR's main goal is to lend academic credence to the host of denials about the holocaust and other atrocities of Nazi Germany. It claims that its members include a large number of advanced degree holders and university professors. According to the Center for Democratic Renewal's account, out of the 25 editorial advisory committee

members of its quarterly journal, 18 of them hold doctorate degrees.²³ Promoting the revisionists' theory internationally is a book called the Leuchter Report, by Fred Leuchter, a \$37,000 study funded and published by Ernst Zundel of Canada, which purportedly researched all the alleged atrocities of Nazi Germany and found them to be a hoax and Jewish exaggerations. The Leuchter report, which has become the "gospel" for the revisionists worldwide, was promoted in Britain by David Irving, in Germany by Ewol Alton, in France by Robert Faurisson, in Canada by Ernst Zundel, and in the U.S. by Willis Carto.²⁴ What this international network of revisionists seeks to accomplish is to unite young neo-Nazis with war veterans and older Nazi sympathizers in Europe and elsewhere, activists with academics. This is in the hope that their efforts will reinvigorate the neo-Nazi movement in general and particularly in the United States.

²³The list of the members of the advisory committee as of Spring 1992 are as follows: George Ashley, Ph.D. LA Unified School District (Ret); Enrique Aynat, LL. B., Torreblanca, Spain; Phillip Barker, Ph. D., Minneapolis, Minnesota; John Bennet, LL.B., Melbourne, Australia; Friedrich Berg, Ft Lee NJ; Alexander V. Berkis, LL.M, Ph.D., Longwood College (Ret); Walter Beveraggi-Allende, Ph.D., University of Buenos Aires, Argentina; Arthur R. Butz, Ph.D., North Western University, Ill; Boyd Cathey, Ph.D. North Carolina; Robert H. Countess, Ph.D., Huntsville, Alabama; Albert J. Eckstein, Ph.D.; Robert Faurisson, Ph.D., Lyon, France; Georg Franz-Willing, Ph.D. Urberlingen, Germany; Verne E. Fuerst, Ph.D., Hartford, Connecticut; Samuel Edward Konkin III, Long Beach, California; R. Clarence Lang, Ph.D., Seguin, Texas; Martin A. Larson, Ph.D., Phoenix, Arizona; William B. Lindsey, Ph.D.; James J. Martin, Ph.D., Colorado Spring, Colorado; Carlo Mattogno, Italy; Revilo P. Oliver, Ph.D., Urbana, Ill; Henri Roques, Ph.D., Colombes, France; Wilhelm Staglich, J.D., Badenweiler, Germany; Udo Walendy, Germany; Andreas R. Wesslerle, Ph.D., Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Thus is the list of leading revisionist scholars.

²⁴A recent blow to the Leuchter Report and the so called historical revisionists has been the academic research findings by Professor Gerald Fleming of Surrey University. Going through the archives of the Red Army in Moscow in October of 1991, Professor Fleming found that the Red Army had found a major batch of documents relating to the systematic extermination programs of the Nazis when they captured the Auschwitz area. Among the documents were the blueprints of the designs and building facility programs of the death camps and gas chambers by the architect Heinrich Himmler.

Neo-Nazi Movement in the U.S.

Nazism has never fully crystallized in the United States despite efforts by the late George Lincoln Rockwell in the late 1950s through the mid 1960s to form an American Nazi Party (ANP).²⁵ Nevertheless, the work of Rockwell has been passed along through the Christian Identity movement which targets young adults in high schools and college campuses by way of racially oriented video tapes, comic books and the internet to teach them become racists and bigots. (They appear to be successful in reaching their youthful targets: we have seen in Chapter I the high proportion of young people among those who perpetrate hate crime.) Under the umbrella of the Christian Identity movement are groups like the Aryan Nation, White Aryan Resistance (WAR), and the National Alliance whose basic interest is to reach the young white America and organize them into groups which can carry out their racist ideals against their targeted groups locally.

The White Aryan Resistance (WAR) led by Tom Metzger, has been very successful in organizing neo-Nazi Skinheads around the country through his radio and television shows called "Race and Reason". Instrumental in this success is Metzger's son, John Metzger, whose appeals to young whites about the importance of white people's resistance against "race traitors" and their future translate into the new awakening of neo-Nazi Skinheads' movements across the United States. Thus, Tom Metzger and his Third Position ideology have reinvigorated neo-Nazi Skinheads in the

²⁵*George Lincoln Rockwell was a devout anti-Communist, extreme racist and anti-Semite who claimed that about 80% of American Jewry were traitors and must be exterminated; blacks, he said, must all be sent back to Africa. Rockwell thought of himself as Hitler's Lenin, or the St Paul to Hitler's Christ. He believed Hitler was a gift to the world.*

United States. It is estimated that the Skinhead membership in the U.S. has grown from a mere 300 in 1986 to about 3,500 in 1991 (CDR 1992). Issues dealing with the Skinhead movements have also proliferated on television talk shows (appearing on Geraldo Rivera, Oprah, and Jenny Jones). Tom and John Metzger were convicted and fined \$12.5 million in Portland, Oregon in 1990 for the Skinheads' murder of Ethiopian immigrant Mulegeta Seraw in 1988. This conviction and imposition of fines on the Metzgers brought some financial difficulties to their organization WAR and diminished its material and ideological support to the Skinhead movement.

The National Alliance is another racist group which also help to organize the neo-Nazi Skinheads. Founded by the author of the Turner Diaries, William Pierce, the National Alliance boasts of membership chapters in all major cities of the U.S. including the Borough of Staten Island in New York City (Ridgeway 1997; Hoff 1997).²⁶

There are also some more benign Skinhead movements in the United States. Typical of these is a movement called Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice (SHARP). SHARP's ideology is in stark contrast with that of the neo-Nazis' in that it calls for more inclusiveness and equality among the diverse groups that form the demographic profiles of the United States. They are also against violence and the socio-political dogma that have plagued the right wing extremists and the far left activists. SHARP is a fringe group

²⁶ *William Pierce refers to New York City as the worst result of mixing of the races and was quoted saying "...probably if I write another novel, I will devise some particularly colorful ways for destroying New York City." His first novel, The Turner Diaries, calls for overthrowing of the U.S. government and exterminating non-whites and Jews and the formation of the Aryan Nation. The convicted Oklahoma City bomber, Timothy McVeigh was reported to be connected to Pierce's National Alliance and the tenets of his novel The Turner Diaries. Pages from this novel were found in Mcveigh's vehicle at the time he was arrested (see Ridgeway et al, The Village Voice, 06.03 '97, pp 42-43).*

of the punk rockers movement emerging in the mid seventies in the United States from the British punk rockers. Membership of SHARP cuts across all racial and ethnic groups. They have profound love for punk music, close skin-shaven heads and punk clothes. Unlike the other racist Skinheads, SHARP was deeply involved in world peace and anti-apartheid movements (CDR 1992).

THE BLACK SUPREMACISTS

The Nation Of Yahweh and The House of David

The Nation of Yahweh and its New York City counterpart The House of David is, perhaps, the most radical of the black supremacist groups today. Named after its founder, Yahweh Ben Yahweh, the Nation of Yahweh follows a radical theological teachings which is very close to those expressed by the Christian Identity movement on the white supremacist side of the polarities.²⁷ Also known as the Hebrew Israelites, The House of David's doctrine holds that they are the Lost Tribes of Israel, the true Jews, the descendants of Jacob, who lost their identity through years of torture and hardship in slavery of the "wicked white race". The doctrine also holds that whites are the accursed

²⁷*Headquartered in Miami, Florida, the Nation of Yahweh has branches located in all the major metropolitan areas of the United States, including New York City, where it currently assumes a new name "The House of David." Members are often seen "set up" on the street corners of the City's busiest shopping districts with Bibles and other religious paraphernalia, preaching racist distortions of the Bible, geography, and human origins. Their leader, Yahweh Ben Yahweh and six of his commandants were convicted in 1992 and an appeal stay in 1996, by the 11th Federal Circuit Court of Appeals under the RICO statute involving conspiracy, murder and arson, for which they received an 18-year imprisonment sentence in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania penitentiary.*

people of the human generations through the lineage of Esau; and that the "so-called white Jews" are impostors and liars. (Paradoxically, so too thought the Christian Identity movement.) They also believe that God does not want unity among the races as sought in the "false" teachings of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the like; and that the different nations who believe in Christ are not going to be saved. Only the twelve tribes of Israel are going to be saved because they are the chosen people. The following chart reveals all the twelve lost tribes of Israel and their current identities, according to the House of David, in the North and South Americas and the West Indies:

Fig. 2.1
The 12 Lost Tribes of Israel and their Current Identity

NAME OF TRIBE	ASSIGNED GROUP OF PEOPLE
1. Judah	The Negroes
2. Benjamin	West Indians
3. Levi	Haitians
4. Simeon	Dominicans
5. Zebulon	Guatemala to Panama
6. Ephraim	Puerto Ricans
7. Manassch	Cubans
8. Gad	North American Indians
9. Reuben	Seminole Indians
10. Naphtali	Argentina to Chile
11. Asher	Columbia to Uruguay
12. Issachar	Mexicans

Fig. 2.1. Source: The Israeli Church of Universal Practical Knowledge (The House of David).

Just as the radical right is in disagreement with the fundamentalists on a number of racial and religious issues, the far left of the black supremacists also differs in ideology with the fundamentalists along the same lines as the Christian Identity movement, on political terms they are against integration, race mixing, Jews, and the white establishment. These teachings plus a strong sense of nationalism form the ideological background of the cadre of the Nation of Islam, too.

The Nation of Islam

The Nation of Islam is a religious organization which has branches all over the United States.²⁸ It follows the doctrine of the prophet Elijah Muhammad which warns against the wickedness of the white race, preaches for black separatism, nationalism, and self-reliance. Elijah Muhammad believed that white people were created erroneously, some 6,000 years ago, by an eccentric black scientist called Yacub. His teachings classify whites as devils and the plagues of the earth; and call for prohibition of

²⁸ *Evolving from the black nationalism of the early 1920s, the Black Muslim movement was founded by W.D. Fard (later known as Master Farad Muhammad) in the early 1930s who established the first temple of Islam in the U.S. of which Elijah Muhammad became a follower. After the disappearance of Fard in 1934, Elijah Muhammad became the leader and established temple number two in Chicago which became the headquarters of the American Black Muslim movement. About 1947, Malcolm Little was converted into the Black Muslim movement from jail, and took on a new name, Malcolm X. Malcolm consequently became the voice for the movement and preached against whites for the injustices visited on the blacks of the United States. Around that same time, Louis Farrakhan also became a member and a believer in Elijah Muhammad as the Prophet of Alah. Some believe that Farrakhan was involved in planning the assassination of Malcolm for "blasphemies" against the "all perfect" Elijah Muhammad. Farrakhan took over as leader after the death of Muhammad in 1975.*

interracial marriages or race mixing. These teachings permeated most of Malcolm X's early speeches until his "enlightenment" resulting from his visit to Mecca, where he became aware that there are whites in the world he could work with. Nonetheless, the rest of Elijah Muhammad's followers, including Louis Farrakhan, continue to believe his racial theories and teachings.

After the death of Elijah Muhammad in 1975, Louis Farrakhan took over as the leader of The Nation of Islam. Building on the doctrines of Muhammad, Farrakhan expanded his racist ideologies to become the nation's best known vocal anti-white, homophobe and anti-Semite. Farrakhan believes that a Jewish cabal often meets secretly on Park Avenue in New York City to plan the course of the United States; he still believes Elijah Muhammad's theory of the white race being created erroneously by a black scientist called Yacub. According to Farrakhan, in a short time to come God will be sending down a well armed spaceship, about the size of a city, which will rain torrents of hell and total destruction upon white America, leaving only those who are loyal to the Nation of Islam and its teachings (see Hentoff 1997). Just like the Christian Identity, the Nation of Islam firmly believes the so-called Jewish conspiracy theory and promotes the distribution and sales of the "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion."²⁹

Despite Farrakhan's bigotry and anti-Semitism, he has commanded a great deal of respect from the black community from the late 1980s throughout the 90s, culminating in his Million Man march on Washington on October 16, 1995, in which an estimated

²⁹ *Here we see the two polarities meeting at the end points of their extremities. The radical left agrees with the radical right on a common enemy, the Jews. The "Protocol" is one of the major paraphernalia sold by the average Black Muslim peddler on the streets of major U.S. cities today. Ironically, the English version is being published by a white supremacists' publishing house called "Angriff Press" in California.*

800,000 African Americans from all walks of life participated. What makes this a paradox is that major polls in the United States during the same period indicate that most blacks do not subscribe to anti-Semitic views. Why then such an impressive response to the Million Man march by African Americans, from professionals to academics, religious to activists? Farrakhan and his Nation of Islam have engaged the African American communities across the nation on issues such as the effects of racism on black America, the disintegration of the black family, and taking personal responsibility for one's life. He urges African Americans to dis-engage themselves from dependency and seek ways to be self-reliant. The African American community sees some truth in these calls and embraces him on these grounds, despite his staunch anti-Semitic, anti-white, and homophobic stands.

Other Black Activists

The Civil Rights movement of the 60s and its gains thereafter open up new channels for various minority groups in the United States to negotiate and reposition themselves on the socio-economic ladder. In the quest for equality, minority groups abandoned the old concept of the "melting pot" and pressed for a new system of multiculturalism in which their interests are redefined. In academia, the concept of multiculturalism translates into the demand for a curriculum of inclusion. And this is viewed by most African American scholars as a direct response to years of inadequacy in the way knowledge is defined and rooted in the minds of students in America. Among

the key advocates for this in the African American community are professors Leonard Jeffries and Molefi Asante. Both scholars are Afrocentrics in the true sense of the word and for that reason have generated disgust among white America for their stands which in certain aspects, deny accepted standards of evidence.

Asante holds that "Africans who exhibit confusion about their personal identities cannot hope to be clear about cultural identity." The true Afrocentric must always seek an African tradition and origin for everything (as if no other origin is possible). His conceptualization of Afrocentricity wars against the long tradition of institutionalized "Eurocentricity" in America and elsewhere which, he claims, creates a void in recognition of other cultures, thus, the lack of confidence, and identity crises among African Americans. Despite his controversial Afrocentrism on cultural and intellectual autonomy, he draws a lot of followers in academia and public life from the African American community across the country; some even more dogmatic than him.

In a seemingly theoretical postulation, Dr. Leonard Jeffries claims to have synthesized from a 1986 Newsweek article, by Sharon Begley and Louise Lief, and other climatic based theories to come to a conclusion about the two sources of the differences between blacks and whites. The new birth postulates that whites are cold, cruel, and imperialistic because they are "ice people", while blacks are warm, peaceable, and communal because they are "sun people."³⁰ Jeffries believes that blacks are

³⁰ *The Newsweek article which Dr. Jeffries claims to synthesize tries to credit Eurasian ' ice-age people, referred to as the Cro-Magnons, as the first humans with intelligence, and the inventors of the first language, music, art, fashion and a sense of community (see Newsweek, November 10, 1986, Vol. 108, pp. 62-72. To be sure, neither Jeffries nor Begley & Lief were the first to rely on climatic differences to postulate "subjectively" about human groups' superiority. Aristotle had one time postulated that people of the northern cold climates lacked brain power but have a lot of courage to do things, while people of the warmer climates have a lot of brain power but lacked*

intellectually and physically superior to whites and he characterizes whites as “devilish folks.” In other instances, he blames rich Jews, Catholics and Protestants for financing the African slave trade and Russian Jews conspiring with Hollywood to denigrate and destroy blacks. He draws a large following from the African American community nationwide and internationally from Africans in Diaspora with his ideas. Today’s Afrocentrism is just as dogmatic as was yesterday’s Eurocentrism or the views of the white supremacists noted above.

Other activists whose works have caused a lot of controversies and community unrest in New York include Al Sharpton, attorneys C. Vernon Mason and Alton Maddox, and Sonny Carson. All these self-appointed spokespersons of the black community work in some sort of alliance and always on the same side of racial issues of both local and national stature.

Sharpton, a self-admitted controversial person has been stirring up issues locally since the late 70s. He has been involved in every major racial incident surfacing in the City and at times, his inflammatory speeches push extremists on both sides of the black and white divide to intensify the war.³¹

the human courage; but people of the middle climate (i.e., the Greeks and Romans) have both, therefore, making them superior to any other group of people (see Bernal 1987).

³¹ For example, in the Freddy’s Clothing Store incident in Harlem on December 8, 1995 (to be discussed in Chapter 10), Sharpton reportedly led a series of protests against the store prior to the shootings and the inferno at the Freddy’s. In one of his speeches at the demonstrations, Sharpton stated that “We will not stand by and allow them to move this brother [referring to the record shop owner, Sikhulu Shange] so that some white interloper can expand his business on 125th Street.” Prior to the incident, the store owner had indicated to the Court (while seeking injunction against the protests) the imminent dangers and tragedies that he sensed from the protesters who were expressing anti-white racism and anti-Semitism in their most vulgar forms. A day later, the owner’s predictions came through. Seven store employees and the gunman- arsonist, Roland Smith himself lost their lives.

One can hardly extricate some of the activities of the black activists from the concurrent forms of white racism. However as antagonistic, they both translate into nothing more than competing dogmas; their key players assuming the role of self-appointed spokespersons for their racial groups or communities, as they contrive the demise of the opposing group through stereotypes and violence in the hope of achieving a superior group position in the social order. As Blumer indicated in his Group Position Model as discussed in Chapter 1, such ideas surface when leaders or activists of social groups militantly contend with each other through public discourse and political struggle.

To sum up on these hate groups and their ideologies, they all seem to be diametrically opposed to each other mainly on the color line even as they agree on anti-Semitism. Both black and white supremacists claim superiority for their race, resent the establishment (government), vilify Jews and oppose racial integration. While the white supremacists try to convince white people that non-whites have contributed to the decline in status of whites, the black supremacists and activists try to show the non-whites how the white man's oppression has retarded their progress. Most find the moral grounding for their hate in their belief system, which quite often is extracted from their own interpretation of the holy scriptures, be it the Bible or the Koran. According to J. D. Hunter, the most democratic way of resolving this war is to keep the issues surrounding the war alive and evolving so as to prevent total domination by one group. In other words, to shut off anyone of the above voices completely is to have abandoned the democratic process for totalitarianism.

The activities of the major hate groups are directly and indirectly linked to many local hate crimes. These groups provide the resource, ideology, rationale and rhetoric of hate to any interested bigot who subscribes to them. They also define who the enemies are and how they should be dealt with. According to the CDR, even when local bigots are not members of hate groups, they look to them for inspiration. For example in the killing of an Ethiopian immigrant in Portland, Oregon, Tom and John Metzger were convicted also for the crime because they were implicated by their association with the Skinheads who actually perpetrated the crime. When the Oklahoma City bomber, Timothy McVeigh, was arrested, some of the incriminating physical evidence found with him in his car were few pages from the infamous "Turner Diaries." The perpetrator in the Freddy's clothing store incident (details to be discussed below in Chapter 10), Roland Smith, was an adherent of the Sharpton-Powell group which for several months had shaped the state of events through inflammatory speeches, at times explicitly calling for violence against whites and Jewish merchants until the killings and conflagration which took place on December 8, 1995. Quite often the local anti-Semitic and racial anti-minority incidents reported to the NYPD or CCHR contain language and other paraphernalia commonly associated with white supremacist groups. "The United States Civil Rights Commission reported that a major role of organized white supremacist groups is to provide the rhetoric of justification for other violent racists." (CDR 1992, p. 14)

Because many adherents of these major hate groups tend to be older and are often removed from the locales where the hate crimes are actually perpetrated, they use other

media like video tapes, comic books, and the internet to reach young adolescents, high school kids and members of the Skinhead groups to teach them how to be bigots. In fact, one of Tom Metzger's telephone message "Hotlines" is explicitly named "Dial-A-Racist" and is accessible to anyone who has an interest in dialing and listening to about two and half minutes of denigrating things about Jews, homosexuals and abortion doctors. Similar materials including how to construct and use destructive explosive devices are made available on numerous hate groups' websites on the internet.

On the whole, the activities of the hate groups and the black activists generate backlash from members of each group being disparaged and increase racial polarization. The nature of this backlash is explained by the revenge theory already discussed in the introduction.

In these two chapters, I have reviewed theories about the roots of hatred and prejudice and have given the various definitions which try to bring some understanding to the whole phenomenon of hate. I have made a number of assertions about the effect of hate crimes and the role of the major hate groups as agents through whom the phenomenon of hate takes root and festers in society. In order to adequately answer my hypotheses derived from the various theories and definitions, I now turn to define my data in terms of its source, all that it has captured on hate crime/incidents in the City and the methodology being employed to resolve my questions in the next chapter.

PART II

METHODOLOGY AND DATA

CHAPTER 3

The major research questions which I intend to address through the data described below could be summed up in three categories: the nature of distribution and patterns of hate crime in the City's community districts; the factors which tend to influence these patterns of hate crime in the community districts; and how incidents of hate affect the various demographic communities of the City. These research questions to which chapter two contributes are the possible effects of organized hate groups and ideologies. In order to ascertain information on the above questions and see the dynamics shaping bias incidents among the City's diverse demographic and geographic communities I turned to two sources for the data as discussed below. This chapter, therefore, is devoted to the data to be used to test the hypotheses, its sources and the methodology to be used in its analysis.

The Data

The data used in this study consist of reported cases of hate crimes and or bias incidents that occurred within the five boroughs of New York City from 1991 through 1995. These data originate from two major City agencies which are mandated to handle aspects of bias crimes and or incidents in the City: the New York City Police Department (NYPD) and the City Commission on Human Rights (CCHR). Due to issues of confidentiality, only certain aspects the data are available for study.

The NYPD, through its Bias Incident Investigation Unit (BIIU), investigates any crime deemed biased by the police officer on the "beat" in order to ascertain the validity of such a classification, and gathers information towards apprehension and prosecution of the perpetrator. There is penalty enhancement and the possibility of bringing civil proceedings against perpetrators when the crime committed is determined to be bias motivated. When the police officer on the "beat" comes in contact with a crime, one of the elements that he or she has to determine is whether or not the crime is bias motivated, based on the City's protected classes. If a bias motivation is suspected, the officer summons the patrol Sergeant to the scene. If the Sergeant is in agreement with the officer, he then contacts the Deputy Captain of the precinct who also responds to the scene. At this point, if the Deputy Captain finds the crime to be bias motivated, the BI IU is notified immediately and the case is turned over entirely to the BI IU for processing and investigation. The BI IU is also required to fax all bias cases (actual and presumed) to the

CCHR on a daily basis. The CCHR, whose primary duty is to keep these bias incidents from blowing up into community unrest in the neighborhoods where they occur, also operates a bias incident Hotline and maintains databases of both the police cases and its own Hotline cases. Both the BIU and the CCHR classify anti-Semitic and anti-gay incidents independently from more generally determined religious and sexual orientation incidents, contrary to the FBI's protocols. This is because of the high volume of incidents recorded for these two specific types of incidents in the City per annum. Instead, the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) program categorizes types of incidents based on the listing provided in the Hate Crime Statistics Act of 1990. These bias categories are: race, religion, ethnicity/national origin, and sexual orientation.

The CCHR's cases are generated through its bias Hotline and walk-ins by the public via its various field offices. When a call comes in through the Hotline, a Human Rights Specialist (HRS) picks up and leads the caller through a computer based questionnaire. The HRS listens to the caller very attentively to ascertain whether or not the incident being reported is bias motivated. If it is determined to be bias motivated, the HRS finds out if there is any criminal element involved which might require police attention. The case is then recorded and assigned to the appropriate office for investigation. All referrals made on each case are documented in the database. The CCHR's Hotline (which is equipped with a language bank containing over 150 major foreign languages) enables the public to report any incident of bias (including those which are non-criminal in nature but have the potential to cause community unrest) to the Commission for investigation and monitoring.

The total number of NYPD-BIU referred cases in these data sets may be slightly different from the final bias crime tallies reported in the NYPD's yearly reports covering the periods under study. This is due to the fact that the BIU refers both actual and suspected bias crime cases to the CCHR for its community relations activities. At the completion of an investigation a case may be reclassified as a non-bias crime by the BIU but will still be retained in the CCHR's records for community reparation work if it has the tendency to promote community unrest. Also, bias cases occurring on the last day of the year (December 31st) at times never get reported by the BIU to the CCHR until the first day of the new year, thus causing them to be counted for the new year by the CCHR as opposed to the previous year. The difference in the yearly total number of cases as a result of the reporting and reclassification process is about plus or minus 6% between the two agencies' final totals.

The BIU cases are rarely duplicated by the CCHR's bias Hotline because the intake person on the Hotline must always make sure the caller (who in most cases is the victim) has not previously reported the incident to the NYPD. Furthermore, many of the callers to the CCHR's Hotline, by tradition and preference, would not report bias incidents to the Police Department due to mistrust of the agency (CCHR 1993). The proportion of duplicated cases between the two sources is under 5% of the total number of cases per annum. The commission's data were maintained in Dbase IV until December 1996 when the agency initiated a new database system called Bias Case Tracking System (BCTS).

The data sets covering the time period as indicated above consist of 3,368 cases, taken from both BIU and CCHR. A case is a report and record of one instance of a bias crime or incident occurring anywhere within the five boroughs of New York City. Each record contains 39 fields or variables which include victim's name, address, and telephone number and the detective (or Human Rights Specialist) assigned to the case, but due to reasons of confidentiality I have access to only 14 variables out of the 39 which are set forth below:

1. **CRIMDESC** = Criminal classification of the incident i.e., assault, criminal mischief, homicide, harassment, aggravated harassment, arson, burglary etc.
2. **INCIDLOC** = Location of the incident. This is normally a street address, cross streets locations, or a landmark place i.e., the Empire State Building.
3. **VICTSEX** = Gender of the victim (i.e., male, female, institution, and other).
4. **VICTAGE** = Victim's age.
5. **TYPE INC** = Type of incident; this covers all the protected classes but the study is going to be focused on only the three major types: Racial & Ethnic, Anti-Semitic, and Anti-Gay.
6. **VICETHNIC** = Victim's ethnicity; this includes: Asian, black, white, Hispanic, Jewish, institution, etc.
7. **PERPETHNI** = Perpetrator's ethnicity.
8. **PERPSEX** = Perpetrator's gender.
9. **PERPAGE** = Perpetrator's age.

- 10. COMMBOARD** = The community board within which incident took place
- 11. BOROUGH** = Borough within which incident occurred.
- 12. SOURCE** = The source of the case i.e., BIU (which is NYPD) and Hotline (CCHR).
- 13. CATEGORY** = The category of type of incident i.e., anti-black, anti-white, anti-Hispanic etc.
- 14. DATEINC** = Date incident occurred.

The data revealed several cases in which the perpetrator's motive has more than one intended group as victim. For instance, in some of the vandalism cases, graffiti were used to simultaneously express hatred towards blacks, Jews and homosexuals. Cases of this nature are classified under type of incident as "Other" or "Multiple" by both the NYPD and the CCHR, meaning that they involve more than one target group. There are also issues of misclassification of cases by the recording police officer or the intake person on the Hotline. Cases involving swastikas, for example, are sometimes automatically labeled as anti-Semitic and those with KKK emblems are arbitrarily classified as racial (anti-black) when in fact some of them are not. This is probably just a problem of lack of knowledge on the part of the officers about the KKK and its doctrine, and what the swastika stands for as well as its origin.³² For example, a swastika or KKK

³²*A swastika as used by white supremacists stands for racial or ethnic (genetic) purity and or superiority. According to the Grolier Encyclopedia(1997), the swastika stood for different things (i.e., sun and infinity for American Indians) in various cultures who had one time used it. Its origin has been traced to ancient China, Egypt, Greece, and even North America by most western scholars. Other sources traced it to ancient India (around 6th century BC) used in Jainism as a symbol of religious purity. The purity concept was adopted by Nazism (1933) and modified to mean racial or ethnic purity and superiority. Under this new concept, Jews, Gypsies,*

mark at a public place (i.e., restrooms, parks, transportation hubs etc.) in a heterogeneous neighborhood could stand for something more than hatred towards Jews or blacks only. It could represent hatred towards all the target groups of the white supremacist organizations.

Another problem presented by the data is the level of missing information from the cases. Nowhere else is the problem more serious than information on the perpetrators. Out of the 3,368 cases covering the five-year period, only 332 have information on the perpetrator's age. One hundred and ten cases do not have description of the incident or case synopsis, 44 have missing addresses for the incident locations.

Other comparative sources of data which I looked at but are not utilized for the statistical procedures are those from the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) for anti-Semitic incidents. This non-profit organization compiles data on anti-Semitic incidents both locally and nationally, and also monitors the activities of hate groups like the neo-Nazi Skinheads and the Klan-type organizations. The Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project (AVP) is another non-profit organization which is a watchdog for anti-gay and lesbian bias. This organization operates a Hotline to assist victims of anti-gay violence. It also maintains a database for anti-gay bias crimes and or incidents. The group also puts out yearly reports highlighting the nature and distributions of anti-gay hate crimes regionally. These sources were only used in support of the overall analysis because the CCHR's database already contains anti-Semitic and anti-gay incidents.

and homosexuals were sent to the gas chambers, blacks were to be all rounded up around the world and caged in Africa so as to avoid race mixing and gene depreciation.

The other types of data employed are those pertaining to population and demographic information on the various community districts under study. This information was obtained from the community district Needs Books and the 1990 census data.

Methodology

As already mentioned above, the data came from two sources (NYPD and CCHR) covering a period of five years from 1991 to 1995. The combined data is 3,368 cases. During this period an average of 674 cases of hate crimes/incidents per year were reported through the NYPD and the CCHR. The data was coded and prepared for use in the various statistical programs.

Both the NYPD and the CCHR have six major categories under which the type of incident is classified: racial, ethnic, anti-gay, anti-Semitic, religious, and disability.³³ The analysis here is focused on the three major types of incidents from the six categories; these are racial, anti-Semitic, and anti-gay. Ethnic incidents were appended to racial incidents for the purpose of this study. Although doing this may have hidden some of the larger intra-racial group differences and conflicts on the New York scene, due to the similarities between these two types of incidents, appending them is expected to be

³³*The CCHR, which tends to have a much broader definition of bias than the NYPD, had, by 1993, homelessness and or income status included as eligible types of incidents of bias which need protection.*

helpful in illustrating and analyzing the patterns. "Religious" and "disability" incidents are not analyzed because of insufficient data to draw any consistent patterns.

The software packages utilized were Dbase IV, SPSS (with the advance statistical package), Harvard Graphics, and MapInfo for DOS. In order to identify the community districts troubled with bias incidents, first, the data were geocoded by feature (community district), and then by street address for the selected types of incidents (depicting the actual locations where the incidents occurred) through the MapInfo program and run for the geographic analysis. Through this I generated desktop thematic maps using the variables: type of incident, incident location, and community district. The type of incident was limited to racial and ethnic, anti-Semitic and anti-gay only. The thematic maps were prepared through the usage of secondary software called the "Lion Files" and the "District Files".³⁴ The maps illustrate first, the five-year aggregates thematic displays of the three types of incidents by community districts and the spatial distribution of the incidents' actual location where they occurred within the community districts; and secondly, they feature the yearly thematic displays of the three major types of incidents from 1991 through 1995 (see the appendix). Through these geographic displays, I looked for patterns or clustering in the spatial distributions and compared them with the neighborhoods' demographic information from the corresponding census tracts within the community districts. From these geographic illustrations, I selected ten community districts (five with high incident concentrations and the other five with low

³⁴*These are desktop packages designed by New York City Department of City Planning. They are compatible with MapInfo. They feature New York City geographic, political, and administrative map files.*

incident concentrations) for each type of incident for extensive analysis. The question to focus on here then becomes: what appears to account for the presence of high number of bias incidents in some community districts while others have experienced little or no incidents at all?; and how can the factors that contribute to low incident in certain districts help us reduce bias in the areas of high incidents?

For the community districts, I created the table combining all types of incidents by each community district over the five-year period. (It will be redundant to generate tables covering each type of incident by community board since this information can be ascertained through the thematic maps.) To the degree possible, I compared victims' age with perpetrators' age; but because of the high volume of cases lacking information on the perpetrator's age, I could not do in-depth comparisons for these two variables. I charted the trends for each major type of incident by borough aggregate, and then by year. I did not control for population in this respect because bias crimes tend to depend far more on demographics, attitude, and community tension than on the total population (Levin 1992). That is, it is demographic diversity that appears to breed bias incidents rather than population density per se. A community with a modest population but a very diverse ethnic or racial composition is likely to give evidence of more bias than a community which is densely populated but homogeneous. I also mapped the locations of major public housing projects in all five boroughs (data furnished by NYC Housing Authority) against the racial bias incidents' data to see if there is any association.

To determine if bias incidents were connected to, or influenced by, any hate group's activities, I reviewed the memo fields of the cases for the three types of

incidents. In this case, I paid attention to references made to materials and emblems associated with hate groups in the case synopses. I also relied on news clips drawing on activities of hate groups in our local area and linking bias incidents to these hate groups.³⁵ To examine the Self-Interest Model relative to racial bias incidents as indicated in the literature review, I looked at the underlying reasons for the perpetrator's behavior for all the 1735 racial incidents.

I interviewed numerous people whose work is associated with civil and human rights, law enforcement, and community based conflict resolution activities. I attended several conferences on race relations, immigration, and other urban issues around the City. I visited most of the "hot spot" community districts as revealed by the thematic maps to physically assess the dynamics working within these communities. I also reviewed the transcripts of "The Signs Of Hope" hearings. This was a hearing organized under Mayor Dinkins in the Spring of 1993 in which most major civil and human rights organizations, and community based conflict resolution groups in the City testified at the various borough presidents' offices about the models they employ, and their accomplishments in repairing the bonds that keep the people of the City together.

³⁵*The Daily News, ADL, and the CCHR have documented local activities of hate groups such as the neo-Nazi Skinheads, The Master Race (TMR), Death Machine Skinheads (DMS), Spics Must Die (SMD), and the now defunct JDL (which was reported by the Daily News, 05/09/96 as leafleting the Muslim community of the City with threats and intimidation of killing Muslims in revenge for any attacks on Jews outside of Israel).*

PART III

FINDINGS

CHAPTER 4

The 3368 cases of bias incidents recorded by both the BITU and the CCHR for the period under study were, perhaps, just a fraction of what had actually transpired in the City in terms of bias from 1991 through 1995. According to the CCHR, only a small number of victims report to the proper authorities any bias crimes perpetrated against them. Nevertheless, the 3368 cases recorded for all types of incidents are representative enough to draw meaningful conclusions from them. The patterns emerging from the preliminary manipulation of the data reveal the three types of incidents (racial, anti-Semitic and anti-gay) selected as the focus of this study to be major concerns in terms of bias in the City.

Racial bias incidents occur more often in the City than any other type of bias incident. Out of the 3368 cases recorded for the five-year period, 1735 or (51.5%) of them were racial incidents (see table 1A). This was followed by anti-Semitic incidents for which 1030 cases were recorded, making up 30.6%, and 522 anti-gay cases constituting 15.5% of all bias incidents recorded for the five-year period. Other types of

incidents include: religious with 42 reported cases, 22 cases were reported as multiple³⁶. 7 anti-homelessness, 6 anti-disabled, 2 gender, and 2 anti-age. These few cases did not provide for a consistent specific analysis thus they are omitted in the analysis below.³⁷

TABLE 1A.

TYPES OF INCIDENTS

TYPEINC	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Value Label					
AntDisab	1	6	.2	.2	.2
AntiAge	2	2	.1	.1	.2
AntiGay	3	522	15.5	15.5	15.7
AntiSem	4	1030	30.6	30.6	46.3
Gender	5	2	.1	.1	46.4
Homeless	6	7	.2	.2	46.6
Multiple	7	22	.7	.7	47.2
Racial	8	1735	51.5	51.5	98.8
Religiuis	9	42	1.2	1.2	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
Total		3368	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	3368	Missing cases	0		

Table 1A: *Citywide Types of Incidents, 1991-1995.*
Multiple refers to cases in which hate sentiments are expressed towards more than one target-group.

Table 1B below sets forth who are the people suffering these bias incidents as quantified in the above types of incidents. Whites reported an astounding 1297 (38.5%) cases out of the five-year total as being the largest victims of bias crimes in the City.

³⁶ *Multiple or other refers to a case in which the hate sentiment expressed is directed towards more than one target-group in one incident.*

³⁷ *It should be noted that gender based violations such as sexual harassment are not reported as bias crimes. They are considered as discrimination cases which are resolved through civil proceedings. As already noted in Chapter 1, both New York State and the City of New York are among jurisdictions which do not include gender specific crimes in their hate crime statutes. The two gender related cases illustrated in table 1A were CCHR's cases which were generated from the Commission's own policy order.*

Blacks came a distant second with 692 cases or 20.5%, followed by Jews 514 (15.3%), Hispanics reported 339 (10.1%), while 209 cases (6.2%) were classified as perpetrated against institutions³⁸, and 190 cases (5.6%) recorded as being against Asians.

TABLE 1B. VICTIM'S RACE AND ETHNICITY, ALL TYPES

VICETH

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
African	1	8	.2	.2	.2
Arab	2	17	.5	.5	.7
Asian	3	190	5.6	5.6	6.4
Black	4	692	20.5	20.5	26.9
Hispanic	5	341	10.1	10.1	37.1
Institut	6	209	6.2	6.2	43.3
Jewish	7	514	15.3	15.3	58.5
Other	8	4	.1	.1	58.6
Public	9	24	.7	.7	59.4
Unknown	10	72	2.1	2.1	61.5
White	11	1297	38.5	38.5	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	3368	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	3368	Missing cases	0		

Table 1B: Citywide Victim's Ethnicity, 1991-1995, All Types.
"Institut" refers to incidents directed towards institutions such as churches, synagogues, mosques, schools etc.

Since a victim's ethnicity is not the best measure in ascertaining which group is distressed most in terms of bias incidents in the City, table 1C below sets forth the category of protected classes to assess which groups are the targets of hate sentiments. The patterns revealed from the standpoint of the victim's race and ethnicity are reversed

³⁸ *Institution refers to churches, synagogues, mosques, schools, premises or concerns of civil rights or ethnic organizations.*

TABLE 1C.

CATEGORY OF THE PROTECTED CLASSES, ALL TYPES

CATEGORY	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
AntAfric	1	5	.1	.1	.1
AntArgen	2	2	.1	.1	.2
AntAsian	3	106	3.1	3.1	3.4
AntBlack	4	714	21.2	21.2	24.6
AntCatho	5	6	.2	.2	24.7
AntElder	6	2	.1	.1	24.8
AntChin	7	23	.7	.7	25.5
AntChris	8	16	.5	.5	26.0
AntColrd	9	3	.1	.1	26.0
AntCroat	10	1	.0	.0	26.1
AntDom	11	1	.0	.0	26.1
AntEgypt	12	3	.1	.1	26.2
AntEurop	13	1	.0	.0	26.2
AntFemal	14	2	.1	.1	26.3
AntFilip	15	1	.0	.0	26.3
AntGenti	16	1	.0	.0	26.3
AntGermn	17	36	1.1	1.1	27.4
AntGreek	18	3	.1	.1	27.5
AntGuy	19	1	.0	.0	27.5
AntHait	20	2	.1	.1	27.6
AntHindu	21	2	.1	.1	27.6
AntHisp	22	240	7.1	7.1	34.8
AntHomls	23	7	.2	.2	35.0
AntiArab	24	19	.6	.6	35.5
AntiGay	25	522	15.5	15.5	51.0
AntiSem	26	1030	30.6	30.6	81.6
AntInd	27	33	1.0	1.0	82.6
AntItal	28	1	.0	.0	82.6
AntJap	29	2	.1	.1	82.7
AntKor	30	8	.2	.2	82.9
AntMex	31	3	.1	.1	83.0
AntMuslm	32	5	.1	.1	83.2
AntPol	33	1	.0	.0	83.2
AntRuss	34	5	.1	.1	83.3
AntSengl	35	1	.0	.0	83.4
AntSerb	36	2	.1	.1	83.4
AntWhite	37	498	14.8	14.8	98.2
Blindnss	38	1	.0	.0	98.2
HIVStat	39	1	.0	.0	98.3
Mental	40	4	.1	.1	98.4
Multiple	41	20	.6	.6	99.0
Other	42	3	.1	.1	99.1
Unknown	43	31	.9	.9	100.0
Total		3368	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 3368 Missing cases 0

Table 1C: Category of the Protected Classes, 1991-1995, All Types. These include ethnic incidents occurring among people of the same racial groups, i.e., Irish against Italian, Croat against Serbs, African American against African, or Korean against Chinese.

when the data is examined from the standpoint of what was actually expressed by the perpetrator. In other words, what presumably motivated the crime.

Incidents in which anti-Semitic sentiments were expressed topped all categories of protected classes with 1030 (30.6%) cases, followed by anti-black sentiments with 714 (21.2%), and 522 cases (15.5%) in which anti-gay sentiments were expressed. For anti-white sentiments, there were only 498 incidents (14.8%) compared to the 1297 incidents recorded for whites when the data was examined from victim's ethnicity stand point. This, perhaps, indicates that whites as individuals may be suffering from bias through perception, association, or life-style preference, but collectively they suffer less bias than Jews (who are also whites, of course) and blacks in the City. There were 240 cases (7.1%) recorded for incidents involving anti-Hispanic sentiments, and 106 cases (3.1%) anti-Asian incidents. Table 1C illustrates all the categories of incidents for the five-year period, which show a much wider range of biases than when one considers only the race, or religion of the victims.

The literature indicates that the overwhelming majority of bias crimes are misdemeanors by crime level. For this reason, in order to deal with bias crimes effectively, some states have enacted laws or provisions that augment a crime level or increase the penalties for an offense when it is deemed to be bias motivated (Garofalo & Martin 1993; CDR 1992). Table 1D displays the frequency distribution of the criminal description of the incidents for the five years.

TABLE 1D.

CRIMINAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE INCIDENTS, ALL TYPES

CRIMDESC	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
AgHaras	1	986	29.3	29.3	29.3
Agsex	2	1	.0	.0	29.3
Arson	3	31	.9	.9	30.2
AsltRob	4	3	.1	.1	30.3
AsnHmcid	5	1	.0	.0	30.3
Assault	6	755	22.4	22.4	52.8
Assault2	7	15	.4	.4	53.2
Assault3	8	17	.5	.5	53.7
AtmpAslt	9	5	.1	.1	53.9
AtmpAsn	10	1	.0	.0	53.9
AtmpMder	12	5	.1	.1	54.0
AtmpRob	13	15	.4	.4	54.5
BombThrt	14	8	.2	.2	54.7
Burglary	15	34	1.0	1.0	55.7
ComUnrst	16	4	.1	.1	55.8
ConspAsn	17	1	.0	.0	55.9
Crimschf	18	609	18.1	18.1	74.0
Crmnlng	19	1	.0	.0	74.0
CrmTrsps	20	1	.0	.0	74.0
GrndLcny	21	1	.0	.0	74.0
Haras	22	672	20.0	20.0	94.0
Homicide	23	13	.4	.4	94.4
Kidnapng	24	1	.0	.0	94.4
KidRape	25	1	.0	.0	94.4
Larceny	26	3	.1	.1	94.5
Menacing	27	56	1.7	1.7	96.2
MudSucid	28	1	.0	.0	96.2
Neglgnce	29	2	.1	.1	96.3
Other	30	4	.1	.1	96.4
PetyLcny	31	4	.1	.1	96.5
PubLwdns	32	2	.1	.1	96.6
Rape	33	4	.1	.1	96.7
Rioting	34	1	.0	.0	96.7
RklsEdmt	35	26	.8	.8	97.5
Robbery	36	68	2.0	2.0	99.5
SexAslt	37	8	.2	.2	99.8
Sodomy	38	2	.1	.1	99.8
Threats	39	3	.1	.1	99.9
Trspasng	40	1	.0	.0	99.9
Vandalism	41	2	.1	.1	100.0
Total		3368	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 3368 Missing cases 0

Table 1D: Criminal Classification of the Incidents, All Types.

Aggravated harassment turned out to be the mode for the criminal classifications of the incidents covering the five-year period. Out of the 3368 cases, 986 (29.3%) of them were classified as involving aggravated harassment. Assault came second with 755 (22.4%); followed by harassment, 672 (20%); criminal mischief, 609 (18.1%); robbery, 68 (2.0%); and menacing, 56 (1.7%). It should be noted that there were 13 incidents documented as involving homicide. There was also one murder-suicide, and one arson-homicide, making a total of 15 cases in which there was a loss of life. These amount to 3 homicides per year for bias crimes (just about .2% of all homicides per year) in the City over the five-year period. This shows that although bias homicides are so rare, they get so much attention because they affect not only the victims but their entire community.

When the criminal classifications of the three major types of incidents were examined, racial incidents are more likely to involve aggravated harassment than any other type of crime description. There were 520 incidents (29%) out of 1735 cases classified as such over the five-year period. This was followed by assault (481 cases, 27%), and then harassment (424 cases, 24%) of the 1735 racial incidents (see table 1E below). (It should be noted that assault in New York City is further classified into three degrees, that is assault-1, assault-2, and assault-3 depending on the severity of the crime.)

As for anti-Semitic incidents, criminal mischief is the mode, with 418 cases (40%) of the 1030 anti-Semitic incidents documented over the five-year period.

Aggravated harassment was the second highest for the anti-Semitic incidents, 354 cases

or 34%, and the third was harassment, with 93 cases or 9% of the five-year anti-Semitic incidents' total.

Anti-gay incidents in the City for the five-year period involved assaults more than any other criminal classification. There were 199 (or 38%) of anti-gay incidents classified as assault (205 or 39% if all degrees of assault are compounded together). Second to this was harassment with 137 cases (26%), then followed by aggravated harassment, 98 cases (18%) of the 522 five-year anti-gay incidents' total.

The full list of the criminal classifications of the three major types of incidents is furnished in table 1E. Details on these classifications as to what they entail in terms of the actual criminal act (or elements of the crime) as meted out to the victims by the perpetrators are discussed below.

Table 1E. SELECTED TYPES OF INCIDENTS BY CRIMINAL CLASSIFICATIONS

	#	%	#	%	#	%
Aggravated Harassment	520	30	354	34	98	19
Arson	5	.3	17	2	2	.4
Assault/Robbery	2	.1	0	0	1	.2
Arson/Homicide	1	0	0	0	0	0
Assault	481	28	68	7	199	38
Assault2	9	.5	2	.2	4	.8
Assault3	12	.7	3	.3	2	.4
Attempted Assault	2	.1	1	0	2	.4
Attempted Arson	0	0	1	0	0	0
Attempted Murder	5	.3	0	0	0	0
Attempted Extortion	0	0	1	0	0	0
Attempted Robbery	8	.5	4	.4	3	.6
Bomb Threat	1	0	6	.5	0	0
Burglary	12	.7	19	2	2	.4
Community Unrest/Rioting	4	.2	1	0	0	0
Conspiracy to commit Arson	1	0	0	0	0	0
Criminal Mischief	139	8	418	41	23	4
Criminal Negligence	1	0	0	0	1	.2
Criminal Trespassing	0	0	2	.2	0	0
Grand Larceny	0	0	1	0	0	0
Harassment	424	24	93	9	137	26
Homicide	11	.7	1	0	0	0
Larceny	0	0	1	0	0	0
Kidnap/Rape	1	0	0	0	0	0
Kidnapping	1	0	0	0	0	0
Menacing	33	2	12	1	11	2
Murder/Suicide	0	0	0	0	1	.2
Other	4	.2	0	0	0	0
Petty Larceny	0	0	4	.4	0	0
Public Lewdness	1	0	0	0	1	.2
Rape	2	.1	0	0	2	.4
Reckless Endangerment	15	.9	4	.4	6	1
Robbery	34	2	14	1	20	4
Sexual Assault/Agg. Sex	4	.2	1	0	4	.8
Sodomy	0	0	0	0	2	.4
Threats	2	.1	0	0	1	.2
Vandalism	0	0	2	.2	0	0
Total	1735	100	1030	100	522	100

Table 1E: Selected types of incidents by criminal classification, 1991-1995.

ELEMENTS OF THE CRIMES

As illustrated in table 1E, it is now very clear how the three major types of incidents played out in terms of criminal classification of the cases (i.e., aggravated harassment, criminal mischief, assault, etc.). To find out what were the criminal elements involved with the incidents before resulting into these classifications, I turned to the memo fields of the data and read the case synopses of all the three major types of incidents (racial, anti-Semitic, and anti-gay). The results are illustrated in the three tables below (1E.1, 1E.2, & 1E.3). It should be noted that some of the criminal classifications have been collapsed into the category "Other" because they are numerically insignificant to stand alone. Also, there are a lot of overlaps in determining the elements of crime for each case because a case can involve more than one element and one weapon.

The following are the definitions and classifications for the various elements of the crimes to be reported in the tables: "no info" stands for cases which are criminally classified but there was nothing written down in the memo fields, or the information in the memo field is not sufficient to determine the elements of the crime; "verbal" represents verbal threats, slurs and epithets, either by phone or physically "in your face" type; "physical" means any physical contact by perpetrator (bodyparts, apparels, objects, etc.) of victim; "vandalism" stands for vandalism which entails any form of destruction of property; "hate lit" refers to hate literature or notes inscribed on victim's property or space, or mailed to victim via any means or courier; "KKK" refers to incidents in which hate groups' symbols, insignia, or reference is present.

As to types of weapons used in perpetration of the crimes, "gun" is counted when the perpetrator used, displayed, or was known to have a gun during the committing of the crime; "knif" covers the use or display of knife or any sharp instrument or object that can cut, wound, or puncture anything by the perpetrator during a hate incident; "stick" here refers to baseball bat, wood, or any blunt object used or displayed by the perpetrator in the bias incident; "fist" stands for the use of any bodypart of the perpetrator to hit, kick, push, or shove the victim in a bias incident; "fire" includes bombs, explosives, ignitions, or prevalence of fumes in a bias incident; "markers" represent any coloring material, i.e., magic markers, paints, spray paints, crayons, etc., that can be used to create graffiti and/or defacement of property; and "vhicle" stands for the use of vehicle (including roller blades, bicycles and motorcycles), as a tool or means of entry and get-away in perpetration of the crime.

Racial

Racial incidents in the City (which include both blacks and whites as perpetrators and victims) involved physical contact of victims by the perpetrators more often than any other modus operandus. Such was the case in 40% of all the racial bias incidents documented over the five-year period. This was followed by verbal threats or anonymous telephone calls which were in 28% of all the documented racial incidents. Vandalism and hate notes or literature came third, with each appearing in 13% of the racial incidents. With respect to the types of weapons used in these crimes, fists (see definition

above) were used more often than any other type of weapon, that is, in 25% of the racial incidents. Thus obviously face-to-face and perhaps unpremeditated. Second in frequency was the usage of sticks or blunt objects by the perpetrator, which happened in 11% of the incidents. The use of knife came third, showing in 4% of the cases, followed by gun, and the use of paint or magic markers, each involving 3% of the total racial bias incidents (see table 1E.1a). It is worthy to note also that only 3% of the racial incidents revealed engagements of hate group insignias and/or direct activities. Nonetheless, languages used in hate literature and verbal statements made in connection with the racial incidents are common in hate groups' parlance or ethnophaulisms (i.e., derogative words like coon, nigger, porchmonkey, cracker, white devil, white bitch, etc. permeated the case synopses of the racially motivated incidents), suggesting some connection or inspiration by organized hate groups to perpetrators.

To examine the reasons cited by the perpetrators for committing these crimes, I reviewed the memo fields of all the 1735 racial cases. In 29% of the racial cases the perpetrators cited reasons explained by the Simple Self-Interest Model (as indicated in the literature in chapter one) for not wanting the other group members in their neighborhoods, blocks or housing units (see table 1E.1b). To anticipate tables 1E.2b and 1E.3b below in discussion of anti-Semitic and anti-gay incidents only 5% of the anti-Semitic and 10% of the anti-gay incidents could be explained by the Self-Interest theory. Other reasons include integration in public accommodations, neighborhood institutions, facilities, and employment 15%; relationship and association 4%; retaliation 2%; and

other (which includes a presumed predisposition to hate, community unrest, and perhaps most important, inadequate information 50%.

**RACIAL INCIDENTS 1991-1995
ELEMENTS OF THE CRIMES**

Table 1E.1a

AGHARA	21	192	123	51	148	W	7	7	49	83	0	0	0	27
ARSON	0	2	0	4	0	E	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0
ASSLT	27	0	458	7	0	A	17	44	97	308	0	0	0	0
BUGLRY	2	0	1	10	0	P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
CRMSCF	3	3	5	124	63	O	0	7	11	5	0	44	0	22
HARASS	61	262	42	21	16	N	6	0	11	20	4	0	0	4
HOMICIDE	4	0	1	0	0		2	1	2	1	0	0	1	1
KIDRAPE	0	0	8	0	0	T	1	2	1	1	0	0	4	0
MENCNG	0	19	14	1	0	Y	13	11	9	0	1	0	7	0
OTHER	5	10	9	5	1	P	2	1	6	0	2	0	4	1
ROBBRY	0	1	33	0	0	E	5	4	3	15	0	1	1	0
TOTAL	123	489	694	223	228		53	77	189	433	13	45	17	58
%RAC'L	7%	28%	40%	13%	13%		3%	4%	11%	25%	1%	3%	1%	3%

Table 1E.1a: Aghara = aggravated harassment; Asslt = assault; Buglry = burglary; Crmscf = criminal mischief; Harass = harassment; Hmicide = homicide; Kidrape = kidnap rape; Mencng = menacing; Robbry = robbery; %Rac'l = percent of racial incidents, which is the total of each element of crime over the five-year total number of racial incidents (the 1735 cases).

EXPRESSED REASONS FOR THE RACIAL ATTACKS

Table 1E.1b.

REASON	NUMBER	PERCENT
INTEGRATION: Neighborhood and Housing Related	505	29%
INTEGRATION: Public Accommodation and Employment Related	257	15%
ASSOCIATION: Marriage, Family, Next of Kin, and Friendship	74	4%
RETALIATION: Revenge, Reaction, Copy-cat	29	2%
OTHER: Plain prejudice, Community unrest, No info available, etc.	870	50%
TOTAL	1735	100%

Table 1E.1b: There were quite a few number of cases in which the reasons for the attack were not clearly stated or nothing was entered in the memo fields of the cases. These type of cases are included in the "Other" designation in the table.

It is clear from the above table that racial incidents evolve around individual's economic and cultural interests as explained in the Self-Interest Model in chapter one more than anti-Semitic and anti-gay incidents discussed below. Nonetheless, the overall reason underlying racial bias crimes/incidents in the City is explained by the Classical Prejudice Model discussed in chapter one. Plain prejudice was the most expressed reason by perpetrators in all the racial incidents (about 50% of the cases). I should also point out that while only 3% of the racial incidents seemed to be directly involved with white supremacists like the KKK, the verbal and hate literature contents (28% and 13% respectively) of the racial incidents include languages and terminologies often associated with hate groups and other extremists. In other words, the freelance racists on our streets turn to the rhetoric of the hate groups as their means to denigrate others they dislike. To find out who these people are in terms of ethnicity, I turn to the ethnicity of perpetrators (see table 1E.1c).

Table 1E.1c

PERPETRATOR'S ETHNICITY, RACIAL INCIDENTS

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Unknown	1	768	44.3	44.3	44.3
White	2	434	25.0	25.0	69.2
Black	3	355	20.5	20.5	89.7
Hispanic	4	84	4.8	4.8	94.5
Jewish	5	17	1.0	1.0	95.5
Asian	6	15	.9	.9	96.4
Other	7	14	.8	.8	97.2
Italian	8	10	.6	.6	97.8
Korean	9	7	.4	.4	98.2
Indian	10	5	.3	.3	98.4
Black/Hi	11	3	.2	.2	98.6
Jamaican	12	3	.2	.2	98.8
Dominican	13	2	.1	.1	98.9
Greek	14	2	.1	.1	99.0
Japanese	15	2	.1	.1	99.1
Mexican	16	2	.1	.1	99.3
Pakistan	17	2	.1	.1	99.4
Amer/Ind	18	1	.1	.1	99.5
Arab	19	1	.1	.1	99.5
Argentin	20	1	.1	.1	99.6
Bolivian	21	1	.1	.1	99.7
Chinese	22	1	.1	.1	99.7
Guyanese	23	1	.1	.1	99.8
Israeli	24	1	.1	.1	99.8
Polish	25	1	.1	.1	99.9
Trinidad	26	1	.1	.1	99.9
West Ind	27	1	.1	.1	100.0
Total		1735	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	1735	Missing cases	0		

Table 1E.1c: Ethnicity of perpetrators in racial incidents.

Data on the perpetrator's ethnicity were incomplete. Of all the 1735 racial/ethnic incident cases, over 44% of them did not have information on the perpetrator's ethnicity. However, the remaining 56% of the cases reflects clearly what is happening on the streets of New York City in regard to the perpetrators of racial/ethnic bias crimes (see table 1E.1c). White perpetrators lead all racial/ethnic categories in the data, with involvements 25% of all the racial incidents. Black perpetrators came a close second in almost 21% of the racial incidents. Hispanic perpetrators came a distant third accounting for only 5%; while Jewish and Asian perpetrators accounted for only 1% each for the racial incidents in the City during the five-year period. It should be noted that all the other sub-categories of perpetrators' ethnicity (like Italian, Korean, black Hispanic, Jamaican, etc., as shown in table 1E.1c) are reflections of ethnic incidents as opposed to racial incidents. (There were 219 ethnic incident cases appended to the racial cases.) The low number of Hispanics and Jews as perpetrators of racial bias crime correlates with the fact that most districts in which their populations are high also have low racial bias incidents. For example, community districts 12 (Borough Park) and 9 (Crown Heights) are low racial incident districts with a large Jewish population; and most of the districts in the South- and Mid-Bronx are low racial incident districts with a large Hispanic population. This will be discussed in details later in the geographic section of the findings.

The nature of racial incidents occurring in the residential areas of the City are therefore better explained by the rational Self-Interest Model, while those occurring in

the high interaction commercial, civic, and cultural centers fall under the Classical Prejudice theory as reviewed in chapter one. As explained by the Self-Interest theory, whites with the in-group status try to prevent integration of their neighborhoods, housing units, public accommodations, etc., by minorities because of the effect that might have on their property values, cultural values, and quality of life. And for these reasons (examined in detail in chapters 5 and 6 below), white neighborhoods with minority housing patterns (i.e., low cost multiple dwellings) like the Marlborough Houses in Bensonhurst turned out to be “hot spots” for racial bias crimes. On the other hand minorities at times resent whites’ integration of their neighborhoods because it is seen as a gentrification which pushes their housing costs up beyond their means, so they retaliate. But given the relative proportions and assuming the same motivation, white declining neighborhoods are more threatened by blacks than are black neighborhoods threatened by gentrification.

Anti-Semitic

Vandalism was the mode in all the elements of crime for anti-Semitic incidents during the five-year period. This was present in 44% of the anti-Semitic incidents (see table 1E.2a). These incidents of vandalism were directed towards Jewish institutions, establishments, cemeteries, and private homes or properties. The use of hate notes or literature was second in frequency, appearing in 25% of the anti-Semitic incidents.

Verbal, which includes the use of epithets, slurs, derogatory remarks and threats either by telephone or physically in the presence of the victim, was used in 24% of the anti-Semitic cases. that is, third in frequency as the method or part of the method used in the anti-Semitic incidents. Physical contact with the victim by the perpetrator occurred only in 12% of the anti-Semitic cases compared to 40% of such cases in racial incidents. About 4% of the anti-Semitic cases did not have sufficient information to determine the elements of crime (compared with 7% for racial incidents above).

In regards to types of weapons used in the anti-Semitic incidents, magic markers, paints and other coloring materials were used more often than any other weapon type. These were used in 15% of the overall anti-Semitic incidents. This was followed by the use of fist or other bodyparts in hitting, kicking and shoving, involving only 8% of the cases. The use of stick or other blunt objects showed up in 7% of the cases, fire in 3%, knife and vehicle each in 2% of the cases, and gun in just 1% of the anti-Semitic incidents. Anti-Semitic incidents connected to hate groups' insignia, reference or activities comprised about 40% of the total number of cases documented during the five-year period compared to only 3% of the racial incidents directly relating to hate group activities.

**ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS 1991-1995
ELEMENTS OF THE CRIMES**

Table 1E.2a

CRIME	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	W	A	P	O	N	T	Y	P	E
AGHARA	14	142	33	42	137	W	2	1	25	19	2	11	11	80
ARSON	1	2	0	18	1	E	0	0	0	0	18	0	0	2
ASSLT	2	10	64	2	0	A	3	7	16	48	0	2	4	2
BUGLRY	0	0	0	19	2	P	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	15
CRMSCF	13	7	0	359	102	O	2	2	11	0	12	135	0	306
HARASS	10	58	10	8	11	N	0	0	11	5	0	1	6	9
HOMICIDE	1	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KIDRAPE	0	0	0	0	0	T	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MENCNG	0	12	0	0	0	Y	4	2	3	0	0	0	1	0
OTHER	0	11	4	6	2	P	0	2	5	2	1	0	0	2
ROBBRY	0	2	13	1	0	E	1	2	2	6	0	1	1	0
TOTAL	41	244	124	455	255		12	16	73	80	34	151	23	416
%ATSM	4%	24%	12%	44%	25%		1%	2%	7%	8%	3%	15%	2%	40%

Table 1E.2a: Aghara = aggravated harassment; Asslt = assault; Buglry = burglary; Crmscf = criminal mischief; Harass = harassment; Hmicide = homicide; Kidrape = kidnap rape; Mencng = menacing; Robbry = robbery; %Atsm = percent of anti-Semitic incidents, which is the total of each element of crime over the five-year total number of anti-Semitic incidents (the 1030 cases).

EXPRESSED REASONS FOR THE ANTI-SEMITIC ATTACKS

Table 1E.2b.

REASONS	# INCID	
INTEGRATION: Neighborhood and Housing Related	54	5%
INTEGRATION: Public Accommodation and Employment Related	27	3%
ASSOCIATION: Marriage, Family, Next of Kin, and Friendship	1	0%
RETALIATION: Revenge, Reaction, Copy-cat	10	1%
OTHER: Plain prejudice, Community unrest, No info available, etc.	938	91%
TOTAL	1030	100%

Table 1E.2b: Among the cases classified as "Other" Plain prejudice and community unrest accounted for 97% of the cases while cases with no information in the memo fields accounted for the remaining 3%.

In the majority of the anti-Semitic incidents, perpetrators did not have any objective material interest other than their predisposition of hate or anger towards Jews. Ninety-one percent of the cases lack a clear rational reason on the part of the perpetrators for their attacks (see table 1E.2b). Most of these cases involved hate messages, graffiti vandalism, arson or physical attacks against perceived Jewish persons, homes, properties, and institutions. Some examples of these attacks include defacement of Jewish institutions, homes or properties with swastika graffiti, removal of mezuzahs from Jewish doors, or destruction of their Succoth. It should be emphasized that the high involvement of hate groups' insignia and activities (40%) coupled with the high instances of plain prejudice being expressed by anti-Semitic perpetrators (91%) as reasons for their hatred suggest that people who commit these anti-Semitic bias crimes subscribe a great deal to hate groups' rhetorics, ideologies and stereotypes. Table 1E.2c sets forth information on who is committing these crimes against the Jewish community in the City.

Over 80% of the anti-Semitic cases do not have information on the perpetrators' ethnicity. For the rest of the cases, blacks turned out to be the most anti-Semitic perpetrators, in almost 12% of all the anti-Semitic incidents; white perpetrators accounted for 6%; while Hispanics were responsible for just over 1% of the anti-Semitic bias crimes in the City for the five-year period (table 1E.2c). Here too, as in the racial bias crimes, Hispanics appeared to be less inclined towards anti-Semitic dispositions, despite the news media's portrayals of Hispanics in Williamsburg as being antagonistic

towards the Hasidim there. It should also be noted that less than 1% of the anti-Semitic incident perpetrators in the City over the five year period were Arabs or Muslims, suggesting that Jewish Arab antagonism in the Middle East is not being replicated in the City, as recently portrayed by the media. However, these findings remain inconclusive because we cannot determine the ethnicity of perpetrators in over 80% of the anti-Semitic incidents; and table 1E.2a indicates 40% of anti-Semitic incidents having some connections with organized hate groups, while table 1E.2b illustrates plain prejudice as the fundamental reason for the anti-Semitic incidents. As already stated above, plain prejudice which lacks any rational reason on the part of the perpetrators is explained by the Classical Prejudice Model discussed in chapter one. This type of prejudice is what mostly guides the dispositions of members of organized hate groups.³⁹

Table 1E.2c **PERPETRATOR'S ETHNICITY, ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS**

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Unknown	1	828	80.4	80.4	80.4
Black	2	119	11.6	11.6	91.9
White	3	61	5.9	5.9	97.9
Hispanic	4	12	1.2	1.2	99.0
Arab	5	5	.5	.5	99.5
Jewish	6	3	.3	.3	99.8
Multiple	7	1	.1	.1	99.9
Muslim	8	1	.1	.1	100.0
Total		1030	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1030 Missing cases 0

Table 1E.2c: Ethnicity of perpetrators in Anti-Semitic incidents.

³⁹ *There were three incidents involving Jewish perpetrators, indicating Jew-on-Jew bias. One of them did not have any information in the memo field to determine the nature of the anti-Semitic incident. The other two seemed to be situations in which an over-assimilated Jew (i.e., more Americanized Jew) acted against foreign born, or progressive against an orthodox.*

Anti-Gay

The overwhelming majority of the anti-gay incidents over the five years involved physical attacks: such was the case in 48% of the anti-gay incidents (table 1E.3a). This was followed by verbal which appeared in 29% of the incidents. Vandalism and hate literature came third in frequency with each of them comprising 8% of the incidents. About 7% of the anti-gay cases did not have enough information to determine the elements of crime.

ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS 1991-1995
ELEMENTS OF THE CRIMES

Table 1E.3a

CRIME	NO	VERB	PHYS	VAND	HATE	PROP	KNIF	STICK	DIS	TRF	NAB	VHP	KKK	
DESC	INFO	BAE	CO	PROP	TRF						TRF	CLB		
AGHARA	4	55	19	6	20	W	0	0	9	16	0	3	2	1
ARSON	0	0	0	0	0	E	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ASSLT	14	1	160	3	0	A	3	15	38	118	1	0	11	1
BUGLRY	0	0	0	0	0	P	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CRMSCF	2	3	0	17	14	O	0	0	3	0	1	2	0	3
HARASS	11	77	43	7	4	N	2	3	13	29	0	2	9	0
HOMICIDE	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KIDRAPE	0	0	2	0	0	T	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
MENCNG	0	7	4	0	0	Y	3	5	2	0	0	0	0	0
OTHER	4	4	5	5	1	P	0	1	7	4	3	0	1	0
ROBBRY	0	3	18	2	0	E	2	4	2	12	0	0	2	0
TOTAL	35	150	251	40	39		11	28	74	179	5	7	26	5
%ATGY	7%	29%	48%	8%	8%		2%	5%	14%	34%	1%	1%	5%	1%

Table 1E.3a: Aghara = aggravated harassment; Asslt = assault; Buglry = burglary; Crmscf = criminal mischief; Harass = harassment; Hmicide = homicide; Kidrape = kidnap/rape; Mencng = menacing; Robbry = robbery; %Atgy = percent of anti-gay incidents, which is the total of each element of crime over the five-year total number of anti-gay incidents (the 522 cases).

Types of weapons used in the anti-gay crimes were, in descending order, fist 34%, stick 14%, knife and vehicle 5% each, gun 2%, fire 1% and magic marker 1%. Only 1% of the anti-gay cases contained information that could link them to hate groups.

EXPRESSED REASONS FOR THE ANTI-GAY ATTACKS

Table 1E.3b

REASON	# INCIDENTS	%
INTEGRATION: Neighborhood and Housing Related	52	10%
INTEGRATION: Public Accommodation and Employment Related	47	9%
ASSOCIATION: Marriage, Family, Next of Kin, and Friendship	57	11%
RETALIATION: Revenge, Reaction, Copy-cat	2	.3%
OTHER: Plain prejudice, Community unrest, No info available, etc.	364	70%
TOTAL	522	100%

Table 1E.3b: Among the cases classified as "Other" Plain prejudice accounted for 65% of the anti-gay cases while cases with no information in the memo fields accounted for 4% and community unrest covered the remaining 1%.

The overwhelming majority of the anti-gay incidents were perpetrated towards gays and lesbians (or people perceived to be them) simply because of their sexual orientations. From table 1E.3b, plain prejudice accounted for about 70% of the anti-gay incidents, (see notes under table 1E.3b). Association with gays or gay institutions caused about 11% of the anti-gay incidents; neighborhood and housing integration of gays

triggered about 10%; and public accommodation and employment related issues spurred about 9% of the total anti-gay incidents.

The underlying theory which best explains most of the dispositions of the anti-gay perpetrators is, as with anti-Semitism, the Classical Prejudice Model. That is, the perpetrators do not have any rational material interest as the motive for their crimes. As already stated above, in about 70% of the anti-gay incidents, perpetrators' motives consisted of prejudice against the victims' sexual orientation. Although elements of crime for anti-gay incidents reflect just a fraction of these incidents may be directly connected with organized hate groups, the usage of hate groups' rhetoric in these incidents is quite high (that is, in about 29% of the cases) to establish some association (see table 1E.3a).

The perpetrators of the anti-gay bias crimes spread across all the major racial groups in the City. In 48% of the anti-gay incidents, perpetrators' ethnicity was not known. Of the rest, Hispanics are the most frequent perpetrators of the anti-gay bias crimes. They accounted for a little over 18% of the five-year total (see table 1E.3c). This was closely followed by white and black perpetrators, accounting for about 17% each of the five-year anti-gay bias incidents. There was not a single Jewish perpetrator documented for anti-gay bias during the entire five-year period.

In conclusion, the findings in respect to perpetrator's ethnicity in all three major types of incidents show that Asians and Jews are the least likely to commit bias crimes.

Table 1E.3c

PERPETRATOR'S ETHNICITY, ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Unknown	1	250	47.9	47.9	47.9
Hispanic	2	95	18.2	18.2	66.1
White	3	88	16.9	16.9	83.0
Black	4	86	16.5	16.5	99.4
Arab	5	1	.2	.2	99.6
Asian	6	1	.2	.2	99.8
Multiple	7	1	.2	.2	100.0
Total		522	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	522	Missing cases	0		

Table 1E.3c: Ethnicity of perpetrators in anti-gay incidents.

VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS

I have presented the findings on perpetrator's ethnicity for the three major types of incidents. The following discussion will focus on other findings pertaining to the victims and perpetrators not yet discussed. The tables covering these discussions will be found in appendix B. (I placed them there because they are not directly related to the hypotheses I want to investigate and do not want to obstruct the text unnecessary with tables.)

In terms of racial incidents, blacks were more often the victims of this type of incident than any group. For the five-year period, 613 (35%) of the racial incidents involved black victims; while 570 (33%) involved whites; 269 (16%) were Hispanics; and 180 (10%) of the racial incidents were perpetrated against Asians (see table B4 in appendix B). The victim's ethnicity is not the best way to measure which racial group is the most distressed in terms of bias incidents. This is because someone could be victimized in a bias incident due to a mere perception or association with a member or institution of a target group. Such was the case for white victims in 35% of the anti-Semitic incidents as will be discussed below. With respect to the gender of the victims and perpetrators, males are more likely to be victims and victimizers of the racial bias incidents than females; and of the top two male groups, white males are more likely to be both victims and victimizers than black males. As for females, blacks are more likely to be both victims and victimizers than white females in the racial incidents (see tables B3-B15 in appendix B).

In the anti-Semitic incidents, as defined by motives of perpetrators, Jews were obviously the victims in 494 (48%) of the incidents; religiously unidentified white victims came second in 365 (35%) of the cases; followed by Jewish institutions as victims in 125 (12%) of the anti-Semitic incidents (see tables B16-B21). As already indicated above, blacks were clearly the most frequent perpetrators of anti-Semitic incidents. But males as a group are more likely to be both victims and perpetrators in anti-Semitic incidents than females; and black males top all the male perpetrators. However, this is based on only 25% of all the anti-Semitic incidents. In about 75% of the anti-Semitic incidents the perpetrators' gender was not known (see tables B16-B21), as some good proportion of them are crimes against property.

I hypothesized that gay men are more likely to be victimized for their sexual orientation than gay women. As set forth in table 1E.4 below, the overwhelming majority of the anti-gay incidents were directed towards gay men or men perceived to be gay, that is, 419 cases or 80% of the overall anti-gay incidents. Only 76 cases or about 15% of the incidents were directed towards lesbians or women perceived to be lesbians.

Table 1E.4
VICTSEX

ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS, 1991-1995, VICTIMS SEX

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Female		76	14.6	14.6	14.6
Male		419	80.3	80.3	94.8
Other		24	4.6	4.6	99.4
Unknown		3	.6	.6	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
Total		522	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	522	Missing cases	0		

Table 1E.4. Other refers to cases involving gay institutions, organizations, establishments and other non-persons.

Anti-gay perpetrators spread across all racial groups, but Hispanics held a slight lead over whites in first place, then closely followed by blacks in the third position (see table 1E.3c above). White anti-gay victims clearly outnumbered all other groups, with involvement in about 65% of all the anti-gay incidents. Males were the vast majority of both the victims and the victimizers involving in 80% and 64% of the anti-gay incidents respectively. Hispanic males and white females were the most frequent perpetrators of the gender groups in the anti-gay incidents (see tables B22-B32 in appendix B). Here too, the data integrity issue is a consideration because in about a third of the anti-gay cases, the perpetrators' gender was not recorded.

With respect to other information on the victims and perpetrators of the bias crimes as a whole, it is difficult to do any meaningful comparison or analysis due to lack of adequate information. For example, in about 30% (or 996) of the cases there was no information on the victim's age, and in over 90% of the cases did not have information on perpetrator's age. Nonetheless, the mean and median ages of the victims were 35 and 33 respectively, while the mode is 30 years (see table 1F). The victims' ages range from as young as one year old to as old as eighty-eight years.

TABLE 1F.

SELECTED VICTIMS' AGES, ALL TYPES OF INCIDENTS

VICTAGE

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	1	1	.0	.0	.0
	3	1	.0	.0	.1
	11	18	.5	.8	1.5
	12	35	1.0	1.5	3.0
	13	40	1.2	1.7	4.6
	14	44	1.3	1.9	6.5
	15	54	1.6	2.3	8.8
	16	52	1.5	2.2	11.0
	17	38	1.1	1.6	12.6
	18	35	1.0	1.5	14.0
	19	37	1.1	1.6	15.6
	20	33	1.0	1.4	17.0
	21	41	1.2	1.7	18.7
	22	40	1.2	1.7	20.4
	23	45	1.3	1.9	22.3
	24	62	1.8	2.6	24.9
	25	63	1.9	2.7	27.6
	26	56	1.7	2.4	29.9
	27	67	2.0	2.8	32.8
	28	55	1.6	2.3	35.1
	29	54	1.6	2.3	37.4
	30	89	2.6	3.8	41.1
	31	69	2.0	2.9	44.0
	32	72	2.1	3.0	47.0
	33	74	2.2	3.1	50.2
	34	56	1.7	2.4	52.5
	35	63	1.9	2.7	55.2
	88	1	.0	.0	100.0
	0	996	29.6	Missing	
	Total	3368	100.0	100.0	
Mean	35.015	Median	33.000	Mode	30.000
Std dev	14.756	Skewness	.638	S E Skew	.050
Range	87.000				

Valid cases 2372 Missing cases 996

Table 1F: Selected victims' ages, all types of incidents. See table 1F in appendix B for the complete frequency tabulation of victim's age.

In regard to the perpetrators, their mean and median ages were 28 and 25 years respectively (table 1G). There were multiple modes for perpetrators aged 15 and 17 years, with 21 cases recorded for each. Over 30% of perpetrators on whom information was available were between 14 and 20 years old. (The perpetrators' ages range from three to eighty-four years old.)⁴⁰

In summary, the findings on victims and perpetrators of all three major types of incidents show that bias incidents are part of the broader male versus male power struggle among the young adults mostly from 15 to 35 years of age; and/or the young are simply more prejudiced and those in the 30s still "hang out" frequently and are available as victims. This is the age group which tends to "hang out" in public places like schoolyards, basketball courts, and parks (at times less frequented by females) for various reasons including "turf" protection. For their various interests, as will be discussed later in the analysis section, whites were the most frequent perpetrators of racial bias incidents, while blacks were the most frequent perpetrators of anti-Semitic incidents and Hispanics slightly the most perpetrators of anti-gay incidents. In regard to the victims, blacks were the most victimized in racial bias incidents than all other groups, and Jews the most for anti-Semitic incidents while whites the most victimized in anti-gay bias

⁴⁰ *I tried to ascertain information on the one case with perpetrator's age being three years old but there was no case synopsis (or memo field) for this case. However, examination of the record revealed that the case originated from the BIU, and the perpetrator was a black male aged 3, and the victim a white female, 41 years old. The incident took place within community district 12 in Queens in 1991. The two plausible explanation for this would be 1) a 3-year-old child picking up stereotypical derogatory language or rhetoric from the parents and using it in public against someone without knowing the consequences; or 2) this was just part of the problem of data integrity resulting from 3 being entered in lieu of 30 by the data entry person.*

incidents in the City. On the whole, Asians and Jews expressed the least prejudicial dispositions towards any particular group in the City.

TRENDS OF BIAS IN THE CITY

Bias incidents in the City have been going down since 1993 from the all time high of 948 cases in 1992, to a low of 419 in 1995 (see chart 1A). This trend however, was reversed in 1996 with a 27% increase from 1995.⁴¹ The 1992 figure was the highest number of bias incidents documented in the City since 1981, the year such statistics began to be compiled. According to the CCHR, explanations of anomalies of this kind are rooted in the "revenge" and "copy-cat" theories as manifested in cases such as the killing of Yusuf Hawkins in Bensonhurst in 1989, the attack on African American youths in the Bronx in January of 1992 by the so-called "Albanian Boys", and the reactions to the Rodney King verdict in April of 1992. In the case of these events which were given wide media coverage, bias incidents in the City rose dramatically in the year they occurred. The two major events which contributed to the dramatic rise in bias incidents in 1992 were the case of the "Albanian Boys" in January of 1992 followed by the national reactions to the Rodney King verdict in April of 1992.

⁴¹ *Telephone interview with Sgt. Joseph Henry of the Bias Incidents Investigation Unit on February 20, 1997.*

CITYWIDE YEARLY BIAS INCIDENTS ALL TYPES COMBINED, 1991-1995

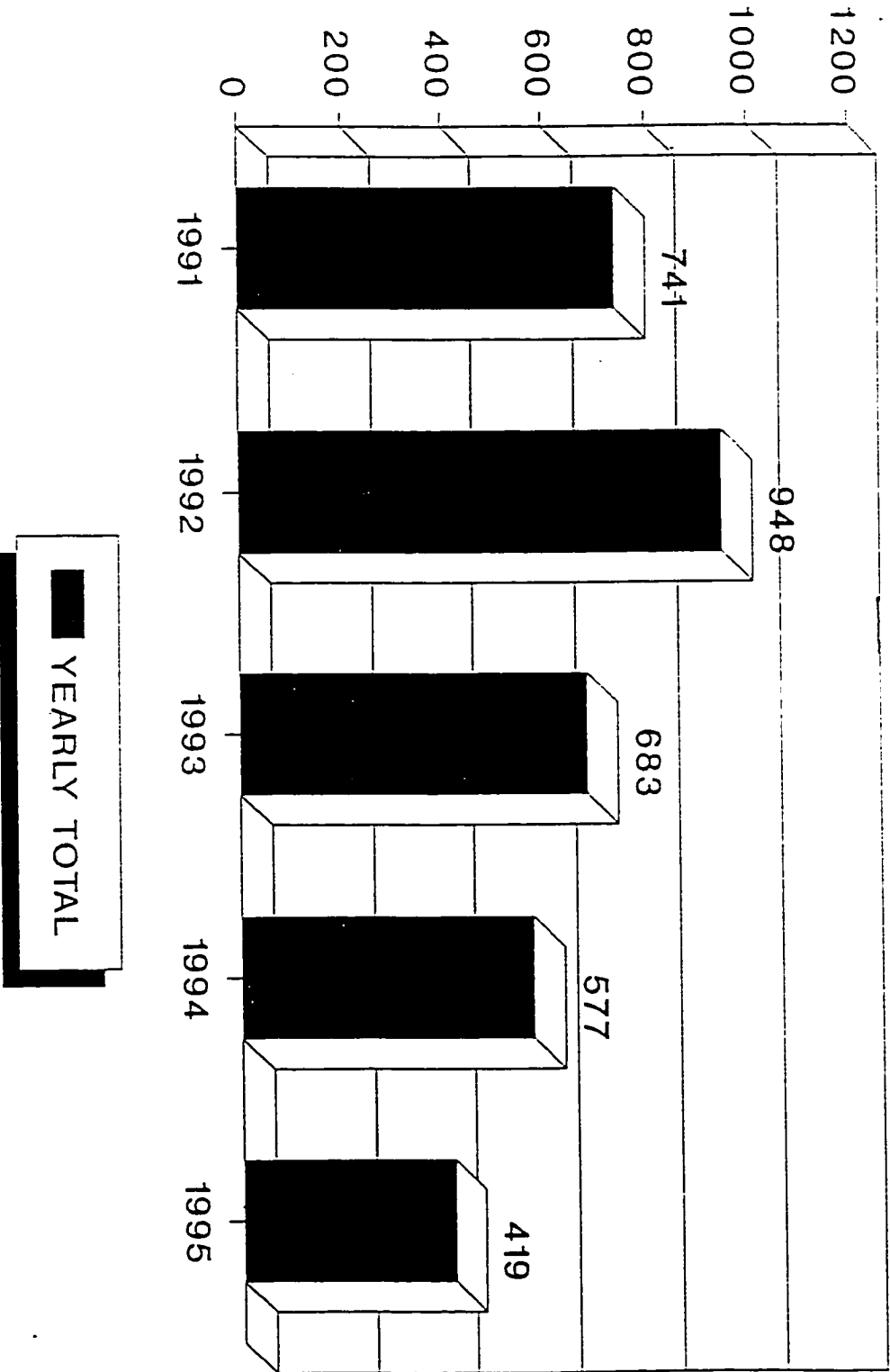


Chart 1A.
Total number of incidents - 3368

BIAS INCIDENTS BY YEAR SELECTED TYPES OF INCIDENTS 1991-1995.

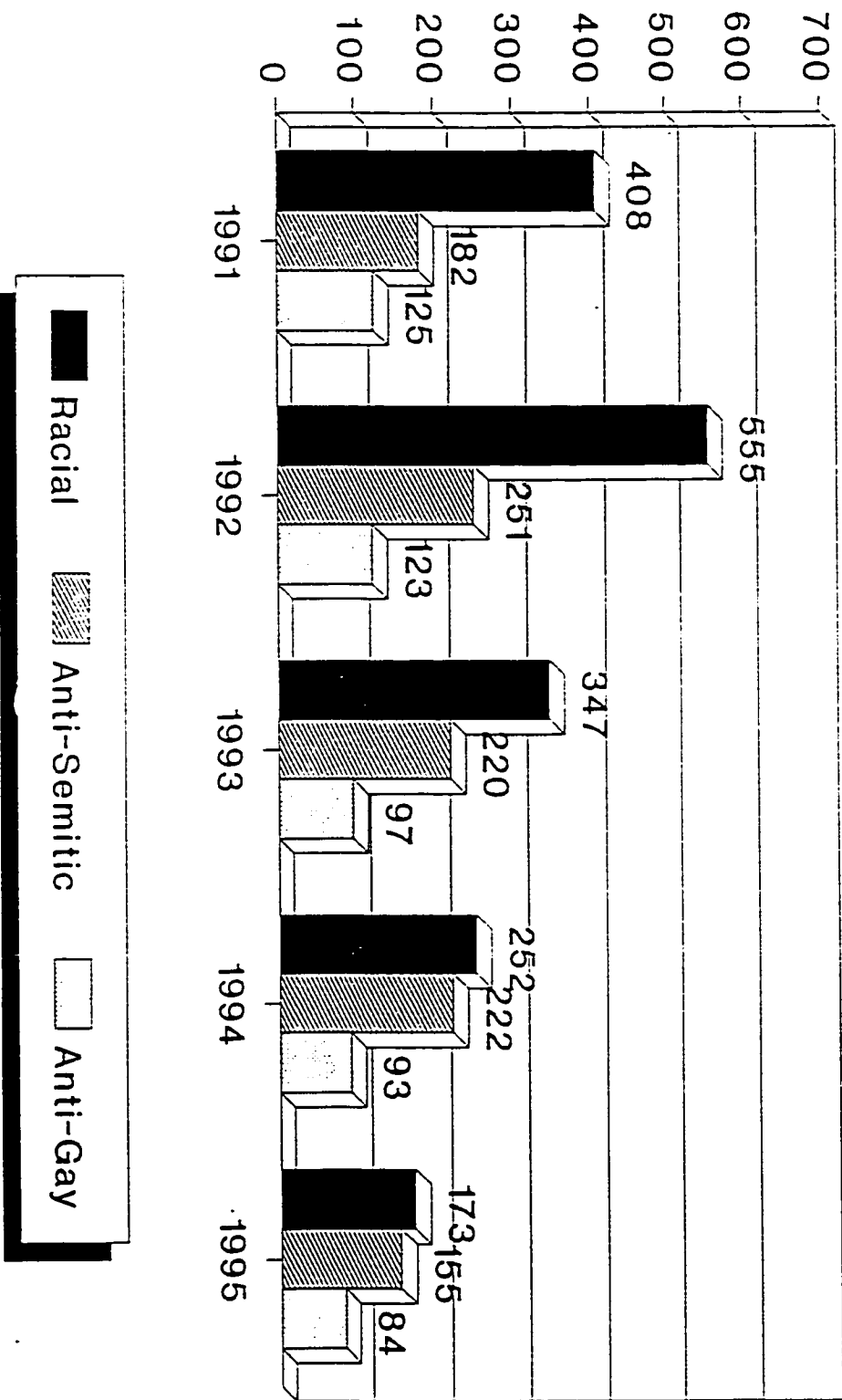


Chart 1B: Racial includes ethnic incidents also. There were 219 ethnic incidents over the five-year period.

When incidents are broken down by type and year, racial incidents outnumbered all types of bias incidents each year for the five years in the City. However, the data also show a downward trend for the three major types of incidents from 1993 through 1995, with the highest number of incidents for each type of incidents being documented for the year 1992 suggesting a spillover copycat and revenge effect from the just noted 1992 cases (see chart 1B). It should be noted that only anti-Semitic incidents went up slightly in 1994 by two cases over that of 1993 (220 cases), and then, went back down in 1995 to 155 incidents.⁴² As set forth in chart 1B, racial bias incidents occur in the City more often than any other type of incident, followed by anti-Semitic incidents, and then anti-gay incidents. However, the dramatic drop in racial bias incidents (compared to others) from 1993 through 1995 was perhaps because of the fact that there was no major racial incident either locally or nationally, as there were in 1992, to trigger incidents of revenge and copycats in the City. This becomes more plausible due to the fact that under the Giuliani administration from 1994 on, there were sharp policy changes in terms of policing and classification of bias incidents from that of proactive to reactive. Since 1994, the Commission on Human Rights for example, has drastically reduced its outreach and community awareness activities. Its bias “Hotline” also became dysfunctional from late 1994 throughout 1995. For example, during most of 1995, the “Hotline” which used to be manned by a staff of five people during the Koch and Dinkins

⁴² This trend was replicated by the ADL’s national anti-Semitic audit from 1992 through 1996 with the 2066 cases documented in 1994 being the highest in the audit’s 16-year history. The 1994 increase in anti-Semitic incidents may be related to the Hebron massacre in March of 1994 and its subsequent reprisals against the Jewish community in the U.S. In the City, 1994 was the year of the Brooklyn Bridge shooting in which a van-full of young Lubavitcher Jews was sprayed with gunshots by a Muslim man, Rashid Baz. In regard to the national trend, the ADL documented 1867 cases for 1993, 2066 cases for 1994, 1843 cases for 1995, and 1722 for 1996.

administrations was reduced to recorded automated messages. For certain months during the same period, there was not a single call documented for the whole month compared to about 15-20 bias calls that used to be documented per month during the previous administrations.⁴³ It is impossible to determine whether this was the result of an actual decrease in trust that reporting it would accomplish anything under the new administration. (But certainly, it is only the reported cases that are used to determine whether there is an increase or decrease in a given jurisdiction.)

The 1994 increase in anti-Semitic incidents may have been caused by the Hebron massacre in Israel in March of 1994 and consequent retaliation (i.e., the Brooklyn Bridge shooting) against the Jewish community in the City. Anti-gay incidents did not drop that much during 1994, surely because of the gay athletic games hosted by the City in June of 1994. Anti-gay incidents rose sharply in this month alone because of the increased visibility that the gay athletic event gave to the City's gay community. These citywide patterns are compared to the borough distribution of the types of incidents below.

With the exception of the large number of anti-gay incidents in Manhattan, the citywide patterns were also replicated on the borough levels for all three major types of incidents, with racial incidents leading, followed by anti-Semitic, and anti-gay events in each borough (see chart 1C below). However, in Manhattan, anti-gay incidents came

⁴³ *The months without any record of bias incidents being documented by the CCHR's "Hotline" are: September and December 1994; and January and October 1995. The "Hotline" used to be manned by a team of five people named the Bias Prevention and Response Team alternating on daily basis but all that was reduced to a single or no person since 1994.*

SELECTED TYPES OF INCIDENTS BY BOROUGH FIVE-YEAR TOTAL (1991-1995)

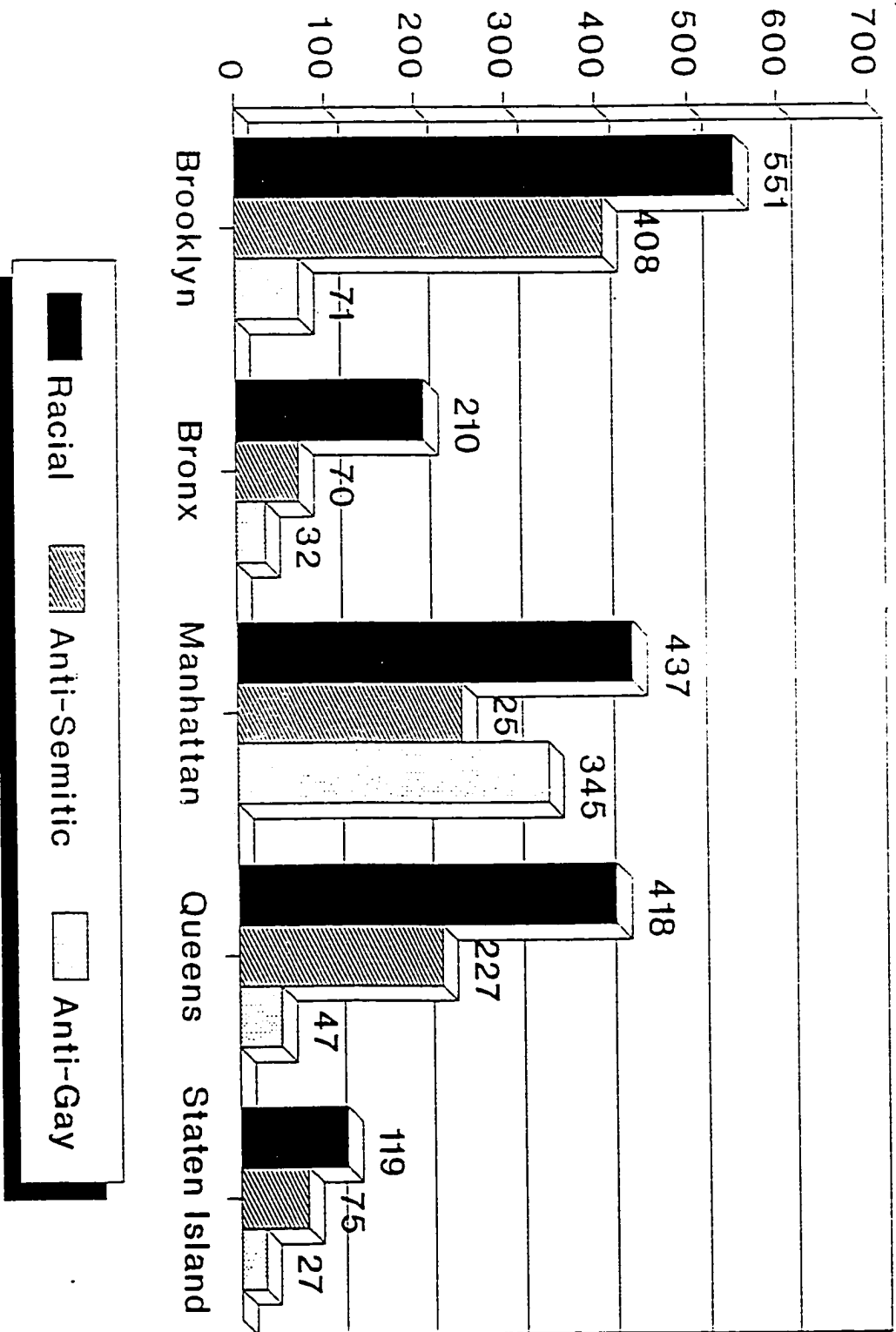


Chart 1C.

second in frequency with 345 cases. This qualifies Manhattan as the borough with the highest number of documented anti-gay incidents: indeed, 66% of the five year total of 522 incidents occurred in Manhattan. Otherwise, racial incidents are the mode in all five boroughs of the City with most of them (551 cases out of 1735 or 32%) happening in Brooklyn. The highest documented number of anti-Semitic incidents over the five-year period also occurred in the borough of Brooklyn. There were 408 cases out of 1030, nearly 40% documented as occurring in Brooklyn over the five years. On the whole, the Bronx and Staten Island experienced less bias crime than the rest of the boroughs. Interestingly, these two boroughs sustain diametrically opposed but comparably homogeneous demographic profiles, with minorities (especially Hispanics) being the large majority in the Bronx, with whites constituting the vast majority in Staten Island (1990 census).

To see a clearer picture of what is happening in the boroughs in terms of bias, I charted the borough trends for the five-year period. The borough trends of the three major types of incidents over the five-year period show just a few variations from that of the citywide trends.

Brooklyn

With the exception of a slight increase in anti-Semitic incidents in 1993, racial and anti-Semitic incidents in Brooklyn show a downward trend from 1993. Racial incidents out-numbered other types of incidents yearly in the borough as they do

citywide, except for 1994 in which racial incidents are slightly surpassed by anti-Semitic incidents (see chart 1D). As already mentioned above, racial incidents occurred in Brooklyn more than in any other borough of the City (551 or 31% of 1735) in the five-year period. Anti-gay incidents show a decrease-increase trend in Brooklyn for the five years, with 21 cases documented in 1995 being the highest yearly number of anti-gay incidents in the borough. Anti-Semitic incidents are second in number of occurrence for the five years (408 cases) to racial's 551 cases in the borough, followed by anti-gay. 71 cases.

There was a total of 1048 (or 31.12% of the five-year total, 3368) incidents being documented as occurring in the borough of Brooklyn. This presents Brooklyn as the borough with the second highest number of bias crimes, overall and the highest number of racial and anti-Semitic incidents.

The Bronx

In the Bronx, the data show a downward trend for racial incidents from 1993 to 1995, and 1992 was the peak (72 cases) in the borough during the five-year period (see chart 1E). Racial incidents out-numbered all other types of incidents in the Bronx for both the yearly and the five-year aggregate. There were a total of 210 cases documented as racial in the borough which constituted 65% of the borough's total bias. Anti-Semitic and anti-gay incidents show a pattern of increase-decrease over the course of the five

years. The peak year for racial as well as anti-Semitic and anti-gay incidents in the Bronx was 1992, with 72, 18 and 9 cases respectively being documented. Based on the data, the Bronx experienced a relatively low number of bias incidents over the study period so that the Bronx was a relatively calm borough in terms of bias crimes. There were 321 (or 9.53% of the five-year total) incidents documented for the Bronx during the five-year period. The Bronx has a good number of dedicated community based conflict resolution and prevention organizations. The work of these organizations will be discussed later.

Manhattan

Based on the data, the borough of Manhattan had the highest number of bias crimes. It should be noted that from the 1990 census, Manhattan is also the borough with the highest record of day and night changes in population and demographics. This suggests that the majority of the perpetrators as well as the victims may not live in the borough but travel there. During the five-year period, there were 1059 (31.44% of the total) incidents documented for Manhattan. Of these, racial incidents have the highest frequency (437 cases, 41% of the borough total), followed by anti-gay (345 incidents, 32%) and then anti-Semitic incidents (251 cases, 23%). Racial incidents show a downward trend from 1993 to 1995 with the highest number of incidents documented for 1992 (141 cases). Anti-Gay incidents in Manhattan went down in 1992 and 1993 then

went up slightly in 1994 and down again in 1995. The peak for anti-gay incidents for the borough was in 1991 with 87 cases. Anti-Semitic incidents in Manhattan also show a downward trend from 1993 through 1995, after a peak of 58 cases in 1992 (see chart 1F).

Queens

The overall trend in Queens for anti-Semitic and anti-gay incidents show an increase-decrease pattern. Racial incidents, on the other hand, show a consistent downward trend, after a peak of 149 incidents in 1992, to a low of 32 cases documented in 1995. They also form the majority of all bias incidents for the borough's five-year aggregate, with 418 cases out of the 709 documented bias in the borough (see chart 1G). The peak for anti-Semitic incidents in the borough was 69 cases in 1994, while that of anti-gay incidents was 14 cases in 1992. Here too, the decrease follows the citywide trend resulting from policy changes by the new administration and the lack of major media-hyped bias incidents from 1993-1995 (except the Freddy's incident in December of 1995) as explained above. The sharp increase in anti-Semitic incidents in the borough in 1994 was caused by a string of arsons committed against Jewish institutions in the Rockaway areas of Queens. This also may be related to the Hebron massacre in Israel in March of 1994.

Staten Island

Except for anti-gay incidents in 1993, all three major types of incidents revealed a downward trend in Staten Island from 1991 through 1995. Racial bias incidents lead the way numerically, year by year, and the five year aggregate (see chart 1H), just as in the other boroughs with far larger populations of racial minorities. This was followed by anti-Semitic incidents, then by anti-gay events. The peak year for the three major types of incidents was 1991. Staten Island experienced less bias crime during the five-year period than any other borough of the City, possibly because of its substantial Italian-American presence with an alleged significant Mafiosi presence. Nonetheless, according to telephone interviews with James Ridgeway, author of the book "Blood in the Face", and Eliot Hoff, Associate Regional Director of Anti-Defamation League, Staten Island is currently the **Klavern** for Klan and Skinheads' activities in the City; while a **Klanton** of the National Alliance, has been identified operating in the borough but with their Post Office box in the Bronx.⁴⁴ As a result of the known presence of such organized groups, it may be that racial minorities and gays are less assertive of their rights and hence evoke fewer attacks. Nonetheless, bias crimes are currently on the rise in Staten Island and anti-Semitic incidents show the most dramatic increase on the Island (Staten Island Advance, November 28, 1997, p. A1).

⁴⁴ *Klavern and Klanton are white supremacists' terminology widely used by North American Ku Klux "Klanry". A Klavern in white supremacists' parlance means a local meeting place, while a Klanton stands for a local chapter.*

The following chapter features the results of the data being displayed geographically to ascertain which community districts in each of the five boroughs are afflicted with bias. The thematic maps are also used to determine which community district gets selected for each type of incident for in-depth analysis.

BIAS INCIDENTS IN BROOKLYN BY YEAR BY SELECTED TYPES, 1991-1995.

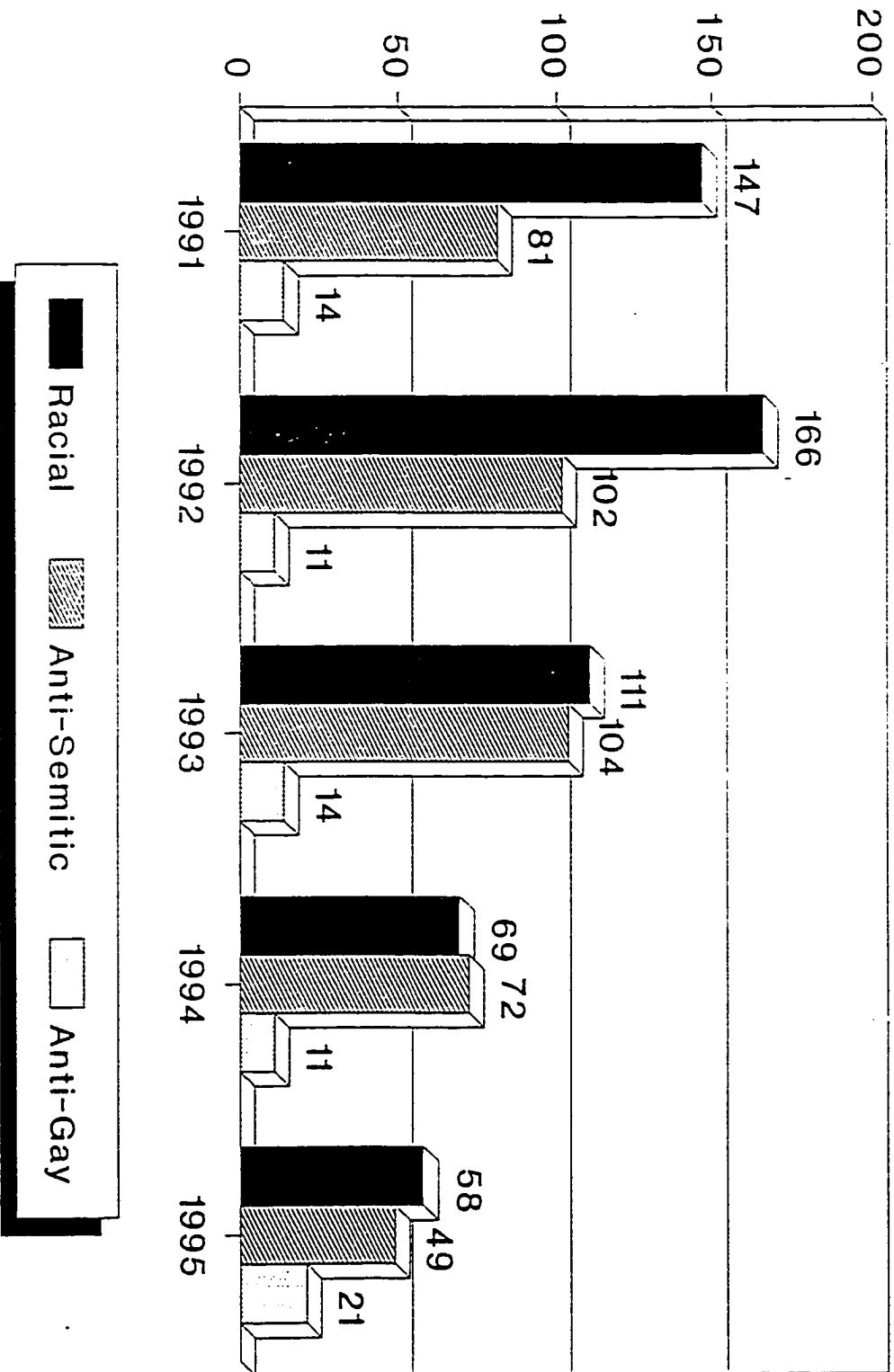


Chart 1D.

BIAS INCIDENTS IN THE BRONX BY YEAR BY SELECTED TYPES, 1991-1995.

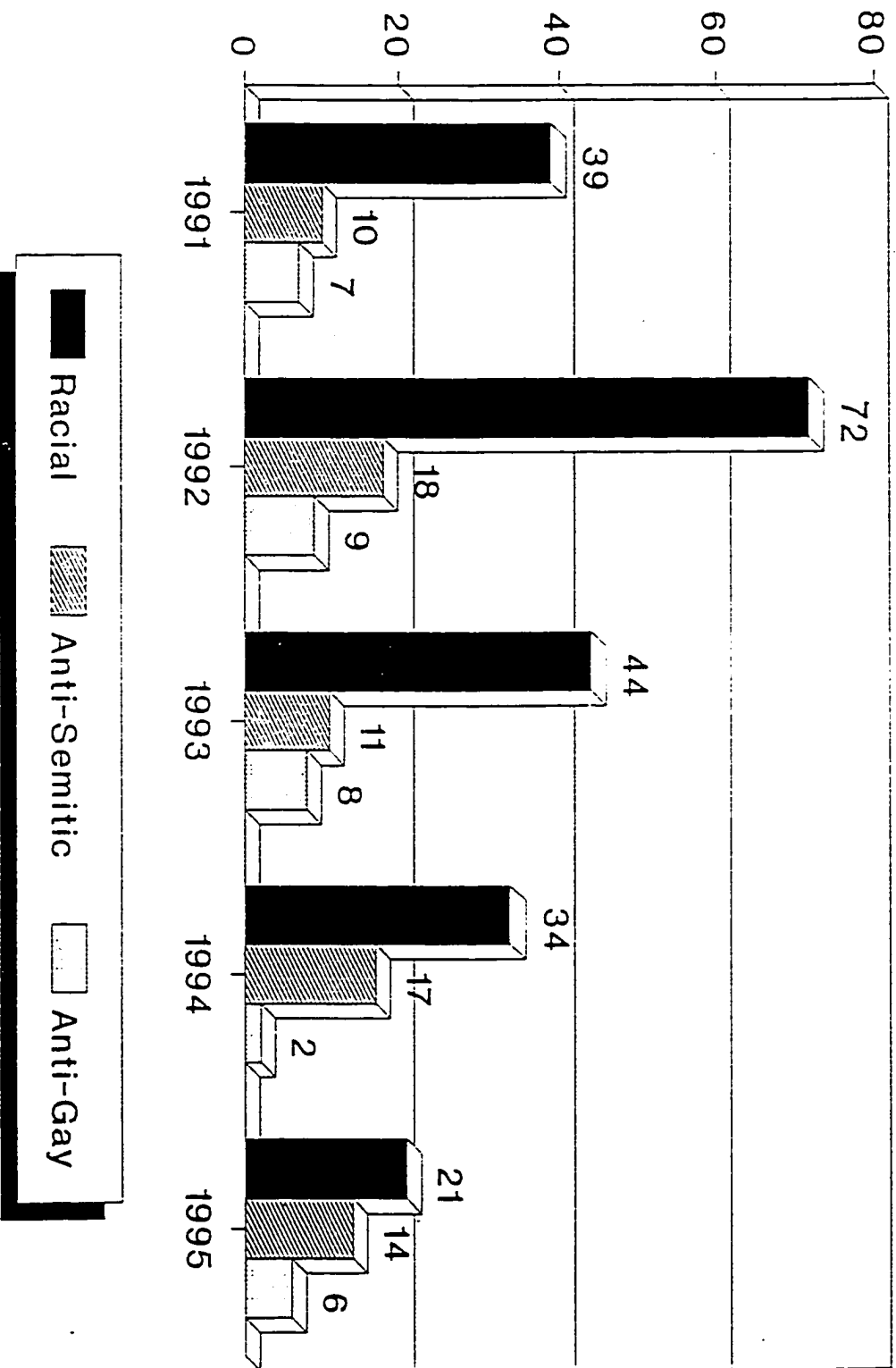


Chart 1E.

BIAS INCIDENTS IN MANHATTAN BY YEAR BY SELECTED TYPES, 1991-1995.

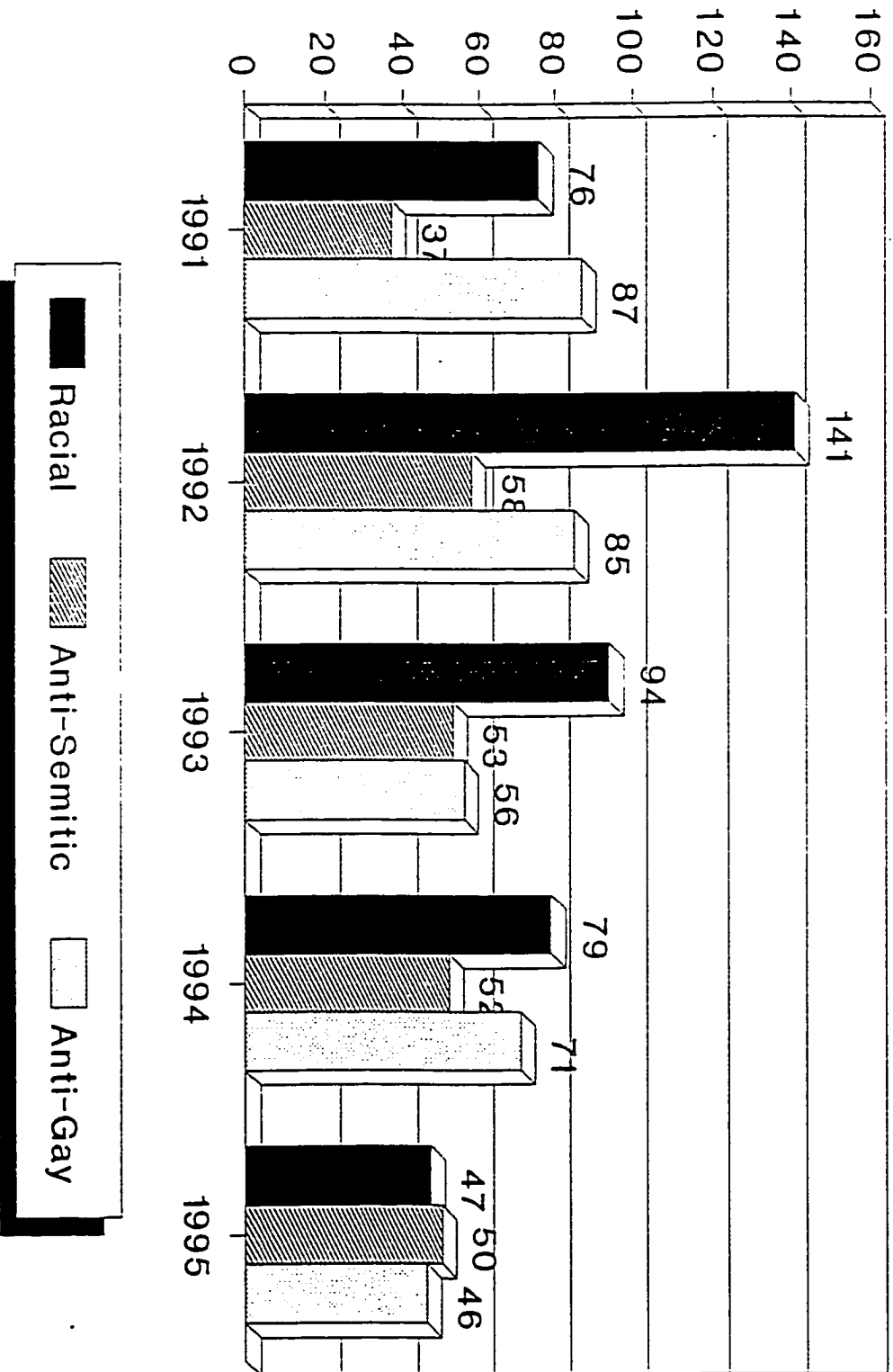


Chart 1F.

BIAS INCIDENTS IN QUEENS BY YEAR BY SELECTED TYPES, 1991-1995.

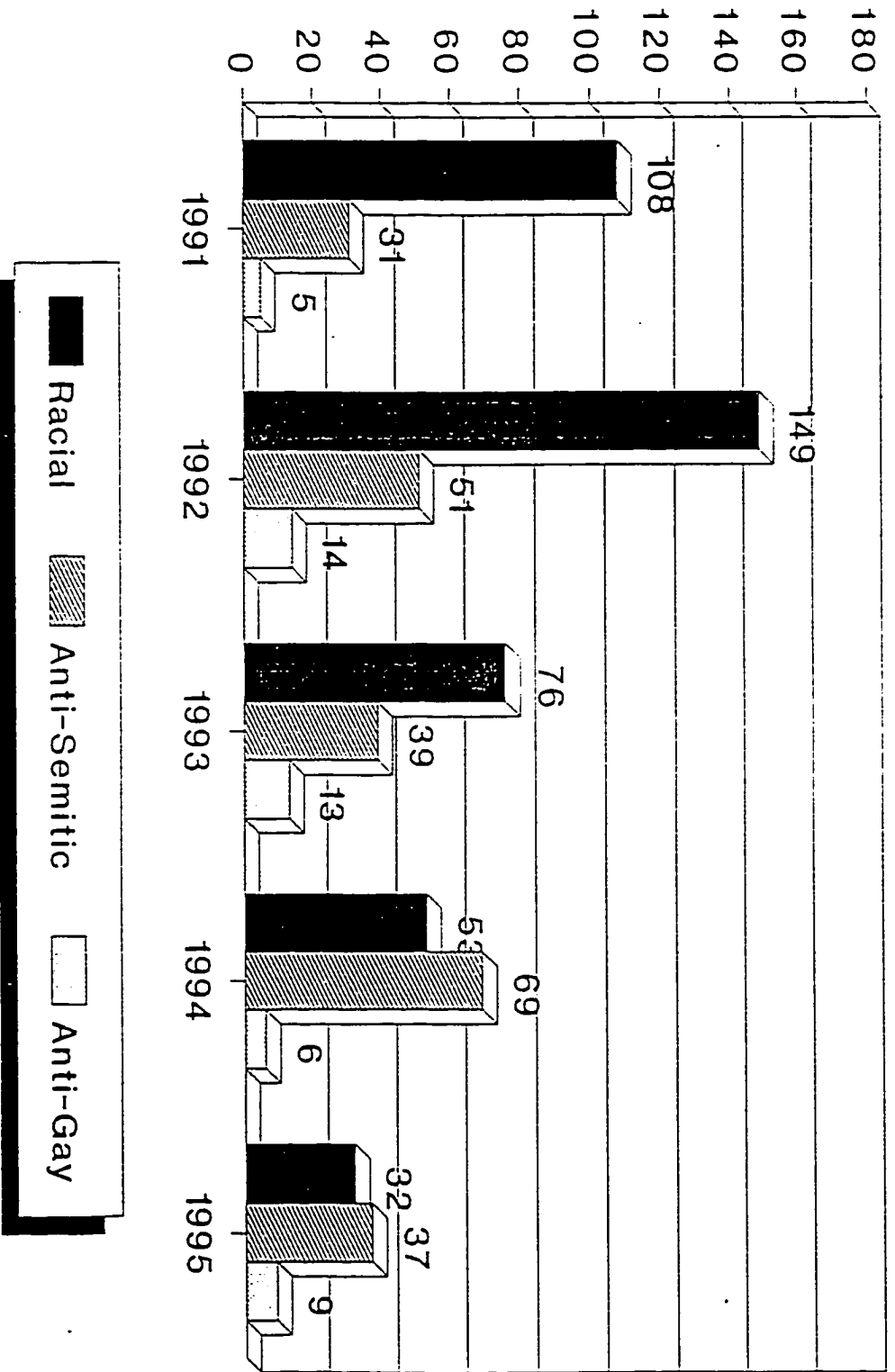


Chart 1G.

BIAS INCIDENTS IN STATEN ISL BY YEAR BY SELECTED TYPES, 1991-1995.

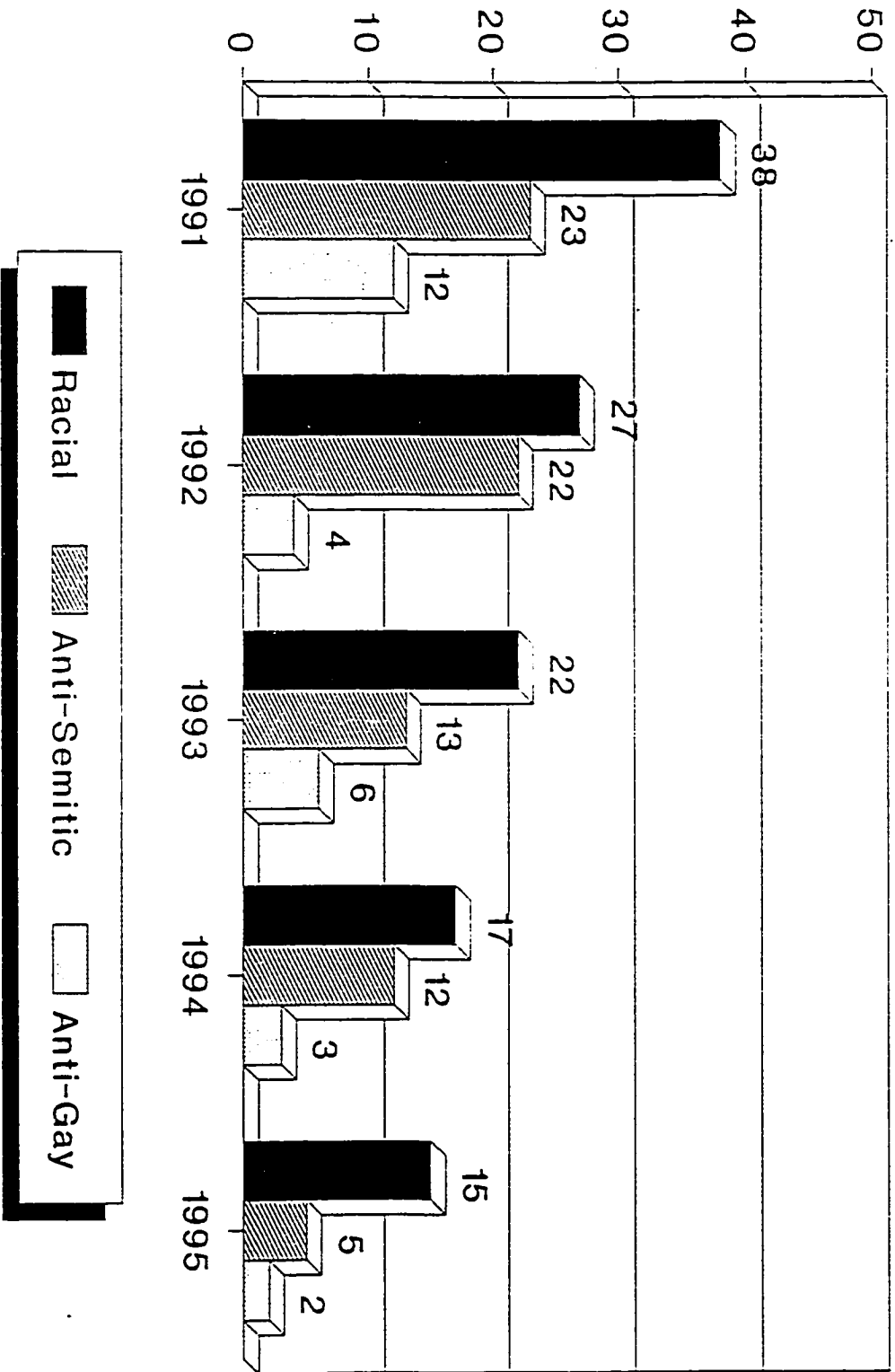


Chart 1H.

CHAPTER 5

GEOGRAPHIC ILLUSTRATIONS

As revealed in chart 1C above, the data suggest that racial and anti-Semitic incidents are more likely to occur in Brooklyn than in the other boroughs, while anti-gay incidents are more likely to take place in Manhattan than in any other borough. Bearing these facts in mind, thematic maps help to clarify which community districts in the various boroughs are afflicted with each of the three major types of incidents. We shall examine first the concentration of racial incidents within the 59 community districts of the City.

RACIAL INCIDENTS

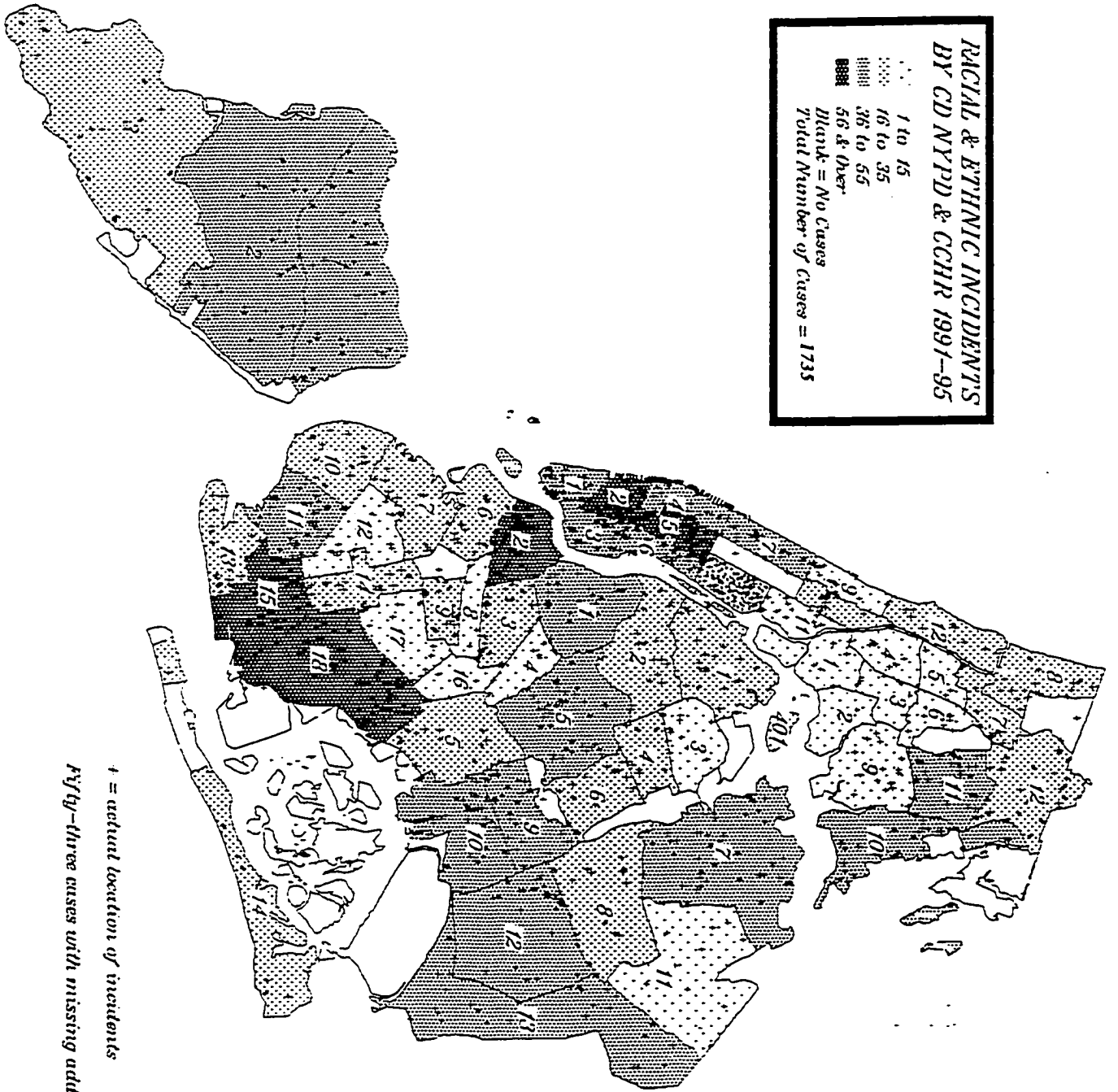
There were 1735 racial incidents documented around the City within the five-year period. Most of these incidents were concentrated in community districts 2, 15, and 18 in Brooklyn, and 2 and 5 in Manhattan, with 56 and over incidents happening within each of these districts (see map 1). Second in order of concentration of racial incidents were community districts 1 and 11 in Brooklyn; 1, 3, 4, 6, and 7 in Manhattan; 5, 7, 9,

MAP 1.

**RACIAL & ETHNIC INCIDENTS
BY CD NYPD & CCHR 1991-95**

1 to 15
16 to 35
36 to 55
56 & Over
Blank = No Cases

Total Number of Cases = 1735



+ = actual location of incidents
 + by three cases with missing addresses

10, 12 and 13 in Queens; 10 and 11 in the Bronx; and 1 and 2 in Staten Island, as having had at least 36 or at most 55 incidents each within the five-year period.

The community districts with the lowest number of racial incidents were 4, 8, 12, 16 and 17 in Brooklyn; 8, 9, and 11 in Manhattan; 3 and 11 in Queens; and 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 9 in the Bronx, with 1 to 15 incidents being documented within each district during the five-year period. As far as racial incidents in the City go, there had been at least one such incident documented for each of the 59 community districts over the five-year period.

When the geographic information from the aggregate map is compared to those of the yearly maps, the patterns in the aggregate map were almost replicated by the yearly maps (see yearly racial maps 1A through 1E in the appendix). The only difference shown was the anomalous case in community district 10 in Manhattan in 1995. This community district, from 1991 through 1994, experienced 7 or fewer racial bias crimes per year but jumped to 12 and over in 1995 (map 1E). This anomaly was caused by the December 1995 incident involving the burning of Freddy's Clothing Store in Harlem. A total of 14 incidents were documented for district 10 in Harlem in December 1995 alone. Unlike anti-Semitic and anti-gay incidents, racial incidents proliferate throughout the entire City, in that there was not a single community district in the City without a racial incident during the five-year period.

Selected Community Districts With High and Low Racial Incidents

Relying on the information from the aggregate map of the racial incidents, I selected for analysis three community districts in Brooklyn, and two in Manhattan with racial incidents of 56 and over in the five-year period. Two of the selected districts in Brooklyn encompass largely residential areas with pockets of interstitial zones, and the third district consists of major transportation hubs, civic and educational centers, commercial zones, and integrated residential areas. The two selected in Manhattan consist of mainly cultural, educational, and commercial centers. They also contain major transportation hubs, and just a few residential areas. They are, in Brooklyn, districts 2, 15, and 18; and in Manhattan, community districts 2 and 5.

For the low racial incident districts, I chose districts 12, and 17 in Brooklyn, 9 in Manhattan, 11 in Queens, and 1 in the Bronx. It should be noted that the low racial bias areas of the City tend to have neighborhood characteristics somewhat different from those of the high bias crime areas: in general they tend to be homogeneous, have no major transportation hub, and lacked factors which attract diverse and transient populations.

Profiles of High Racial Incident Districts

District 2 in Brooklyn

This community district, generally referred to as Downtown, comprises very diverse neighborhoods including neighborhoods segregated by race and class. It is the district with the most commercial activities, the most cultural, educational and civic institutions of the borough, and contains major transportation hubs. Much of it is “everybody’s business place” during the day. It attracts a large and diverse population of shoppers, students, workers, visitors, and criminals. Thus, it is the district with the highest day and night changes in demographics in the entire borough. This district comprises Vinegar Hill, Fulton Ferry, Brooklyn Heights, Downtown, Navy Yard, Clinton Hill, Boerum Hill, and Fort Greene. In most of these neighborhoods, there is a considerable level of interaction among people of diverse backgrounds in terms of commerce and the utilization of other facilities as mentioned above. It is also one of the districts in the borough with a very high occurrence of racial bias incidents.

Table 2A. COMMUNITY DISTRICT 2, BROOKLYN: POPULATION BY RACE.

RACE	1980	1990	# CHANGE	*% OF 1990 TOTAL
White Non-Hispanic	30,174	30,144	-30	31.80%
Black Non-Hispanic	44,038	44,670	632	47.20%
Hispanic Origin	15,877	16,407	530	17.30%
Asian, Pacific Islanders	1,940	2,787	847	2.90%
American Indian, Eskimo	302	339	37	.30%
Other Non-Hispanic	401	187	-214	.10%
Total	92,732	94,534	1,802	100.00%

*Table 2A: Population by Race and Hispanic Origin. (High racial incident district.) * Percentage reflects group total over 1990 total district population of 94,534. Source: U.S. census data. 1980 and 1990.*

The demographics may suggest a picture of a very well integrated district, but the true picture is that there is both race and class segregation on neighborhood levels. For example, the neighborhood of Brooklyn Heights is about 95% white and 5% non-white while Fort Greene is about 80% non-white and 20% white. From the 1990 census, the district consists of a total population of 94,534 people. Out of this, 30,144 (31%) are white; 44,670 (47%) are black; 16,407 (17%) are of Hispanic origin; and 2787 (2%) are Asian, Pacific Islanders (see table 2A).

District 15 in Brooklyn

This community district, commonly referred to as Sheepshead Bay, encompasses some of the most segregated neighborhoods in the City. It is essentially a residential community district consisting of mostly 1-2 family houses, with just a few commercial

strips. This district comprises the neighborhoods of Sheepshead Bay, Kings Bay, Manhattan Beach, Gerritsen Beach, Plumb Beach, Madison, Homecrest, Kings Highway, and East Gravesend. It has a lot of recreational facilities and three of the City's major beaches which attract a diverse population of visitors and tourists. It also has a few interstitial zones or pockets of neighborhoods with affordable multiple dwelling housing units which mostly sustain the district's poor and minority population.⁴⁵ These kinds of affordable housing units, placed in the midst of 1-2 family units in white homogeneous neighborhoods, hold the key to understanding racial bias in these residential districts. The conflict partially stems from many Americans' dislike for the poor, and the overwhelming majority of the City's poor comes from the minority population thus, the hatred. The hyper-segregated minority neighborhoods on the other hand tend to experience less racial bias crimes because there is largely an absence of interaction with members of the in-group. The daytime population in the district, especially the beach areas, is higher in the summer months.

Community district 15 is overwhelmingly a white majority district. From the 1990 census information, the district has a total population of 143,477 people. Out of this 121,135 (84%) are white; 3,283 (2%) are black; 8,413 (6%) Hispanic; and 10,381 (7%) Asian & Pacific Islanders (see table 2B).

Despite its low minority population, the district has a very high rate of racial incidents. The 1990 census data shows a large decrease (-12%) in the white population over that of 1980 while the black, Hispanic and Asian populations have increased about

⁴⁵ *Multiple dwelling housing here refers to elevator apartments, old law tenements, walkups, and condominiums of 3 families and over*

55%, 50%, and 190% respectively. This suggests a possible condition of changing neighborhoods and ensuing white flight. This is always accompanied by conflicts. The in-group which is being "invaded" by people who look different from them try to resist these changes taking place in their neighborhoods thus; the conflict, which is mostly instigated by the left-behind in-group against the incoming out-group, as explained in the Simple Self-Interest Model in chapter one, even when the total proportion of the latter remains small.

Table 2B. COMMUNITY DISTRICT 15, BROOKLYN: POPULATION BY RACE.

White Non-Hispanic	138,063	121,135	-16,928	84.00%
Black Non-Hispanic	2,112	3,283	1,171	2.00%
Hispanic Origin	5,608	8,413	2,805	6.00%
Asian, Pacific Islanders	3,584	10,381	6,797	7.00%
American Indian, Eskimo	143	129	-14	.48%
Other Non-Hispanic	60	136	76	.52%
Total	149,570	143,477	-6,093	100.00%

Table 2B. Population by Race and Hispanic Origin. (High racial incident district.)

**Percentage reflects group total over 1990 total district population of 143,477. Source: U.S. census data, 1980 and 1990.*

District 18 in Brooklyn

District 18, generally referred to as Canarsie, is one of the fastest changing community districts in Brooklyn in terms of demographics. From 1980 to 1990, the

district has lost about a quarter of its white population while its minority population has increased dramatically (see table 2C). This district primarily encompasses middle class residential neighborhoods mostly of 1-2 family housing units. It also has three multiple dwelling City projects (Bayview, Breukelen, and Glenwood houses). The daytime population is less than that of the night because most of its residents have to travel elsewhere to work.

It comprises the neighborhoods of Canarsie, Paerdegat Basin, Flatlands, Georgetown, Mill Basin, Marine Park, Mill Island and Bergen Beach. Total population as reported in the 1990 census data is 162,428. Out of this, 112,921 (70%) are white; 31,649 (19%) are black; 11,679 (7%) are Hispanic; and 5,705 (4%) are Asian, Pacific Islanders (see table 2C). It is a district with rapidly changing neighborhoods, i.e., increasing minority population and resulting white flight, and thus, is severely afflicted with racial bias incidents emanating from the in-group being defensive of their various self-interests in the neighborhoods. It has a few interstitial zones and commercial strips but lacks adequate public transportation. The district, generally known as two-fare zone, is only supported by public and private bus services.

Table 2C. COMMUNITY DISTRICT 18, BROOKLYN: POPULATION BY RACE.

RACE	1980	1990	# CHANGE	* % OF 1990 TOTAL
White Non-Hispanic	148,663	112,921	-35,742	70.00%
Black Non-Hispanic	11,115	31,649	20,534	19.00%
Hispanic Origin	6,839	11,679	4,840	7.00%
Asian, Pacific Islanders	2,207	5,705	3,498	4.00%
American Indian, Eskimo	174	224	50	.10%
Other Non-Hispanic	95	250	155	.10%
Total	169,093	162,428	-6,665	100.00%

Table 2C. Population by Race and Hispanic Origin. (High racial incident district.)

*Percentage reflects group total over 1990 total district population of 162,428. Source: U.S. census data, 1980 and 1990.

District 2 in Manhattan

Community district 2 in Manhattan is perhaps the most versatile and progressive district in the entire City. It is a district full of commercial, cultural and educational institutions, and also contains vast residential neighborhoods. It consists of the neighborhoods of Greenwich Village, West Village, South Village, SOHO, NOHO, Little Italy and parts of China Town. The district's daytime population includes a large number of students, workers, tourists and vagrants, while its bustling night-life attracts people from all walks of life, from the tri-state area, and around the nation. It is the home of some of the finest gourmet shops and restaurants in the City. The district's actual population, as recorded in the census data, has always been far less than what one finds at any given time of day. This is because it is a district with so many compelling interests

to a lot of people that non-residents from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds travel there for various reasons, day or night.

The 1990 census data indicate a population of 94,105 people for the district. Out of this number, 73,381 (78%) are white; 2,941 (3%) are black; 5,899 (6%) are of Hispanic origin; and 11,605 (12%) are Asian, Pacific Islanders (see table 2D). The district is also known for its large gay and lesbian population.

Table 2D. COMMUNITY DISTRICT 2, MANHATTAN: POPULATION BY RACE

RACE	1980	1990	# CHANGE	*% OF 1990 TOTAL
White Non-Hispanic	70,673	73,381	2,708	77.90%
Black Non-Hispanic	2,157	2,941	784	3.10%
Hispanic Origin	5,748	5,899	151	6.20%
Asian, Pacific Islanders	8,203	11,605	3,402	12.30%
American Indian, Eskimo	83	140	57	.10%
Other Non-Hispanic	205	139	-66	.10%
Total	87,069	94,105	7,036	100.00%

*Table 2D. Population by Race and Hispanic origin. (High racial incident district.) *Percentage reflects group total over 1990 total district population of 94,105. Source: U.S. census data, 1980 and 1990.*

The district has a high level of interaction among people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds. Both the five-year racial incidents data and those of the yearly reveal the district as one of the highest racial bias incidents areas of the City. (It also has the highest anti-gay incidents in the entire City.)

District 5 in Manhattan

Community district 5 in Manhattan represents the heart of New York City. It encompasses the central business zones of the City, housing some of the most famous departmental stores in the world. It is also the home of the Broadway theaters and other numerous cultural and educational institutions, including the City University Graduate School and University Center. Its character attracts a large transient population from all over the world, a diverse working population of over two million people daily from the five boroughs as well as the tri-state area and a large number of criminals and vagrants. It harbors a lot of major transportation hubs (i.e., Penn Station, Port Authority bus terminal, New Jersey PATH Train station, and Grand Central Station) and numerous local train lines. The district includes the neighborhoods of Midtown, Times Square, Midtown South, Flatiron, and Union Square.

In contrast to the large transient population that prevails in the district, its residential population is very low. From the 1990 census information, the district has a population of 43,507 people (see table 2E). Out of this number, 32,442 (75%) are white; 3,528 (8%) black; 4,160 (10%) Hispanic; and 3,213 (7%) Asian, Pacific Islanders.

District 5 has a very high interaction level because its institutions and nature attract members of every racial and ethnic group. It is “everybody’s business place” district as found in districts 2 in Manhattan and Brooklyn. It turned out also to be one of

the districts with very high racial and ethnic bias incidents in the City (see map 1A). The district is also noted for its high property crime documentation.⁴⁶

Table 2E. COMMUNITY DISTRICT 5, MANHATTAN: POPULATION BY RACE

RACE	1980	1990	CHANGE	*% OF 1990 TOTAL
White Non-Hispanic	32,625	32,442	-183	74.50%
Black Non-Hispanic	2,636	3,528	892	8.10%
Hispanic Origin	2,923	4,160	1,237	9.50%
Asian, Pacific Islanders	1,225	3,213	1,988	7.30%
American Indian, Eskimo	27	78	51	.10%
Other Non-Hispanic	107	86	-21	.10%
Total	39,543	43,507	3,964	100.00%

*Table 2E. Population by Race and Hispanic origin. (High racial incident district.) * Percentage reflects group total over 1990 total district population of 43,507. Source: U.S. census data, 1980 and 1990.*

Profiles of Low Racial Incident Districts

The low racial incident districts tend to be homogeneous, sustaining mostly minority populations. The housing stock is mixed if the district has a homogeneous

⁴⁶ *Property crimes tend to be very high in the business districts, the affluent residential neighborhoods of Manhattan's Upper East Side, and Flushing, Queens (see The Vera Institute Atlas of Crime and Justice, p. 14).*

minority population, but mostly 1-2 family units where it is homogeneously white (table 2K).

District 12 in Brooklyn

This is one of the districts in the City with the lowest documentation of racial incidents over the five years. It consists of the neighborhoods of Kensington, Borough Park, and Ocean Parkway. Because of its large orthodox Jewish population, it is primarily a religious district with large families, and a few commercial strips. There are no black and white interstitial zones, and it supports no major transportation hubs. There are occasional pockets of Hispanic, Asian, and Polish communities in the various neighborhoods. Hispanics form the second largest group within the district. Its housing stock is 1-2 family units mixed with few multiple dwelling units.

From the 1990 census data, the district has a total population of 160,018 people. Out of this, 118,033 (74%) are white and mostly of Jewish ancestry; 5,486 (3%) are black; 22,160 (14%) are of Hispanic origin; and 13,723 (9%) are Asian, Pacific Islanders (see table 2F).

Table 2F. COMMUNITY DISTRICT 12, BROOKLYN: POPULATION BY RACE

RACE	1980	1990	# CHANGE	% OF 1990 TOTAL
<i>White Non-Hispanic</i>	128,066	118,033	-10,033	74.00%
<i>Black Non-Hispanic</i>	3,784	5,486	1,702	3.00%
<i>Hispanic Origin</i>	18,712	22,160	3,448	14.00%
<i>Asian, Pacific Islanders</i>	4,710	13,723	9,013	9.00%
<i>American Indian, Eskimo</i>	258	302	44	.10%
<i>Other Non-Hispanic</i>	373	314	-59	.10%
Total	155,903	160,018	4,115	100.00%

*Table 2F. Population by Race and Hispanic origin. (Low racial incident district.) *Percentage reflects group total over 1990 total district population of 160,018. Source: U.S. census data, 1980 and 1990.*

District 17 in Brooklyn

Community district 17, commonly referred to as East Flatbush, is predominantly African Americans and Caribbean. Because of this composition, it lacks the presence of the black and white dichotomy and thus it has experienced very little racial bias crime during the five-year period. Comparing this community district to districts 15 and 18 in Brooklyn, all three have similar neighborhood characteristics but contrasting demographics. The patterns revealed by the data suggest that white-predominant

residential community districts in the City are more likely to experience high bias incidents than those residential community districts with minority populations forming the majority. The exception to this is the case of community district 12 in Brooklyn which is predominantly white of Jewish background, with some small minority populations, and very little racial bias crimes.

District 17 had undergone some demographic transformation from 1980 through 1990: it has lost about 71% of its white population during this period alone, while its black population has increased 20% over the ten years. From the 1990 census data, the district has a total population of 161,261 people. Out of this, 5,666 (4%) are white; 141,893 (88%) are black; 11,089 (7%) are of Hispanic origin; and 1780 (1%) are Asian, Pacific Islanders (see table 2G).

Table 2G. COMMUNITY DISTRICT 17, BROOKLYN: POPULATION BY RACE

RACE	1980	1990	% CHANGE	% OF 1990 TOTAL
<i>White Non-Hispanic</i>	19,733	5,666	-14,067	4.00%
<i>Black Non-Hispanic</i>	117,887	141,893	24,006	88.00%
<i>Hispanic Origin</i>	13,796	11,089	-2,707	7.00%
<i>Asian, Pacific Islanders</i>	2,547	1,780	-767	1.00%
<i>American Indian, Eskimo</i>	291	532	241	.30%
<i>Other Non-Hispanic</i>	342	301	-41	.20%
Total	154,596	161,261	6665	100.00%

*Table 2G. Population by Race and Hispanic origin. (Low racial incident district.) *Percentage reflects group total over 1990 total district population of 161,261. Source: U.S. census data, 1980 and 1990.*

District 9 in Manhattan

Community district 9 in Manhattan, generally referred to as West Harlem, is a very well integrated community district, but with some segregated neighborhoods. It consists of the neighborhoods of Morningside Heights, Manhattanville, and Hamilton Heights. It is a district that contains some of the renowned American cultural, religious and educational institutions, and as such, it attracts a large number of students and visitors from all parts of the globe. Conversely, the district is also the home of some of the most “marginalized” people in America. As stated in the Manhattan Community District Needs book for fiscal year 1996, 40% of the district’s population is classified as the working poor. The median income for the district is \$13,500. In terms of demographics, blacks outnumbered whites two to one, and slightly exceeded Hispanics. The district is predominantly a minority district, with highly residential neighborhoods, and follows the pattern of low racial bias incidents for the five years.

From the 1990 census, the district has a population of 106,978 people. Out of this, 20,876 (20%) are white; 41,849 (40%) are black; 38,666 (36%) are of Hispanic origin; and 4,804 (5%) are Asian, Pacific Islanders (see table 2H).

Table 2H. COMMUNITY DISTRICT 9, MANHATTAN: POPULATION BY RACE

RACE	1980	1990	# CHANGE	*% OF 1990 TOTAL
<i>White Non-Hispanic</i>	21,314	20,876	-438	20.00%
<i>Black Non-Hispanic</i>	47,835	41,849	-5,986	40.00%
<i>Hispanic Origin</i>	29,679	38,666	8,987	36.00%
<i>Asian, Pacific Islanders</i>	3,440	4,804	1,364	5.00%
<i>American Indian, Eskimo</i>	217	349	132	.40%
<i>Other Non-Hispanic</i>	552	434	-118	.40%
Total	103,037	106,978	3,941	100.00%

*Table 2H. Population by Race and Hispanic origin. (Low racial incident district.) *Percentage reflects group total over 1990 total district population of 106,978. Source: U.S. census data. 1980 and 1990.*

District 11 in Queens

This is a predominantly white middle class community district with mostly residential neighborhoods. Its housing patterns (i.e., overwhelmingly 1- to 2-family housing stock, and the absence of affordable public housing or multiple dwellings), and remoteness from major commercial centers make it less attractive to minorities such as blacks and Hispanics. Because of its homogeneous nature, it lacks the black and white dichotomy, and thus experienced less racial bias in the five-year period.

The 1990 census information indicated a population of 108,056 for the district.

Out of this number, 83,812 (78%) are white; 2,216 (2%) are black; 7,341 (7%) are Hispanic; and 14,502 (14%) are Asian, Pacific Islanders (see table 2I)

Table 2I. COMMUNITY DISTRICT 11, QUEENS: POPULATION BY RACE

<i>White Non-Hispanic</i>	99,920	83,812	-16,108	78.00%
<i>Black Non-Hispanic</i>	2,385	2,216	-169	2.00%
<i>Hispanic Origin</i>	4,161	7,341	3,180	7.00%
<i>Asian, Pacific Islanders</i>	4,406	14,502	10,096	14.00%
<i>American Indian, Eskimo</i>	25	84	59	.10%
<i>Other Non-Hispanic</i>	66	101	35	.10%
Total	110,963	108,056	-2,907	100.00%

*Table 2I. Population by Race and Hispanic origin. (Low racial incident district.) *Percentage reflects group total over 1990 total district population of 108,056. Source: U.S. census data, 1980 and 1990.*

District 1 in The Bronx

This predominantly Hispanic district is part of the area generally referred to as the South Bronx. It consists of the mostly residential neighborhoods of Melrose, Mott Haven, and Port Morris. The district has one of the largest stock of multiple dwelling public housing projects in the City, but due to the homogeneous nature of its demography, it has experienced very few racial bias incidents in the five-year period.

The 1990 census indicates that the district has a population of 77,214 people. Out of this, only 1,317 (2%) are white; 23,563 (31%) are black; and 51,627 (67%) are of Hispanic origin (table 2J).

The district thus far follows the pattern of minority predominance, homogeneous residential neighborhoods, with no major transportation hubs, a lack of interstitial zones and had experienced low racial bias incidents in the five-year period.

Table 2J. COMMUNITY DISTRICT 1, THE BRONX: POPULATION BY RACE

RACE	1980	1990	+ CHANGE	* % OF 1990 TOTAL
<i>White Non-Hispanic</i>	3,029	1,317	-1,712	2.00%
<i>Black Non-Hispanic</i>	26,253	23,563	-2,690	31.00%
<i>Hispanic Origin</i>	48,629	51,627	2,998	67.00%
<i>Asian, Pacific Islanders</i>	168	280	112	.4%
<i>American Indian, Eskimo</i>	65	121	56	.2%
<i>Other Non-Hispanic</i>	297	306	9	.4%
Total	78,441	77,214	-1,227	100.00%

*Table 2J. Population by Race and Hispanic origin. (Low racial incident district.) *Percentage reflects group total over 1990 total district population of 77,214. Source: U.S. census data. 1980 and 1990.*

To sum up, the characteristics of the high racial bias incident districts fall into two groups. On the one hand are those with predominantly white middle class residential neighborhoods with few interstitial zones or multiple dwelling private or public housing projects, which are currently undergoing demographic transformation particularly involving blacks. On the other hand are those districts with either a predominant white residential population or, while well integrated, have a large and diverse transient population (i.e., which are highly commercial, support major cultural, educational, and

civic institutions, contain major transportation hubs, and attract a high daytime population of all racial and ethnic backgrounds) (see table 2K).

The characteristics of the districts with low numbers of racial bias incidents include homogeneous or highly black or white predominant residential neighborhoods, with no interstitial zones or pockets of racial, ethnic or religious enclaves. They lack factors which attract people of diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds, and the nighttime population for these districts is normally higher than that for the day, because residents are compelled to travel to other busy commercial and business districts during the day to work, shop, school, or simply “hang out”.⁴⁷ Housing patterns for districts with low racial bias differ along racial lines. For white predominant or homogeneous districts, housing stock is mostly 1-2 family homes with very little or no multiple dwellings; while within the black or Hispanic homogeneous or predominant districts, the housing stock is both 1-2 family units, and numerous multiple dwelling housing projects. Yet both have low rates of racial bias crimes.

⁴⁷ *As these people travel from their homogeneous neighborhoods, they bring with them their “clannish” ways in defining what is the public good thus creating a lot of tension which they may act out only when away from the ‘hood’. As Hunter(1991) has pointed out, when diverse cultural impulses vie against each other to dictate public life, the end result often manifests tension, conflict, and violence.*

**Table 2K. PROFILES OF HIGH & LOW RACIAL INCIDENT DISTRICTS
(Summary Table)**

CITY	DEMOGRAPHIC	NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE	HOUSING TYPE
High Incidents			
<u>Group 1</u> Bronx: 11 & 10 Bklyn: 11, 15, & 18 Qns: 7, 10, 12, & 13 Staten Is.: 2	Predominantly white, emerging minority population	Highly residential, with interstitial zones or few *multiple dwelling public or private housing projects; undergoing demographic transformation involving black/white diametric.	Mostly 1-2 family units with few interspersed multiple dwelling public/private housing projects.
<u>Group 2</u> Bklyn: 2 Manhtn: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 & 7 Staten Is.: 1	White predominant or well integrated; diverse transient population; high day time population	Highly commercial & business; sustains major cultural, educational & civic institutions; and contains major transportation hubs. Attracts transient population. "Everyone's business place" district.	Mostly multiple dwellings with marginal 1-2 family housing units.
Low Incidents			
Bronx: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, & 9 Bklyn: 4, 8, 12, 16, & 17 Manhtn: 8, 9, & 11 Qns: 3 & 11	Mostly black or white homogeneous or predominantly minority district	Highly residential with no interstitial zones nor pockets of racial or ethnic enclaves; lacking factors that attract people of diverse backgrounds; full of highly segregated neighborhoods	If white homogeneous: it sustains mostly 1-2 family units with just a few multiple dwellings; no public housing projects; If minority homogeneous: it sustains 1-2 family units and a lot of multiple dwellings (public & private).

*Table 2K: Summary of the profiles of high and low racial incident districts. * Multiple dwelling housing for the purpose of this grouping refers to elevator apartments, old law tenements, walkups and condominiums of 3 families and over.*

ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS

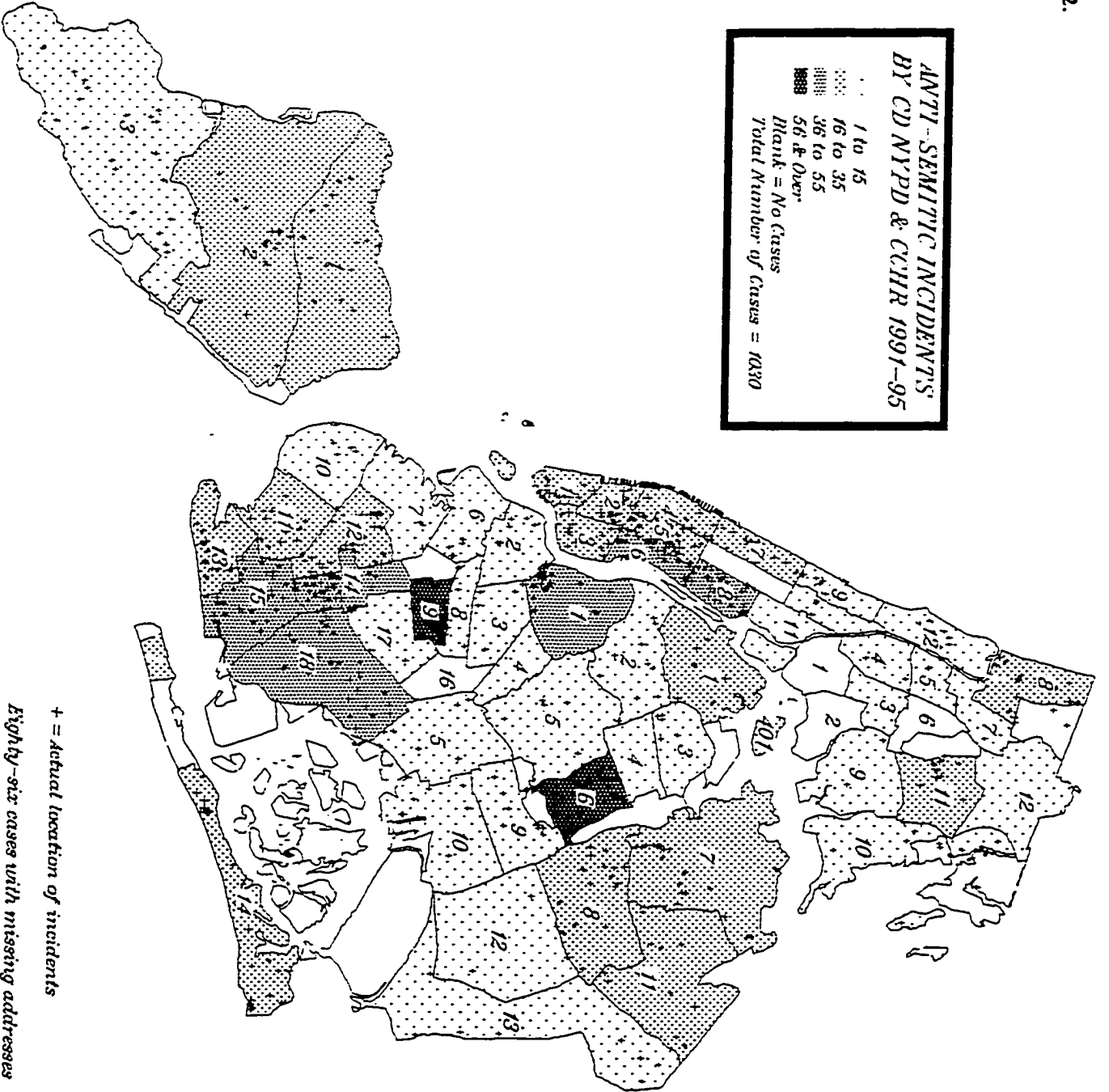
There were 1030 incidents documented as anti-Semitic bias in the City over the five-year period. The majority of these incidents took place in community districts 9 in Brooklyn and 6 in Queens, with 56 and over incidents; and community districts 1, 14, 15, and 18 in Brooklyn, 6 and 8 in Manhattan, with 36 to 55 cases being documented for each during the five-year period (map 2). The neighborhood characteristics forming these districts are mostly residential, and partially commercial with no major transportation hubs; some of them have interstitial zones, and those in Manhattan have a large transient population during the day.

As far as low anti-Semitic incident areas go, there were numerous community districts being illustrated as such in map 2. Indeed, there were a few community districts in the City with no anti-Semitic incident being documented throughout the five years. They were districts 16 in Brooklyn, and 1, 2, and 6 in the Bronx. These are districts with very few or no Jewish residents. The patterns illustrated by the aggregate map were almost replicated in the yearly anti-Semitic maps (see maps 2A-2E in the Appendix).

MAP 2.

**ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS
BY CD NYPD & CCHR 1991-95**

. 1 to 15
 : : : : : 16 to 35
 ||||| 36 to 55
 ##### 56 & Over
 Blank = No Cases
 Total Number of Cases = 1030



+ = Actual location of incidents
 Eighty-six cases with missing addresses

Selected Community Districts With High and Low Anti-Semitic Incidents

Because the Census Bureau does not elicit information on religion, it is difficult to get an accurate account on the Jewish population in the City by community district or census tract. The available data on Jewish population is by county only across the entire nation and is done through extrapolation. According to the American Jewish Federation's 1996 extrapolation, Brooklyn has the largest Jewish population in the City with 379,000; followed by Manhattan with 314,500; then Queens with 238,000; The Bronx 83,700; and Staten Island with 37,700.

Profiles of High Anti-Semitic Incident Districts

The anti-Semitic thematic maps reveal patterns which link high anti-Semitic incidents areas in the City to community districts with mixed demographics and sustaining visible Jewish communities or populations. These include districts 1, 9, and 14 in Brooklyn, 6 in Queens, and 6 in Manhattan.

District 1 in Brooklyn

Community district 1 in Brooklyn covers the neighborhoods of Greenpoint, and Williamsburg. It is mainly residential with some industrial zones, and a few commercial

strips which mainly service the local residents. It is a very well diversified district with just a few segregated neighborhoods, mainly in the Greenpoint section of the district. Its housing stock is a mixture of 1-2 family units and multiple dwellings. The district has about 8 multiple dwelling public housing complexes which provide a considerable number of low affordable housing units to its low to middle income residents. It is also home to a large number of orthodox Hasidim. The visibility of the Hasidic community within the district makes them vulnerable competitors, thus making the district one of the high anti-Semitic bias incident districts. The dichotomy in this district is mostly between its Jewish and Hispanic populations over allotment of the district's resources, space and services.

The 1990 census data show that the district has a population of 155,972 people. Of this, 71,828 (46%) are white many Jewish; 11,244 (7%) are black; 67,950 (44%) are of Hispanic origin; and 4045 (3%) are Asian, Pacific Islanders.

District 9 in Brooklyn

This district, generally referred to as Crown Heights South, consists of the neighborhoods of Wingate, Crown Heights South, and Prospect-Lefferts Gardens. The district is primarily residential with mostly 1-2 family housing units. It also has a good stock of multiple dwelling housing units, and few commercial strips.

The district is predominantly black (mostly of Caribbean descent). It is also the home of a sizable population of the orthodox Jewish Lubavitchers and their world

headquarters. Surrounded by a large population of blacks, the Jewish community in the district is very conspicuous, therefore vulnerable to bias crimes. The dichotomy here is black versus Jewish over space and city services; and for these reasons, the district has one of the highest records of anti-Semitic incidents in the City over the five-year period.

The 1990 census shows that the district has a population of 110,715. Out of this, 11,813 (11%) are white primarily Jewish; 86,675 (78%) are black; 10,467 (10%) are of Hispanic origin; and 1,309 (1%) are Asian, Pacific Islanders.

District 14 in Brooklyn

District 14, generally referred to as Midwood, is a highly residential district with exclusionary 1-2 family housing patterns to the south, and a lot of multiple dwellings in the northern section which housed most of its minority and poor residents. It encompasses the neighborhoods of Flatbush, Kensington, and Midwood.

The district has gone through a considerable population change over the last 17 years. There had been an exodus of its middle class white population while the population of every other minority group had increased in the district. Nonetheless, it is a very well mixed district in terms of demographics. The white population in this district are mostly of Jewish background, surrounded by increasing African American, Hispanic and Asian populations, thus making the district one of the “hot spots” of anti-Semitic incidents in the City.

According to the 1990 census information, the district has a total population of 159,825 people. Of this, 61,054 (38%) are white; 64,662 (40%) are black; 22,372 (14%) are of Hispanic origin; and 11,027 (7%) are Asian, Pacific Islanders.

District 6 in Queens

The district consists of two major neighborhoods, namely Rego Park and Forest Hills. It is mostly residential with a few commercial strips. Its housing stock is mostly 1-2 family units interspersed with few multiple dwellings. Its population is predominantly white of Jewish background and a rapidly increasing Asian population. The district is also attractive to a large number of recent Soviet Jewish immigrants, the Bukharian Jews. Other ethnic groups include Russians, Chinese, Koreans, Indians, Pakistanis, Iranians, Israelis and Egyptians. Perhaps because of these varying cultures, the district has a high report of anti-Semitic incidents over the five-year period.

The 1990 census data shows the district with a population of 106,996 people. Out of this total, 80,767 (76%) are white; 2166 (2%) are black; 9950 (9%) are of Hispanic origin; 13,786 (13%) are Asian, Pacific Islanders; 175 (.2%) are American Indian, Eskimos; and 152 (.1%) are Other non-Hispanic.

District 6 in Manhattan

This district covers the neighborhoods of Gramercy Park, Murray Hill, Sutton Place, Beekman Place, Turtle Bay, Tudor City, Kips Bay, Rosehill, Stuyvesant Square, Waterside, Peter Cooper Village, and Stuyvesant Town. It is one of the most highly residential districts of Midtown Manhattan. Nonetheless, it is also a high commercial, cultural, and educational district which attracts a large student population, foreign diplomats, tourists, workers and vagrants. Its housing stock consists of mostly multiple dwellings, and a few 1-2 family units. While the actual count of its Jewish residents is unknown, it is believed to be one of the districts in Manhattan with very high Jewish population, at least during the day among whites of other backgrounds, thus a “hot spot” for anti-Semitic bias.

The 1990 census shows a total population of 133,748 for the district. Out of this, 108,798 (81%) are white; 5,730 (4%) are black; 8,984 (7%) are of Hispanic origin; 9,950 (7%) are Asian, Pacific Islanders; 147 (.1%) are American Indian, Eskimos; and 139 (.1%) are Other non-Hispanic.

Profiles of Low Anti-Semitic Incident Districts

The thematic maps of the anti-Semitic incidents show the low anti-Semitic incident areas in the City to be associated with the homogeneous districts with no visible

Jewish community or population. The districts selected in this regard therefore, include districts 16 in Brooklyn, 1, 2, and 6 in the Bronx, and 3 in Queens.

District 16 in Brooklyn

Community district 16 in Brooklyn is a low anti-Semitic bias district basically because of the absence of whites of Jewish background as residents. Generally referred to as Brownsville, the district is predominantly black and poor, and sustains no major cultural or civic centers, nor major transportation hubs which could attract diverse population. Although it has a few commercial strips, these corridors attract only minority population (blacks and Hispanics).

According to the 1990 census, the district has a population of 84,923 people; out of this, 81% are black, 17% are of Hispanic origin, and .9% are white.

Districts 1, 2, & 6, in The Bronx

For demographic and neighborhood characteristics of District 1 in The Bronx, see profiles of low racial incidents "District 1 in The Bronx" and table 2J above. District 2 in the Bronx mirrors district 1 in most respects, therefore, it would be redundant profiling it here by itself. The districts forming the entire South Bronx, with its predominant Hispanic immigrant population, have less bias incidents of any type. This is because of

the absence of in-group out-group dichotomy due to the homogeneous nature of the population of the South Bronx.

Community District 6 on the other hand covers part of the area of the Bronx known as the mid Bronx. It encompasses the neighborhoods of Bathgate, Belmont, Bronx Park South, East Tremont, West Farms and Crotona Park North. Its housing stock is about 30% 1-2 family housing units and a good number of multiple dwellings. Although its demography has changed considerably over the past two decades, it still contains a sizable white population, mostly of Italian and Albanian ancestry. Nonetheless, it is one of the low anti-Semitic incident districts in the City mainly because its Jewish population is very low:

The 1990 census shows a total population of 68,061. Of this, 9,815 (14%) are white; 17,142 (25%) are black; 40,025 (59%) are of Hispanic origin; and 641 (.9%) are Asian, Pacific Islanders.

This district is very unique, in that although it has the neighborhood characteristics (i.e., cultural and educational institutions) which attract a diverse population, it remains one of the districts with low bias incidents of any type in the City, perhaps because it is a predominantly minority district and residents see the presence of the few whites as a non-threatening group and assets to the community. Its large Hispanic population is also primarily of immigrant stock who are less inclined to perpetrate bias crimes than native borns because of the fear of the authorities and prospects of deportation. Besides, the Bronx as a whole has a very well organized network of community organizations which work together towards achieving harmony

among all its residents. The nature and works of some of these community based organizations will be discussed in detail later in the conclusion and recommendation chapter.

District 3 in Queens

Community district 3 in Queens is a well integrated district but with few segregated neighborhoods. Because of its proximity to LaGuardia Airport, most hotels servicing the airport community are found in the northern section of the district. The district also has two post secondary institutions and thus attracts students of diverse backgrounds.

While the composition of the Jewish population in the district is not known, the 1990 census indicates the district has a population of 128,924 people. Of this number, 28% are white, 16% black, 44% Hispanic, 12% Asian, and .9% forming others. Because the district does not have a visible Jewish community or population, it has a low documentation of anti-Semitic bias; in fact, the district has a low documentation of other types of bias incidents also (i.e., racial, anti-gay, religious, etc.) for the five-year period.

To sum up for the anti-Semitic incidents, the high incident areas seemed to be closely associated with multi- ethnic, racial and religious districts. The Jewish population or community in these districts must be visibly recognizable but slightly in the minority. While the antagonism is normally between Jews and racial/ethnic minority groups i.e., blacks or Hispanics, there are situations where other white groups sharing

same neighborhoods with Jews become antagonistic over a sense of encroachment from a burgeoning Jewish community and its institutions. The neighborhood type of these high anti-Semitic incident districts are mostly residential with 1-2 family housing stocks and some multiple dwellings.

The low anti-Semitic incident districts, in contrast, are mostly homogeneous with no visible Jewish population or institution. They tend to be mostly associated with minority (black or Hispanic) homogeneous residential neighborhoods sustaining no competing Jewish interests or concerns.

**Table 3. PROFILES OF HIGH & LOW ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENT DISTRICTS
(Summary Table)**

CD	DEMOGRAPHIC	NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE
High Incidents Brooklyn: 1, 9, 14, 15 & 18 Manhattan: 6 & 8 Queens: 6	Diverse racial and religious groups; large Jewish population, but must be slightly in the minority.	Well integrated, multi-ethnic residential type neighborhood; sustains both 1-2 family and a modest number of multiple dwelling housing stocks; contains major Jewish religious and cultural institutions; opposing population from minority groups (i.e., blacks as in Crown Heights, or Hispanics as in Williamsburg) antagonizing over allotment of district's resources i.e., space, housing, and services; or other white groups sensing encroachments from budding Jewish community & its institutions.
Low Incidents Brooklyn: 16 Bronx: 1, 2, & 6 Queens: 3	Homogeneous population containing no visible Jewish population or community; mostly black or Hispanic.	Homogeneous residential and/or minority multi-ethnic neighborhoods with no visible Jewish communities, institutions, or competing interests; if minority homogeneous, contains both 1-2 family and multiple dwellings; if white homogeneous, sustains mostly 1-2 family housing units.

Table 3: Summary of the profiles of high and low anti-Semitic incident districts.






ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS

There were 522 anti-gay incidents documented over the five-year period in the City. Most of these incidents occurred in Manhattan's community districts 2, 3, and 4 which experienced 56 or more incidents each, over the five-year period; these were followed by districts 6, 7 and 8 in Manhattan, and 6 in Brooklyn with 36 to 55 anti-gay incidents documented for each one of them over the five years (see map 3).

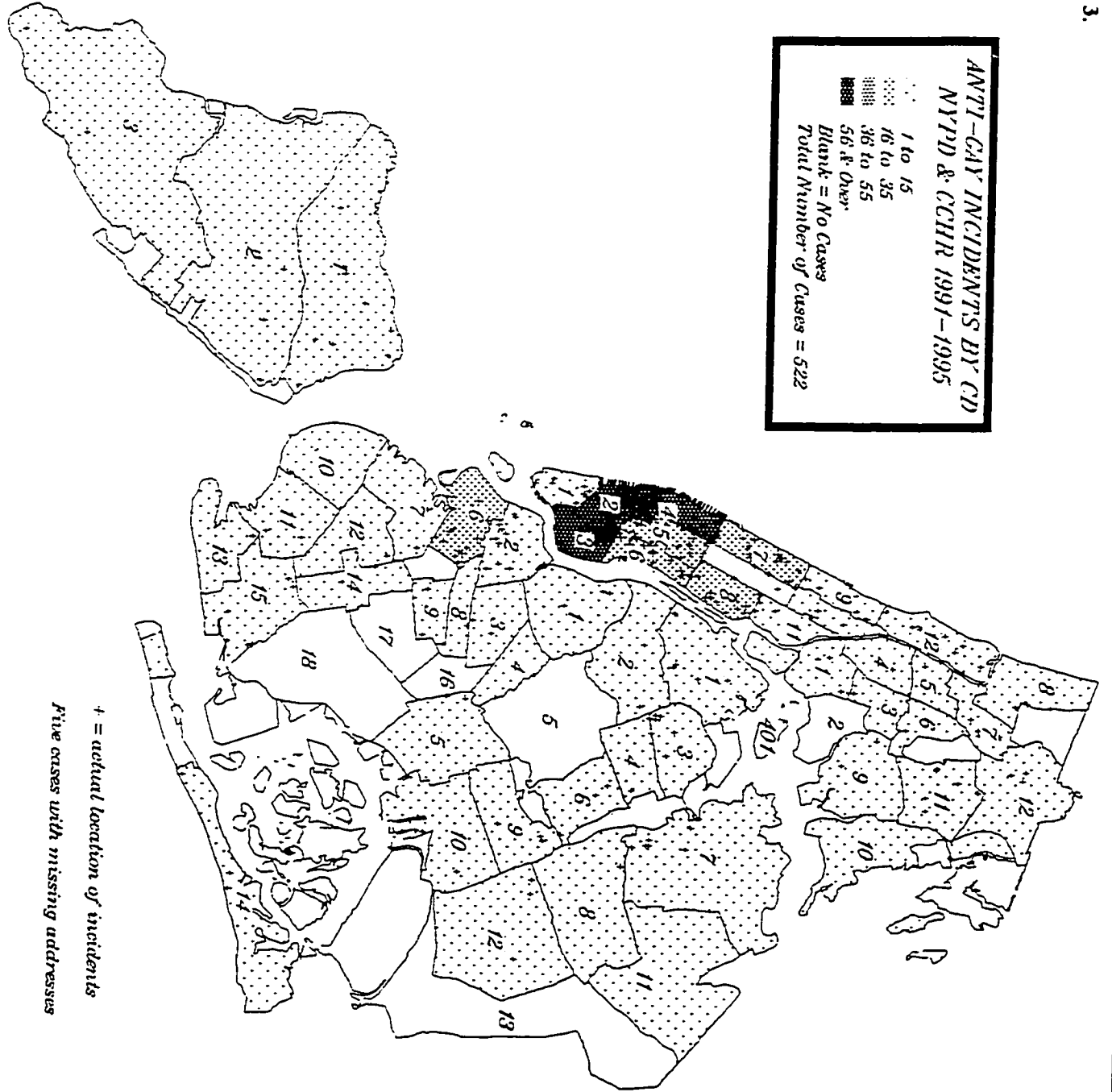
A number of community districts in the City experienced no anti-gay incidents for the entire five-year period under study. These are community districts 16, 17, and 18 in Brooklyn, 5 and 13 in Queens, and district 2 in the Bronx. Since some of these community districts have been profiled above already in terms of population, demographic and neighborhood characteristics for low and high racial and/or anti-Semitic incident districts, it would be redundant to profile them again here. Instead, the focus is going to be on the particular characteristics which may have contributed to their homophobic or nonhomophobic nature.

MAP 3.

ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS BY CD
NYPD & CCHR 1991-1995

	1 to 15
	16 to 35
	36 to 55
	56 & Over
	Blank = No Cases

Total Number of Cases = 522



+ = actual location of incidents
 Five cases with missing addresses

Selected Community Districts With High and Low Anti-Gay Incidents

The aggregate anti-gay thematic map (map 3) shows high anti-gay districts to be strictly connected to areas known to be gay and lesbian communities and home to their institutions in the City. These are areas where the majority of the gay and lesbian residents feel comfortable enough to "come out of the closet" with sometimes distinctive mannerisms, along with obvious homosexual preferences. The selected districts in these regards are districts 2, 3, 4, and 6 in Manhattan, and district 6 in Brooklyn.

Conversely, the low anti-gay areas fall within the districts with no known gay or lesbian communities. Although these districts may contain gay and lesbian residents, they remain largely unidentifiable by any specific mannerisms and institutions. Thus, most of the gay residents in these districts remain in the "closet" so far as public expression is concerned, perhaps out of fear of neighborhood homophobic vigilantism. The selected districts in these respects are districts 16, 17, and 18 in Brooklyn, 5 in Queens, and 2 in the Bronx.

Profiles of High Anti-Gay Incident Districts

District 2 in Manhattan

District 2, already profiled above as a high racial bias incident district, also has the highest anti-gay incidents totals in the City, experiencing over 56 incidents over the five years(see map 3). Its demography is predominantly white (about 78%), followed by a modest Asian population which comprises a little over 12% of the district's total population (table 2D). While the actual number of the district's gay population is not known, it is certain that the district is home to the largest gay and lesbian population in the City. Most of their reputable institutions and organizations are found in this district, thus it attracts gays and lesbians from elsewhere in the City and out of state, too. The neighborhoods forming this district are areas where gays and lesbians of all strands feel at ease to display their identities and mannerisms. Thus, homophobes targeting gays and lesbians travel from other boroughs of the City and the tri-state area to district 2 to perpetrate their hateful acts against the gay community.

District 3 in Manhattan

District 3 in Manhattan encompasses the neighborhoods of China Town, the Bowery, East Village and Alphabet City. This district, commonly referred to as the Lower East Side, is a very well integrated and diversified district. It attracts a large

transient population and because of its inclusion of Chinatown, it also attracts a large and diverse tourist population. The northwestern section of the district (generally known as the East Village) houses a large gay and lesbian community with its institutions and recreational facilities and has tolerance for display of open gay mannerisms.

Accordingly, the district is a high anti-gay bias incident zone with most concentrations in the northwestern sections, and which experienced over 56 incidents during the five-year period (see map 3).

From the 1990 census information, district 3 has a total population of 161,617 people. From this total, 29% is white, 8% black, 32% Hispanic, 30% Asian and other groups making up 1%. However, the daytime population is much higher than the above residential total given the character of the district. Its daytime population also includes a large transient population of workers, shoppers, criminals, vagrants and, presumably among them all, a number of homophobes.

District 4 in Manhattan

District 4 in Manhattan includes the neighborhoods of Chelsea in the south, and Clinton in the north. Commonly referred to as West Side, it has neighborhood characteristics which attract a large transient population. Thus, its daytime population is larger than that of the night. While its gay population is not known, it is not as visible as in community district 2, eventhough the district has a modest number of gay institutions such as bars and cabarets which attract gays and lesbians and their antagonists from other

parts of the City. Some of the neighborhoods in the western sections of the district (towards the Hudson river) are known areas where hard core prostitutes (straights as well as homosexuals) ply their trade. The presence of overtly gay and lesbian institutions in the district serves as a magnet for homophobes looking for their targets or prey, and thus becomes a "hot spot" for anti-gay bias (see map 3).

The 1990 census indicates the district has a total population of 84,431, of which 64% is white, 8% black, 24% Hispanic, 5% Asian, and 1% Others.

District 6 in Manhattan

District 6 in Manhattan (see profiles of high anti-Semitic districts above) is not only a "hot spot" for anti-Semitic bias over the five-year period, but it has also been a "hot spot" for anti-gay incidents, experiencing about 55 such incidents during the five-year period. As indicated in the first section of findings above (table 1E.3c), there was not a single Jewish perpetrator documented for anti-gay incidents in the entire City for the five-year period. Commonly referred to as East Midtown, the district's southern section is home to a modest population of gays and lesbians; and it is in this southern section where most of the anti-gay incidents are concentrated, according to the aggregate anti-gay thematic map (map 3) with an overlay of spatial display of actual incidents' locations.

District 6 in Brooklyn

Brooklyn's community district 6 consists of the neighborhoods of Cobble Hill, Carroll Gardens, Red Hook, Gowanus, and Park Slope. The neighborhood of interest here is mainly Park Slope which covers the southwestern section of the district. It is the area where almost all the anti-gay bias incidents occurred in the district during the five-year period (see map 3). From the community Board 6's own 1996 annual statement of needs document, "[Park Slope] boasts the second highest gay and lesbian population (behind Greenwich Village) in the City." This assertion, however, may be disputable with community district 3 which includes the Jackson Heights section of Queens with its new burgeoning gay community. Nonetheless, the lesbian population is the fastest growing within Park Slope, along with its institutions on the 7th avenue commercial strip and the adjoining streets. District 6 alone accounted for over 70% of the borough's total anti-gay bias during the five-year period.

The district has one of the largest landmark status designations in the borough of Brooklyn. Most part of it is well integrated. From the 1990 census information, the district has a population of 102,228 people. From this number, 55% is white, 16% black, 25% Hispanic, 3% Asian, and 1% Other.

Profiles of Low Anti-Gay Incident Districts

The community districts illustrated by the five-year anti-gay thematic map (map 3) as low anti-gay incident areas in the City are districts 16, 17, and 18 in Brooklyn, 5 in Queens, and 2 in the Bronx. Not only are these districts low anti-gay bias areas, but they in fact, had experienced no anti-gay bias incident for the entire five-year period.

Since all but district 5 in Queens have already been profiled in terms of demographics and neighborhood characteristics elsewhere above, the focus for these low anti-gay districts is on the general factors which may have obviated anti-gay bias in these districts. What these districts have in common is that they all tend to contain neighborhoods which are homogeneous and sustain no major commercial or cultural institutions. They contain no known gay communities or institutions which may attract both gay populations and therefore provoke the expression of existing and latent homophobic attitudes.

In summary, the high anti-gay incident districts are inhabited by progressives, are predominantly white, and sustain a large population of gays and lesbians. These districts also attract a large transient populations of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds suggesting that the homophobes travel to these districts to perpetrate their acts. They contain center city neighborhoods with a mixture of commercial and residential units, and a prevalence of numerous gays and lesbian institutions.

The low anti-gay districts on the other hand are homogeneous and away from center areas of town. The neighborhood type is mainly residential with no visible gay or lesbians' institutions.

**Table 4. PROFILES OF HIGH AND LOW ANTI-GAY INCIDENT DISTRICTS
(Summary Table)**

CB	DEMOGRAPHIC	NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE
High Incidents Manhattan: 2, 3, 4, & 6 Brooklyn: 6	Predominantly white progressives; large population of gays and lesbians; presence of large transient population.	Center city neighborhoods with mixture of commercial and residential units; sustains large population of gays and lesbians and their supporting institutions; prevalence of numerous landmark designated structures and places; and houses some of the finest art galleries.
Low Brooklyn: 16, 17, & 18 Queens: 5 & 13 Bronx: 2	Absence of gay population	Mainly residential and away from central sections of town; supports no gay community or institution.

Table 4: Summary of the profiles of high and low anti-gay incident districts.

PART IV

ANALYSIS

CHAPTER 6

There is nothing more revealing about the data utilized for this study than reading through the texts of the case synopses as found in the reports generated by the police. Accordingly, I am focusing on these negative cases as revealed in the data rather than on other incidents of cooperation among groups of different race, religion and sexual orientation in the City. The effect of negative stereotyping in the struggle for group superiority in the City is obvious. Every identifiable group in the City finds its own ways to disparage others. For any group to become engaged in antagonism or hostility to the degree expressed by the hate phenomenon, there must be well formulated stereotypes about its members, the group must be visible enough to represent a real or perceived threat to other competing groups in the community, and there must be compelling factors in the community forcing interaction among the competing groups. The ground-work for the stereotypes and the perceived threats are often laid down by extremists who often come from the leaderships of the major hate groups and other self appointed spokespersons or activists. Typically these so-called spokespersons disseminate their hate messages to young adults who, in turn, find inspiration in these messages and carry

out the bias attacks against people of the “opposing” groups in their communities.

Fundamentally, the Classical Prejudice and the Simple Self-Interest theories are upheld by the dynamics of bias incidents in the City as espoused in the findings in chapters 4 and 5 above. Bias incidents in the City as indicated in the findings are caused primarily by simple prejudice, objective material interest, and perceived threat in the in-group/out-group dichotomy, as will be examined throughout this analysis section.

1. Visibility Hypothesis

In my first hypothesis, I posited that visibility of any “protected” group increases bias against members of that group. In all the three major types of incidents, this assertion is supported by the patterns revealed by the data in comparison with the prevailing demographic information from the census data. The thematic and spatial maps for racial, anti-Semitic, and anti-gay incidents reveal high bias incidents in the districts and the neighborhoods where each of the protected class group members tend to be distinctively visible (see maps 1, 2, & 3). For racial incidents, their concentrations tend to be in racially integrated residential neighborhoods as well as high commercial interaction districts (i.e., Downtown Brooklyn, Downtown and Midtown Manhattan, and North of The Expressway in Staten Island), in neighborhoods undergoing demographic changes with interstitial zones, and in white neighborhoods where some public housing or low income multiple dwellings have been located (i.e., north eastern section of

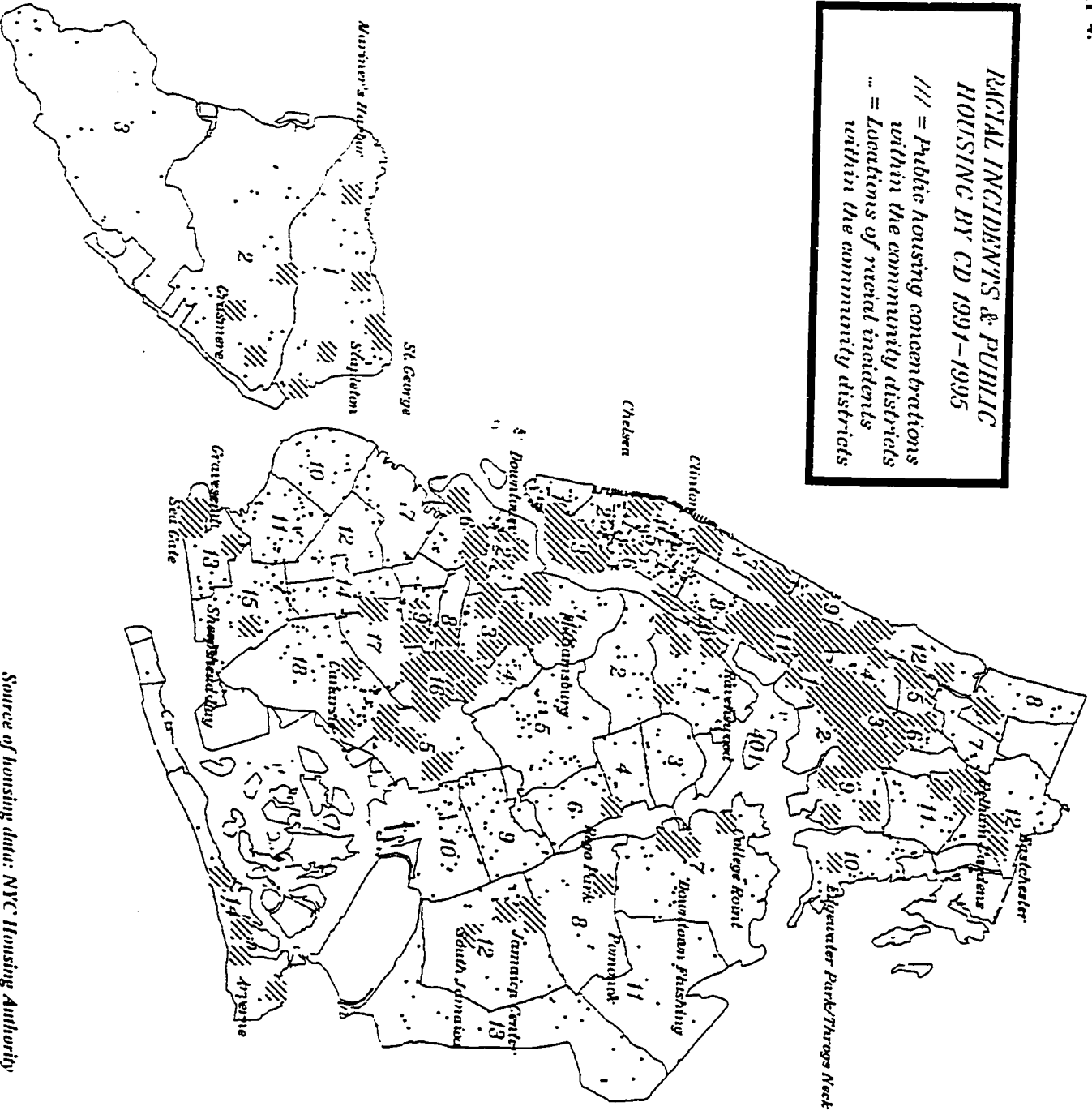
Canarsie, Sheepshead Bay, Gravesend and Bensonhurst in Brooklyn; Long Island City, Downtown Flushing, Jackson Heights, Richmond Hill, and Howard Beach sections of Queens; and Throgsneck, and Pelham Park sections of the Bronx). Typically, those housed in such low income or subsidized housing units are not just poor but also of racial minority population: thereby, placing them in direct competition for the middle class neighborhoods' resources (see map 4).⁴⁸

⁴⁸*The racial incidents as illustrated by Map 4 do not show to be directly occurring within the public housing complexes because the residents of these complexes are mostly minorities therefore presenting no in-group out-group antagonism within the complexes. The map however shows areas not too far away from the housing units which are, in many cases, the common shopping corridors of the general neighborhoods, to be the racial incidents' locations. It is in these areas where most of the interactions take place therefore more race and class conflicts.*

MAP 4.

RACIAL INCIDENTS & PUBLIC HOUSING BY CD 1991-1995

/// = Public housing concentrations within the community districts
 ... = Locations of racial incidents within the community districts



Source of housing data: NYC Housing Authority
 Total number of housing sites = 238

Group antagonism along the color line (black and white) is sharper because of the stark dissimilarities of skin color and other physical features between blacks and whites (see note 1 of Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Ehrlich 1973). This holds for dark skin Hispanics and east Indians, too. Also, there is the claim that property values, services and middle class cultural values go down when African Americans move into white neighborhoods. The underlying theory which explains this position is the Self-Interest Model as discussed in chapter one (also see Bobo and Hutchings 1996). The contention in this regard is that when minorities move into white neighborhoods or housing units, crime and other vices go up, services decrease and quality of life in the neighborhoods plunges. The overall effect is that property values drop. This also adversely affects lending institutions' incentives to make home equity loans for neighborhood home improvements. Homeowners in these changing neighborhoods tend to lose on their real property investments as property values for their homes drop. Minorities on the other hand, fear mass integration by whites into their neighborhoods because, quite often, this happens under the guise of gentrification. This, they claim, drives housing and other cost of living in their neighborhoods up beyond their means. This material economic self interest theme resonates in many disparaging ways in most of the case synopses of the racial incidents as the reason for whites not wanting minority members in their communities. Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and Jews are often warned by neighborhood vigilantes about the perils of their trying to integrate white predominant neighborhoods. Quite often, the threat is not only directed towards the prospective renters or buyers, but

realtors and sellers also at times pay dearly for catering to minority clients, especially if they are African Americans or black Hispanics. I should point out that minority homeowners in neighborhoods undergoing gentrification welcome white integration because it raises their property values sharply. So, the bias incidents in the changing residential neighborhoods come down to the “straight up pocketbook” issue as illustrated by Bobo and Hutchings’ Self-Interest Model.

With respect to high interaction districts such as the business, cultural and civic centers, the group hostility between blacks and whites is high because of the same visibility factor. Blacks, like whites, can easily make distinctions along the color line and since the compelling factors that lure them to these centers, in a way, force them into involuntary interactions, it is possible to have a Klansman rubbing shoulders with a black person, a Hispanic, or a Jewish person. The end results of these involuntary interactions are conflicts and at times tragedies (Hunter 1991). The visibility hypothesis is supported by the patterns manifested by anti-Semitic and anti-gay incidents, too, but in all cases it has to be accompanied by interaction with other opposing groups. The homogeneous districts thus tend to be comparatively free of bias crimes simply because of the lack of interaction with other opposing groups, not because there may be less inherent bias among their residents.

In the known Jewish communities of Crown Heights (district 9), and Williamsburg (district 1) in Brooklyn, because of the visible Jewish population surrounded by other equally visible groups in the district who are forced into involuntary interactions and competition for scarce neighborhood resources, there is a high number

of anti-Semitic incidents (see map 2). Anti-Semitism in these two community districts are therefore explained by the economic Self-Interest Model. That is, antagonisms emanate from competition over scarce neighborhood resources. Jews are seen as potential threats by the black and Hispanic residents of these two community districts, and vice versa and therefore, all are locked into hostility towards each other. Jewish visibility in these mixed neighborhoods is shown by their skin color, mannerisms, and dressing. Jewish institutions are also easy targets because they are always distinctively identified by the inscriptions on the walls which, quite often, include the star of David or other Jewish religious symbols. The patterns illustrated by the racial and anti-Semitic thematic maps (see maps 1 & 2 in chapter 5) for community districts 1 (Williamsburg) and 9 (Crown Heights) in Brooklyn reflect some sort of unidirectional bias against Jews in these communities.

Do the Jewish communities in Williamsburg and Crown Heights fight back? Certainly. An example of this will be illustrated later in the Crown Heights case study. Nonetheless, there is a serious problem of underreporting of racial bias incidents within some of the minority communities, especially those comprising a considerable immigrant populations such as we find in Crown Heights and Williamsburg (CCHR 1993; Levin 1992). Thus, Jewish antagonism towards blacks and Hispanics in Crown Heights and Williamsburg was not much reflected by the data, as one might have expected, and therefore these community districts were not quite “hot spots” for racial incidents as much as they were for anti-Semitic incidents. Minorities, especially blacks and Hispanics do not have much confidence in the police and other government law

enforcement organizations because they perceive them as institutions which are at best indifferent and at worst hostile to them therefore they tend to shy away from these agencies. Those in the Jewish community, on the other hand, have a good sense of awareness and tend to report bias incidents against them better than the other groups.

However, the visibility theory as an explanation for prejudice does not hold for homogeneous districts like community district 12 in Brooklyn, which is home to the largest Jewish community in the City, mainly because of the absence of interaction from other opposing groups. To be sure, the district sustains marginal Polish, Asian, and Hispanic populations, but does not have any major cultural, civic or educational facilities, nor major transportation hubs, all of which attract outsiders. Anti-Semitic incidents in the district for the entire five-year period amount to only 36 or less. Other counterparts to this revelation are the black homogeneous districts of North Crown Heights in Brooklyn (district 8), and Harlem (district 10)⁴⁹; the Hispanic predominant districts of Spanish Harlem (district 11) and the entire South Bronx (see map 1). These are low bias districts because they lack interactions with opposing groups.

The visibility question in respect to gay aversion must be seen from a different perspective than racial or anti-Semitic bias, because homosexuality cuts across all social groups and is not always “visible.” The only distinguishable characteristics about

⁴⁹*There is a case of anomaly for Harlem's community district 10 in 1995. There was a series of demonstrations against a Jewish haberdasher on 125th Street in Harlem which led to a tragedy in which eight people lost their lives. These incidents were full of racial hatred towards Jewish and Asian vendors on 125th Street resulting in an unusually high number of incidents of bias in Harlem. The bias data reveals that there were five incidents in community district 10 in Harlem in 1991, five in 1992, four in 1993, seven in 1994, and 14 in 1995 alone. Out of the 14 incidents in 1995, 12 of them occurred in the month of December, the month that Freddy's clothing store was set ablaze. The remaining two incidents happened in September and November.*

homosexuals is their degree of openness in display of stereotypical gay mannerisms and associations. The major gay districts and neighborhoods of the City are the only areas in which many gays feel comfortable to be open about their sexual orientation, and quite often, these neighborhoods attract homophobes who travel there to perpetrate their acts against the gay community. According to Comstock (1991), gays are mostly attacked in places where they are easily identifiable, i.e., in their association with gay establishments, institutions, or organizations. Many gays are attracted to the same large center city neighborhoods which also lure large transient populations, thus imposing forced interactions among people who may otherwise seek anonymity among their peers.

The visibly large gay population and their supporting institutions in district 2 of Manhattan and its adjoining community districts (3 in the south and 4 in the north) make these areas targets of homophobes, with comparable agendas emphasizing anonymity. The thematic map (map 3) of the five-year data for anti-gay incidents illustrates community districts 2, 3, and 4 of Manhattan as high anti-gay incident districts, with 56 or more anti-gay incidents being documented for each of them in the five-year period. With community district 2 being the center of gay culture, anti-gay incidents in the adjoining districts (3 and 4) tend to appear at the border lines with district 2.

Community district 6 in Brooklyn, according to its 1996 community needs statement, boasts of its gay community as the second largest in the City after that of the Village in Manhattan. It is a visible and burgeoning community which covers most of Park Slope section of Brooklyn. In turn, it lures homophobic elements of the borough to this area. Its main shopping center and cultural facilities are found on the 7th Avenue

commercial strip. The Park Slope section of district 6 has the highest documentation of anti-gay incidents in the entire borough, experiencing up to some 55 incidents in the five-year period, (or 77% of the borough's total anti-gay bias crimes).

Thus the patterns displayed by the bias data for all the three major types of incidents support the visibility hypothesis. However, it should be emphasized that visibility without interaction from other competing groups and pre-existing prejudice against "others" within the district or its adjoining border line would not lead to hostilities which could consequently result into bias incidents.

Hypothesis 2

This hypothesis is an extension of the visibility hypothesis drawn on the distinctive appearance of Jewish institutions. It postulates that "anti-Semitic bias crimes are more likely to involve institutions and/or properties than any other type of incidents" and the reason for this is based on the fact that Jewish institutions such as synagogues and Yeshivas tend to be more visible in the various communities of the City than their counterpart institutions in terms of ethnic and religious affiliations. Even some Jewish homes are easily identifiable by the mezuzahs on their front door frames, or their special prayer structures which, quite often, are located in front of the Jewish homes.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ *A review of the memo fields (case synopses) of the anti-Semitic incidents shows that 30% (314 cases) of the anti-Semitic incidents were directed to private properties perceived to be of Jewish ownerships; these mostly include swastikas on Jewish apartment doors, removal of mezuzahs on door frames, and destruction of Jewish Succoth.*

Among the three major types of incidents, anti-Semitic incidents involved primarily institutions with 125 or 12% of the total anti-Semitic incidents being documented as such (see table 5). Of racial incidents, 43 cases (or about 3%) of the total racial incidents were documented as being directed towards institutions. Anti-gay incidents have 15 cases or 3 % of the five-year total involving institutions.

Table 5. INCIDENTS DIRECTED AT INSTITUTIONS BY TYPE

Anti-Gay	522	15	3%
Anti-Semitic	1030	125	12%
Racial	1735	43	3%

Table 5: Institution refers to Yeshivas, schools, churches, synagogues, mosques, organizations, and group centers.

3. Interaction Hypothesis

Hypothesis 3 states that areas of the City with high levels of interaction among diverse groups of people are associated with high bias incidents, and that the number of bias incidents in those areas are much higher when the racial or ethnic differences are sharper and more visible. Comparing the census information with those of the high racial bias incidents data, cosmopolitan commercial areas, districts with major transportation hubs, integrated neighborhoods, neighborhoods in transition, interstitial

zones, and areas harboring major cultural and civic centers all have high level of racial bias incidents.

In residential districts, neighborhoods in transition demographically are prone to experiencing group hostilities between the in-group and the intruding groups which are trying to integrate housing. The in-group, citing their economic and cultural interests (as explained in the Self-Interest Model), tries to keep others from integrating. This translates to high levels of bias in certain neighborhoods like Canarsie in district 18, Sheepshead Bay in 15, and Bensonhurst in district 11 of Brooklyn (see map 1).⁵¹ What is common with these neighborhoods is that they contain pockets of minority populations which are concentrated in the few low income housing units in the districts. Some of these predominantly white districts also have neighborhoods which share borderlines with minority neighborhoods (i.e., the northern section of district 18 in Brooklyn). These borderline neighborhoods serve as the interstitial zones and, thus as the areas of conflict and group hostilities because one group is pitted against the other in their scramble for the scarce resources and services of the neighborhood. The relationship among groups produces inevitable interactions which precede group hostilities. The presence of low income multi-family housing units in the white predominant neighborhoods also tend to have the same effect as presented by the interstitial zones. This is simply because the low income housing units tend to attract racial and ethnic minorities who

⁵¹ *The case synopses of the racial incidents reveal numerous instances in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn where homes newly purchased by minorities and realtors' offices catering to such clientele in the area were firebombed or threatened by residents. Similarly, the Gravesend and Bensonhurst sections of Brooklyn have a history of scaring minority home buyers and renters in this fashion. The killing of Yusuf Hawkins by neighborhood youths in 1989 leaves a lasting impression about the character of Bensonhurst with respect to race relations in the entire City.*

overwhelmingly comprise the poor in the City.⁵² Mapping the City's major public housing sites against the five-year racial bias incidents data, the pattern shows racial bias incidents concentrating in the areas immediately surrounding public housing sites in the predominant white districts (see map 4). These areas in many cases are also the neighborhood shopping corridors. (These are the cases for community districts 6, 7 and 12 in Queens; 18, 15, 13 and 2 in Brooklyn; 3, 4 and 6 in Manhattan; 10, 11 and 12 in the Bronx; and 1 and 2 in Staten Island.) Therefore, the atmosphere in these predominantly white districts presents a great deal of impediments for minority housing and integration.

Other areas of the City which are bias prone and have high levels of interaction among diverse groups are the major commercial and business districts, major cultural and civic centers, and areas harboring major transportation hubs. The community districts which best reflect this phenomenon in the City are district 2 in Downtown Brooklyn, districts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 in Manhattan, and district 1 in Staten Island (see map 1).

Downtown Brooklyn which is within community district 2 has a lot of facilities and institutions which attract people of all racial and ethnic backgrounds in the City. It boasts of eight reputable institutions of higher learning, all of the borough's main cultural and civic centers are located in this area, and it sustains the borough's main commercial and business facilities. To make the area accessible to all people from the various sections of the Borough, major transportation routes converge onto this section of the

⁵² *Bias against minorities living in these low income housing units in the white predominant neighborhoods may have been confounded by the fact that Americans generally dislike the poor. Being both poor and black, perhaps, increases the social distance effect against African Americans in the City (see Massey and Denton 1993).*

borough, thus creating transportation hubs unparalleled to any other in the borough. Similarly, the districts covering the whole of Downtown and Midtown Manhattan have characteristics that attract diverse groups of people internationally. These are center city districts where everybody goes for their various needs. Due to these characteristics, there is a high level of forced interactions among people of diverse racial backgrounds and orientations in these areas and the ensuing hostilities. Such situations arise when one is compelled to utilize some of the City's resources such as civic, cultural and educational institutions or common commercial strips and transportation hubs. On a given day for example, a black Muslim from Harlem, a neo-Nazi Skinhead from Staten Island, and a Jewish person from Borough Park may end up at one transportation hub or a shopping strip, all struggling to catch a rush hour train to work or to purchase a gift for a loved one. What all these people are likely to bring with them to that transportation hub, the shopping strip, civic or cultural center, is their "clannish" ways. And once these diverse cultural impulses vie against each other, the end result is often tension, conflict, and at times, violence (Hunter 1991).

The interaction referred to in this hypothesis therefore is not limited to place of residence and voluntary interaction (i.e., participation in church and school activities, tenant and block associations) but more importantly, involuntary interactions that emanate from people of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds sharing the same shopping corridors, cultural and civic institutions and transportation hubs. It should be understood that the voluntary interaction often works towards positive interracial relationships

whereas the involuntary interaction often carries negative impulses which translate into bias incidents.

Given these patterns as revealed by the data in comparison with both the census and community districts' information, if the premium of the policymakers of the districts is on curbing bias and group hostility then their policies should be geared towards minimizing integration and involuntary interactions. But, if the premium is on integration then there should be adequate mechanisms in place to counter bias and group hostility.

4. The Youth on Youth Hypothesis

In my fourth hypothesis, I postulate that the proportion of young people being victimized in bias crimes or incidents is directly related to the proportion of young people as perpetrators. Extracting from the Self-Interest Model (see Bobo and Hutchings 1996), we can say that young people in relatively affluent neighborhoods, in the interest of protecting their "turf" and preserving their neighborhoods from invasion of foreign cultures, elect themselves as the vigilantes guiding their neighborhoods (Governor's Task Force 1988). The fact that young people also tend to spend more of their leisure time outside than do adults would expose them to more encounters with members of other groups making incursions into their "turf." Some of these new elements include, for example, any "new non-white family" moving adjacent to their homes and into their resentment thereafter.

To find out how the number of young people relates to the bias incidents in the City, I ran the frequency tabulations of victims' age and perpetrators' age. As noted above (in chapter 4), the mean and median ages of the victims were 35 and 33 respectively, compared to those of the perpetrators (28 and 25 years) (tables 1F & 1G). As for the modes, victims tend to be twice as old as perpetrators. There were multiple modes for perpetrators aged 15 and 17, while a single one for victims which is 30 years of age. This does not quite support the hypothesis that youth on youth violence is being expressed as bias. Nevertheless, previous assertions that the overwhelming majority of bias crimes are committed by youths is upheld especially if we take into consideration the relatively young mean and median ages (28 and 25 years) and the multiple modes (15 and 17 years) as illustrated by the data for the ages of perpetrators (see also Levin 1992; Garofalo and Martin 1993; CCHR 1993). It should be noted that 90% of the cases did not have information on the perpetrators' age, while almost 30% of the cases lack information on the victims' age. This is obvious from the fact that most perpetrators in bias crimes are never caught whereas victims for the documented bias crimes mostly show up or call the police themselves to report the crime and are willing to furnish information about themselves. This deficiency presented by the quality of the data impeded running any crosstabs on these variables and making any serious conclusive statements about the youth-on-youth hypothesis.

It is important to note here that both perpetrators and victims are overwhelmingly male. Male youths and adults have far more risk-free movement away from home than females hence ironically encounter more risks.

5. Hypothesis on High Resentment Towards Gay Men.

This hypothesis states that gay men are more likely to be victimized for their sexual orientations than lesbians. The data strongly support this hypothesis. Over 80% of the 522 anti-gay incidents documented over the five-year period was directed towards gay men, while just a mere 14% of the cases involved lesbians (table 1E.4).

One stereotype formed around homosexuality is that gay men want to be women or have women's libidos, while lesbians are women who want to be or have men's sexual appetites. Compounding these stereotypes is the fact that America, in general, is a sexist society which subscribes to the idea of male superiority. Male homosexuality is therefore seen by straight male homophobes as men trying to give away part of their superior position in the society as males. To prevent relinquishing part of this superiority status, homophobes turn to prejudice, hate and violence towards male homosexuals to keep them in check. Young men also are said to be prone to punishing people, especially their peers, who violate gender roles (Comstock 1991). In the context of the culture wars, religiously orthodox often argue on moral and religious grounds about the decadence and evils of homosexuality. The impetus of their argument is that homosexuality, especially that of males, is in violation of God's law because the Bible explicitly prohibits it (see Leviticus 20:13). As these stereotypical ideas get drummed into public consciousness by the spokespersons of the right, they may eventually creep into the definition of the public good. Thus, what the Torah, the Bible, or the Koran says on homosexuality (or other issues) becomes the ultimate rule which extremists like the orthodox and ultra

conservatives try to impose on a democratic society to dictate public life. The intolerance for male homosexuality in America and elsewhere in the world therefore, has its roots in the Bible, moral predisposition and the myth about males' superiority over females.

6. Gay Aversion Severity Hypothesis

In this hypothesis, I state that gay bias crimes are far more likely to involve physical assault or contact than any other offense type. The data support this assertion very well as illustrated in table 1E.3a. The information furnished in the memo fields of the anti-gay incidents show that 48%, or 251 of the 522 total anti-gay incidents involved perpetrators using some form of physical contact (i.e., fist, kicking, shoving, hitting with stick, or stabbing with a knife or sharp instruments) with the gay victim. While findings by Levin (1992) indicate that general bias-motivated assaults are more severe than their non-bias counterparts, bias assaults against gays and lesbians tend to be even more brutal than any other type of bias incident attack. According to the Director of Victims' Services unit of New York's Bellevue Hospital, "Attacks against gay men were the most heinous and brutal I encountered. They frequently involved torture, cutting, mutilation, and beating, and showed the absolute intent to rub out the human being because of his [sexual] preference." (Levin 1992, p. 167). Comparing the nature of anti-gay physical assaults to those of the other two major types of incidents, anti-gay physical assaults or unsavory contacts surpass those of anti-Semitic and racial incidents. Only 12% (124 out

of 1030) of the anti-Semitic cases involved physical assaults or offensive contacts, while for racial incidents, 40% (694 out of 1735) of the cases were of this nature (see tables 1E.1a & 1E.2a).

The theory that best explains prejudice against gays or homophobic behaviors is the Classical Prejudice Model as discussed in chapter one (see also Ehrlich 1973). This, according to Bobo and Hutchings, is the polar opposite of the Self-Interest Model. In most anti-gay bias, the perpetrators' motives lack the rational material interest as the driving force behind their hatred towards homosexuals. As already stated above in the findings (chapter 4), in about 70% of the anti-gay incidents, the crime report noted that perpetrators' motives were just "plain prejudice" against the victims' sexual orientation. The Classical Prejudice argument states that people learn prejudice through the stereotypes existing in the system they grow up in. Most homophobic beliefs are passed along from already existing stereotypes. Gays as a group are not locked into any economic or material interest antagonisms with any particular group, simply because homosexuality cuts across all racial and social groups. Homophobic behavior therefore, has no firm root in the material interests which precipitate other biases such as racial/ethnic and class conflicts. The behavior of the homophobe is therefore connected to his affective mood and beliefs acquired from years of learning and absorbing of stereotypes about homosexuals more than to any objective reality of some economic or material interests. This type of affective disposition on hate is common with people associated with organized hate groups, or who find inspiration in the rhetoric and "ethnopluralisms" of such groups. While only a fraction of the anti-gay incidents reflect

direct connection to organized hate groups, the usage of hate rhetoric in the anti-gay incidents was quite high, that is in about 29% of the cases as stated in chapter 4 (see table 1E.3a); in addition, 8% of the anti-gay incidents involved hate literature also identifiable with organized hate groups.

Brutality against gays and lesbians permeates American society and is promoted by such stereotypes as homosexuals being child molesters, and that homosexuality is a mental disorder. These views are also strengthened by the existence of organizations such as Man Boy Lovers (MABO) within the gay community. As these stereotypes are sustained in the minds of many Americans, they remove any guilt from young anti-gay bias perpetrators' psyche for their brutalities against homosexuals because they perceive their acts as service to the society at large. Thus, in localities like New York City, they form informal peer-groups from time to time, to carry out what they call "queer bashing" which consists of terrorizing, beating, torturing and at times murdering gay people, just for the "fun" of it.

However, it is not just youthful Skinheads who are violent homophobes. In the 1950s, police agencies of many big cities in the United States were among the worst perpetrators of brutality against gays and lesbians (Comstock 1991). Their tactics included arbitrary dismissal of complaints from gay bias victims, pervasive raids on gay bars and other social establishments, setting up gay people with suggestive lures and then arresting any bait-taker for homosexual conducts or general sexual misconduct. Victims of these quasi official police conducts were often frisked, beaten, or tortured and when such cases reach the courts, quite often, the officer is exonerated. These were the

kinds of misconduct against gays and lesbians across the nation which led to the San Francisco riots followed by the Stonewall Rebellion of 1969 in New York City. This became the turning point for gays and lesbians across the nation to say that they wouldn't take it any more and begin to fight for their rights and equal protection under the law. Indeed, it was not until 1973 that the American Psychiatric Association declassified homosexuality as a mental disorder and no longer sought nor recommend clinical treatments for it. Even today, in some states the law is still stacked against homosexuals and the conduct of homosexuality: anti-sodomy laws remain on the books, even when many "straights" practice such sex. This makes gays vulnerable because they are perceived as "fair game" by those who hate them simply because of their sexual preferences. It is under this context or framework that Julio Rivera was killed by neighborhood youths in Queens in 1990, as will be discussed in the case study portion of the analysis.

Other findings emerging from the patterns displayed by the data validate hypotheses from other studies. The assertion that anti-Semitic bias incidents tend to involve institutions more than any other type of incident is upheld (see Levin 1992). The data show 12% (or 125 cases) of the anti-Semitic incidents involving institutions (see table 5), while racial cases involving institutions account for only 3% (43 cases) of the overall racial incidents, and anti-gay cases involving institution form only 3% (15 cases) of the five-year total anti-gay cases. The institutions which are frequent targets include Jewish synagogues, yeshivas, community centers, community organizations, and

cemeteries. They are easy targets because of their high visible status in the communities they are found.

Garofalo and Martin (1993) found that racial bias incidents are not uni-directional as reported by previous studies, i.e., hate crimes being solely directed to minorities. The patterns emerging from the current study support their finding. According to the FBI's 1992 and 1993 Hate Crime Statistics reports, nine out of every ten white racial bias crime offenders were involved with anti-black offenses and similarly, nine out of every ten black offenders were involved with anti-white offenses. Table 6 below clearly illustrates the sentiments expressed by the perpetrators of the racial bias crime in terms of the City's protected classes. This is also where we can truly determine which group is more distressed by bias incidents than the other in the City as opposed to ethnicity of the victims. Perpetrator's motive or expressed sentiment is determined by the account of the incident as given by the victim, evidence left behind by the perpetrator and/or official police investigative findings on the incident. Quite often, perpetrators of bias crimes express verbally or through written notes what motivates their actions. For example, a KKK insignia with a written statement such as "No niggers in this neighborhood" mailed to a black person in a changing neighborhood is a clear expression of anti-black sentiment; a black person being attacked for dating a white by another black person who expressed verbally his resentment for blacks dating whites is an expression of anti-white sentiment although the victim is black; so too are the cases of perception, when a white person is attacked because he or she looks Jewish to the perpetrator, regardless of the ethnicity of the victim, the expressed sentiment is anti-Semitism. Again, a case is

classified only after a thorough preliminary investigation of the incident by trained officials such as the BIIU staff and the CCHR's Bias Prevention and Response Team (BPRT).

Table 6.

<u>CATEGORY OF EXPRESSED MOTIVATION IN RACIAL BIAS INCIDENTS 1991-1995</u>				
<u>CATEGORY</u>				
Value Label	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
AntBlack	713	41.1	41.1	41.1
AntWhite	498	28.7	28.7	69.8
AntHisp	240	13.8	13.8	83.6
AntAsian	106	6.1	6.1	89.7
AntGermn	36	2.1	2.1	91.8
AntInd	32	1.8	1.8	93.7
AntChin	23	1.3	1.3	95.0
Unknown	20	1.2	1.2	96.1
AntiArab	19	1.1	1.1	97.2
AntKor	8	.5	.5	97.7
AntAfric	5	.3	.3	98.0
AntRuss	5	.3	.3	98.3
AntEgypt	3	.2	.2	98.4
AntGreek	3	.2	.2	98.6
AntMex	3	.2	.2	98.8
AntArgen	2	.1	.1	98.9
AntColrd	2	.1	.1	99.0
AntHait	2	.1	.1	99.1
AntJap	2	.1	.1	99.3
AntSerb	2	.1	.1	99.4
Other	2	.1	.1	99.5
AntCroat	1	.1	.1	99.5
AntDom	1	.1	.1	99.6
AntEurop	1	.1	.1	99.7
AntFilip	1	.1	.1	99.7
AntGuy	1	.1	.1	99.8
AntItal	1	.1	.1	99.8
AntPol	1	.1	.1	99.9
AntSengl	1	.1	.1	99.9
Multiple	1	.1	.1	100.0
Total	1735	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	1735			
Missing cases	0			

Table 6. Categories such as anti-Chinese, anti-Croat, and anti-Dominican reflect ethnic incidents rather than racial ones. Collapsing these categories here will confuse the actual sentiments which prompted some of these incidents. For example, anti-German sentiment expressed by an Irish person could not be considered anti-white because both perpetrator and victim are of the same racial category.

Among the racial incidents perpetrated during the five-year period, 41% (713 cases) were motivated by anti-black sentiments while about 29% (498 cases) involved anti-white sentiments. About 14% (240 cases) involved anti-Hispanic sentiments, and 6% (106 cases) were motivated by anti-Asian sentiments. This confirms the fact that racial incidents are a reflection of the overall antagonisms among the various racial groups making up the demography of the City rather than the uni-directional projections illustrated by previous studies. Notwithstanding, blacks are clearly the most distressed among all the racial groups and Jews the most distressed among the religious groups in terms of bias in the City, for various reasons explained by the Self-Interest and the Classical Prejudice theories discussed in chapter one.

Factors that contribute to the increase or decrease in bias incidents in a given jurisdiction include policy revision on policing and data collection criteria, expansion in definition of bias, better trained law enforcement officers, and certainly, heightened inter-group tensions. Brian Levin pointed out in his 1992 study that, because of the Boston Police Department's expansive bias crime definition and operational efficiency, Boston recorded 218 bias incidents in 1991 compared to 525 recorded for the same year, for New York City, with a population about ten times bigger and more diverse than Boston.

However, it should be noted that in times of prominent bias incidents, there is always a level of increase in bias attacks against the perpetrator's group during the period immediately following the incident, in the form of revenge from the victim's group as

explained in the revenge theory earlier. Such was documented in the cases involving the slaying of Yusuf Hawkins in Bensonhurst in 1989, the spray-painting of the African American youths in the Bronx in 1992, and the aftermath of the Simi Valley verdict in the trial of the white police officers involved in the Rodney King's beating in 1992. During the period immediately following all these incidents, there was a dramatic increase in attacks against whites (Levin 1992; CCHR 1993).⁵³ Not only do prominent bias incidents of these caliber affect the victims and their immediate families, they affect the victims' groups, thus upsetting the mood of the entire community. The following case studies illustrate how bias incidents affect the victims, their groups, and the atmosphere of the entire community.

⁵³*Similar increases were documented for anti-Semitic incidents during the Crown Heights incident, and the Hebron Massacre in 1994*

CASE STUDIES

So far, I have illustrated the patterns of bias crimes/incidents in the City and how they affect the major groups that are caught up in the antagonisms explained by the Simple Self-Interest Model, the Classical Prejudice Model and the Group Position Model. I have also demonstrated the underlying theories which best explained each of the three major types of incidents and used alternate theories (like revenge/copycat, visibility and interaction) to explain other issues surrounding the nature of bias in the City. To show all the dynamics involved with bias crimes, especially those which are hyped by the media, I selected four major bias incidents which had occurred in the City as case studies. The selected bias incidents covered all the three major types of incidents which are the focus of this study: racial, anti-Semitic, and anti-gay. The cases deal with Bensonhurst, Julio Rivera, Crown Heights, and Freddy's Clothing Store.

The case studies in chapters 7 through 10 illustrate the nature of each of the three major types of incidents and the dynamics undergirding these incidents. In essence, the case studies will show the nature of the conflicting groups, the underlying prejudices, and the theoretical models they tend to replicate. They will also illustrate the law enforcement protocols in bias incidents, the criminal justice system and its handling of bias cases, the role of the media, the victim's family and community, the perpetrator's family and community, and the revenge/backlash at the aftermath of major bias incidents.

CHAPTER 7

BENSONHURST

The 1980s were another New York City epoch in which African Americans had witnessed many persons from their community suffering from white racism and bigotry. As Reaganism swept across the nation and the festering tension between the Koch administration and the black community was polarizing the City's race relations, racial incidents against blacks and other minorities became commonplace. Perpetrators often came from the police agencies, as well as from individuals with racist dispositions. (The 1980s also brought a moderate resurgence of the Klan and neo-Nazi Skinhead activities in the country.) Critics said that the climate was set by the administration in Washington at the time, and locally by that of City Hall, for dealing with minorities, especially African Americans, in disparaging ways. Joblessness among African American youths in the City was at its highest, the school system was in shambles, and crime and other vices had skyrocketed in the inner city neighborhoods. Racism was still affecting a large segment of the minority population nationally, but it was during this same period that

whites, mostly from the conservative camps, denied the significance of race in human relations (especially in economics) as a factor in America. Even some within the African American community itself across the country held the view that affirmed the “declining significance of race” in American society (see Wilson 1980). Towards the ending of the 1980s, the truth about these views would be manifested in the small predominantly white community of Bensonhurst in the Southwestern end of Brooklyn.

Background

Before the summer of 1989, Bensonhurst was unknown to much of the nation. The small and white, predominantly Italian enclave has been home to some of the most notorious of the Italian Mafiosi, including Sammy “The Bull” Gravano. Thus Mob violence and illegal dealings are not uncommon on the streets of Bensonhurst. But in addition to these vices, Bensonhurst has long been beleaguered by racial tensions and violence that went back to the time that minorities first started integrating its stock of low cost housing and the public schools. Currently, racial tensions are still very high in neighborhood schools like John Dewey and New Utrecht high schools. But what actually makes Bensonhurst a “hot spot” of racial incidents in the City is the presence of the Marlborough Houses.

Located between the northern section of Coney Island and the southern part of Bensonhurst, the Marlborough Houses are low cost multiple dwellings which housed mostly minorities and a few poor whites. The proximity of these projects to the mostly

one and two family residential neighborhoods of Bensonhurst creates an interstitial zone in the area where minorities are forced into involuntary interaction with the white residents of Bensonhurst and its surrounding neighborhoods. There is constant fear from the white residents of Bensonhurst that the presence of minorities in the nearby Marlborough Houses will bring changes to the neighborhood that would affect their quality of life, property values and other issues as explained in the Self-Interest Model in chapter one. Given this character, tensions have mounted between whites and minorities for so many years, sometimes manifesting themselves in minor verbal exchanges or bias incident complaints to the local precinct, prior to the tragedy of the summer of 1989.

The Event

On the evening of August 23, 1989, Claude Stanford asked his friends Yusuf Hawkins, Troy Banner, and Luther Sylvester, all from the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, to accompany him to Bensonhurst to look at a car he had earlier inquired about buying from its owner, Greek immigrant Nick Hadzimas. The four youths knew nothing about the neighborhood of Bensonhurst, but based on the direction given to Claude by Mr. Hadzimas, they set out on the subway to Bensonhurst. Claude had with him the advertisement for the blue 1983 Pontiac G2000 from the Buy-Lines (where it was advertised) and the piece of paper on which he had scribbled the direction and the address to Mr. Hadzimas' resident in Bensonhurst (see Lorch 1989; DeSantis 1991).

They took the train from the East New York neighborhood of Brooklyn and finally got to their stop. Before proceeding to their destination, Yusuf walked into a corner convenience store by the subway for a candy bar. They then proceeded towards the address. About 9:30 p.m., at the corner of Bay Ridge Avenue and Twentieth Avenue, they found themselves surrounded by a group of white youths carrying baseball bats and golf clubs. There was nothing in their background to help them understand what was happening.⁵⁴ All they were hearing from the mob that surrounded them was “Is this them?, Is this them?”, then one person from the mob asked “What are you niggers doing here?.” At this point, the four black youths were hemmed in by the surrounding white youths, armed with bats. “We’re looking for an address,” one of the bewildered black youths answered back. A few seconds later, one of the white youths pushed through the throng, pulled out a gun and popped four shots into Yusuf Hawkins’ upper body, and he fell, with his bare hands trying to cover or protect the holes made by the fatal shots into his body. The candy bar he was munching on was still in one of his hands as he staggered before hitting the hard concrete floor of the pavement. Hawkins died a few hours after the incident at Maimonides Hospital. Within seconds after the shooting, the mob disappeared into the darkness, and what is known as “Bensonhurst amnesia” descended onto the entire community (see DeSantis 1991). Nobody admitted that they

⁵⁴ This is to say that they had never been in such confrontation with people of other racial groups before and they had no knowledge of the racial climate in Bensonhurst and particularly the ongoing feud between the Mondello and Feliciano groups over bringing “niggers and spics” into the neighborhood. It was said that Yusuf, Troy and Luther had just finished watching the movie “Mississippi Burning” at Luther’s home when Claude coincidentally came in with the news about the “Blue Pontiac” and asked the three friends to accompany him to go inquire about it. According to DeSanti (1991), the three youths knew nothing about Bensonhurst and its racial problems.

knew anything, or who the perpetrators were. Following the normal police procedures in cases suspected to be bias motivated, the supervisor who first arrived at the scene called in and requested the duty captain to come to the scene of the crime for further assessment, before the elite bias unit of the police department was notified. It still took some quick and tough detective work before the first lead on the incident emerged.

Among the people from whom police ascertained initial accounts of what had transpired were a young woman called Gina Feliciano and her mother, Phyllis D'Agata. Gina turned out to be an ex-girlfriend of the alleged ringleader of the group of whites, Keith Mondello, and painted a picture of a jealous ex-boyfriend who was upset over her bringing her "nigger and spic friends" into the neighborhood. A day after the incident, police picked up Keith Mondello at his girlfriend's sister's home and took him to the 60th precinct for interrogations. By the end of the questioning process, Joseph Fama was implicated as the actual gunman who fired the fatal shots that killed Yusuf Hawkins. Before he could be picked up for questioning, Fama disappeared. His whereabouts were allegedly not known even to his family. Rumors circulated that he may have fled to Italy. By August 25, 1989, Keith Mondello, Pasquale Raucci, and Steven Curreri were charged with assault and other minor offenses. (Others were arrested later.) This action by the Brooklyn District Attorney's office did little to appease the black community, as most of the perpetrators, including the gunman himself, were still at large. The outraged black community mobilized quickly under the leadership of Al Sharpton, Alton Maddox, and C. Vernon Macon, and staged the first of numerous protest marches in the neighborhood of Bensonhurst and elsewhere in the City over the slaying of Yusuf Hawkins.

Black Activists and Demonstrations

For once, Sharpton became involved in the Bensonhurst incident not by his own behest or intrusion. The morning after Yusuf's slaying, his father, Moses Stewart, telephoned Al Sharpton in his home, then in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn, to seek help and advice towards securing justice for his murdered son within the criminal justice system (DeSantis 1991). Sharpton informed Mr. Stewart that the best strategy was to utilize some of his "creative confrontational" styles in order to publicize the case and gather the attention of the media and public figures. Mr. Stewart honored that approach and indeed, the case climbed into national prominence.

On Saturday August 26, 1989, Sharpton and his movement staged the first of the group's numerous marches in Bensonhurst, and it was from this march that the true character of Bensonhurst began to be unveiled before the entire nation. The residents of Bensonhurst staged a counter demonstration, following the black protesters side by side on the pavements, shouting all the obscenities and vulgarities there are about African Americans, and divulging all their stereotypical social definitions of what they think black people are. Some in the crowd even raised whole green watermelons up in the air. While the black protesters were shouting "Yusuf, Yusuf", the white hecklers were shouting back "You Suck, You suck." They cursed and spat at the protesting black crowd, and a few among them referred to the black demonstrators as "porchmonkeys" that they must go back to Africa. This specter of hate and ugliness from Bensonhurst

residents reached the livingrooms of the entire nation by evening news time. The whole nation was appalled. Charges of Bensonhurst being a bastion of racists and bigots was quickly denied by the districts' prominent elected officials and major Italian American organizations. They asserted that Yusuf Hawkins' killing was an act of "stupid kids" in a case of "mistaken identity", as though the law allows for any "mistaken identity" killing at all.

The pressure from the black community on the District Attorney's office, then headed by Elizabeth Holtzman, was instrumental in changing and upgrading the earlier indictments against Keith Mondello and Pasquale Raucci. The black community also demanded that everyone involved in the incident that led to the killing should be indicted. The DA's office later came down with a new theory of "acting in concert" which enabled them to indict all the people who were deemed partially involved with the crime.⁵⁵ Under this new theory, James Patino and Charles Stressler were immediately added to the list of the culpable. By August 29, 1989, a new indictment was handed down by the grand jury against Keith Mondello, Pasquale Raucci and Steven Curreri. They were now charged with second degree murder, first degree rioting and a number of other minor charges. The prosecutors requested at the arraignment that since Mondello and Raucci were now being charged with murder, they should be remanded, but Judge Seymour Gerschwer refused to remand them. Mondello was out on \$100,000 bail while Raucci and Curreri were granted \$75,000 bail each. Curreri, however, was not charged

⁵⁵ *The "acting in concert" theory was first used by prosecutors in New York during the 1950s when New York was besieged by a series of gang wars which were resulting into a lot of murders.*

with murder but with other things.⁵⁶ The mood changed immediately in the black community. Emotions rose high and Sharpton and his movement decided that a march on the following Saturday in Bensonhurst to protest this action would be appropriate. This coincided with the date of the Feast of Santa Rosalia in Bensonhurst. The police could envision a very scary and tense situation in Bensonhurst if the march would take place that same Saturday. Every effort to dissuade Sharpton and his group from marching on that very day fell on deaf ears. The march took place as intended by the blacks. As usual, the specter was a replica of the first march. The white mob staged a counter demonstration disparaging blacks as being monkeys, and chanting "Niggers go home, Niggers go home." The black protesters were chanting "No justice No peace", No justice No peace."

More arrests were made later, including that of the gunman, Joseph Fama, who finally turned himself in to the police at Oneonta, New York, on the night of August 30, 1989. He was picked up and brought to New York City where he was indicted on August 31, 1989 for second degree murder, first degree rioting, and other petty charges. Thereafter, there were more protests from the black community any time they felt dissatisfied about on-going developments of the case. One of these marches, led by Sonny Carson, intended to shut down the Brooklyn Bridge during the rush hour resulted in a near riot by the black mob despite its leader's repeated call for calm. Tensions kept

⁵⁶ *The granting of bail to suspects charged with murder and the over all preferential treatment of the young white Bensonhurst defendants within the criminal justice system infuriated the Legal Aid attorneys. They immediately forwarded a protest note to the Chief Administrative Judge's office pointing to these procedural discrepancies and/or violations (see DeSantis 1991).*

building and ran through the 1989 mayoral elections and claimed a few political victims in the process.

Political Beneficiaries

The mobilization of the black community and the dismay of many whites over the Bensonhurst incident was translated into political empowerment in the 1989 mayoral election. David Dinkins was elected as the City's first African American mayor. Other beneficiaries included Elizabeth Holtzman, then the Brooklyn District Attorney, elected as the City's comptroller, and Charles J. Hynes (the special prosecutor in the Howard Beach case) who got elected as the Brooklyn District Attorney.

When Hynes took over the Brooklyn DA's office, among the cases waiting for his action was the Bensonhurst case. He inherited it along with the "acting in concert" theory laid out by Holtzman and her team. The Black community grew more nervous because they were afraid that things would get entangled and messed up because of the changes in the administration at the DA's office. Hynes took over by bringing in a lot of new people of his own, while retaining just a few former staff members of Holtzman. The leaders of the black community came up with allegations against Hynes that his newly hired Assistant District Attorneys (ADA) did not include enough African Americans, and demanded that he hire more African American lawyers to the ADA's positions or else they would withhold the cooperation of the surviving victims of the

Bensonhurst attack (Claude Stanford, Troy Banner, and Luther Sylvester). This tactic (which I call the “Maddox factor”) worked in the Howard Beach case, backfired in the Tawana Brawley’s case and now was tried again in the Bensonhurst case.⁵⁷ Again it did not work. The cooperation of the surviving three victims was not that necessary simply because they could not pick Joseph Fama, the main assailant, from a line-up at the 60th precinct; nor could they properly identify other perpetrators. Hynes therefore refused to cave in to Maddox, Sharpton, and their movement. He remained adamant and went on to prosecute the cases against the Bensonhurst defendants in his own style although slightly following Holtzman’s “acting in concert” theory. The outcome was a near disaster.

Other Trial Issues

Right from the beginning, the incident was classified as a bias crime based on the information police picked up from the Bensonhurst residents like Gina Feliciano and her

⁵⁷ *In the Howard Beach incident, a black man, Michael Griffith and two other friends, Sandiford and Grimes were chased by a dozen white men onto a busy highway (the Belt Parkway) in the Howard Beach section of Queens in which Griffith was struck and killed in December of 1986. In early negotiations before prosecution of the case, the Griffith family’s attorney Alton Maddox demanded that the then Queens District Attorney Santucci remove himself from the case to allow the Governor (then Mario Cuomo) to appoint a special prosecutor for the case. When Santucci refused, Maddox threatened that he would withhold the cooperation of the surviving victim with Santucci’s office. Realizing that Sandiford was a key witness to the incident that led to the death of Michael Griffith, the reluctant Governor Cuomo caved in to Maddox’s demand and appointed Charles J. Hynes as a special prosecutor. This development which greatly affected the outcome of the Howard Beach case is what I refer to as “the Maddox factor.” In the Tawana Brawley case, a 15-year-old black girl, Tawana Brawley was discovered on the lawn of an apartment complex in the Dutchess County village of Wappingers Falls, NY, wrapped in a trash bag with feces and racial slurs scrawled on her chest in November of 1987. According to Tawana, she was assaulted and raped by some white men. The story was found to be a hoax by a 23-member grand jury convened by the then New York State Attorney General, Robert Abrams.*

mother, Phyllis D'Agata. According to Gina and other neighborhood sources. Keith Mondello gathered some of his neighborhood friends together at a schoolyard (PS 205), not far away from where Yusuf was slain, normally used as a hang-out for the neighborhood gang, to defend himself from an anticipated "ass kicking" lesson to be taught him (Keith) by Gina Feliciano's black and Hispanic friends who were to attend her birthday party on the evening of that August 23, 1989 at Gina's house. Keith and his "posses" took the threat seriously and gathered baseball bats, golf clubs, and a few illegal guns. By 8:30 on the evening of August 23rd, some 30 members of the neighborhood gang including Keith Mondello gathered at the schoolyard waiting for Gina's friends (Glaberson 1990; DeSantis 1991). Among the schoolyard gathering that evening was a young black man, Russell Gibbons, who allegedly helped bring some of the baseball bats to the schoolyard. Gibbons' presence among the crowd at the schoolyard confounds the race factor in building the bias theory. (Incidentally, Russell Gibbons was one of the first among the group to be pointed out by the Bensonhurst residents as a participant in the incident. They did not hesitate to use him as a counter to the obvious racial aspect of the incident.)

The prosecutors also were confronted with one major problem in that they lacked a key witness around whom to build their case. Efforts to use John Vento, one of the accused, as a "turncoat" to testify against his friends for a lesser charge or immunity from prosecution did not succeed simply because Vento failed to keep his word and temporarily disappeared. He later refused the offer and was prosecuted just like the

others, but was acquitted on all the serious charges. The overall handling of the case by the DA's office was very shoddy. And at the end, most of the accused got away scot-free.

The prosecutors failed to gain a conviction of Joseph Fama on the second degree murder charges. In other words, they failed to place Fama at the scene with the gun and consequently the shooting of Yusuf Hawkins. The murder weapon itself was never found. Fama, therefore, was only convicted on "acting in concert" which carries the same term as the second degree murder conviction, 25 years to life. Keith Mondello and Pasquale Raucci were not convicted on the murder charges either. They were convicted of first degree riot, unlawful imprisonment, menacing, discrimination, and fourth degree criminal possession of a weapon. Yusuf's parents and the black community were outraged about the way the criminal justice system allowed the defendants in the Bensonhurst case to walk away almost free. A day of outrage protest in Bensonhurst was scheduled immediately by Sharpton and his movement.

On January 13, 1991 Sharpton and his group returned to Bensonhurst once again, this time to protest the acquittals of most of the defendants in the Hawkins' case. The main theme for this march was that the criminal justice system once again had let white perpetrators "fall through the cracks" easily. The slogan for that march, therefore, was to be "No justice, no peace. No justice, no peace." However, the march never fully materialized. As the protesters were getting ready to start the march and Sharpton was taking his usual position at the head of the march, despite the presence of police on the scene Bensonhurst showed its character once again to the American public. A young white man ran from the throng and stabbed Sharpton in his left chest, almost puncturing

his heart. Sharpton was rushed to Coney Island hospital where he was operated on and hospitalized for several days. So, as the order of things in Bensonhurst, what had began in a bloodshed on August 23, 1989, ended in blood again, still that of an African American, on January 13, 1991.

In this case study, I have shown the nature of the case, who the conflicting groups were, and the nature of the underlying pre-existing prejudices which generated the tension. I have illustrated the law enforcement's protocols regarding investigation and classification of the case as a bias, the prosecutorial aspects and the overall handling of the case within the criminal justice system. I have also shown the role of the media, pressure and even exploitation by the victim's racial/ethnic community and activists; and the revenge/backlash from the perpetrators' racial/ethnic community.

There is no doubt that the Bensonhurst gang took more interest in coming to the aid of Keith Mondello because of the racial character of the people involved. It is also clear that the Brevoort Houses in Bedford-Stuyvesant (where Yusuf Hawkins lived with his parents) have nothing in common with Bensonhurst except, the residents of the nearby Marlborough Houses which housed the area's minority population. It was the festering tension built over the years between the Bensonhurst residents and the nearby minority residents of the Marlborough projects that created the climate of hostility leading to the tragedy on that hot summer evening in 1989. It is important to note that the City's public schoolyards are also increasingly becoming ganglands and "hangouts" for people in advanced stages of arousal to participate in deviant and criminal behavior.

One was the setting for Yusuf Hawkins' slaying, and another in the killing of Julio Rivera in Queens in 1990 to which we now turn.

CHAPTER 8

JULIO RIVERA

Background

The schoolyard of PS 69 where Julio Rivera was slain in 1990 is located in the Jackson Heights section of Queens. As part of community district 3, Jackson Heights is predominantly white middle class neighborhood. Its quiet but burgeoning gay community and supporting institutions is perhaps the third largest in the City after those of Greenwich Village in Manhattan and Brooklyn's Park Slope.

The killing of Julio Rivera was one of the many anti-gay bias incidents that occurred in the City in recent years. The case did not get as much electronic media coverage as those of Yusuf Hawkins and Crown Heights because initially the police refused to classify it as a bias crime and it was not until intense pressure came to bear on the Police Department by the City's gay community that the case was re-classified. I have selected this case because of its uniqueness to the City's gay community, whose members today see Mr. Rivera as a gay martyr. Despite a few travesties of justice in the way the case was prosecuted, the gay community of the City felt for the first time that a clear message had gone out to the homophobes in the City that violence against the gay

and lesbian community will no longer be “fair game” for them. But the victory did not come without intense pressure from the gay community.

Julio Rivera was a bartender at a Queens gay club. Being gay himself, he was said to have been introduced to the theater, fashion, designer clothes and the rest of the good life, including drugs by the wealthy men whom he had met. It was the pursuit of these interests that finally lured him to his death by Skinheads on an early morning in Queens.

The Skinhead movement was reportedly on the rise in the City from the late 1980s through the 1990s, as it was elsewhere in the country (see earlier discussion in chapter two). The group DMS (for Doc Martens Skinheads), whose members killed Julio Rivera, was notorious, sometimes going by the name “Death Machine Skinheads” (CCHR 1993; Hoff 1997). As discussed earlier, they hate homosexuals along with other non-white groups.

The Event

On the morning of July 2, 1990, three members of the Queens Skinhead group DMS, Daniel Doyle, Esat Bici, and Eric Brown, decided that they wanted to beat up on somebody. In their own word, they wanted to “stretch some people out.” The three had just finished a party at Doyle’s home in the Jackson Heights section of Queens when they decided to go on the manhunt to find someone to beat just for the fun of it. With that in mind, around 2 a.m., they headed towards the schoolyard of PS 69, a popular

“hangout” spot for drug dealers as well as being a “cruising strip” for gay men. En route, the three men first checked out a shack sometimes occupied by homeless men and when they found no one inside, they set it afire before proceeding to the schoolyard. Seconds after they got to the schoolyard, they spotted Rivera coming down from the corner of 37th Avenue and 77th Street. Doyle and Bici at the time had their heads skin-shaven and decided that they might look threatening to Rivera, so they decided that Brown should go to lure Rivera to the darker side of the schoolyard where they could corner him and beat him up. Brown, the only one of the three who wore long hair at the time, approached Rivera and lured him under the pretext of drug and sex deals to the darker corner of the schoolyard as planned. Once there, Bici and Brown charged onto Rivera and started beating him with hammer and beer bottle. Seeing that Rivera did not appear weakened by the blows, Doyle pulled out his knife and stabbed Rivera in the back, then punched him in the face and kicked him in the stomach as he fell onto the concrete floor. The three men then fled the scene. Rivera died later that morning in the arms of his best friend, Alan Sack, who found him bleeding on the pavement of the schoolyard.

Here we see a typical modus operandi of people affiliated with hate groups in bias incidents. As I have already indicated in the analysis chapter, anti-gay aversions are best explained by the Classical Prejudice Model as illustrated in chapter one. The killing of Julio Rivera was a mindless act and lacked any rationality on the part of the three perpetrators. The only thing which is clear enough is that these young men were predisposed with hatred towards homosexuals. This predisposition to hate others without any rational material interest is the bedrock of major organized hate groups with which

the Skinhead movements are affiliated. The killing of Julio Rivera stemmed from plain prejudice of the three Skinheads, yet despite the evidence uncovered by the police, they initially refused to classify the case as an anti-gay bias incident.

Pressure From Gay Activism

The case was initially misconstrued as a drug-related homicide because police claimed to have found traces of drug in Rivera's body, compounded by the fact that the spot where he was slain was a known drug dealers' hangout. (They conveniently ignored the fact that the schoolyard was also a gay "cruising strip.") The police from the 115th precinct therefore refused to classify the case as a bias incident. It took tremendous pressure from the gay community before they finally reclassified the incident as one of bias. The bias nature of the case was also affirmed later on by the statements given to the prosecutors by Daniel Doyle, whom they succeeded in turning against the other two defendants in the case. This action alone was seen as a travesty by the gay community because in the event of prosecutors needing a "turn", the person accused of the lesser offense is the most eligible, but in this case, Doyle, the one who actually did the fatal stabbing, was accorded that privilege. Also at issue during the trial was the revelation that the judge presiding over the case, Justice Ralph Sherman, tried to talk defense lawyers into plea bargaining before the case went to the jury. The judge was also found violating his own rule that during the jury selection, he would not ask any of the potential

jurors questions relating to their sexual orientation. There was a great deal of outrage and indignation among Rivera's family and the gay community over these developments. The gay community responded to these and other issues by protest marches and staged candle-light vigils demanding justice for gays and lesbians within the criminal justice system. At one point, they staged an angry demonstration in front of Gracie Mansion, demanding that the case be classified as a bias incident, and also demanding better protection for the City's gay community.

Julio Rivera was seen by many within the City's gay community as a martyr even though his own life was not a good model. In his own Jackson Heights neighborhood, the gay community became invigorated and formed alliances with many of the City's gay advocacy groups that they had shunned in the past, to seek justice for Rivera and equal protection for the gay community (see Lorch 1991). According to Matt Foreman, executive director of the City's Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project, Rivera's case was very important for the gay community because it was the first of the anti-gay homicide cases to reach trial in the State Supreme Court and the convictions in the case sent a very positive and strong message, especially at the time when violence against homosexuals in the City was on the rise.

During the trial, the main assailant, Daniel Doyle, testified against the other two defendants, Eric Brown and Esat Bici who were accused of "acting in concert" with Doyle leading to the death of Rivera. Both Brown and Bici were convicted in the State Supreme Court in Queens of second degree murder and criminal possession of weapons on November 20, 1991. They were later sentenced to 25 years to life. Doyle, although

the main assailant, pleaded guilty to manslaughter and received an 8 1/3 years jail term. A final vigil by the gay rights groups was staged at the schoolyard on the night following the verdict to show to the homophobes that violence against gays and lesbians in the City would no longer go unpunished.

In this case, it is apparent that hate was the reason for the killing, and Rivera died solely because of his sexual orientation. The setting, just as in the Bensonhurst incident, was a public schoolyard. It is also clear that without pressure from the gay rights groups of the City, the killers of Julio Rivera might not have received their just punishment from the system. It was only through the immense pressure from the City's gay community that the police reluctantly reclassified the incident as a bias crime in the first place, thereby ensuring greater fairness from the criminal justice system of the State. After the guilty verdict, Matt Foreman spoke of what the gay community was up against in the criminal justice system: "We are not used to victories. I was prepared to talk about losing the case. I wasn't prepared to talk about winning." (New York Times, November 21, 1991, p. B4) This is how unexpected the verdict in Julio Rivera's case was to the gay community, and therefore, shows the importance of gays and lesbians' vigils in pursuit of justice for the homosexuals within the system.

CHAPTER 9

CROWN HEIGHTS

Background

Many factors led to the explosive situation between blacks and Jews in Crown Heights that began on the evening of August 19, 1991. There had been a stockpile of animosity and tension stretching from the early 1960s when blacks, especially of West Indian origins, started integrating the neighborhoods of Crown Heights. The district was by then predominantly middle class Jewish including the Lubavitcher sect of Hasidim.⁵⁸ As blacks began to integrate, many Jews started to move out. There were a lot of blockbusting tactics from realtors scaring Jewish homeowners about the perils of black integration and the changing neighborhoods which would drive the quality of life and property values down and thus, the imperatives of selling their houses early for a good return on their investments. In contrast to more assimilated Jews, the Lubavitchers felt compelled to stay, despite the fact that the neighborhoods had changed dramatically, because their world headquarters is located in Crown Heights and the cost of relocation might be beyond their means. According to Bobo and Hutchings, groups that faced this

⁵⁸ *The Lubavitchers are a highly orthodox sect of Judaism with roots from a town now in Russia called Luvbavichi. As part of the Hasids originating from mid-18th century Poland, the Lubavitchers hold that all Jews (pious or ungodly) have a level of good and evil in their souls, but gentiles are not given to any good at all, that the good that they do is based on rational self interest only, therefore, even their kindness is nothing but sinful. Their leader, the late Menachem Schneerson was considered by his followers as the Messiah on earth.*

type of situation (as explained in the rational Self-Interest model) would fight the “invading” group in defense of their neighborhoods and cultural interests.

By the early 1990s, the district had changed completely from being predominantly Jewish to having a black majority, from neighborhood to neighborhood, except a few blocks stretching from Schenectady Avenue on the North to about Bedford Avenue on the South, and Eastern Parkway on the West to Empire Boulevard on the East that remain occupied by Lubavitchers who preferred to stay in order to be closer to their world headquarters. Thus rather than having assimilated Jewish neighbors, the Lubavitchers became surrounded by a culturally diverse ethnic group of blacks (mostly from the West Indies interspersed with African Americans) who are totally different from them physically, culturally, and religiously. Compounding these factors is the theological belief held by the Lubavitchers that gentiles have no virtue or goodness in them and that they have nothing in common, thus they should have nothing to do with them. Given this theological underpinning, we have two communities sharing the same space but living in two different worlds which are diametrically opposed to each other.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ *The Rev. Canon Heron A. Sam in an interview with the Amsterdam News stated that “One of the first acts I undertook upon assuming office was to write a letter to Rabbi Menachem Schneerson, the spiritual leader of the Hasidic Jewish community informing him of my appointment to St. Mark’s Church. At the same time I pledged to him my commitment to cooperation for a strong and healthy community in which peace and coexistence would be realizable objectives. His reply was a very curt note, hand written, in which he said **our communities had nothing in common and there is no need for us to meet**” (Amsterdam News, Saturday, August 31, 1991, p. 9, 82:35). Just days after the incident to be detailed below, the same Rev. Sam was invited by Channel Two for a television discussion together with Rabbi Abba Paltiel, a Lubavitcher, on issues relating to Crown Heights. Rabbi Paltiel visibly refused in front of the television audience to sit next to Rev. Sam in the studio. Such attitudes are typical of the Lubavitchers towards their black neighbors and greatly contributed to the tensions in Crown Heights.*

Indeed, there are some elements of truth in the realtors' blockbusting scare tactics. After blacks moved in, the neighborhoods became congested⁶⁰, services went down, landlords began to neglect their buildings, crime and other problems began to increase and the quality of life in the district plunged. The remaining Jews who could not move out sought ways to salvage their community and improve quality of life for themselves. A Hasidic private surveillance patrol group was formed. Anti-poverty organizations such as the Crown Heights Jewish Community Council were formed to work towards revitalization. By the early 1990s Crown Heights consisted of the middle class and the poor, black and Jewish; but the overwhelming majority of the poor were black.

Against increasing charges from the Lubavitcher community that blacks were bringing crime and deviance cultures into their neighborhoods, blacks countered with charges of harassment and illegal searches and interrogations from the Hasidim's' private security patrol forces, as well as aggressive solicitations by Hasidim to black homeowners to sell their homes. There were charges and counter charges of beatings and unfair treatments from both groups. There were inequities cited on both sides, but more so by blacks, on political and economic issues such as their relationships with government, distribution of goods and services, redistricting and control of local school board by Hasidim (although they do not send their children to public schools). Typically, blacks also complain that the Lubavitchers are favored over them by police in parking

⁶⁰ *While it might be true that Hasidim have higher birth rates than blacks, the blacks in Crown Heights are mostly of immigrant composition who bunk up in crowded apartments with their extended families. This is the way most immigrants help their relatives just arriving from their country of origin until they are able to stand on their own. Crown Heights became congested mainly as the result of this immigrant factor rather than the birth rate.*

rights and police protection, including the one given to their leader's escort entourage and their headquarters despite the constitutional issues of separation of church and state.⁶¹

Other elements which contributed to the building up of tensions between the two communities were some of the actions and rhetoric of local activists such as Sonny Carson, Al Sharpton, and Mordechai Levy. In the 1970s, Sonny Carson and his followers raised awareness of the black residents of Crown Heights about inequalities in the way the anti-poverty funds allocated to the district were distributed. There were errors in his calculation but the black residents preferred to ignore this and became more suspicious and angry at the Hasidim and their anti-poverty organizations. There were a lot of upheavals over this issue, and it left an indelible mark on blacks' perception in regard to inequities in distribution of the district's scarce resources (see Stern 1991). From there on, the Lubavitchers were not to be trusted any longer by blacks and vice versa. Tensions continue to grow, suspicions between the two communities increased and each group remained at an edge with the other. Every minor incident in the community was readily decided on both sides in terms of favoritism, inequity, racism or anti-Semitism. These dispositions led to the eruption on the evening of August 19, 1991 which came to be known as "Crown Heights."

⁶¹ *In July of 1978, under political pressure, Mayor Koch finally terminated the stationing of a patrol car in front of the Lubavitcher headquarters on Eastern Parkway and Kingston Avenue. Nonetheless, the police escort service continues for their leader.*

The Incident

The Grand Rebbe Menachem M. Schneerson, leader of the Lubavitcher sect, was returning from his weekly visit to his wife's grave in Queens on August 19, 1991 with his motorcade, when at about 8:20 p.m. one of the cars in his motorcade ran a red light at the corner of Utica Avenue and President Street and collided with an oncoming vehicle. The car, a blue colored station wagon being driven by an escort-trainee, Yosef Lifsh, (accompanied by two trainers, Yakov and Levi Spielman) veered off the street onto the sidewalk and killed a seven-year-old Gavin Cato, while seriously injuring his cousin Angela. Both were playing on the sidewalk in front of their apartment building and Gavin allegedly was fixing his bicycle chain at the time. It was not clear whether or not Gavin was killed instantly. Nonetheless, the two children were seen by their neighbors to be bleeding, the blood mixed with liquids leaking from the crashed car's battery and radiator.

A few minutes later, a Hatzolah ambulance (a private ambulance service operated by the Hasidim) arrived on the scene looking for the injured. At the same instant, a city ambulance had arrived on the scene and was taking care of the two black children. The police, knowing full well the atmosphere at the time and the general climate of the neighborhood, ordered the Hatzolah crew to take care of the injured Hasid driver, Yosef, and to get him out of the place before a mob turned on him. The Hatzolah crew did that quickly and drove Yosef away. The situation was instantaneously fitted into the usual

preferential treatment perception in Crown Heights by the onlooking crowd which was mostly black. They accused both the police and the Hatzolah crew of preferential treatment in leaving the two young black children on the sidewalk while moving the Hasidim to quick medical attention. The news spread like wild fire and almost all the black residents went up in arms. Terror gripped the entire neighborhood. Black teenage groups went on the rampage. Within few minutes, Crown Heights was on fire; patrol cars were trashed, police officers attacked, Yeshiva vans set afire, bottles were flying and glass was shattering all over. Black youths were shouting "get the Jews, get the Jews" as they roamed the neighborhoods, beating any Caucasian-looking person and Jews in particular. About three hours after the accident, and just few blocks away a Hasid scholar, Yankel Rosenbaum, visiting from Australia, was driving by in his car. Rosenbaum was stopped by a pack of angry youngsters who were shouting "get the Jew, get the Jew." He was then assaulted, and stabbed on both sides of his body around the chest and left bleeding on the hood of his automobile. A day later, Lemrick Nelson, 16 years old and another 15-year-old were arrested and later charged. The rest of the pack of youth who "acted in concert" with Lemrick and his co-defendant escaped justice because the police could not get any lead as to who they were and where they lived. Rosenbaum died a day later at the hospital amid the accusations within the Hasidic community of not receiving adequate medical attention at the Kings County Hospital. The black community and the Jewish community in the City as a whole became very angry over the deaths of Gavin Cato and Yankel Rosenbaum respectively. Blacks were attacking every Caucasian looking person surfacing in Crown Heights, including the

representatives of the media, government, and human rights organizations. Jimmy Breslin, then a Newsday reporter, was reportedly beaten and stripped bare of his clothes as he was getting out of a yellow cab at the scene of the riot. The Hasidim, on the other hand, were attacking every suspect group of black teenagers in the neighborhoods. For more than three days the situation in Crown Heights was chaotic. This was exacerbated by the emergence of the self-appointed leaders and spokespersons of the two communities who traded charges, threats, and rumors against each other's group.

Activists and Rumor Circulation

In the midst of the hostilities, the police were caught in the middle because each community was charging them with serving only the interests of the other. Rumors were being speedily disseminated from the self-appointed leaders of both communities.

Hours into the first night of the riot, the Hasidic community started accusing the police of not responding quickly enough to the violence, therefore failing to protect Jewish lives and properties in the neighborhood. Rumors were disseminated by the Hasidic leadership that the 77th precinct received orders from then-mayor David Dinkins not to take any action nor intervene with the riot immediately, because the Mayor did not want to upset the black community of Crown Heights. The Hasidim demanded that both the Mayor and his police commissioner Lee Brown be investigated. (Mayor Dinkins was cleared of these allegations by a state report issued on July 20, 1993.) Meanwhile, the leader of the Jewish Defense Organization, Mordechai Levy, spread the rumor that if the

driver of the car that killed Gavin Cato was not arrested by 4:00 p.m. the following day. **blacks were going to start shooting Jews in Crown Heights.** Mordechai allegedly volunteered some of the members of his violent underground group to go to Crown Heights to counter the imminent Jewish bloodbath.

The black community on the other hand became enraged that no concern or sympathy was shown over the death of Gavin Cato especially by the Hasidim, and launched their own attacks and rumors.

Led by the activists Sonny Carson, Al Sharpton, C. Vernon Mason, and Alton Maddox, the blacks also manufactured their own rumors and issued their own threats. Embittered over the arrest of Lemrick Nelson and the 15-year old youth, **they alleged that Yosef Lifsh was an unlicensed driver and was drunk while driving the car.** In a news conference, they demanded that Yosef be arrested and charged with the murder of Gavin Cato by 4:00 p.m., or else, **they would make a citizen arrest and bring Yosef to justice** (but not shooting of Jews in Crown Heights as alleged by Mordechai). As “4:00 p.m., 4:00 p.m.” became part of the chant among the black crowd, they made charges that the police were arresting only black rioters while Jewish offenders were being gently escorted to their synagogue.

While these hostilities were going on, a few politicians and community leaders obviously detested the ugliness of the approach of the activists and the self-appointed leaders on both sides. Behind the scene, conscientious leaders worked for solutions to the violence and for ways to bring the two communities to mutually accepting each other in a peaceful coexistence. As the result of these efforts, in time basketball leagues and

other cultural activities were initiated between the two communities. Indeed, on the following Caribbean Americans' Labor Day parade, a few members of the Hasid leadership marched with blacks in the celebration of the carnival.

Lemrick Nelson was acquitted on October 29, 1992 in a state court, prompting further outrage from the Jewish community. However, he was later arrested again and charged with federal violation of Rosenbaum's civil rights on August 11, 1994, and on February 10, 1997, Nelson and his co-defendant Price were finally convicted on federal civil rights charges. Had there been no pressure from the Hasidim and other Jewish leaders, even the civil rights convictions would not have been consummated, and all the people responsible for the death of Yankel Rosenbaum would have continued to be at large.

The question, however, is, whether or not blacks normally react over vehicular manslaughter cases the way they did in Crown Heights. The answer is emphatically no. First, the Crown Heights case was unique, given the contrast between the two groups who live in the closest proximity of each other and compounded by the religious attitudes of the Hasidim towards their black neighbors. Both the politicians and the media failed to assess the gravity of these factors, instead only castigating the black community of Crown Heights for having the disposition to riot.

Blacks did not always react towards accidents in the ways as manifested in the Crown Heights incident. In 1986, a black man was beaten to death by a group of six white men in the Coney Island section of Brooklyn, after the bicycle he was riding accidentally ran into their automobile. There was no riot by blacks. These men were

convicted and sentenced up to twenty-five-year jail term (DeSantis 1991). However, there is also the perception within the black community that too many blacks had been killed as a result of racial bias incidents, from the choking to death of the subway graffiti artist Michael Stewart, the police shooting to death of a Harlem grandmother, Eleanor Bumpers, the killing of the New York City Transit Authority bus driver Willie Turks in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn, and the murder of Michael Griffith in Howard Beach, Queens (all in the 1980s). And then came the (accidental) killing of Gavin Cato by a Hasid. However, in this case it was the race and group affiliation of the person behind the wheel of the car rather than any criminal bias that incited the rioters and the protesters in Crown Heights.

Since then, Crown Heights has become the epitome of African American and Jewish relations in the nation and has left an indelible mark on the way the two communities perceive each other thereafter. For Jews across the nation, the ugly specter of some black demonstrators chanting “Heil Hitler, Heil Hitler” and carrying signs that castigated Hitler for “not finishing the job” during World War II, was seen as a betrayal by the black community with which they had formed allies and fought for justice during the civil rights era. Blacks on the other side of the divide, hearing the Hasidim using derogatory words like “niggers”, “monkeys”, etc. time and again and during the riots, put the Jews in the same category of the larger white establishment which had for so long oppressed and deprived them of their basic human and civil rights. Indeed, the communities of Crown Heights were torn apart by the violence that emanated from the accident on the evening of August 19, 1991. Barely four years after the Crown Heights

incident. the few bridges built between the two communities were torn apart again by another explosive incident (this time in Harlem, discussed in chapter ten below) in which a Jewish establishment called "Freddy's" was burned down by an African American.

CHAPTER 10

FREDDY'S CLOTHING STORE IN HARLEM

Background

Harlem's 125th Street commercial strip has always been attractive to many haberdashers and street vendors because of its vibrant street life and the buying power of its residents. White, Jewish, and Korean merchants have always scrambled for the Harlem market because they flourish there through the residents' patronage (New York Times, December 14, 1995 p. B1). But the struggle to survive in this market has set most of the participants against each other, thus creating a very tense and hostile atmosphere among the regular merchants and the street vendors on the entire commercial strip.

The regular merchants on the 125th Street complained that the street vendors take business away from them; that these street vendors do not pay rent or taxes and therefore are eroding the tax base of the area. With this argument, the merchants have exerted pressure on the local politicians and City Hall to take some action against the street vendors. According to Bill Griffin, Supervising Inspector of the Department of

Consumer Affairs (DCA) peddlers' squad. the 125th Street commercial strip is off-limit to even licensed vendors under the City's ordinance. The street vendors on the other hand argued that because of the uniqueness of Harlem, coupled with the high unemployment rate of the area, Harlem should be left alone with respect to the enforcement of the City's vendor regulations, because enforcement would just take the livelihoods away from a lot of people and impoverish them further. This argument from the vendors was heeded by the Dinkins' administration to some extent, and he formed a task force to work out peaceful solutions to the problem. At the center of this task force, negotiating on behalf of the vendors, was the leader of the 125th Street Vendors Association, Morris Powell. As it happened, a solution was never reached before Dinkins left office.

When Rudolph Giuliani took over in 1994 as the mayor, after barely four months in office he sent police officers together with the Department of Consumer Affairs inspectors to clean up the vendors from the entire 125th Street commercial strip without first notifying concerned community leaders. A new area on 116th Street and Malcolm X Boulevard was designated for use by the street vendors. The result of the sweep was financially very devastating to a lot of people, including Roland Smith, the assailant in the Freddy's Clothing Store incident. The vendors lost their merchandise as well as their lucrative vending spots. Most of the displaced vendors, including Morris Powell, became embittered towards the Giuliani administration and the store owners on 125th Street. Powell attempted organizing a "buy black only" boycott against store owners of other races on 125th Street by leafleting the area with fliers urging blacks not to buy from

them. But the attempted boycott failed. The situation was a powder keg waiting to explode when Freddy's expansion interest arose in the Fall of 1995.

The Event

For about 25 years, Fred Harari, a Jewish merchant on 125th Street, had sublet part of his storefront to an African American, Sikhulu Shange, who used the premises as a record shack where he sold records, tapes, and other musical accessories. Harari himself leased the entire premises, 272-274 West 125th Street, from the United House of Prayer for All People, a church organization which owned the building. Harari operated one side of the premises, 272 West 125th Street as a department store, doing business as "Freddy's", and sublet 274 West 125th Street to Shange. Towards the ending of the Summer of 1995, Harari decided he needed more space to expand his business, and therefore notified Shange that he would not renew his lease when it expired the following December 31st. The embittered Shange challenged Harari that he had been in business for so long at that location that it would be devastating for him to relocate. When Harari insisted, Shange took the matter to Morris Powell, the leader of the Harlem Vendors' Association. Powell interpreted the situation immediately as resulting from the actions of Mayor Giuliani and his Police Department which had earlier swept vendors (mostly African Americans) off the 125th Street commercial strip and now appeared to be trying to shut down black businesses as well in Harlem. Powell contacted Al Sharpton to employ some of his "creative confrontational" styles to stave off the eviction of Shange

from his record shack. They agreed on staging protest marches and picketing of Freddy's until Harari relinquished his demand. Powell, Sharpton, and Shange took to the airwaves to get the news out and rally the black support for Shange and their general course. At variable times and dates, these activists made various racially charged statements on WWRL-AM radio. According to tapes submitted to the New York Times by the Jewish Action Alliance, Sharpton was taped saying the following on WWRL-AM radio on September 9, 1995:

There is a suspended and methodical strategy to eliminate our people from doing business off 125th Street. It started with the vendors. Now they are going to the actual merchants....

I want to make it clear to the radio audience and to you here that **we will not stand by and allow them to move this brother so that some white interloper can expand his business on 125th Street.**

We are asking the "buy black" committee to go down there, and I'm going to go down there and do what is necessary to let them know that we are not turning 125th Street back over to the outsiders that was done in the early part of this century....

This is a sin and a shame and a disgrace and we should not under any circumstances sit by and allow this to happen without a major reaction and major protest from us.

The embittered ex-vendor population, most whom were left without jobs after the "Giuliani sweep", readily joined the Sharpton-Morris coalition and began a series of protests and picketing of Freddy's. As the deadline was approaching for termination of Shange's lease the pickets intensified and became a daily routine, leaning towards violence. The protesters were shouting all kinds of vulgarities filled with racial slurs and anti-Semitic overtones. Some of them reportedly suggested looting Freddy's and burning down the premises. As time went on, some of the protesters clearly emerged as

“regulars” on the picket lines. and many people in the area have identified Roland Smith as one of the “regulars” who was often fired up with the most rage.

As the protest entered the month of December, Harari felt that it had turned completely into a series of mini riots and countless confrontations with customers who were willing to cross the boycott picket lines, as well as with store employees. The store’s security guard Kareem Brunner, a black Guyanese, was repeatedly threatened and called disparaging names like “cracker lover” and “a traitor to his race.” Pickets shouted “Burn down the Jew store and its employees and customers” (see Sexton 1995). Protesters often referred to Harari as “bloodsucking Jew”, “Jew bastard”, and “kill the Jew.”

Seeing how threatening the protest had become, Harari went to court to get a restraining order against the protesters. In his statement to the court, Harari indicated the imminent danger that his employees and customers faced as the chances of physical attacks and threats to burn down the store had increased. All these pleas to the court were unheeded until after “the hour” of Roland Smith had passed.

On December 8, 1995, few minutes after noon, the 51-year old Roland Smith, an ex-vendor on 125th Street, entered Freddy’s with a .38-caliber revolver. As he did so, he ordered all black people out of the store, and pulled out his revolver and began shooting all Caucasian looking people. He then turned to the Guyanese security guard and shot him, too, before setting the store on fire. (Smith reportedly shot himself fatally during the blaze.) In all, eight people including Smith himself, died. The whole City was shocked and horrified by the incident.

The main culprits in the tragedy were clearly the activists who organized the demonstrations and set the hateful tones along with them for the mob to follow. But other critics blamed the Mayor's intransigent approach to the vendor issues in Harlem, and the way the protests at the Freddy's were handled (see Barrett 1995; Ards 1995). There was also an element of insensitivity on the part of the Police Department towards Freddy's, in that for more than three months the police failed to properly assess the mood of the angry protesters and provide adequate protection for all parties involved in the dispute. In the past, angry protests were always accompanied by behind-the-scene conflict resolution efforts by community organizations and the City's Human Rights Commission. In fact, all protest marches used to be monitored by assigned staff of Commission on Human Rights. In the Bensonhurst incident in 1989, for instance, a temporary station was set up in the neighborhood by the Commission where for several months a number of assigned field office directors and staff reported directly. Such was also the case during the Crown Heights incident in 1991. But all such programs were drastically reduced due to policy revision when Giuliani took office as the mayor of the City.

In community district 10 where the incident took place, during the month of December alone, bias incidents in the district rose to an all time high of 12 incidents, thus raising the overall yearly total also to a record high of 14 incidents.⁶² As we have seen in the Bensonhurst, Crown Heights and Freddy's incidents, they have all displayed common characteristics. First, the tragedy sparks further bias incidents within the

⁶²*Of the 14 incidents recorded for community district 10 in Harlem in 1995, 4 were anti-Semitic, 5 were racial anti-white, 4 were racial anti-black and 1 was racial anti-Asian.*

community in which it occurs: second, it conjures up groups' activism which lead to actions and reactions from the affected groups and from the communities at large. In Freddy's we have seen how economic interests (as explained in the Simple Self-Interest theory in chapter one) generated conflicts which led to the tragedy. We have seen the protocols and slowness of the justice system in handling exigencies, and the failure of the police to accurately assess the gravity of events preceding the conflagration. I have demonstrated the role of many of the same activists and the media in precipitating the tensions which led to the violence on December 8, 1995 as had been true of the earlier incidents. These are the dynamics which guide major bias incidents in the City of New York.

From these case studies, one can accept as a conclusion the statement drawn by the Governor's Task Force that "a single incident can be the tragedy of a lifetime to its victim and may be the spark that rends and disrupts an entire community."

PART V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Part five deals with the conclusions drawn from the data analysis in terms of theoretical validation or revision; suggesting the policy implications of new ways in which bias crimes should be defined, and making recommendations for fighting bias by looking at selected community conflict resolution models.

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSIONS

Prejudice is a universal problem. It is always at work in all of us but very often we tend to reject its existence within us while we readily point the finger at another person, group, or race. In the literature review I identified and delineated the major roots of hate and drawn on the dogmatism of the ideologies of hate groups. Both black and white extremists have proven to be equally vested with high potency of hatred towards people different from them.

The hate groups set the climate and provide the stereotypes about each group they perceive as the enemy, with their hatred towards the out-groups mostly based on these predispositions and stereotypes. These stereotypes and ideologies are quite often adopted by other people who do not necessarily have the disposition to hate but act in a response to safeguard their own rational interests or find some inspirations in the rhetoric of the organized hate groups. As indicated in the findings chapter, plain prejudice (which is explained by the Classical Prejudice theory) was the primary reason for the majority of the hate crimes, especially in anti-Semitic and anti-gay incidents. Forty percent of the anti-Semitic incidents could be directly linked to organized hate group activities, while 24% are linked to rhetoric originating from hate groups “ethnopluralism”, with another 25% involving hate literature similar to those usually propagated by organized hate groups. Although only 3% of the racial incidents could be directly related to organized hate group activities, about 28% contained rhetoric identifiable with organized hate groups, and 13% involved hate literature associated with organized hate groups. Anti-gay incidents follow the same pattern as racial incidents, with about 29% involving hate rhetoric/epithets and 8% hate literature. Second in order of the expressed reasons by perpetrators for their hateful acts is economic, social, or cultural interests. That is, people from one group act in a hateful manner towards members of other groups mainly because the perpetrator(s) perceive a level of threat or competition. This is explained by the Self-Interest theory delineated in chapter one. The social categories which often define the in-group/out-group parameters are: race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, gender, and sexual orientation.

Based on the data and the analysis, I can conclude that bias incidents fester in environments where there are preexisting stereotypes and visible in-group/out-group antagonisms. The out-group must be visible and identifiable enough to the in-group and there must be sufficient interaction between these groups to foster conflict. The principal theory which explains most aspects of these conflicts is the Classical Prejudice Model as explained in chapter one. This is followed by the Simple Self-Interest model, especially in racial bias incidents. Both the Classical Prejudice theory and Simple Self-Interest theory are therefore relevant to the explanation of racial bias incidents. Anti-Semitic and anti-gay incidents are better explained by the Classical Prejudice theory alone than the Self-Interest theory. It is my conclusion that no general theory emerges as the explanation for bias crimes but the greatest factor that promotes bias incidents in the City is forced interaction; and that it is stronger when race is an element in the context.⁶³ Policymakers believe that putting people of diverse racial or ethnic backgrounds together in close proximity under the context of integration can help improve understanding among these varying groups. This is based on the assumption that people will be naturally accommodating towards their neighbors and will also be drawn into learning positive things about each other. It was this myth that undergirds the decision to place low income multiple dwelling public housing projects in certain white middle class neighborhoods like the Malborough Houses in Gravesend-Bensonhurst in Brooklyn, and the College Point Apartments in Flushing, Queens. Areas contiguous to these spots and

⁶³ *The FBI Hate Crime Statistics Report 1992 and 1993 consecutively indicated that when considering the nature and category of racial bias crimes, 9 out of every 10 white offenders identified were involved with anti-black offenses, conversely, 9 of every 10 black offenders were also connected with anti-white offenses.*

numerous similarly situated projects turned out to be some of the bias incident “hot spots” in the City. The fact that these kinds of housing units tend to attract low income people and minorities creates a total mis-match of people in these neighborhoods, resulting in festering race and class-based hostilities because the residents are forced into some sort of interaction over usage of neighborhood facilities and resources. It is clear that if the policy is to integrate neighborhoods demographically, then bias control policies should also be firmly instituted before anything else, because forced interactions are bound to occur when people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds vie for the neighborhood’s resources: hostilities will emanate from these sorts of interactions. But if the policymakers put a premium on controlling bias instead, then mechanisms to minimize forced interactions among the diverse groups and class must be fervently sought. They should include avoiding the placement of low income multi-family housing units in predominantly white and/or middle class neighborhoods. But this alternative also has some disadvantages. Isolating the poor by placing low income housing units within minority neighborhoods alone creates hyper-segregation in these neighborhoods, which then become the nesting places for various deviant behaviors.⁶⁴ Children raised in these hyper-segregated environments grow up with a great deal of cultural deficits which affect them later. The failure of this policy is depicted by the recent demolishing of such housing complexes in cities like Chicago, Newark, Boston, and St Louis because they created hyper-segregation and its related problems.

⁶⁴ *This type of hyper-segregation, according to Massey and Denton, is responsible for the emergence of an underclass which is predominantly black and its relationship to welfare, crime, illegitimacy and the whole cycle of dependency.*

The data do not fully support the hypothesis that bias crimes are committed mostly by youths in what seems to be part of the general youth-on-youth violence. This is due in part to the lack of adequate information on the perpetrators. However, the fact that the multiple modes shown by the data point to 15 and 17-year-olds and that the overwhelming majority of perpetrators on whom information was available were between the ages of 14 to 25 years suggest that young people are more likely to commit bias crimes than adults. Besides, the young have the tendency to “hang out” more and longer than the adults and therefore are more likely to go looking for any strange “others” in their neighborhoods as well as deliberately traveling to other neighborhoods looking for trouble. This had been the case in the Crown Heights, Bensonhurst, and Julio Rivera incidents as illustrated in the case studies. This is not a unique New York situation. Bias crimes are generally committed across the nation by mostly young people (Levin 1992; Garofalo and Martin 1993; CCHR 1993).

Visibility is another factor that tends to promote bias against groups in the City. For African Americans, their skin color is the most revealing about them and also the most potent object of hate. The black skin color fits into negative social stereotypes in the western world mainly because of years of European colonization of Africa in general and the consequent enslavement of its people in the Americas.

Jewish vulnerability under the visibility theory stems from the way Jews dress (i.e., wearing the prayer shawls and yarmulkes) and distinctions made on their properties and institutions such as mezuzah on their door frames, a Succoth prayer house in front of their homes, or symbols and inscriptions on the walls of their institutions and

establishments. These serve as magnets to the anti-Semite because they are indicative of who the residents are. At times, people's identities are also revealed through their names, especially their surnames. According to the CCHR, in 1992, a series of threatening letters were sent to residents of Queens and Manhattan with German sounding last names (see CCHR'S Documenting the Hate, 1993). In the summer of the same year, anti-Semitic hate mail in the form of restaurant menus threatening and disparaging Jews were sent to the City's major Jewish institutions and establishments. These forms of hate are mostly the acts of people who have the disposition to hate others whom they perceive to be different from their group, without any rational interest. Other forms of anti-Semitism in the City are embodiments of simple self interest. In places like Crown Heights and Williamsburg where hostilities exist among Jews, African Americans and Hispanics, the antagonisms are rooted in the rational objective interests of members of these groups and are promoted by the prevalence of forced or involuntary interactions among them.

Within the gay community of the City, homosexuals are more of a target where they are visible. This is not to say gays are more visible than racial and ethnic groups but it means a gay person is more likely to be victimized when he or she "comes out of the closet", displays gay mannerisms openly, or associates with other gays in gay communities, institutions and establishments. Just as males are generally more the victims of bias crimes, gay men are brutalized in the attacks more than are lesbians. Most anti-gay actions in the City are premeditated and lacked any rational material interest, therefore fitting in the Classical Prejudice Model of hatred. The majority of the

anti-gay incidents occur in known gay communities and are perpetrated by people who travel from elsewhere to these communities in order to attack them. This is very unique to gay communities only because other bias perpetrators do not typically travel to other groups' enclaves in order to carry out their hateful acts against them. It is an euphemism among youths with homophobic dispositions to go "queer bashing." It was this very disposition that moved Daniel Doyle , Esat Bici, and Eric Brown to go gay hunting, leading to the brutal murder of Julio Rivera in a Queens schoolyard.

Since these data were collected, however, bias crimes in the City are reportedly on the rise, dramatically, despite the fact that other crimes have been going down (BITU, March 1997 Quarterly report). This can be attributed in part to the Giuliani administration's policy revisions from that of a proactive to a reactive approach since he took office. The reactive approach puts no premium on efforts towards preventing bias and bringing people together in the City but only tries to solve bias problems after they have occurred. We have seen the results at Freddy's. There are good models from community based organizations which policymakers can explore. The Baltimore County police department is one example which police agencies across the country must try to emulate (Garofalo and Martin 1993; Skidmore 1997). Its approach and those of many other community based organizations are discussed in the following recommendations section.

CHAPTER 12

RECOMMENDATIONS

There are a lot of grounds left uncovered by this study simply because of the complexities involved with the issues surrounding bias incidents in the City. However, this study has brought to light the major patterns that have shaped bias incidents in the City over the five-year period under study and the underlying theories which best explain these patterns. Future studies may want to focus solely on one type of incident at a time for the purpose of covering every pertinent issue on it in-depth. There are other areas that may be of interest to future researchers on hate crimes. These include specific legislative measures in a single jurisdiction and their effect on bias incidents in that jurisdiction; how handling of hate crimes in the criminal justice system (i.e., from special police bias unit through a special prosecutor) affects further occurrence of bias incidents in a jurisdiction; and a survey of victims on post-incident feelings and needs as a hate crime victim. Inclusion of data on rape and sexual harassment when females are the typical victims might provide interesting comparisons on a precinct basis.

The first step in dealing with bias incidents is for administration and law enforcement agencies overseeing the various jurisdictions to adopt a proactive approach in fighting bias. That is, they should institute mechanisms which will create a more tension-free environment in the various neighborhoods, and show no tolerance for people

who attempt to impose their bigoted ways on others. The Baltimore County Police Department's approach is excellent in this regard. It uses a community-oriented approach in dealing with its bias incidents. Its aim is not centered around apprehending the bias crime perpetrators only, but is more concentrated on identifying the trouble spots where intergroup tensions seem to be festering so that it can intervene early and ease tensions in those communities before they explode into tragedies. This proactive approach turns the Baltimore police department into a community conflict resolution agency trying to bring groups together to peacefully coexist with each other, in addition to fighting crimes. New York City's Bias Incident Investigation Unit (BIIU) employs a different approach, which is centered more on solving bias crimes than on community reparation work. Such work is left to the City's Commission on Human Rights through its Community Relations Bureau (which as we have seen has been greatly reduced in size and hence in efficacy) and a host of other community based conflict resolution organizations. The NYPD-BIIU needs to integrate its current reactive approach with these more proactive models of fighting bias. In a city of this nature, the more public agencies with a lot of power and respect get involved in fighting bias and in community reparation work, the more credence it lends to the course and efforts of those at the community based level who are feverishly searching for peace and harmony among all people. Further, such efforts are more likely to be coordinated if BIUU is involved.

The second most important step is greater willingness of jurisdictions to classify incidents with the slightest suspicion of bias as bias incidents and be investigated accordingly. Julio Rivera's case makes a perfect example in this instance. Had it not

been for tremendous pressure from the gay community, the case would never have been deemed a bias crime by the police and probably the prosecutorial outcome would have been different. Broadening the classification requirements can also be encouraging to bias victims to report incidents to the police. Currently, it is believed that a majority of bias incidents go unreported, especially among the City's minority population. Gays and lesbians are also noted for shying away from reporting incidents to the police. They feel more comfortable reporting incidents to their own watchdog organizations like AVP. This attitude in the gay community as well as in the minority community stems from their mistrust for the police department based on demonstrated and historical attitudes of insensitivity towards these communities by the police department time and again. The curriculum of the NYPD academy must include extensive sensitivity training that can equip the new officers with adequate knowledge of the positive social definitions of the various groups in the City, and ways in which they can serve as mediators.

With respect to minimizing activities of organized hate groups locally, there need to be legislative measures prohibiting paramilitary training, cross burning, and wearing of hoods or masks in public. There must be assigned law enforcement staff in every jurisdiction to be monitoring local "dial-a-racist" lines, and current contents of hate literature for their plans, upcoming rallies, etc.; and monitoring the trial of any hate incidents in the local courts. Law enforcement and human rights agencies must also devote a lot of interest in research on organized hate groups and on other pertinent issues. The Giuliani administration's policies have severely cut back on most of the bias-related research normally conducted by the CCHR. Since 1993, the Commission's Research

Division has not produced any major study, although the Commission is a repository of the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) data, and the City's hate crimes statistics.

Finally, there is need to expand the bias laws to give protection to more groups and categories. In New York State, bias laws still do not cover gender and sexual orientation as protected classes. There is ample evidence that gay aversion is a big problem in the State. Legislating anti-gay bias law can only send a positive message to the homophobes that their insidious acts would no longer go unpunished in the State. This perhaps would save lives. Not including sexual orientation in the State's protected class categories is an insult to the character of New York. Iowa's expansive bias laws, for example, include sexual orientation, gender and even political affiliations, although that state is not as diverse as New York and indeed is noted for its conservatism.

Other important considerations in fighting bias crimes come from the models of selected community based conflict resolution and youth development organizations. The models and work of these organizations were unveiled in a hearing called "Signs of Hope", organized by the Dinkins administration in conjunction with the various borough presidents' offices in the Spring of 1993. The following are a selection of some of the organizations that participated in the "Signs of Hope" hearings in the Bronx and Manhattan. I have selected these two boroughs because they feature more sophisticated models and show two divergent characteristics in terms of bias in the City. The Bronx is one of the boroughs with overall low bias incident documentation during the five-year period, while Manhattan is one of the high bias incident boroughs. Some of the

Manhattan based conflict resolution, prevention organizations cover other boroughs as well.

MODELS FOR HOLISTIC COMMUNITY BUILDING

From The Signs of Hope Hearings

THE BRONX

For the past decade, the Bronx has experienced a slight increase in its overall population (that is from 1,168,972 in 1980 to 1,203,789 in 1990). Nonetheless, this increment occurred only among the minority populations, while the white population showed a dramatic decrease. Between 1980 and 1990, the white population in the Bronx dropped by 129,353, more than a third of its former total, to 272,503. The black population rose by 19,152 to 369,113, and that of the Hispanics went up by 127,973 to 523,111, thus making Hispanics the majority in the borough.

Despite the fact that the minority groups make up the majority in the Bronx, this does not make the borough immune to bias incidents. Community boards 10 and 11 in the northeastern section of the Bronx are portrayed by the five-year data as "hot spot" districts of the borough in terms of racial bias incidents. Notable among these incidents is the infamous

case of the "Albanian Bad Boys" where some black youths were spray-painted white by some white youths of Albanian background.

Most of the racial and ethnic incidents revolve around issues such as neighborhood (or turf) control, housing, and the use of public spaces and facilities. At times, some of these race and ethnic conflicts also emanate from the broader spectrum. That is, they could be instigated by some perceived inequalities in the educational system, economic development programs, land use, general services, or political landscaping. In other words, these conflicts are mostly the embodiment of the Self-Interest theory.

Nonetheless, comparatively, the Bronx has remained quite calm in terms of race and ethnic conflicts. This is primarily due to the dynamism of the Bronx's political machine which is racially diverse and very much in control of the affairs of the borough. Helping this process are other factors such as the activities of the borough's community based organizations, concerned and dedicated individuals, and the various City human services agencies operating in the Bronx.

Among the numerous city agencies which have field offices operating in the borough on a permanent basis is the City Commission on Human Rights (CCHR). The CCHR currently has two field offices strategically located in the borough. These offices design, implement, and evaluate the commission's human rights programs based on the prevailing needs of the borough or the sections they serve. Some of the activities they are involved with in the various communities include education and outreach (in the areas of civil and human rights), community organizing, monitoring tense situations in neighborhoods, and conducting conflict resolutions. Of course, these efforts by the Commission to bring people and

communities together are also aided by the various private community based organizations and individual civic minded people of the Bronx.

From the transcripts of the Bronx "Signs of Hope" hearings, a wide range of models and initiatives emerged from the testimony given by the various organizations as some of the effective mechanisms in dealing with intergroup tensions and maintaining peace and tranquillity among the borough's diverse population. These models and initiatives could be broken down into three major categories: 1) conflict resolution, 2) youth services, and 3) economic development.

Although some of these organizations' objectives go far beyond the above three categories, the underlying goal of all of them and their respective models is to promote peaceful coexistence among all groups in the City's gorgeous mosaic through "a holistic community building..."⁶⁵ as stated by one of the groups at the Bronx hearings. The following are some of the highlights of the models in each category in the Bronx.

1. Conflict Resolution and Prevention

Under this category are models such as those of the groups called Crisis Intervention and Response Team; The Bronx Green-up; International Committee of the Amalgamated Housing Cooperative; and Education, Prevention and Referral Programs.

⁶⁵*From the testimony given by the Mid-Bronx Desperadoes at the Bronx "Signs of Hope" hearings in the Spring of 1993.*

The Crisis Intervention and Response Team was formed by a group of community organizations, individual residents, some churches, and the local precinct to keep track of and deal with fermenting racial issues and community tensions before they become explosive. The diverseness of the groups forming this coalition makes it very effective in the area of conflict resolution because it mirrors some degree of balance in the eyes of any conflicting groups.

The next important group is the Bronx Green-Up. This is an organization affiliated with the Bronx Botanical Gardens whose main purpose is to bring a whole community together in order to reinforce its collective consciousness. The approach of this organization involves targeting neighborhood abandoned lots (which have become eyesores in the area) and transforming them into beautiful gardens through communal labor. In effect, people with varying cultural backgrounds are brought together under the context of voluntary interactions through this community gardening. As a result, filthy abandoned lots blossom with beautiful flowers and fresh vegetables and healthy dialogues open up among people of different races and ethnicity. This concept of community gardening is one of the most effective ways of creating solidarity and strengthening social bonds among people of multi-cultural communities as we found in the City of New York.

The next model in the category of conflict resolution and prevention is that of the International Committee of the Amalgamated Housing Cooperative. This group works towards eliminating bias by promoting ethnic festivals, intergroup dialogues, and education. This model brings some kind of enlightenment to people living in neighborhoods which are undergoing rapid racial and ethnic transformations. The efforts of this group ultimately

enhance tolerance among people of different backgrounds and orientations because it eliminates the fear surrounding the emergence of new and foreign cultures in the neighborhood.

Finally, there is the group called The Education, Prevention and Referral Program. This group's aim is to create racial harmony among the white, black, Latino, and Asian youths in the school system of the Bronx. The approaches used by this group include different types of simulated conflict situations and methods in resolving them. These are often accompanied by open forum discussions among students, and brainstorming sessions for ways to deal with prejudice and stereotypes about others. The model also encourages the recognition and celebration of all ethnic festivities, i.e., Kwanza, Chanukah, Christmas, and Feliz Navidad. This model was designed by a federation of student councils through their regular meetings on ways to assist members as well as other youths in the school system in dealing with their own biases and hateful attitudes, and how to correct them.

2. Youth Services

The major groups that testified under this category include: Rights of Passage Inc., Christian Children's Association, The Bronx Charter of Baitul NASR Inc., Upper Bronx N.A.P.R.A., Edenwald-Gunhill Community Association, American Red Cross in Greater New York, and Substance Prevention Intervention Network in Schools (SPINS). The models

of these groups are geared towards ensuring adequate services and development programs to the youths of the borough.

Groups such as NAPRA, Edenwald-Gunhill Community Association, and SPINS provide services such as job referrals, tutorial/GED training, after-school programs, food programs, and public health education to youths; while others such as Rights of Passage Inc., Christian Children's Association, The Bronx Charter of Baitul NASR Inc., and American Red Cross in Greater New York provide mentoring, religious/moral education, intergroup relations, crime and deviance education, and other human developments and useful skills (i.e., art and crafts, sports, and music) to the youths in the borough.

The Rights of Passage Inc.'s model for example, recruits men of different ethnic backgrounds to act as volunteer mentors for boys with absent fathers, especially those who are in foster care. These mentors help boys by providing role models which otherwise would have been provided by their fathers and therefore leading them into proper manhood.

3. Economic Development

The major concerns of the groups that testified under this category are strategies and opportunities leading to revitalization of the disenfranchised neighborhoods, and thereby the means to bring residents' hopes and dreams back to life. Thus, the models of these groups emphasize ways of luring investments, jobs, housing, and good services to the Bronx' growing diverse population.

The Bronx went through a population growth of about 3 percent between 1980 and 1990; however, its housing stock has shrunk by over 2 percent, while abandoned empty lots and buildings increased. These came about as the result of the innumerable cases of arson and neglect, allegedly perpetrated by landlords of the multiple dwelling buildings in the borough. In response to these depressive conditions, groups such as Mid-Bronx Desperadoes, Banana Kelly Community Improvement Association Inc., and the Williamsbridge Branch of the NAACP were formed. Through the efforts of these community organizations in conjunction with the Bronx' current sophisticated political machine, a tremendous revitalization project was launched especially in the South and Mid Bronx. These projects included the rehabilitation of the abandoned multiple dwelling buildings, filling empty lots with brand new 2- or 3-family houses for low or moderate income families (some of which came under the Mitchell Lama, and the Nehemiah projects), and the rebuilding of the borough's infrastructure.

The model furnished by Banana Kelly Community Improvement Association Inc., is particularly centered on the rehabilitation of abandoned buildings and entrusting them into the hands of the tenants through cooperative ownerships. Prospective owners are also assisted by Banana Kelly in the acquisition of reasonable mortgages from the banks for these cooperative units. The aim of this organization is to help individuals or small local businesses help themselves by providing them with the training and access to the necessary channels. This process is also greatly helped by the Community Reinvestment Act which encourages banks and businesses to invest in the depressed areas of the City.

MANHATTAN

Between 1980 and 1990, there has been a slight population growth in the borough of Manhattan: from 1,428,285 in 1980 to 1,487,536 (over 4% growth) in 1990. The white population being the majority in the borough shows just a modest growth of .72% to 726,755 in this period. The black population on the other hand shows a dramatic decrease of 10% (down from 290,561 to 261,120 in the same period) while the Hispanic population grew at a hefty 15.33% (i.e., from 335,247 to 386,630). The Asian population which is numerically small in 1980 (74,096) also showed an astounding growth of 43.47% in 1990 (to 106,306)⁶⁶

Much of the growth exhibited by the Hispanic population in the borough comes from the borough's Dominican community which is one of the fastest growing new immigrant groups in the City: and very often, these communities tend to be some of the "hot spots" of the borough. Over the past years, human rights issues have been major concern in the areas such as Washington Heights, Harlem, Alphabet City and the Village.

In Washington Heights, the major issues have always been housing, job, and conflict between the police (particularly the 34 precinct) and the Hispanic community. For example, in the Summer of 1992, the situation exploded when an alleged Hispanic "drug pin" was shot to death by the police. There were community protest over this incident some of which resulted into riots. In Harlem, the burning issues there are lack of services, jobs, housing, and

⁶⁶*From OMB & City Planning; Community District Needs, Fiscal Year 1996, (for Bronx, Manhattan, & Staten Island).*

conflicts among the street vendors, the established merchants and the police. As we have seen, these conflicts also exploded in the Fall of 1992 and Spring of 1994 when the Police Department in conjunction with Consumer Affairs, conducted a sweep of the 125th Street commercial strip; and in December of 1995, was the killings and burning of Freddy's clothing store on 125th Street by one of the black protesters, Roland Smith. In the Village, Alphabet City, and its surrounding areas, the issues have been gay-bashing and other hateful activities from white supremacist groups (such as the Skinheads and Hells Angels). In response the CCHR, during the later part of the Dinkin's administration, opened up a Manhattan community relations unit in its central office at downtown Manhattan. The activities of the organizations in the borough cover areas such as 1) human and civil rights, 2) conflict resolution, 3) advocacy, 4) youth services, and 5) economic development.

1. Civil Rights

In the area of civil rights in the borough of Manhattan, we have groups such as Action For Community Empowerment (ACE), The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), The Anti-Defamation League (ADL), Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF), and numerous others. The models of these groups are tailored towards fighting for the rights of the disenfranchised in the parameters of decent living conditions, education, services, and people's right to their human, civil, and constitutional rights. These fights at times may be in the form of hard legal battles through

the courts, or pressures being exerted on local or state legislative and/or executive bodies to remedy certain unfair situations.

2. Conflict Resolution

Some of the conflict resolution groups testifying at the Manhattan hearings include: Alternatives To Violence Project (AVP) Inc, Breaking Bread Collectively, The Brotherhood Synagogue, Symposium For the Healing of Racism, and Washington Heights-Inwood Coalition, Inc.

The focus of the above groups' models is on community level dispute resolutions. While some of these groups actually serve as mediation bodies between conflicting groups, others conduct training for interested parties or groups who then become specialists in conflict resolution in their various communities and/or institutions. Skills acquired from these training are often utilized to defuse eminent conflicts or tensions between ethnic/racial groups in their communities. The activities of these groups may sometimes overlap those of advocacy and economic development groups.

3. Economic Development

The borough of Manhattan is the most developed borough of the City. However, there are a few sections of the borough which are still in great need of economic

development. These areas include Washington Heights-Inwood, Harlem, and the Lower East Side sections.

Only two groups could be clearly identified at the Manhattan "Signs of Hope" hearings whose models are mainly focused on economic development and empowerment. These groups are Jews for Racial and Economic Justice (JFREJ), and the Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association.

The model of JFREJ is geared towards community education and linking different communities together to address important social and economic needs of the disenfranchised in these communities. The Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association's model tries to bring youths from different neighborhoods together with youths and merchants in Lenox Hill area for jobs and internship placements which in turn benefit the youths, the merchants, and the community as a whole.

4. Youth Services

The groups that testified under this category in Manhattan are: The City Volunteer Corps, Creative Arts Team-New York University, Educational Video Center (EVC), Multicultural Leadership Program, Inc., Rise & Shine Production/The Real Deal, Settlement House Task Force Against Racism/Grosvenor Neighborhood House Inc., The Unity Project of The Youth Service Planning, Youth Action Program (YAP), Youthforce, Alliance For Mainstreaming Youth With Disabilities (AMID), and Alternatives to Violence Project/Youthlab.

The fundamental aim of all the above youth service organizations is to educate youths about getting along with people other than their own ethnic groups. However, some of these organizations also provide meaningful channels to job opportunities for the youths they service. Some of these organizations are not just community based, they also operate citywide in most of their activities and objectives.

5. Advocacy Groups

The following organizations could be classified under the advocacy groups which testified at the Manhattan hearings: Aids Community Television, ARRIVE-Aids Risk Reduction For IV Drug Users and Ex-Offenders, The Baha'i Community of New York City, and New York Immigration Coalition.

The activities of these groups cover the areas of public health, civil and constitutional rights, racial equality, and immigration. Their main objective is to bring every burning issue in the above mentioned areas to public awareness and seek public pressure on government to provide relief through remediation to adversely affected groups.

One of the groups which testified at the hearings and whose activities are independent of any of the above mentioned categories, and is worth noting here is VISIONS/Service for the Blind and Visually Impaired. This group tries to assist adults with visual problems to be independent of others and yet lead active lives; and instill more positive attitude towards the handicapped.

From 1993 to the present it is possible that some, if not most, of these groups may no longer be operating because of funding. But their models are still available to be emulated by any group in the human services. Sources of funding for these organizations include grants from private and public sectors. One of the biggest donors in the public sector is HUD and by its guidelines, over 50% of the communities these organizations serve must be of low to moderate income neighborhoods. The Bronx has a lot of neighborhoods that meet these funding guidelines and perhaps one of the reasons for these organizations' survival there. Both the Bronx and Manhattan Borough Presidents' offices have been helpful in many ways to these organizations. Organizations in Manhattan do not seem to have any geographic advantage in terms of access to City Hall over others. They all compete for funding meritoriously. There was only one organization, "Increase the Peace" which was created by the then-Mayor David Dinkins which operated from Down Town Brooklyn but covered all five boroughs. This organization is now defunct under the Giuliani administration. The complete transcripts of the hearings are available through the New York City Municipal Reference and Research Center.

The work of all these groups can never fully come to fruition unless each individual New Yorker is willing to directly challenge infectious stereotypes, bigotry and prejudice and be willing to live and interact with different others. This requires a radical transformation of the mindsets of all New Yorkers from provincial to that of universal. I sum up with the following quote from the literature by Baird and Rosenbaum: "How can our fear, suspicion, and hatred of those who are different from us survive our moral commitments to the Golden Rule, the Categorical Imperative, the Principle of Utility, or our religious commitments to

Jesus, Mohammed, Krishna, or the Buddha? All of our rational, moral, or religious commitments enjoin us to treat different others as our equals.” Yet, in our pursuit of these moral and religious interests we disparage, dehumanize, brutalize, or even murder our fellow human beings because they are different from us.

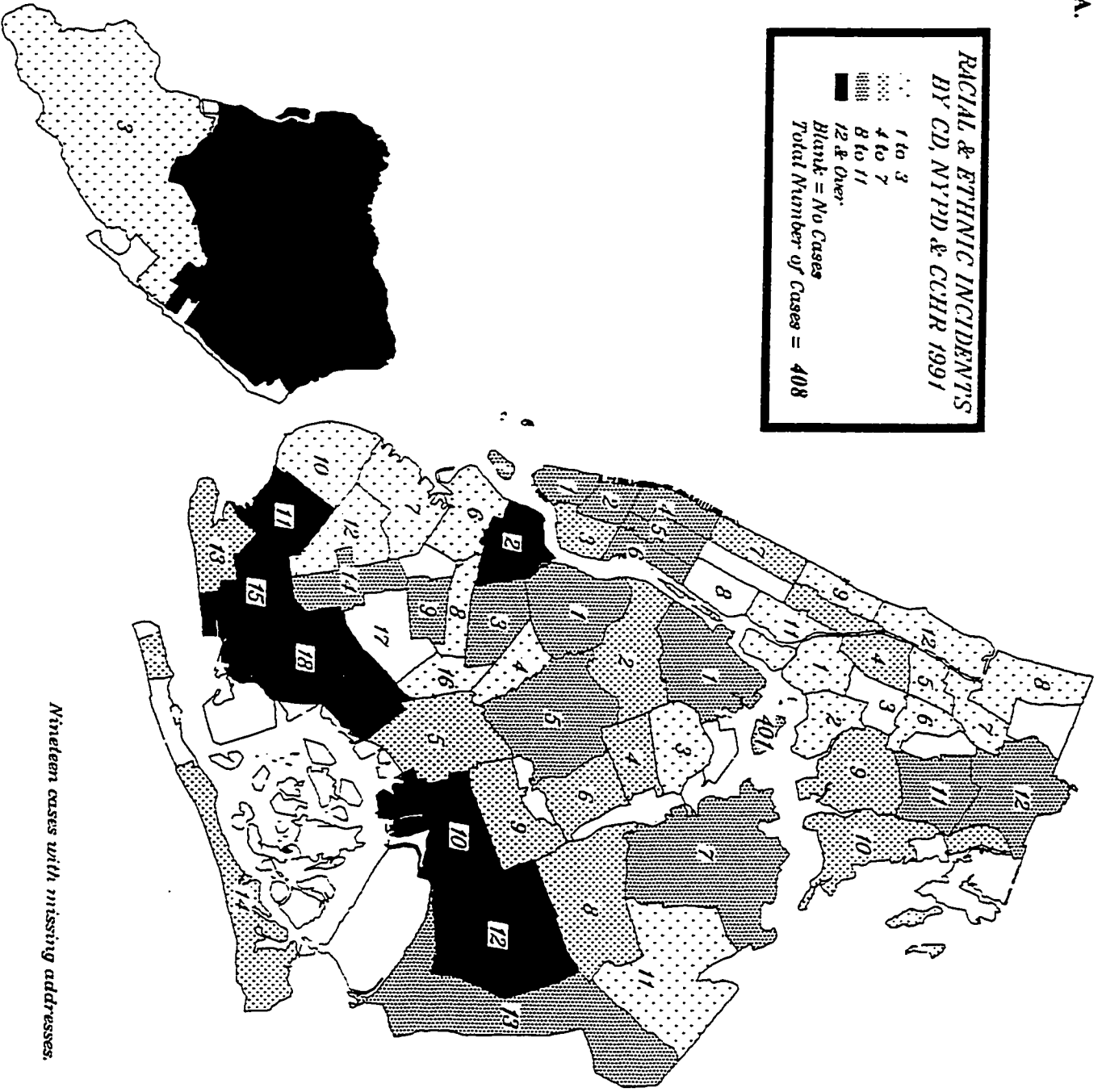
APPENDIX A

MAP 1A.

**RACIAL & ETHNIC INCIDENTS
BY CD, NYPD & CCHR 1991**

- 1 to 3
- 4 to 7
- 8 to 11
- 12 & Over
- Blank = No Cases

Total Number of Cases = 408

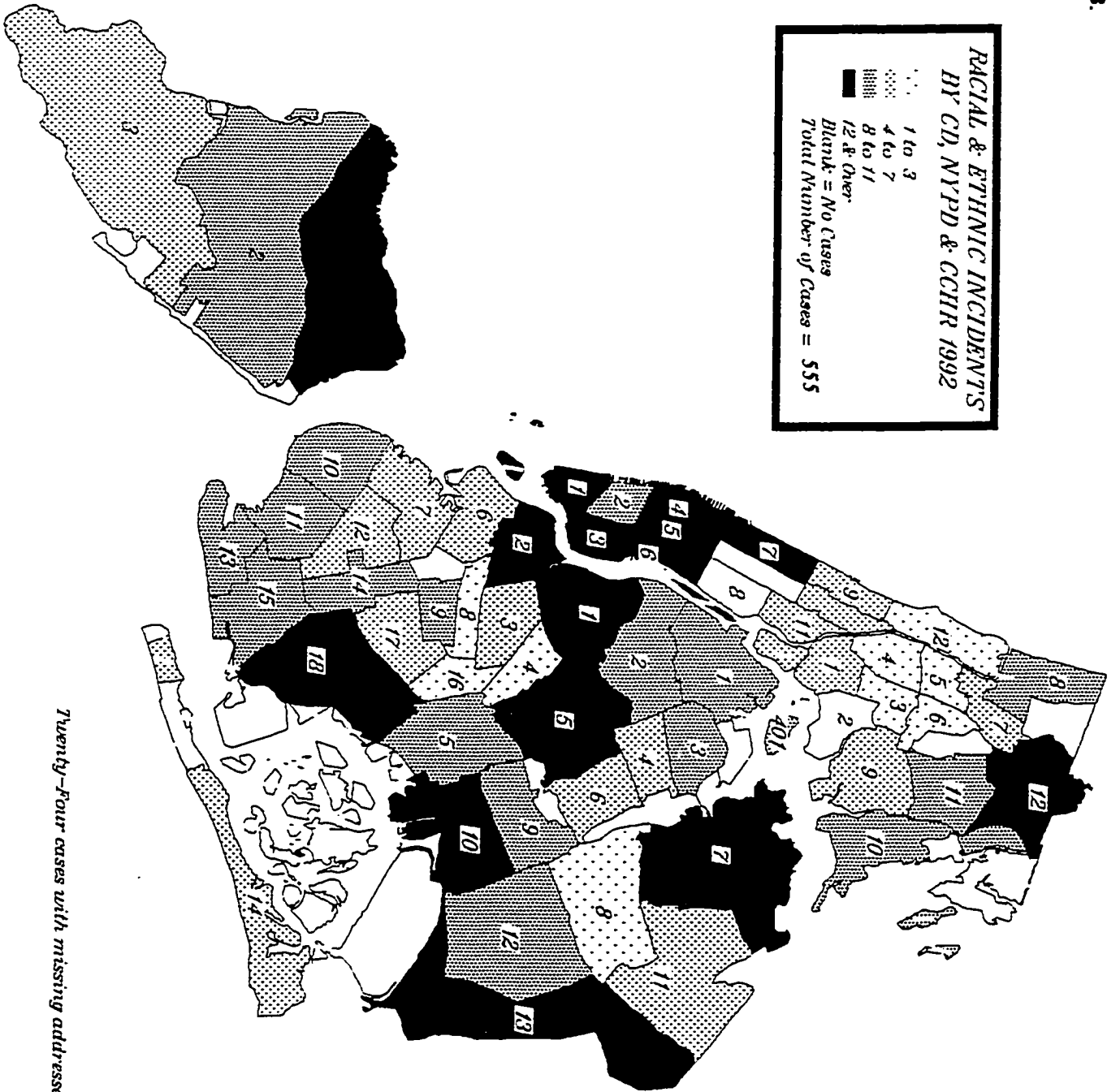


Nineteen cases with missing addresses.

MAP 1B.

**RACIAL & ETHNIC INCIDENTS
BY CD, NYPD & CCHR 1992**

. . . 1 to 3
 o o o 4 to 7
 h h h h 8 to 11
 ■ 12 & Over
 Blank = No Cases
 Total Number of Cases = 555



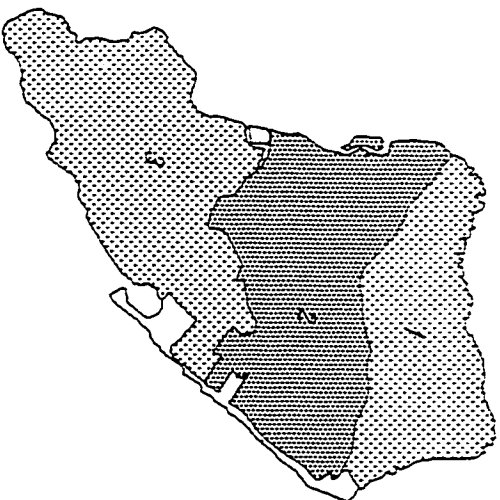
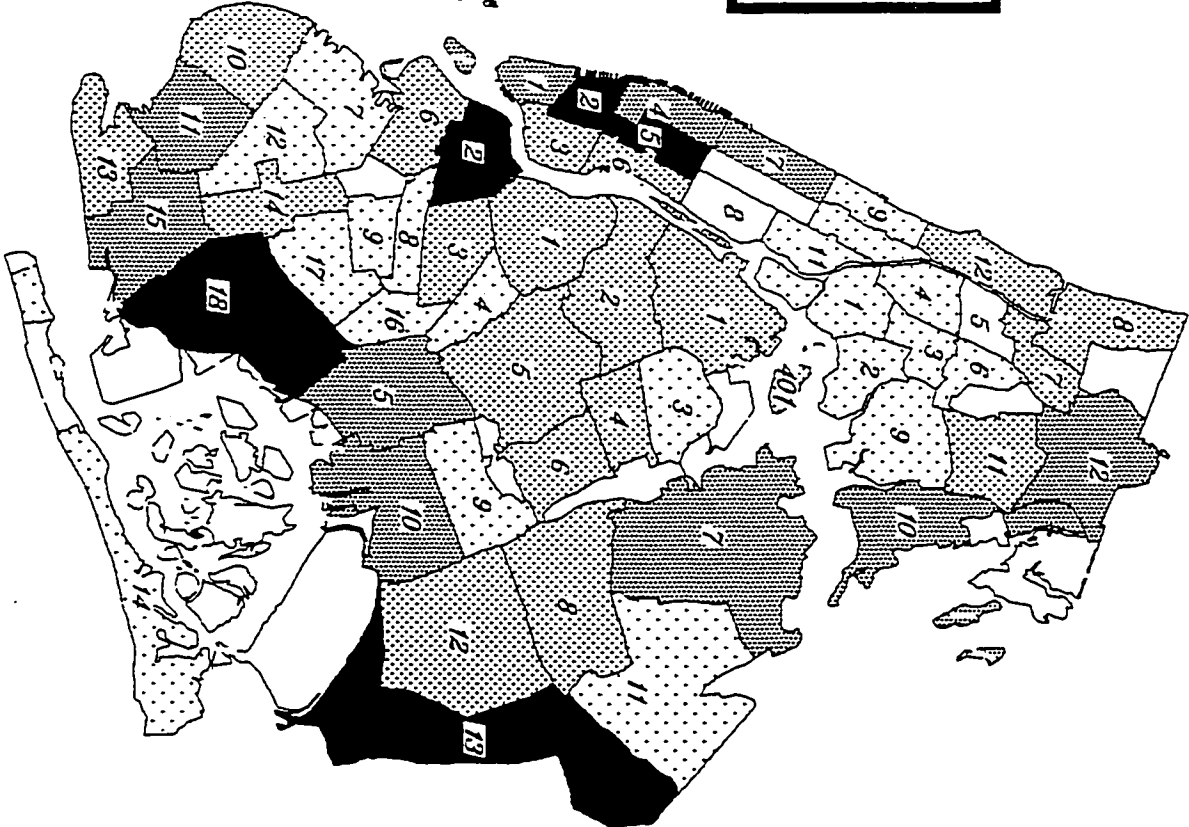
Twenty-Four cases with missing addresses

MAP I.C.

**RACIAL & ETHNIC INCIDENTS
BY CD, NYPD & CCHR 1993**

- 1 to 3
- 4 to 7
- 8 to 11
- 12 & Over
- Blank = No Cases

Total Number of Cases = 347

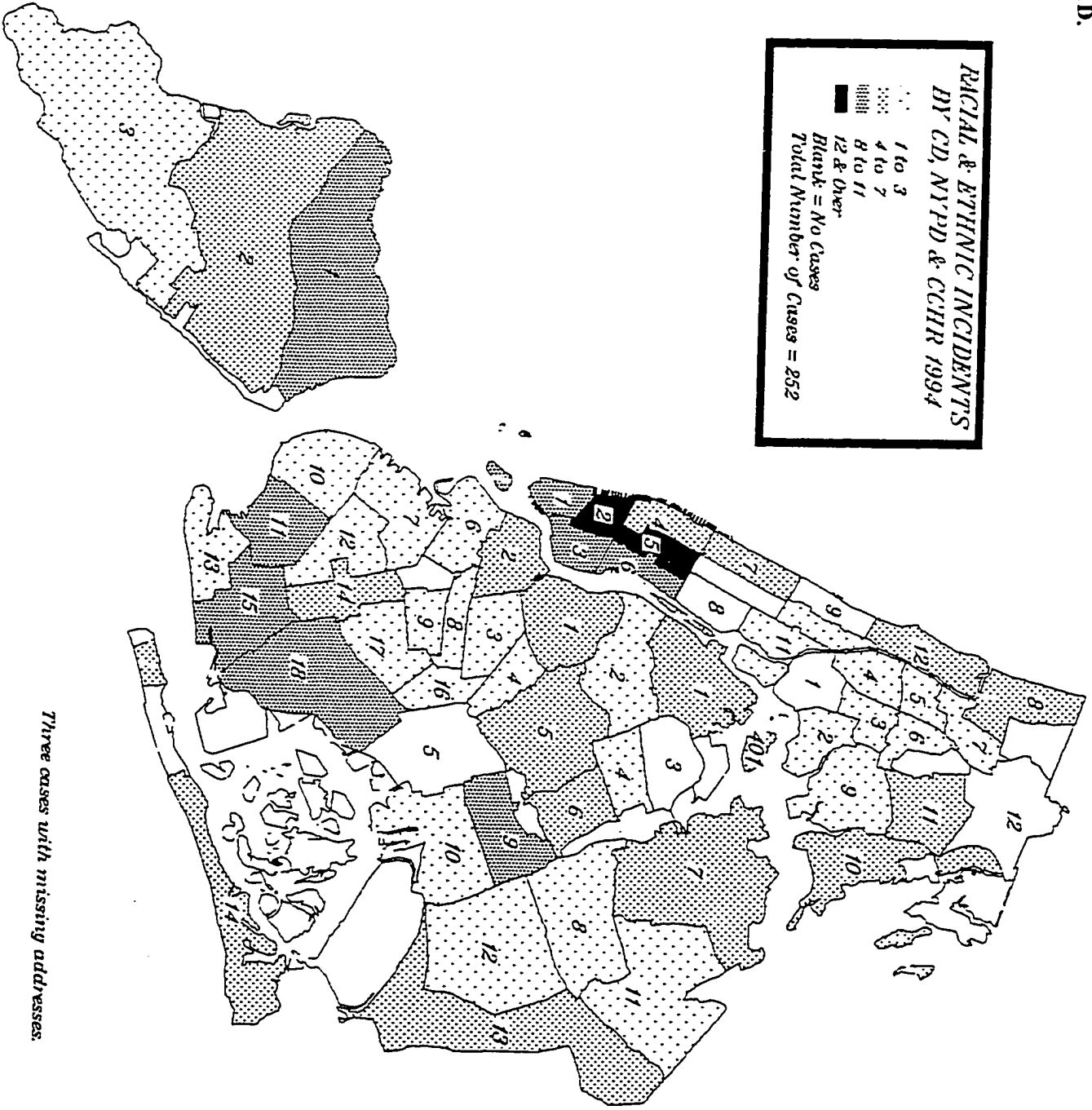


Thirteen cases with missing addresses.

**RACIAL & ETHNIC INCIDENTS
BY CD, NYPD & CCHR 1994**

- 1 to 3
- 4 to 7
- 8 to 11
- 12 & Over
- Blank = No Cases

Total Number of Cases = 252



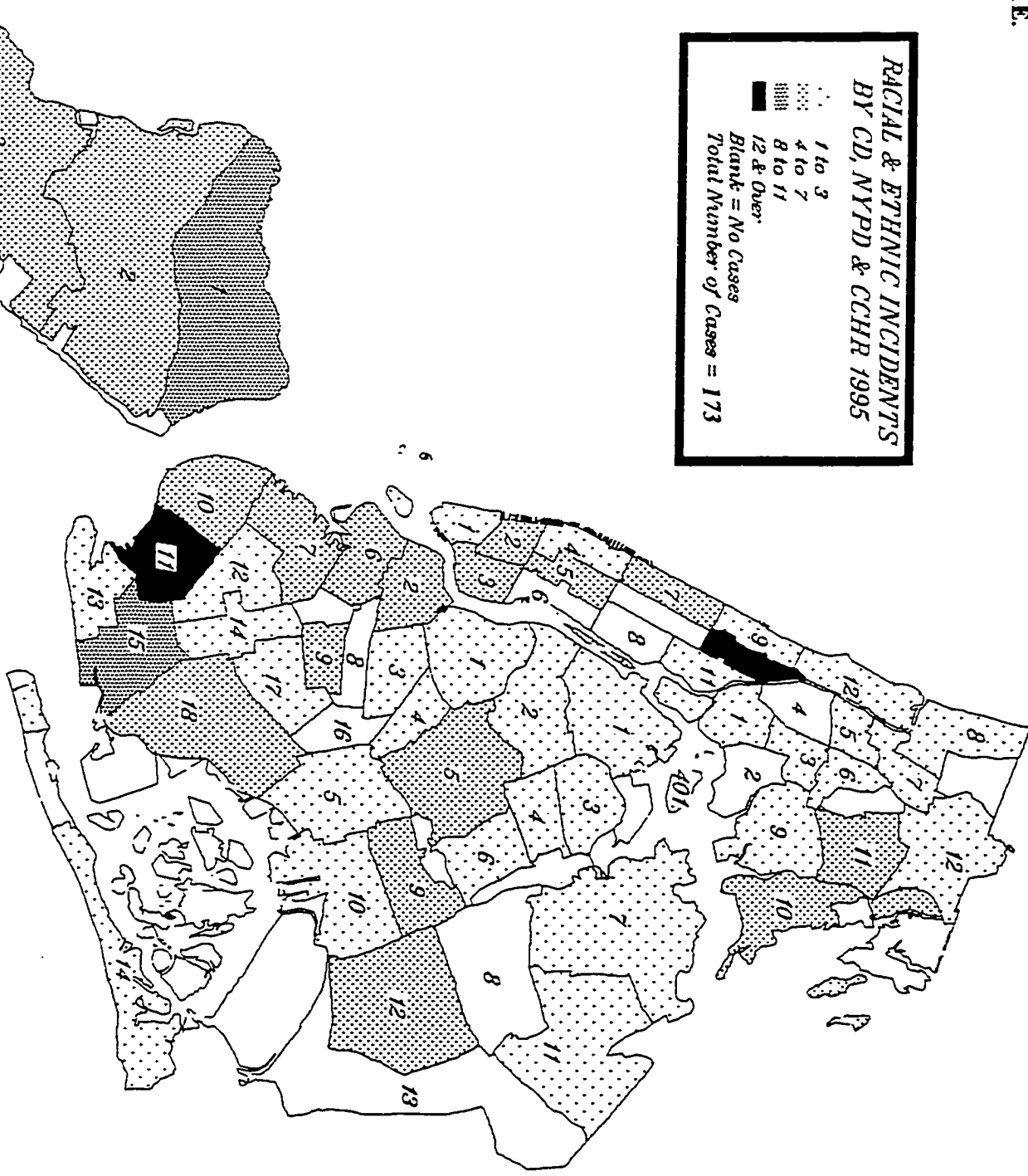
Three cases with missing addresses.

MAP I.E.

**RACIAL & ETHNIC INCIDENTS
BY CD, NYPD & CCHR 1995**

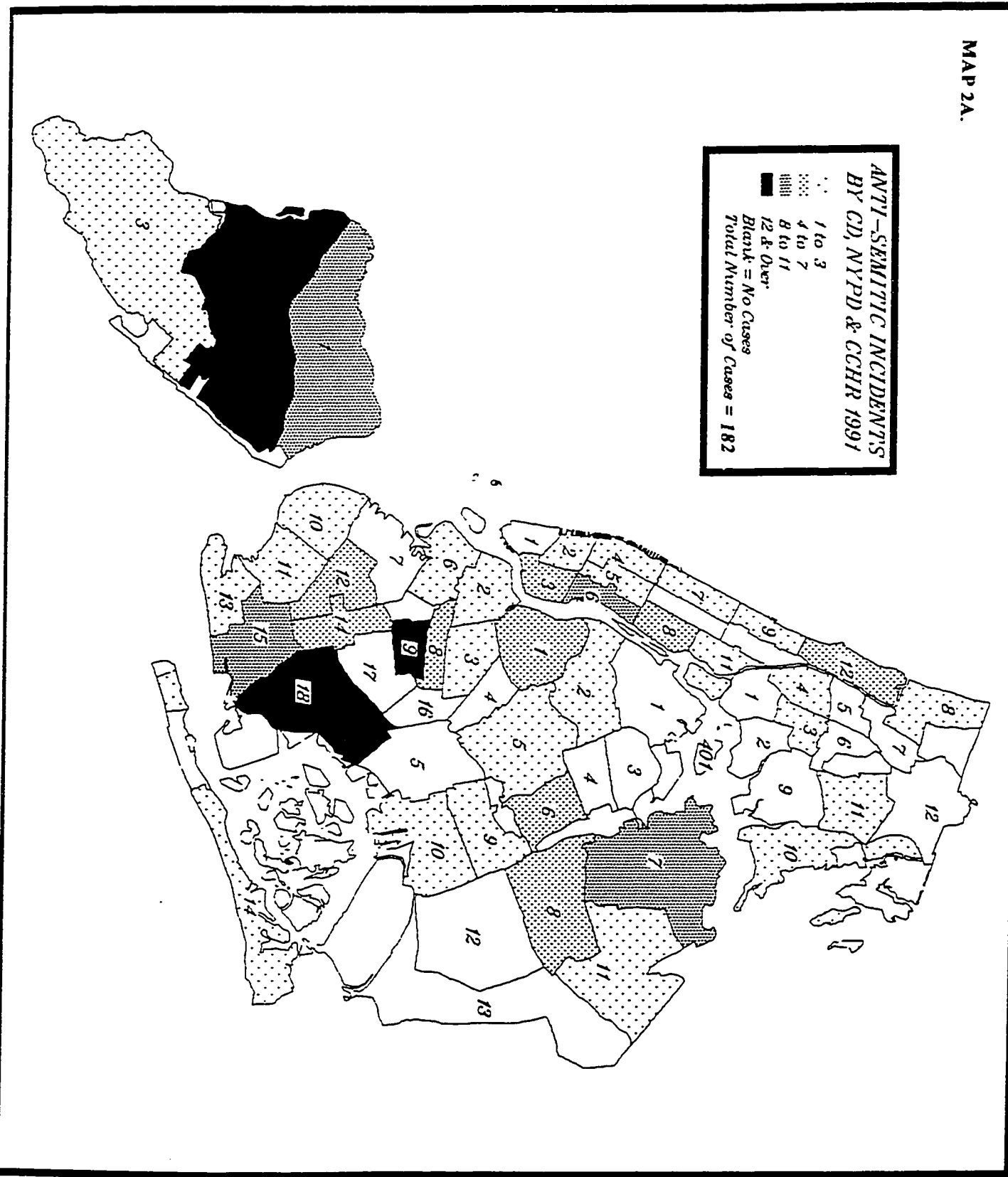
- 1 to 3
- 4 to 7
- 8 to 11
- 12 & Over
- Blank = No Cases

Total Number of Cases = 173



Three cases with missing addresses.

MAP 2A.

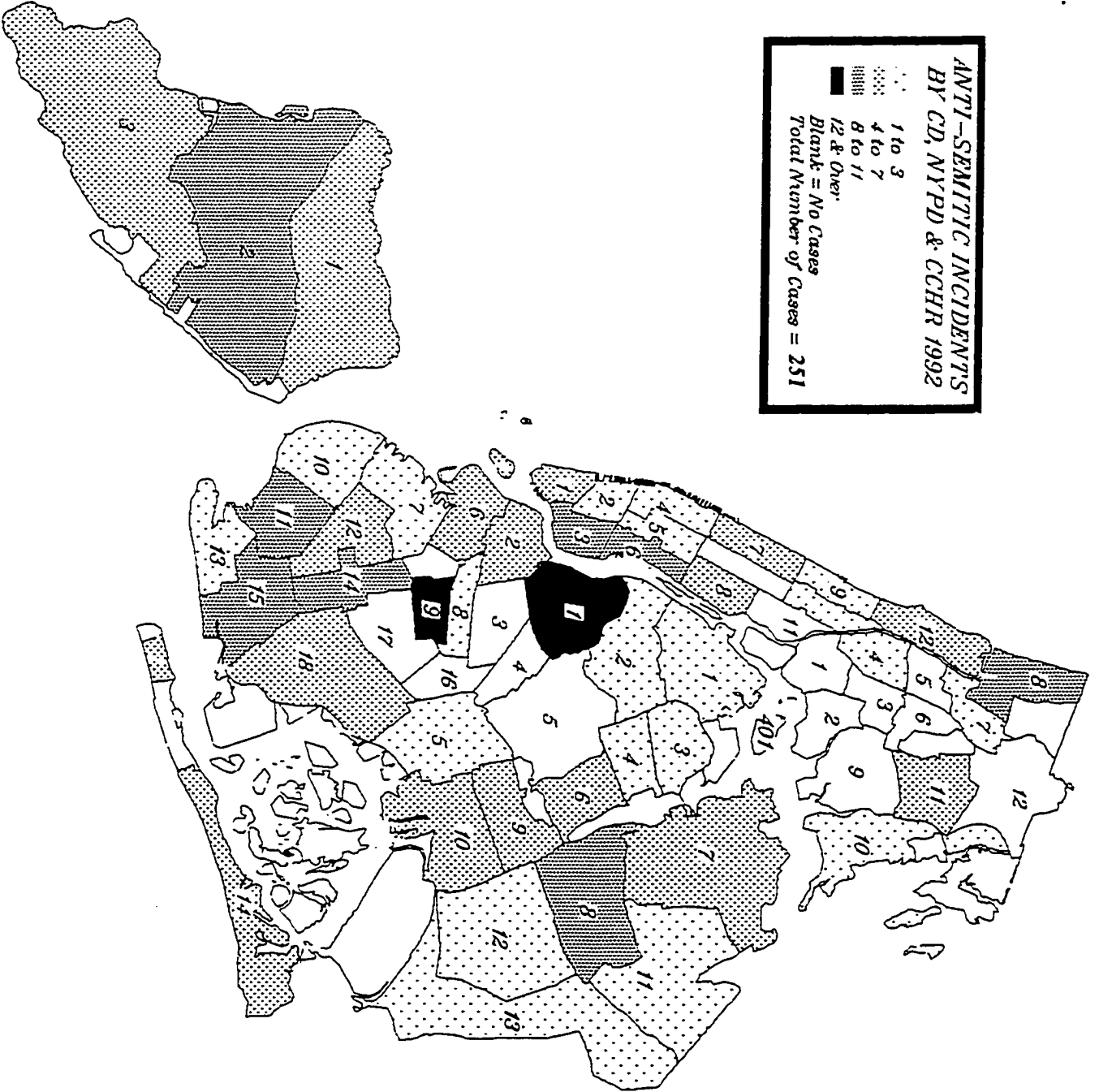


MAP 2B.

**ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS
BY CD, NYPD & CCHR 1992**

•••••	1 to 3
•••••	4 to 7
	8 to 11
■	12 & Over

Blank = No Cases
Total Number of Cases = 251

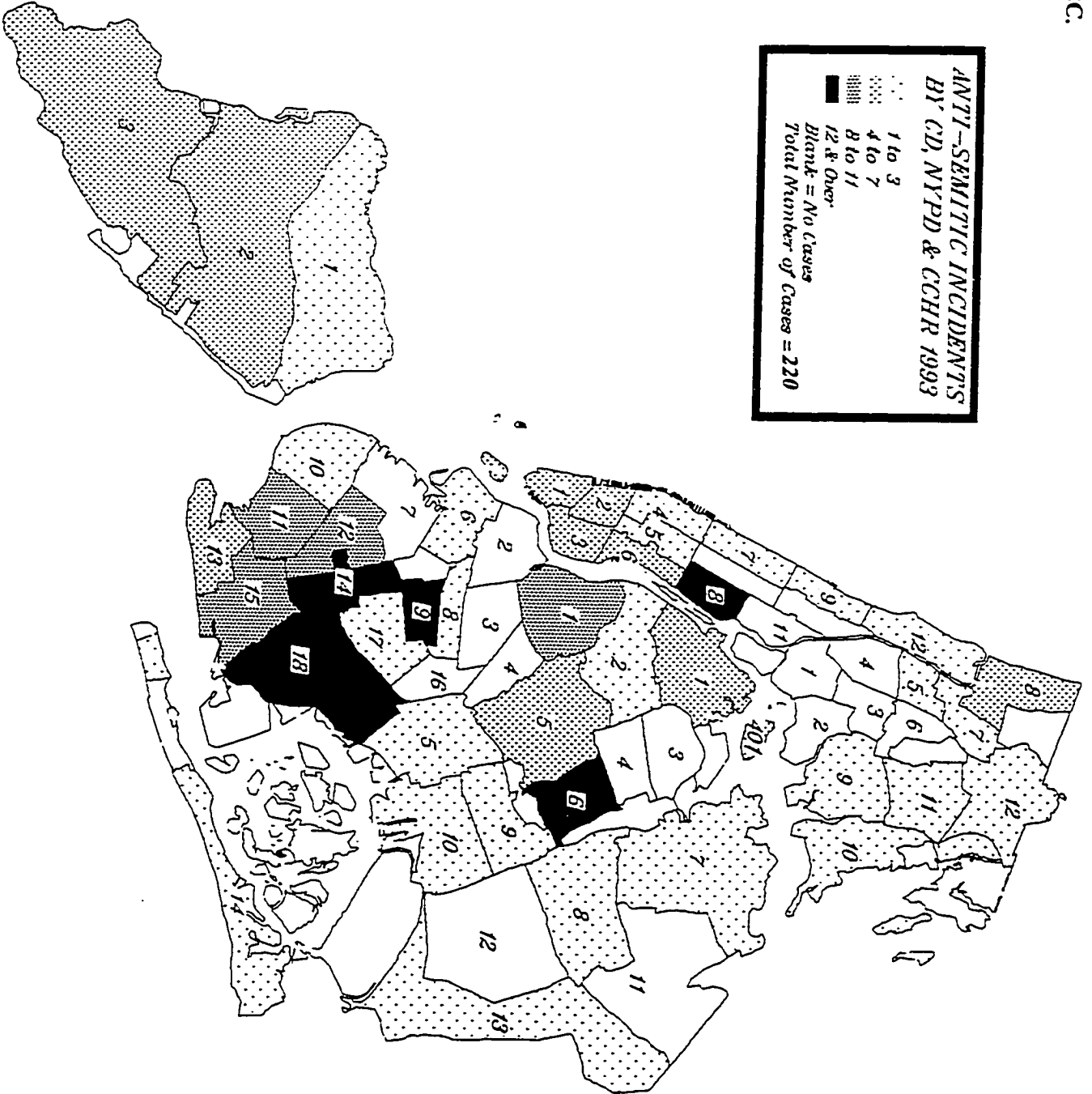


MAP 2C.

**ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS
BY CD, NYPD & CCHR 1993**

.....	1 to 3
.....	4 to 7
.....	8 to 11
.....	12 & Over
Blank	= No Cases

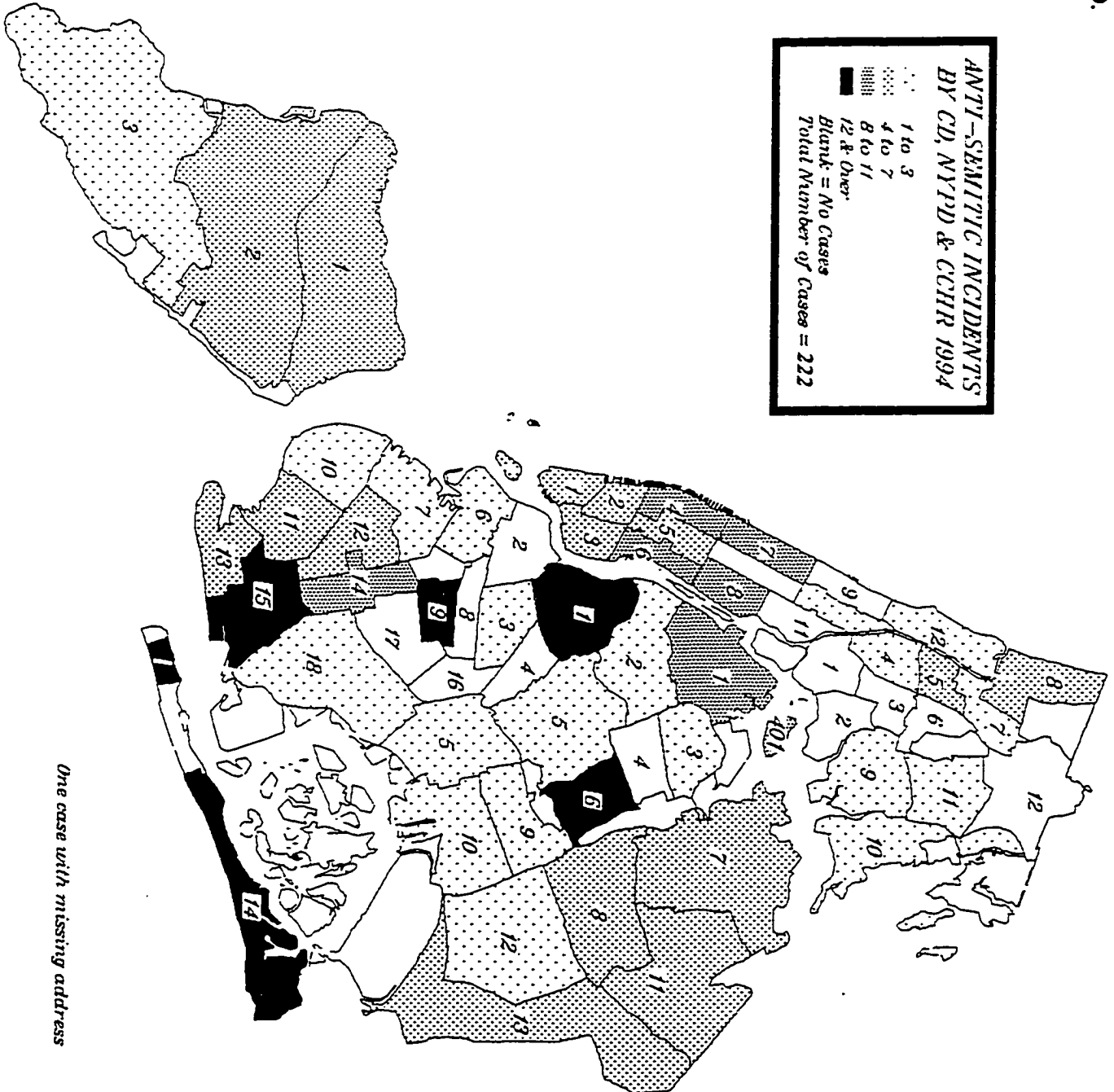
Total Number of Cases = 220



MAP 2D.

**ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS
BY CD, NYCPD & CCHR 1994**

1 to 3
4 to 7
8 to 11
12 & Over
Blank = No Cases
Total Number of Cases = 222



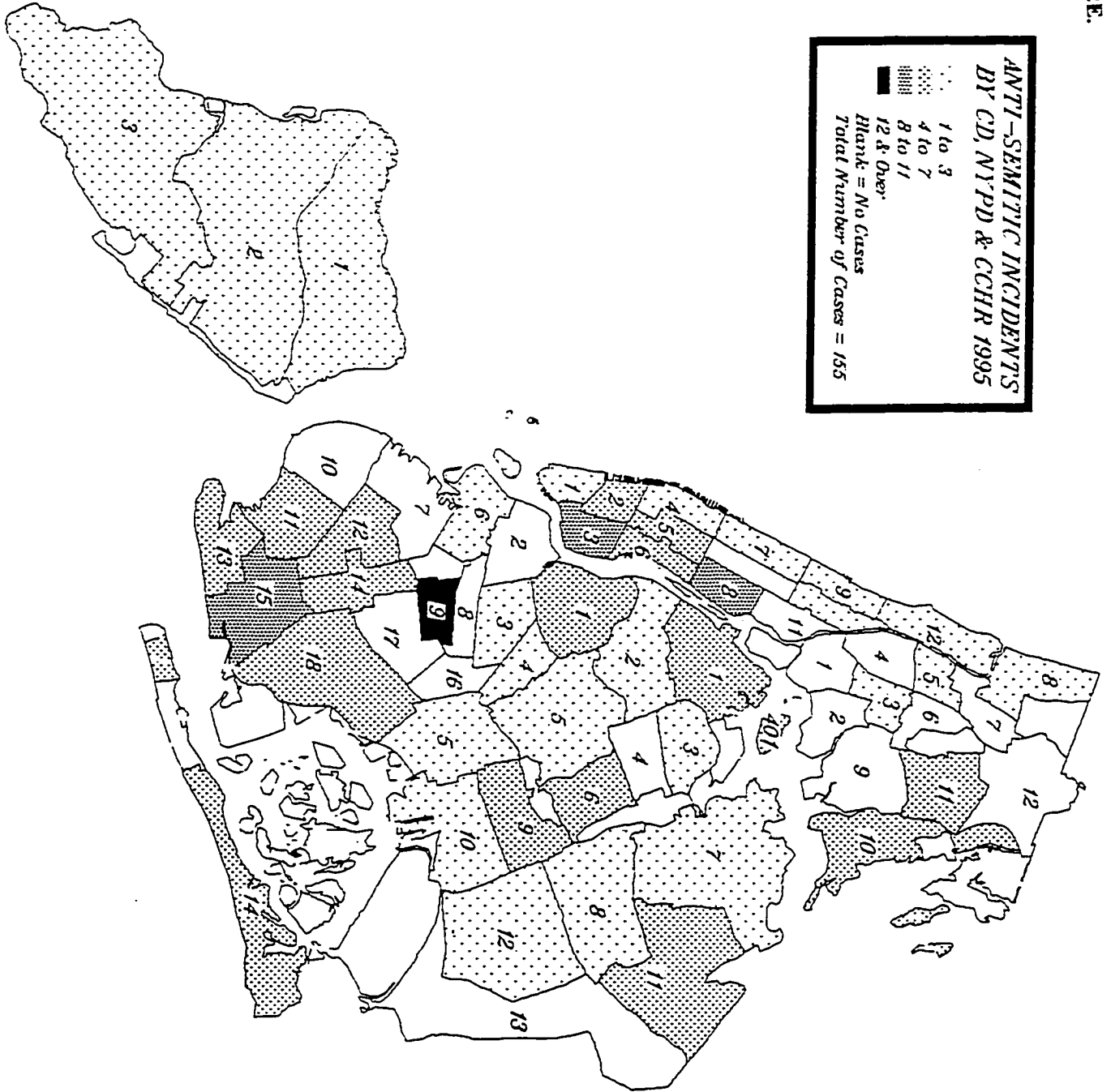
One case with missing address

MAP 2E.

**ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS
BY CD, NYPD & CCHR 1995**

.....	1 to 3
.....	4 to 7
.....	8 to 11
.....	12 & Over
Blank	= No Cases

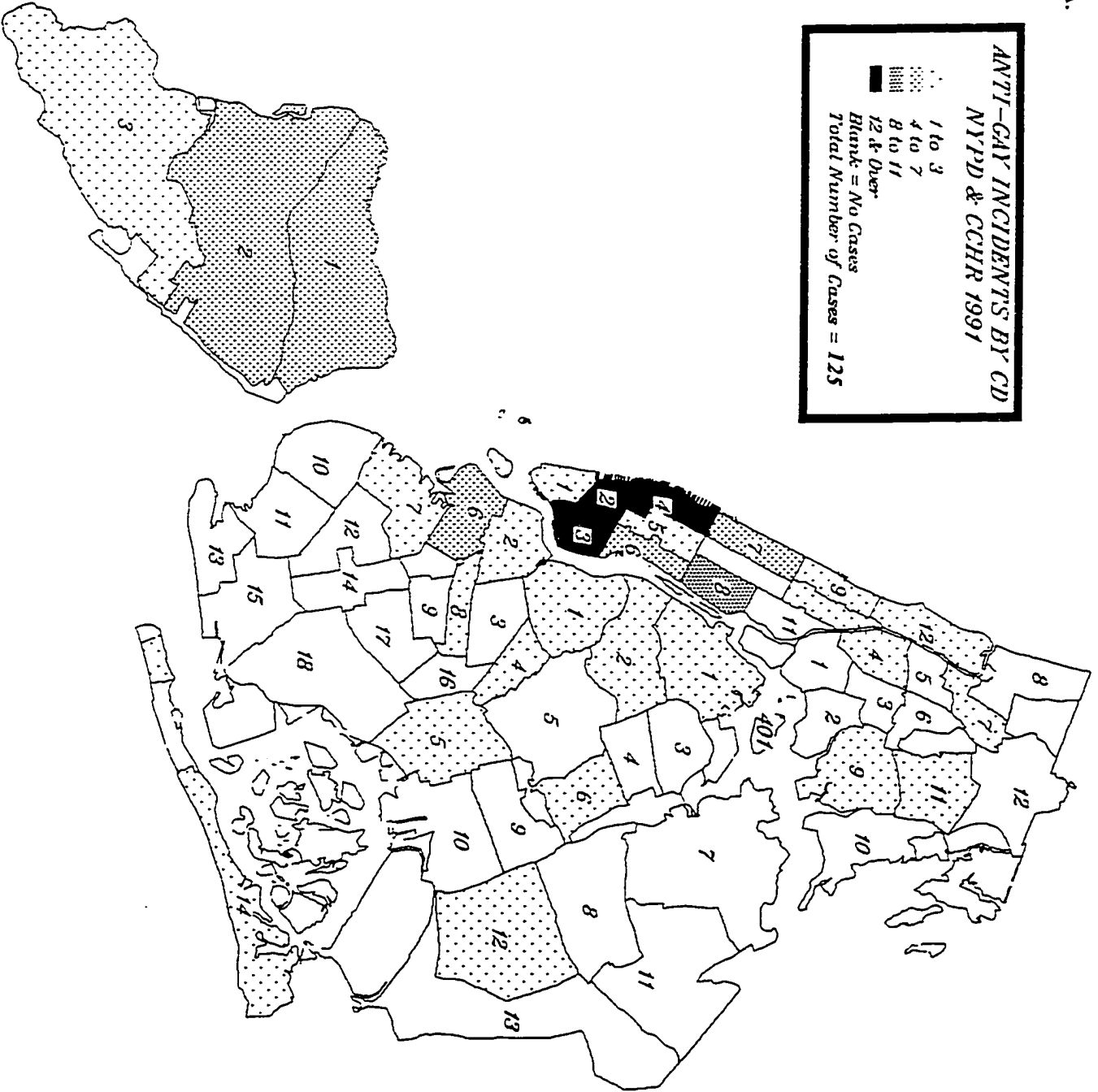
Total Number of Cases = 155



MAP 3A.

ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS BY CD
NYPPD & CCHR 1991

•••••	1 to 3
••••	4 to 7
•••••	8 to 11
•••••	12 & Over
Blank	= No Cases
Total Number of Cases = 125	

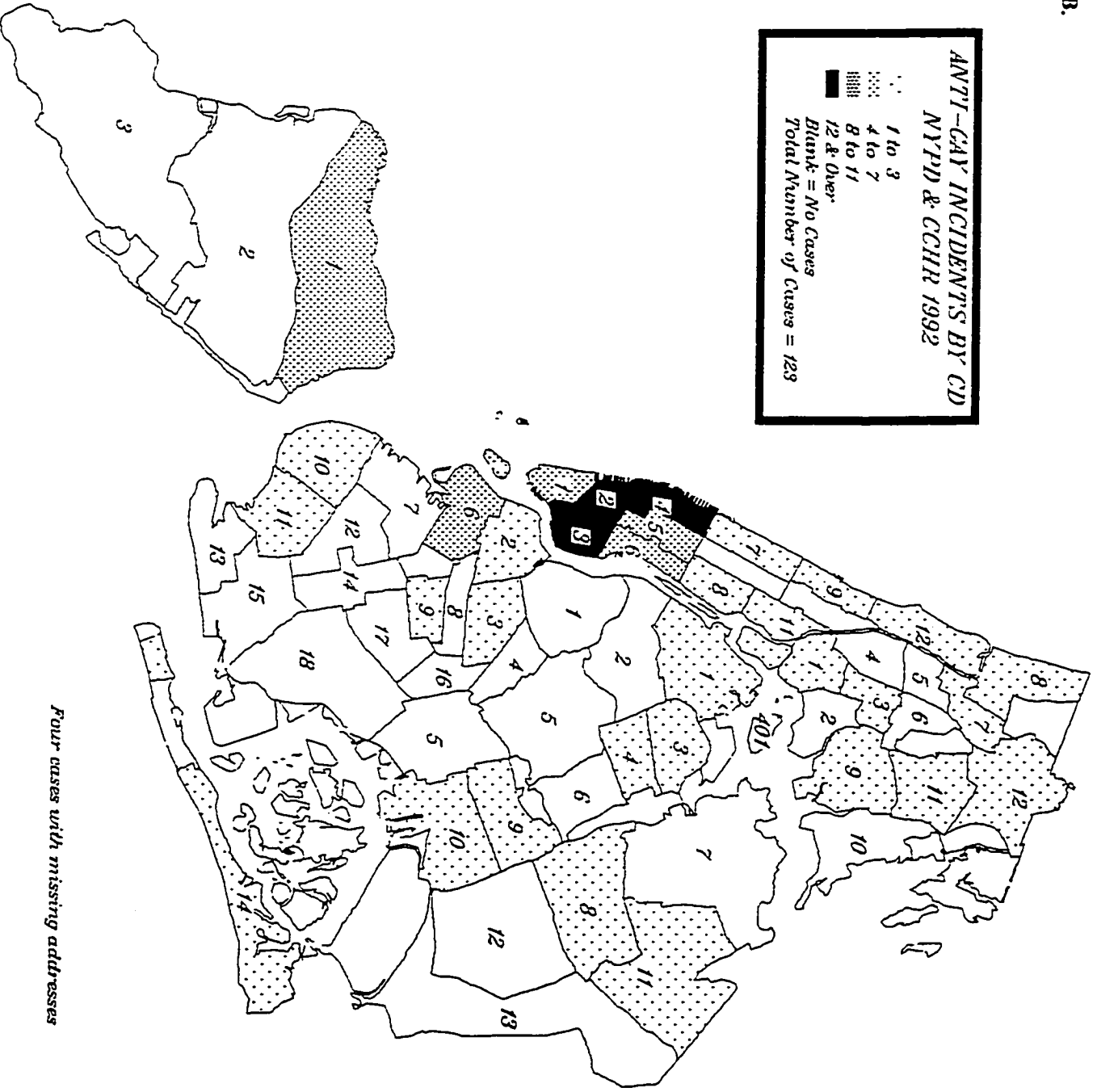


MAP 3B.

ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS BY CD
NYPD & CCHR 1992

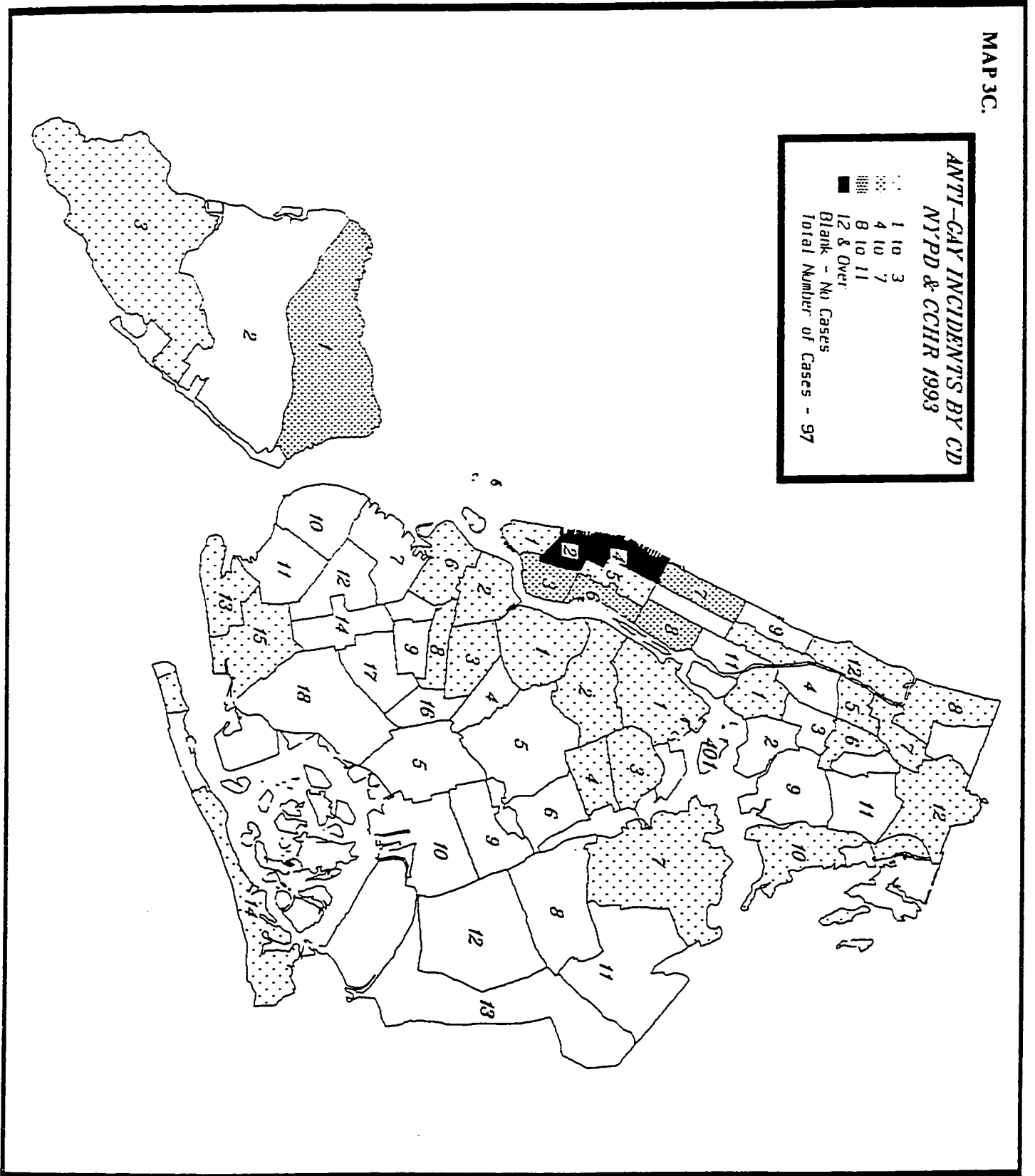
- 1 to 3
- 4 to 7
- 8 to 11
- 12 & Over

Blank = No Cases
 Total Number of Cases = 128



Four cases with missing addresses

MAP 3C.

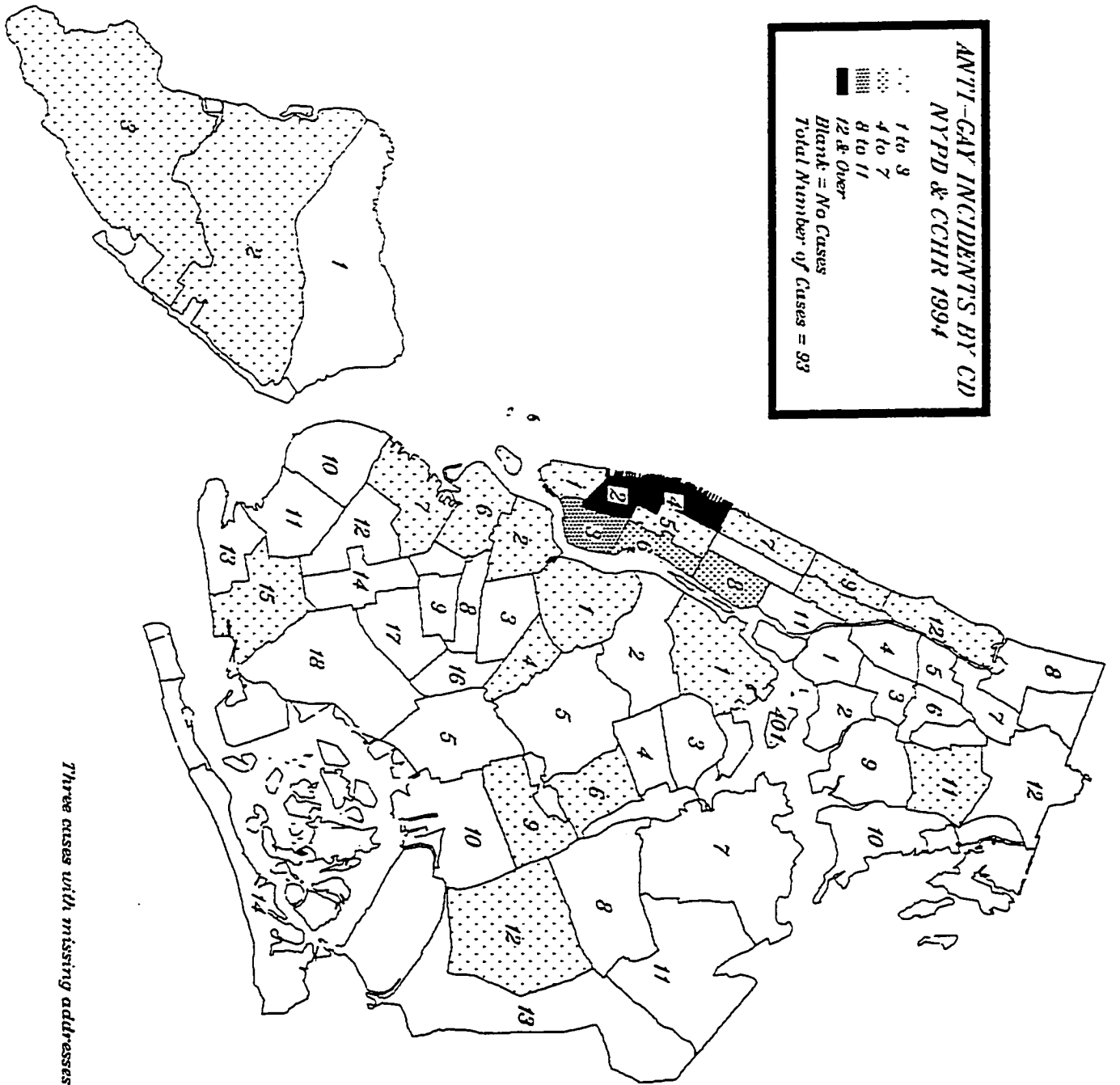


MAP 3D.

**ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS BY CD
NYPD & CCHR 1994**

1 to 3
4 to 7
8 to 11
12 & Over
Blank = No Cases

Total Number of Cases = 93



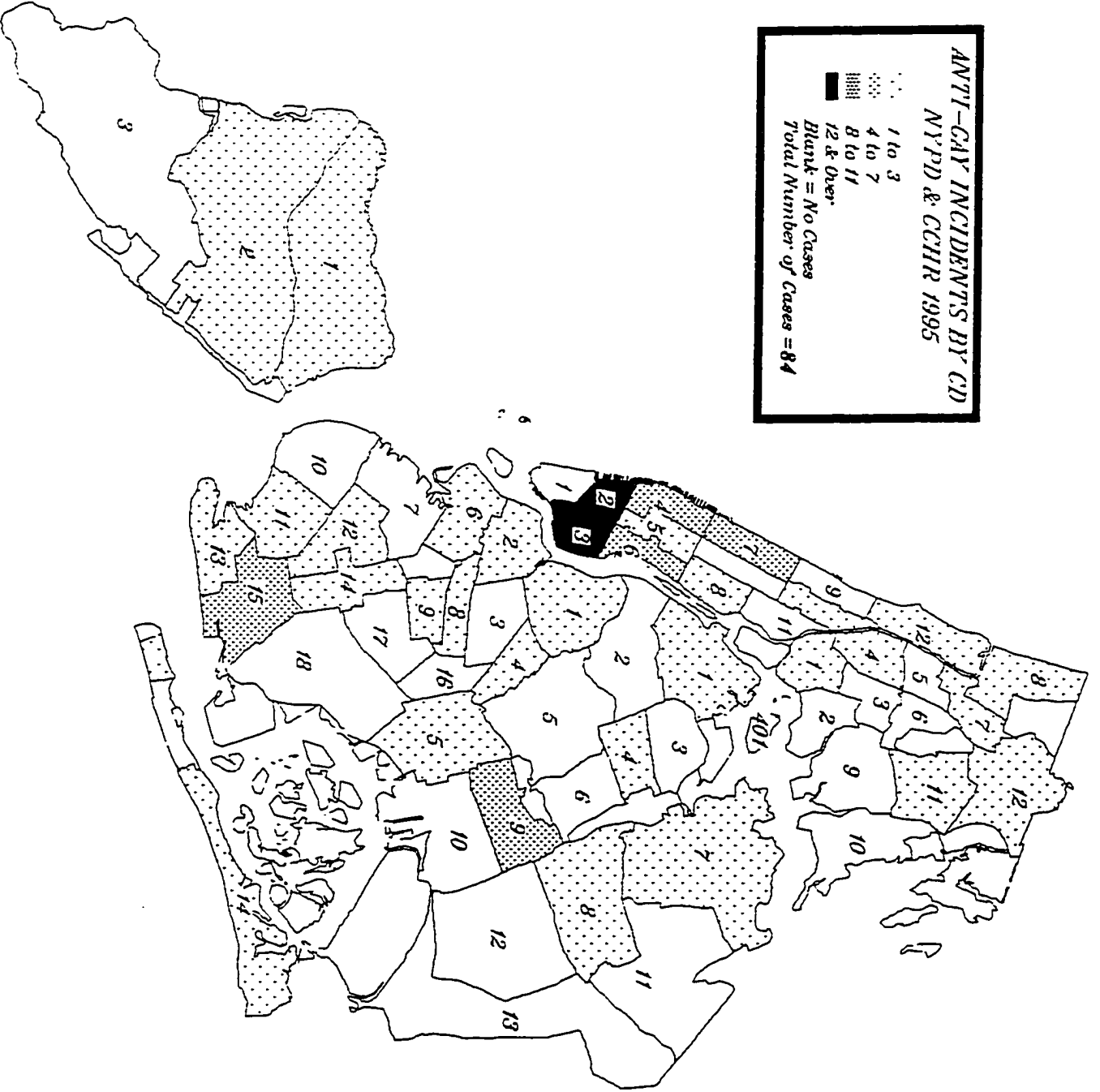
Three cases with missing addresses

MAP 3E.

ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS BY CD
NYPD & CCHR 1995

.....	1 to 3
....	4 to 7
...	8 to 11
■	12 & Over
Blank	= No Cases

Total Number of Cases = 84



APPENDIX B

**Table B1. ALL INCIDENTS BY BOROUGH AND COMMUNITY DISTRICT
1991-1995**

COMM DISTRICT	BRONX	BKLYN	MANHETN	QUEENS	STAT ISL
01	11	91	61	53	85
02	3	63	141	26	93
03	9	26	122	24	32
04	14	13	122	20	-
05	11	27	54	54	-
06	8	44	96	72	-
07	24	21	73	66	-
08	49	16	94	37	-
09	17	103	21	52	-
10	46	26	35	55	-
11	59	83	17	28	-
12	35	47	32	43	-
13	-	38	-	46	-
14	-	80	-	49	-
15	-	103	-	-	-
16	-	6	-	-	-
17	-	12	-	-	-
18	-	135	-	-	-
N/A	36	113	191	84	21
TOTAL	322	1047	1059	709	231
% of N	10%	31%	31%	21%	7%

Table B1. N = 3368; N/A = address of incident location inadequate or not available in the data.

Table B2. HATE CRIMES' STATUTORY PROVISIONS BY STATE
AS OF 1996

STATES / BIAS LAWS	A L	A K	A Z	A R	C A	C O	C T	D C	D E	F L	G A	H I	I D	I L	I N	I A	K S	K Y	L A	M E	M D	M A	M I	M N	M S	M O	
Bias-Motvtd Violence & Intimidation	-	-			-	-	+	-	-	-			-	-		+				-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Civil Action				-	+	-	+	-	-			-	-		+				+			-	+				+
Criminal Penalty	-	+			-	-	+	-	-			-	+			-				+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+
Race, Religion, & Ethnicity	-	+			+	-	+	-	-			-	+			-				+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
Sexual Orientation					+	-	-	-				-			+					+						-	
Gender		-			+	-	-					+			-					+			-	-	+		
Other		-			-	-	-	+				-			+					+				-			
Institutional Vandalism	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	-	-	+	+	-	-		-	-	-	+
Penalty Enhancmnt.	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-		-					-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Data Collection			-		+		+	+	+			+	-		-						-	+	-	-	-	-	
Training for Law Enforcement													+		+							+		+			

STATES / BIAS LAWS	M T	N E	N V	N H	N J	N M	N Y	N C	N D	N O	O H	O K	O R	P A	R I	S C	S D	S N	T X	T T	U T	V T	V A	W A	W V	W I	W Y	
Bias-Motivated Violence & Intimidation	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Civil Action					+		+				+	+	+	+	+						+	+	+	+			+	
Criminal Penalty	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Race, Religion, & Ethnicity	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Sexual Orientation			+	+	+							+									+	+		+			+	
Gender				+	+					+												+	+	+				
Other					+		+				+											+	+	+	+	+	+	
Institutional Vandalism	+		+		+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+				+	+			+	
Penalty Enhancmnt.	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Data Collection					+	+					+	+	+	+						+			+					
Training for Law Enforcement													+	+										+				

Table B2. Source: Anti-Defamation League. "Other" includes disability and political affiliation. In NY and twenty other states, interference with religious worship is a criminal bias offense.

Table B3.

VICTIM'S ETHNICITY, RACIAL INCIDENTS

VICETH Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Black	1	613	35.3	35.3	35.3
White	2	570	32.9	32.9	68.2
Hispanic	3	269	15.5	15.5	83.7
Asian	4	180	10.4	10.4	94.1
Institut	5	43	2.5	2.5	96.5
Unknown	6	19	1.1	1.1	97.6
Arab	7	15	.9	.9	98.5
Jewish	8	12	.7	.7	99.2
African	9	8	.5	.5	99.7
Public	10	4	.2	.2	99.9
Argentin	11	2	.1	.1	100.0
Total		1735	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1735 Missing cases 0

Table B3: Victim's ethnicity, racial incidents.

Table B4.

VICTIM'S SEX, RACIAL INCIDENTS

VICTSEX Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	1008	58.1	58.1	58.1
Female	2	651	37.5	37.5	95.7
Other	3	65	3.7	3.7	99.4
Unknown	4	10	.6	.6	100.0
Missing	5	1	.1	Missing	
Total		1735	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1734 Missing cases 1

Table B4: Victim's sex, racial incidents.

Table B5.

PERPETRATOR'S SEX, RACIAL INCIDENTS

PERPSEX Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	870	50.1	50.1	50.1
Unknown	2	733	42.2	42.2	92.4
Female	3	129	7.4	7.4	99.8
M&F	4	3	.2	.2	100.0
Total		1735	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1735 Missing cases 0

Table B5: Perpetrator's sex, racial incidents.

Table B6.BLACK VICTIMS BY GENDER, RACIAL INCIDENTS

VICTSEX					
Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	340	55.5	55.5	55.5
Female	2	265	43.2	43.2	98.7
Unknown	3	5	.8	.8	99.5
Other	4	3	.5	.5	100.0
Total		613	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	613	Missing cases	0		

Table B6: Black victims by gender, racial incidents.

Table B7.BLACK PERPETRATORS BY GENDER, RACIAL INCIDENTS

PERPSEX					
Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	272	76.6	76.6	76.6
Female	2	60	16.9	16.9	93.5
Unknown	3	22	6.2	6.2	99.7
M&F	4	1	.3	.3	100.0
Total		355	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	355	Missing cases	0		

Table B7: Black perpetrators by gender, racial incidents.

Table B8.WHITE VICTIMS BY GENDER, RACIAL INCIDENTS

VICTSEX

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	359	63.0	63.0	63.0
Female	2	204	35.8	35.8	98.8
Other	3	4	.7	.7	99.5
Unknown	4	3	.5	.5	100.0
Total		570	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	570	Missing cases	0		

Table B8: White victims by gender, racial incidents.

Table B9.WHITE PERPETRATORS BY GENDER, RACIAL INCIDENTS

PERPSEX

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	378	87.1	87.1	87.1
Female	2	28	6.5	6.5	93.5
Unknown	3	27	6.2	6.2	99.8
M&F	4	1	.2	.2	100.0
Total		434	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	434	Missing cases	0		

Table B9: White perpetrators by gender, racial incidents.

Table B10.HISPANIC VICTIMS BY GENDER, RACIAL INCIDENTS

VICTSEX					Valid	Cum
Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Male	1	159	59.1	59.1	59.1	
Female	2	110	40.9	40.9	40.9	100.0
Total		269	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	269	Missing cases	0			

Table B10: Hispanic victims by gender, racial incidents.

Table B11.HISPANIC PERPETRATORS BY GENDER, RACIAL INCIDENTS

PERPSEX					Valid	Cum
Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Male	1	64	76.2	76.2	76.2	
Female	2	11	13.1	13.1	13.1	89.3
Unknown	3	9	10.7	10.7	10.7	100.0
Total		84	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	84	Missing cases	0			

Table B11: Hispanic perpetrators by gender, racial incidents.

Table B12.JEWISH VICTIMS BY GENDER, RACIAL INCIDENTS

VICTSEX

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	8	66.7	66.7	66.7
Female	2	4	33.3	33.3	100.0
Total		----- 12	----- 100.0	----- 100.0	
Valid cases	12	Missing cases	0		

Table B12: Jewish victims by gender, racial incidents.

Table B13.JEWISH PERPETRATORS BY GENDER, RACIAL INCIDENTS

PERPSEX

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	10	58.8	58.8	58.8
Unknown	2	4	23.5	23.5	82.4
Female	3	3	17.6	17.6	100.0
Total		----- 17	----- 100.0	----- 100.0	
Valid cases	17	Missing cases	0		

Table B13: Jewish perpetrators by gender, racial incidents.

Table B14.

ASIAN VICTIMS BY GENDER, RACIAL INCIDENTS

VICTSEX

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	112	62.2	62.6	62.6
Female	2	62	34.4	34.6	97.2
Other	3	3	1.7	1.7	98.9
Unknow	4	2	1.1	1.1	100.0
Missing	5	1	.6	Missing	
Total		180	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 179 Missing cases 1

Table B14: Asian victims by gender, racial incidents.

Table B15.

ASIAN PERPETRATORS BY GENDER, RACIAL INCIDENTS

PERPSEX

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	10	66.7	66.7	66.7
Unknown	2	3	20.0	20.0	86.7
Female	3	2	13.3	13.3	100.0
Total		15	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 15 Missing cases 0

Table B15: Asian perpetrators by gender, racial incidents.

Table B16.

VICTIM'S ETHNICITY, ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS

VICETH Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Jewish	1	494	48.0	48.0	48.0
White	2	365	35.4	35.4	83.4
Institut	3	125	12.1	12.1	95.5
Public	4	17	1.7	1.7	97.2
Unknown	5	14	1.4	1.4	98.5
Hispanic	6	8	.8	.8	99.3
Black	7	4	.4	.4	99.7
Asian	8	3	.3	.3	100.0
Total		1030	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1030 Missing cases 0

Table B16: Victim's ethnicity, anti-Semitic incidents.

Table B17.

VICTIM'S SEX, ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS

VICTSEX Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	534	51.8	52.5	52.5
Female	2	282	27.4	27.7	80.2
Other	3	178	17.3	17.5	97.7
Unknown	4	23	2.2	2.3	100.0
Missing	5	13	1.3	Missing	
Total		1030	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1017 Missing cases 13

Table B17: Victim's sex, anti-Semitic incidents.

Table B18.

PERPETRATOR'S SEX, ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS

PERPSEX Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Unknown	1	773	75.0	75.0	75.0
Male	2	232	22.5	22.5	97.6
Female	3	25	2.4	2.4	100.0
Total		1030	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1030 Missing cases 0

Table B18: Perpetrator's sex, anti-Semitic incidents.

Table B19. BLACK PERPETRATORS BY GENDER, ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS

PERPSEX					
Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	107	89.9	89.9	89.9
Female	2	7	5.9	5.9	95.8
Unknown	3	5	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total		119	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	119	Missing cases	0		

Table B19: Black perpetrators by gender, anti-Semitic incidents.

Table B20. WHITE PERPETRATORS BY GENDER, ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS

PERPSEX					
Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	50	86.2	86.2	86.2
Female	2	7	12.1	12.1	98.3
Unknown	3	1	1.7	1.7	100.0
Total		58	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	58	Missing cases	0		

Table B20: White perpetrators by gender, anti-Semitic incidents.

Table B21. HISPANIC PERPETRATORS BY GENDER, ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS

PERPSEX					
Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	7	70.0	70.0	70.0
Female	2	2	20.0	20.0	90.0
Unknown	3	1	10.0	10.0	100.0
Total		10	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	10	Missing cases	0		

*Table B21: Hispanic perpetrators by gender, anti-Semitic incidents.
There was no Asian anti-Semitic perpetrator documented for the entire five-year period.*

Table B22.VICTIM'S ETHNICITY, ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS

VICETH Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
White	1	337	64.6	64.6	64.6
Black	2	67	12.8	12.8	77.4
Hispanic	3	59	11.3	11.3	88.7
Unknown	4	31	5.9	5.9	94.6
Institut	5	15	2.9	2.9	97.5
Jewish	6	7	1.3	1.3	98.9
Asian	7	4	.8	.8	99.6
Public	8	2	.4	.4	100.0
Total		522	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 522 Missing cases 0

Table B22: Victim's ethnicity, anti-gay incidents.

Table B23.VICTIM'S SEX, ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS

VICTSEX Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	419	80.3	80.3	80.3
Female	2	76	14.6	14.6	94.8
Other	3	24	4.6	4.6	99.4
Unknown	4	3	.6	.6	100.0
Total		522	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 522 Missing cases 0

Table B23: Victim's sex, anti-gay incidents.

Table B24.PERPETRATOR'S SEX, ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS

PERPSEX Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	334	64.0	64.0	64.0
Unknown	2	166	31.8	31.8	95.8
Female	3	20	3.8	3.8	99.6
M&F	4	2	.4	.4	100.0
Total		522	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 522 Missing cases 0

Table B24: Perpetrator's sex, anti-gay incidents.

Table B25.BLACK VICTIMS BY GENDER, ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS

VICTSEX

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	57	85.1	85.1	85.1
Female	2	9	13.4	13.4	98.5
Unknown	3	1	1.5	1.5	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
Total		67	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	67	Missing cases	0		

Table B25: Black victims by gender, anti-gay incidents.

Table B26.BLACK PERPETRATORS BY GENDER, ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS

PERPSEX

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	77	89.5	89.5	89.5
Female	2	5	5.8	5.8	95.3
Unknown	3	4	4.7	4.7	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
Total		86	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	86	Missing cases	0		

Table B26: Black perpetrators by gender, anti-gay incidents.

Table B27.WHITE VICTIMS BY GENDER, ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS

VICTSEX					
Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	285	84.6	84.6	84.6
Female	2	50	14.8	14.8	99.4
Other	3	1	.3	.3	99.7
Unknown	4	1	.3	.3	100.0
Total		----- 337	----- 100.0	----- 100.0	
Valid cases	337	Missing cases	0		

Table B27: White victims by gender, anti-gay incidents.

Table B28.WHITE PERPETRATORS BY GENDER, ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS

PERPSEX					
Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	74	89.2	89.2	89.2
Female	2	8	9.6	9.6	98.8
Unknown	3	1	1.2	1.2	100.0
Total		----- 83	----- 100.0	----- 100.0	
Valid cases	83	Missing cases	0		

Table B28: White perpetrators by gender, anti-gay incidents.

Table B29.HISPANIC VICTIMS BY GENDER, ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS

VICTSEX

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	48	81.4	81.4	81.4
Female	2	11	18.6	18.6	100.0
Total		----- 59	----- 100.0	----- 100.0	
Valid cases	59	Missing cases	0		

Table B29: Hispanic victims by gender, anti-gay incidents.

Table B30.HISPANIC PERPETRATORS BY GENDER, ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS

PERPSEX

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	87	92.6	92.6	92.6
Female	2	5	5.3	5.3	97.9
Unknown	3	1	1.1	1.1	98.9
M&F	4	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total		----- 94	----- 100.0	----- 100.0	
Valid cases	94	Missing cases	0		

Table B30: Hispanic perpetrators by gender, anti-gay incidents.

Table B31.JEWISH VICTIMS BY GENDER, ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS

VICTSEX

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	5	71.4	71.4	71.4
Female	2	2	28.6	28.6	100.0
Total		----- 7	----- 100.0	----- 100.0	
Valid cases	7	Missing cases	0		

Table B31: Jewish victims by gender, anti-gay incidents.

Table B32.ASIAN VICTIMS BY GENDER, ANTI-GAY INCIDENTS

VICTSEX

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	1	3	75.0	75.0	75.0
Female	2	1	25.0	25.0	100.0
Total		----- 4	----- 100.0	----- 100.0	
Valid cases	4	Missing cases	0		

Table B32: Asian victims by gender, anti-gay incidents. There was no Jewish or Asian anti-gay perpetrator documented for the entire five-year period.

TABLE 1F.

VICTIM'S AGE, ALL TYPES

VICTAGE

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	1	1	.0	.0	.0
	3	1	.0	.0	.1
	5	1	.0	.0	.1
	6	1	.0	.0	.2
	7	1	.0	.0	.2
	8	5	.1	.2	.4
	10	7	.2	.3	.7
	11	18	.5	.8	1.5
	12	35	1.0	1.5	3.0
	13	40	1.2	1.7	4.6
	14	44	1.3	1.9	6.5
	15	54	1.6	2.3	8.8
	16	52	1.5	2.2	11.0
	17	38	1.1	1.6	12.6
	18	35	1.0	1.5	14.0
	19	37	1.1	1.6	15.6
	20	33	1.0	1.4	17.0
	21	41	1.2	1.7	18.7
	22	40	1.2	1.7	20.4
	23	45	1.3	1.9	22.3
	24	62	1.8	2.6	24.9
	25	63	1.9	2.7	27.6
	26	56	1.7	2.4	29.9
	27	67	2.0	2.8	32.8
	28	55	1.6	2.3	35.1
	29	54	1.6	2.3	37.4
	30	89	2.6	3.8	41.1
	31	69	2.0	2.9	44.0
	32	72	2.1	3.0	47.0
	33	74	2.2	3.1	50.2
	34	56	1.7	2.4	52.5
	35	63	1.9	2.7	55.2
	36	54	1.6	2.3	57.5
	37	78	2.3	3.3	60.8
	38	55	1.6	2.3	63.1
	39	70	2.1	3.0	66.0
	40	58	1.7	2.4	68.5
	41	48	1.4	2.0	70.5
	42	66	2.0	2.8	73.3
	43	52	1.5	2.2	75.5
	44	44	1.3	1.9	77.3
	45	42	1.2	1.8	79.1
	46	27	.8	1.1	80.2
	47	31	.9	1.3	81.5
	48	33	1.0	1.4	82.9
	49	37	1.1	1.6	84.5
	50	47	1.4	2.0	86.5
	51	28	.8	1.2	87.6
	52	24	.7	1.0	88.7
	53	24	.7	1.0	89.7
	54	15	.4	.6	90.3
	55	18	.5	.8	91.1

(continued on next page.)

VICTAGE

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	56	11	.3	.5	91.5
	57	11	.3	.5	92.0
	58	9	.3	.4	92.4
	59	17	.5	.7	93.1
	60	13	.4	.5	93.6
	61	7	.2	.3	93.9
	62	8	.2	.3	94.3
	63	12	.4	.5	94.8
	64	7	.2	.3	95.1
	65	11	.3	.5	95.5
	66	11	.3	.5	96.0
	67	10	.3	.4	96.4
	68	11	.3	.5	96.9
	69	8	.2	.3	97.2
	70	9	.3	.4	97.6
	71	6	.2	.3	97.8
	72	1	.0	.0	97.9
	73	10	.3	.4	98.3
	74	3	.1	.1	98.4
	75	8	.2	.3	98.8
	76	6	.2	.3	99.0
	77	7	.2	.3	99.3
	78	5	.1	.2	99.5
	80	5	.1	.2	99.7
	81	2	.1	.1	99.8
	82	2	.1	.1	99.9
	83	1	.0	.0	100.0
	88	1	.0	.0	100.0
	0	996	29.6	Missing	
	Total	3368	100.0	100.0	
Mean	35.015	Median	33.000	Mode	30.000
Std dev	14.756	Skewness	.638	S E Skew	.050
Range	87.000				
Valid cases	2372	Missing cases	996		

Table 1F: Victim's Age, All Types.

TABLE 1G.

PERPETRATOR'S AGE, ALL TYPES

PERPAGE

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	3	1	.0	.3	.3
	10	7	.2	2.1	2.4
	11	5	.1	1.5	3.9
	12	4	.1	1.2	5.1
	13	8	.2	2.4	7.5
	14	10	.3	3.0	10.5
	*15	21	.6	6.3	16.9
	16	19	.6	5.7	22.6
	*17	21	.6	6.3	28.9
	18	6	.2	1.8	30.7
	19	12	.4	3.6	34.3
	20	20	.6	6.0	40.4
	21	7	.2	2.1	42.5
	22	10	.3	3.0	45.5
	23	7	.2	2.1	47.6
	24	3	.1	.9	48.5
	25	10	.3	3.0	51.5
	26	7	.2	2.1	53.6
	27	7	.2	2.1	55.7
	28	7	.2	2.1	57.8
	29	7	.2	2.1	59.9
	30	20	.6	6.0	66.0
	31	4	.1	1.2	67.2
	32	5	.1	1.5	68.7
	33	2	.1	.6	69.3
	34	2	.1	.6	69.9
	35	11	.3	3.3	73.2
	36	6	.2	1.8	75.0
	37	8	.2	2.4	77.4
	38	6	.2	1.8	79.2
	39	2	.1	.6	79.8
	40	11	.3	3.3	83.1
	41	8	.2	2.4	85.5
	42	3	.1	.9	86.4
	43	4	.1	1.2	87.7
	44	1	.0	.3	88.0
	45	3	.1	.9	88.9
	48	1	.0	.3	89.2
	50	12	.4	3.6	92.8
	51	1	.0	.3	93.1
	53	2	.1	.6	93.7
	54	1	.0	.3	94.0
	55	2	.1	.6	94.6
	59	2	.1	.6	95.2
	60	5	.1	1.5	96.7
	62	2	.1	.6	97.3
	63	1	.0	.3	97.6
	65	4	.1	1.2	98.8

(continued on next page.)

PERPAGE

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	68	1	.0	.3	99.1
	73	1	.0	.3	99.4
	74	1	.0	.3	99.7
	84	1	.0	.3	100.0
	0	3036	90.1	Missing	
	Total	3368	100.0	100.0	
Mean	28.166	Median	25.000	Mode	15.000
Std dev	14.033	Skewness	1.088	S E Skew	.134
Range	81.000				

* Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown.

Valid cases 332 Missing cases 3036

Table 1G: Perpetrator's Age. All Types.

MAJOR TYPES OF INCIDENTS NATIONAL REPORTS, 1991-1993.

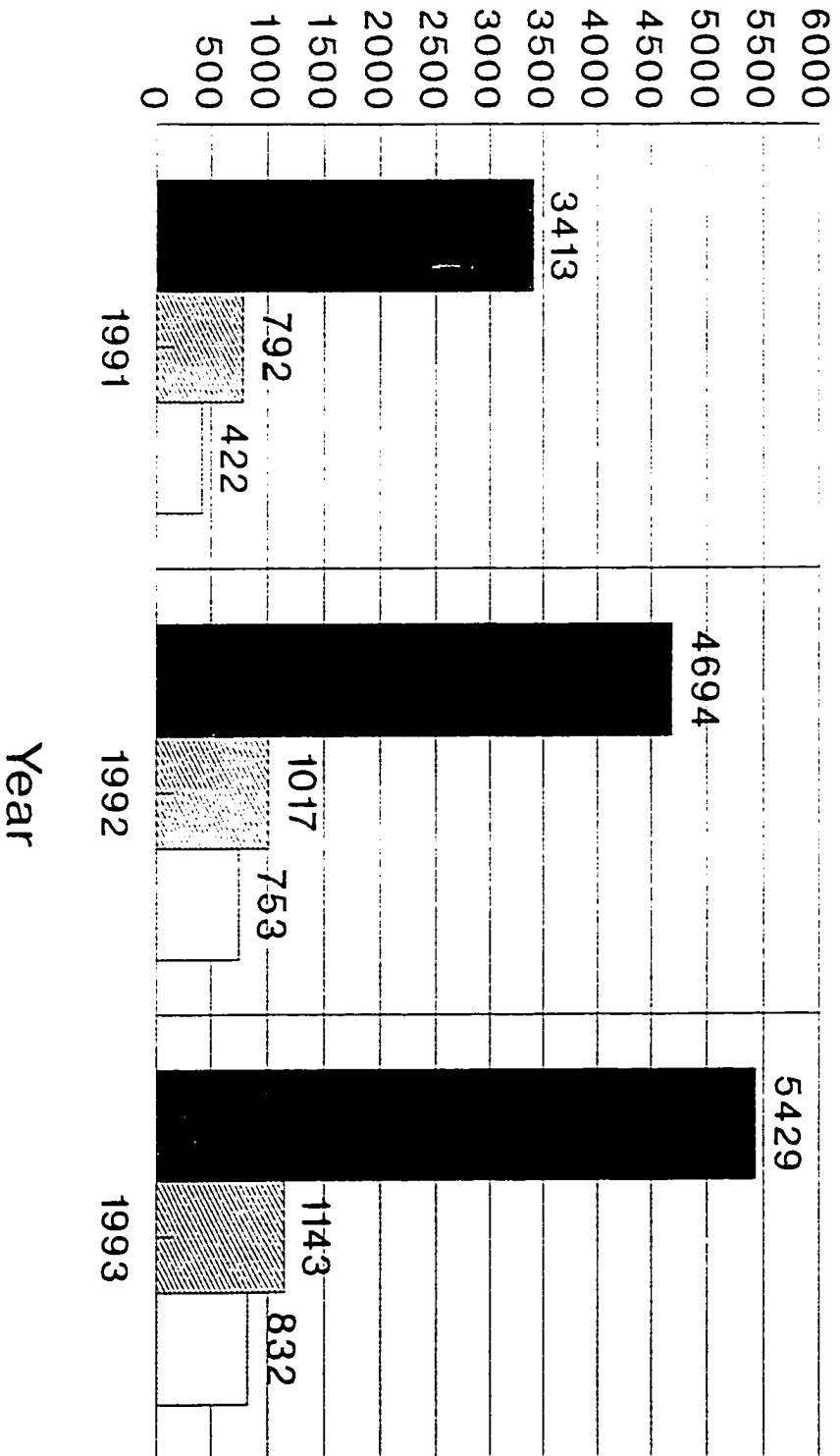


Chart B1.
Source: FBI Uniform Crime Reports

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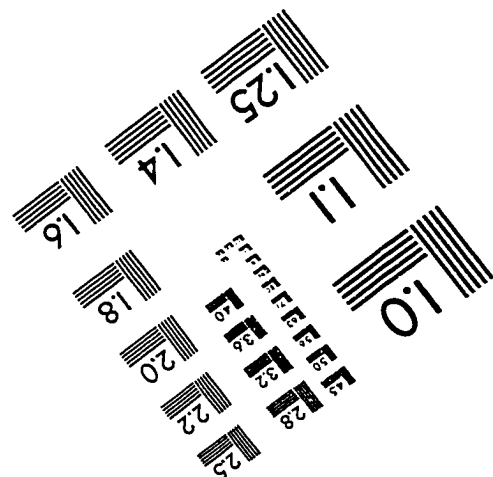
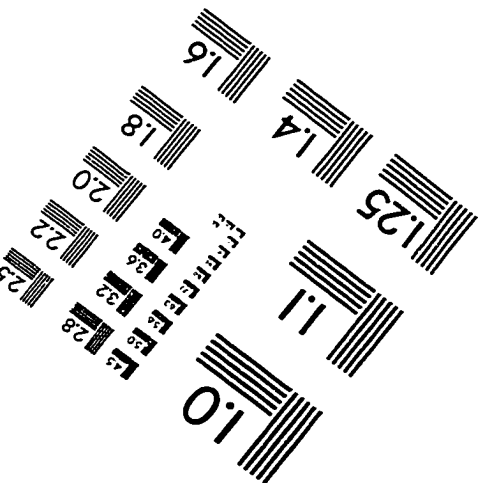
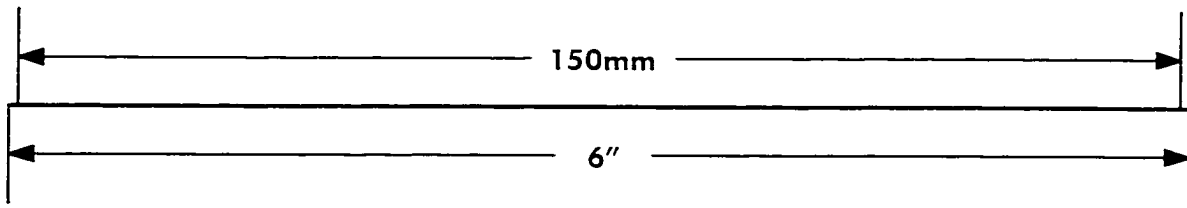
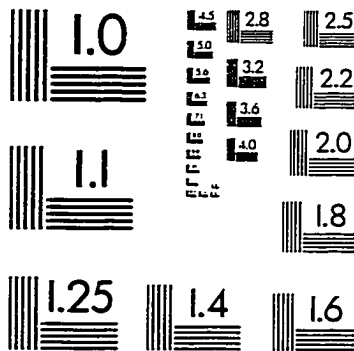
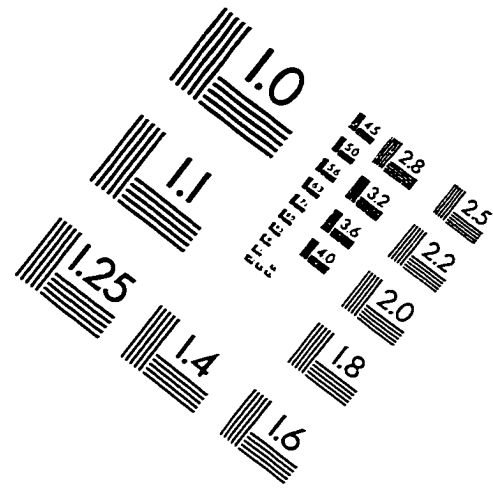
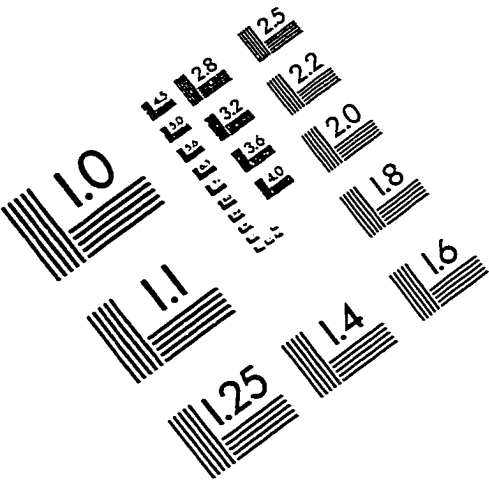
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