

2023-2024 ANNUAL REPORT

COMMISSION ON THE STATE OF HATE

Civil Rights Department



This report has been prepared pursuant to Government Code section 8010(k), which requires the Commission on the State of Hate to issue an Annual State of Hate Commission Report.

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A MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIR

In the past year, the Commission made significant strides to advance our vision of a California free of hate. We compiled data on hate crimes and incidents in California, reviewed hundreds of research studies, consulted with subject matter experts, and hosted community forums throughout the state. From this knowledge base, we developed interim recommendations for policies and tools to advance California's efforts to combat hate violence and its pernicious effects. Throughout the year, we also helped connect victims of hate with resources through the California vs Hate Resource Line and Network, the state's first-ever statewide hotline and resource network aimed at combatting hate. Although progress has been made, much work remains.

California continues to face elevated levels of hate activity, impacting individuals and communities statewide. Since the writing of this report, the California Department of Justice released new data on hate crimes reported to law enforcement in 2023 showing that, although reported hate crimes declined somewhat in 2023, hate crimes remain at historically high levels. Moreover, acts of hate continue to target communities facing widespread discrimination and adversity. For example, as in previous years, in 2023, hate crimes disproportionately targeted Black Californians. These crimes are part of a broader scourge of racism in nearly every area of modern life, including employment, housing, and the criminal legal system. The data also point to the rise in hate crimes in 2023 against the LGBTQ+ community, which continues to be under attack by national political movements and political leaders. Hundreds of anti-LGBTQ+ bills have been introduced in state legislatures across the country in recent years, many of which target transgender people. The ongoing crisis in Israel and Gaza has resulted in a devastating wave of hate violence in California against people who are, or perceived to be, Jewish, Muslim, Palestinian, Israeli, or Arab. Reported anti-Muslim and anti-Jewish hate crimes both increased more than 50% between 2022 and 2023. We continue to monitor the evolving landscape here in California.

This second annual Commission report describes our progress over the first full year of the Commission's operations to understand and curtail these troubling trends. Understanding the scale and scope of hate activity in California is essential for developing policies to combat hate. To that end, over the past year, the Commission gathered and reviewed data from various sources on trends and patterns in hate activity in the state. We also took a careful look at gaps in existing data and supported research studies to address some of these gaps. To understand how the State might reduce and prevent hate, we took an honest look at existing research and assessed how anti-hate interventions are working. We also investigated how to improve resources and support for individuals and communities targeted for hate. Throughout the year, we hosted public forums around the state featuring community-based organizations, academics, and other subject matter experts on a range of pressing topics impacting Californians, including the mental health impacts of hate and the impacts of hate on public institutions.

This report introduces interim recommendations for policies and tools to create a California free of hate. We are producing provisional recommendations, at this stage, in order to balance the urgent need to intervene in the crisis of hate today with our ongoing fact-finding and research. As the Commission continues our work, I encourage you to join us. We warmly invite all Californians to share feedback with the Commission and participate in our events. Anyone can sign up for the Commission's listserv on our website to receive invitations to our public meetings and community

forums: <https://calcivilrights.ca.gov/commission-on-the-state-of-hate/>. We look forward to hearing from you as we work to bring about a California that welcomes and celebrates all its people.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Russell Roybal". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style.

Russell Roybal
Chair, Commission on the State of Hate

CALIFORNIA CIVIL RIGHTS DEPARTMENT: DIRECTOR'S LETTER

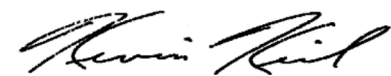
The California Civil Rights Department (CRD) is proud to support the Commission on the State of Hate. For decades CRD has protected the rights of the people of California in housing, employment, public accommodations, government programs, and many other aspects of everyday life. Unfortunately, findings of this report reflect what our department knows too well: discrimination and hate are persistent, widespread problems that continue to adversely impact California.

The stubborn persistence of hate and discrimination in California demands innovative, evidence-based policy solutions. The Commission is making tremendous progress toward developing such solutions. With support from CRD staff, the Commission is rigorously reviewing and synthesizing data and research. To ensure their work is community-centered, the Commission has hosted numerous community forums and consulted with community-based organizations across the state. From these efforts, the Commission has developed this foundational report containing a preliminary set of tools and policy recommendations for enhancing the State's efforts to monitor, prevent, and respond to hate activity in California.

As the report discusses, the manifestations of hate and their impacts are multifaceted, necessitating a multi-pronged approach to combatting hate. The Commission on the State of Hate is one of many anti-hate efforts in CRD's portfolio. Each year, CRD investigates, helps resolve, and prosecutes in court [complaints of discrimination and hate](#) that Californians file with our department. In 2023, CRD launched the [California vs Hate Resource Line and Network \(CA vs Hate\)](#), the state's first-ever multilingual statewide hotline and resource network that allows Californians to report an act of hate and receive care coordination services. In the first full year of operations, CA vs Hate received [1,020 reports of hate](#) from nearly 80% of counties in California. Since 2022, our department has provided [community conflict resolution services](#) across California to promote peaceful relations within communities experiencing discrimination and hate. And, our department continues to [conduct outreach and provide training and tools](#) to teach Californians about their civil rights – with the ultimate goal of preventing hate and discrimination from happening.

We are grateful for the generosity of Commission members who have volunteered their time and expertise to engage in this important work. Our work would not be possible without their commitment, the support of the Governor and Legislature, the expertise of the many community-based organizations and research institutions that have partnered with us, and the people who shared their stories. I encourage you to take advantage of the resources CRD offers and join a Commission event to have your voice heard.

Sincerely,



Kevin Kish

Director, California Civil Rights Department

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Commission on the State of Hate (Commission) was established at the Civil Rights Department to assist the State of California with monitoring, preventing, and responding to hate. In our first Annual Report, we introduced our strategic plan. It has three goals:

- Provide a comprehensive accounting of hate activity in California.
- Develop recommendations for enhancing the resources and support for people and communities affected by hate.
- Develop recommendations for reducing hate crimes.

This second Annual Report details the Commission's progress on each of our strategic goals, summarizing our substantive findings and key activities from July 1, 2023, through June 30, 2024. We generated the findings through rigorous reviews of research and data, consultations with subject matter experts, and comments from the public and community-based organizations. This report introduces 19 interim recommendations for policies and three sets of tools to combat hate in California.

THE STATE OF HATE IN CALIFORNIA: PATTERNS, TRENDS, AND DATA

To provide a comprehensive accounting of hate in California, we synthesize existing data sets to describe statewide patterns and trends in hate. Among those trends are an observed spike in hate crimes reported to law enforcement between 2020 and 2022. During that time, reported hate crimes increased substantially each year, ranging from 20% to 32%. Though published statewide law enforcement data from 2023 is not available at the time of this writing, we summarize preliminary law enforcement data documenting a rise in reported hate crimes in most, though not all, of California's largest cities in 2023. We also document a rise in 2023 in hate crimes and incidents throughout California targeting members of the Jewish, Muslim, Palestinian, Israeli, and Arab communities, as well as those who were perceived as belonging to or allied with those communities.

The accounting describes patterns and trends in hate activity motivated by bias toward many groups within California, including hate against religious communities; anti-LGBTQ+ hate; race-, ethnicity-, and national-origin-based hate; and hate against underrepresented communities in California. For instance:

- In 2022, according to data from the California Department of Justice, reported antireligious hate crimes surged. Anti-Jewish hate crimes increased 24.3% between 2021 and 2022, reaching their highest level since at least the 10 years before.
- Data from the California Department of Justice on reported hate crimes against other religious groups, such as Catholics, Protestants, Sikhs, and Muslims, are sparse. This precludes making reliable comparisons between years and reflects significant gaps in law enforcement data for some groups. For instance, a significant factor contributing to the low numbers of anti-Muslim hate crimes is a distrust in law enforcement.
- In 2022, anti-transgender and anti-sexual orientation hate crimes reported to law enforcement in California reached their highest levels since at least 2013.
- Between 2021 and 2022, anti-Black hate crimes increased more (27%) than hate crimes overall in California (20%).

Note: This report was updated March 13, 2025, to correct typos, formatting, and other minor errors in the previous version.

- Despite a drop in reported anti-Asian hate crimes in 2022, the number of anti-Asian hate crimes remained at historic levels – between two and four times higher than the years before the COVID-19 pandemic.
- Many acts of hate against people who are undocumented go unreported. Though the California Department of Justice collects data on “anti-citizenship status” hate crimes, the available data is extremely sparse.
- California has the fifth highest number of reports of missing and murdered Indigenous people in the country, and they are disproportionately women, girls, Two-Spirit individuals, and LGBTQ+ individuals.²
- Though only 12 anti-disability hate crime events appeared in data from the California Department of Justice in 2022, this is likely a substantial underestimation of the prevalence of anti-disability hate crimes. Members of the disability community often have trouble reporting to law enforcement due to several factors, such as a lack of proper accommodations among law enforcement.
- Because housing status is not a protected characteristic under existing law, bias and violence targeting individuals because they are unhoused is not tracked in many data sets, including data from the California Department of Justice. National data indicates that the unhoused population is disproportionately at risk of experiencing violence.

Among the patterns and trends we document is the complex relationship between hate and public institutions. We examined the research on this relationship in three respects. First, during high-profile events, such as significant elections, hate crimes and incidents often increase. Understanding this pattern is critical for helping communities and governments prepare for potential increases in hate. Second, evidence indicates that hate-based rhetoric from political leaders can embolden others to express and act on their prejudices. Third, attacks, violence, threats, harassment, and hate against public officials and in public meetings are widespread. In a survey of over 300 elected officials in San Diego County, 75% of officials reported experiencing threats and harassment. Half reported receiving threats or harassment monthly. Many of these acts were hate-based, arose out of discussions of anti-hate policies, and disproportionately targeted officials underrepresented in leadership positions, including people of color, women, and LGBTQ+ people.

Despite the many data sets documenting hate in California, significant knowledge gaps remain. We describe these gaps and summarize our work to address them through an original research study in partnership with the UCLA Center for Health Policy Research. We also introduce an interim model research framework that other entities, such as local governments and nongovernmental organizations, may implement to measure the prevalence of hate, its impacts, and the needs of victims of hate in their communities. In addition, we include seven interim policy recommendations for closing the data gaps and addressing hate against public officials and at public meetings.

2 Sharp, A. (2023, November 21). The crisis of missing and murdered Indigenous people in California and the push for change. *CBS Sacramento*. <https://www.cbsnews.com/sacramento/news/the-crisis-of-missing-and-murdered-indigenous-people-in-california-and-the-push-for-change/>

ENHANCING RESOURCES AND SUPPORT

Hate and discrimination have devastating, multifaceted impacts, including mental health, physical health, and economic impacts. For instance:

- In a study in Sacramento, lesbian and gay survivors of hate crimes exhibited substantially more severe psychological consequences than lesbian and gay survivors of crimes that did not appear to be motivated by bias.³ These consequences included greater depression, anger, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress.
- A review of nearly 300 studies examining the health effects of racism on Asian American, Latine, and Black populations demonstrated that experiencing racism is associated with negative mental health impacts, including depression, anxiety, and psychological distress.⁴
- Experiencing hate and discrimination can result in altered brain development and higher levels of stress hormones, inflammation, blood pressure, and risk of obesity.
- Hate can inflict fear, diminish a sense of belonging, and serve to exclude or even expel a group from a community.
- Nationally, the economic cost of hate crimes is estimated to be between \$3.4 and \$3.7 billion annually.⁵

It is vital for the State of California to build a robust infrastructure of resources and support. Over the past year, the Commission has examined existing resources and support in California in several respects. First, we examined the responses to the 2023 mass shootings at Half Moon Bay and Monterey Park. The report contains a case study that articulates seven lessons learned from those events:

- Government resources should be ready within 48 hours.
- Collaborations between government and community partners are critical.
- Affected individuals need a continuum of services.
- Mental health services should be easily accessible.
- Resources and services should be available in a variety of languages.
- Access to resources and services should be streamlined.
- Systems for long-term support should be established.

The Commission also examined law enforcement responses to hate in California. We identified three significant gaps in law enforcement response:

- Law enforcement data significantly undercount the prevalence of hate. In California, nearly 28% of all counties reported one or fewer hate crime events, and 17% reported zero hate crime events for 2022. Nationally, the number of hate crimes in law enforcement data ranges from half to fewer than 3% of the total number that actually happen.⁶

3 Herek, G. M., Gillis, J. R., & Cogan, J. C. (1999). Psychological sequelae of hate-crime victimization among lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 67(6), 945–951. <https://doi.org/10.1037//0022-006x.67.6.945>

4 Paradies, Y., Ben, J., Denson, N., Elias, A., Priest, N., Pieterse, A., Gupta, A., Kelaheer, M., & Gee, G. (2015). Racism as a determinant of health: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *PLoS ONE*, 10(9), e0138511. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0138511>

5 Martell, M. E. (2023). Economic costs of hate crimes. *Bard Center for the Study of Hate*. https://bcsh.bard.edu/files/2023/03/BCSH-Economic-Cost-of-Hate_3-13-23_Online-.pdf

6 Harlow, C. W. (2005, November). Hate crime reported by victims and police. Office of Justice Programs. <https://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/hcrvp.pdf>; Southern Poverty Law Center. (2006, January 31). *Report: FBI hate crime statistics vastly understate problem*. <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2006/report-fbi-hate-crime-statistics-vastly-understate-problem>; Miller-Idriss, C. (2022, December 16). The FBI's 2021 hate crime data is worse than meaningless. *Lawfare*. <https://www.lawfaremedia.org/article/fbis-2021-hate-crime-data-worse-meaningless>

- There are no active statewide requirements for law enforcement on hate crimes after law enforcement officers are appointed or sworn in. This raises troubling questions about whether law enforcement is equipped to respond to hate effectively.
- We are unaware of research demonstrating the efficacy of existing law enforcement trainings on hate crimes. In 2021, the Little Hoover Commission recommended establishing a process to conduct such research to improve training.⁷

Over the past year, the Commission has been collaborating with the Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training to develop a new training for law enforcement officers on responding effectively and appropriately to reports of hate. To develop the content and structure of the training, we reviewed research on best practices for training and gathered community input. The report includes a summary of our findings from these efforts.

A critical provider of resources and support for victims of hate are community-based organizations. The Commission examined the work of these organizations, and we provide interim recommendations for supporting them.

We describe seven interim policy recommendations to improve resources and support for victims and survivors of hate, including recommendations for improving responses to mass casualty events, addressing the gaps in law enforcement response, and supporting community-based organizations.

CREATING A CALIFORNIA FREE OF HATE: HATE PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION

The Commission has conducted two extensive reviews of research studies to understand how to build a California free of hate through prevention and intervention. The first review examines the research on interventions to prevent and reduce hate in K-12 schools. It contains insights about school programs and interventions that employ a variety of mechanisms and approaches for preventing hate, including intergroup contact; socio-cognitive approaches; information, knowledge, and awareness programs; social and emotional learning; perspective-taking; and moral reasoning. The review also examines conflict reduction and bullying prevention programs. Among other insights, the Commission finds:

- Youth begin to develop bias and prejudice early, often around the age of five.⁸
- The prevalence of hate crimes at schools appears to be growing, with more than 1,000 hate crimes occurring in schools in 2022.⁹
- Though interventions based on intergroup contact can reduce prejudiced and biased behaviors of students and adults, they do not always do so and may lead to unintended negative consequences. As an alternative, interventions where students are encouraged to imagine intergroup contact may be effective for reducing prejudice while avoiding the unintended consequences of direct intergroup contact.
- Some studies have demonstrated that learning about discrimination can improve students' ability to detect, and in some cases, challenge, discrimination.

7 Little Hoover Commission. (2021). *Law enforcement training: Identifying what works for officers and communities*. <https://lhc.ca.gov/report/law-enforcement-training-identifying-what-works-officers-and-communities/>

8 Raabe, T., & Beelmann, A. (2011). Development of ethnic, racial, and national prejudice in childhood and adolescence: A multinational meta-analysis of age differences. *Child Development*, 82(6), 1715–1737. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2011.01668.x>

9 Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2024). *Reported Hate Crime at Schools: 2018-2022*. U.S. Department of Justice. <https://www.justice.gov/hatecrimes/reported-hate-crimes-schools/dl?inline=>

- Studies of two social and emotional learning programs (the Roots of Empathy and Second Step programs) found that the programs result in improved outcomes, such as reductions in student aggression, difficult behavior, and homophobic bullying.¹⁰
- In a systematic review of restorative justice practices in schools, researchers found that schools that implemented restorative justice practices reported lower rates of student misconduct, injuries, school crimes, aggression, bullying, violence, and cyberbullying.¹¹
- There are significant gaps in the research we reviewed. Though many studies have demonstrated that some existing programs and interventions lead to positive, prosocial outcomes generally, they often do not measure the effectiveness of the programs on hate-based attitudes and behaviors specifically.
- Among the studies that measure the impact of school programs and interventions on hate, there are gaps. For instance, studies tend to measure short-term impacts. They also tend to focus on measuring outcomes for majority groups, rather than understanding the direct impacts of interventions on groups who are most at risk of experiencing hate.

The Commission has compiled the findings from the review to develop the following interim guiding principles for designing and implementing school programs:

- Review evidence related to the program.
- Implement programs with evidence-based mechanisms.
- Combine mechanisms where possible.
- Monitor the impacts on students and, when possible, collect data.
- Follow general best practices for implementing educational programs.

The second research review examines how public messaging campaigns can be used to prevent hate. It begins by synthesizing findings from research on social psychological interventions primarily targeted at reducing bias, prejudice, and other forms of hate-related beliefs and opinions. Although reducing hate-related beliefs and opinions is an important goal, doing so may not necessarily result in a decrease in hate violence. Therefore, the Commission also reviewed research on norms that examines how perceptions of social norms can result in tangible shifts in behaviors. The Commission's findings include:

- An intervention as simple as bringing awareness to the fact that someone has friendships with people in a group different than their own can decrease prejudice against that group comparable to the effect of direct contact with that group.
- Conversations in which a person participated in perspective-taking exercises related to the experiences of transgender and undocumented people reduced prejudice against those groups for at least four months.¹²

10 Schonert-Reichl, K. A., Smith, V., Zaidman-Zait, A., & Hertzman, C. (2012). Promoting children's prosocial behaviors in school: Impact of the "Roots of Empathy" program on the social and emotional competence of school-aged children. *School Mental Health: A Multidisciplinary Research and Practice Journal*, 4(1), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12310-011-9064-7>; Espelage, D. L., Low, S., Polanin, J. R., & Brown, E. C. (2015). Clinical trial of Second Step© middle-school program: Impact on aggression & victimization. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 37, 52–63. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2014.11.007> Connolly, P., Miller, S., Kee, F., Sloan, S., Gildea, A., McIntosh, E., Boyer, N., & Bland, M. (2018). A cluster randomised controlled trial and evaluation and cost-effectiveness analysis of the Roots of Empathy schools-based programme for improving social and emotional well-being outcomes among 8- to 9-year-olds in Northern Ireland. *Public Health Research*, 6(4). <https://doi.org/10.3310/phr06040>

11 Lodi, E., Perrella, L., Lepri, G. L., Scarpa, M. L., & Patrizi, P. (2022). Use of restorative justice and restorative practices at school: A systematic literature review. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 19(1), 96. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph19010096>

12 Kalla, J. L., & Broockman, D. E. (2020). Reducing exclusionary attitudes through interpersonal conversation: Evidence from three field experiments. *American Political Science Review*, 114(2), 410–425. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055419000923>

- Fictional characters, celebrities, and stories may be effective vehicles for reducing prejudice.
- Reducing prejudice is important, but scholars have noted that attitudes and beliefs are not reliable predictors of a person’s behavior. Consequently, interventions that reduce prejudice and hate-based beliefs may not necessarily lead to reductions in hate-based behaviors.
- When designing communication interventions, researchers generally find that emphasizing injunctive norms (perceptions about behaviors that should and should not be done) shapes behavior more strongly than emphasizing descriptive norms (perceptions about behaviors that are common or typical).
- Norms can be used in public messages to promote inclusion on college campuses. In a study of thousands of college students, researchers examined the impact of posters and videos with pro-diversity messages and statistics demonstrating that nearly all students at the school agreed with the pro-diversity messages.¹³ Students who viewed the posters and videos reported more pro-diversity and inclusive attitudes.
- Collective viewing of anti-hate messages with a group of people can increase the effectiveness of the messages.¹⁴
- Messages from political leaders can pacify violent attitudes. In one study, messages of antiviolence from either Biden or Trump reduced support for violence among strongly partisan respondents, regardless of whether the respondent was Republican or Democrat.¹⁵
- Despite the many studies on interventions to reduce hate-related beliefs and behaviors, there are several gaps in the literature. For instance, studies on reducing hate-related beliefs are often conducted in laboratory settings, rather than real-world contexts. In addition, studies often do not measure whether the effects of interventions persist long-term.

The Commission developed the following interim evidence-based guiding principles for designing and implementing public messaging campaigns to prevent and reduce hate:

- Emphasize relationships across groups.
- Encourage empathy and perspective-taking.
- Highlight egalitarian values.
- Employ narratives, stories, and entertainment.
- Emphasize and align descriptive and injunctive norms.
- Provide a group-based context for processing messages.
- Align and combine interventions.
- Consider the messenger and the audience.

Based on the two literature reviews, the Commission developed five interim policy recommendations for preventing hate through school programs and public messaging campaigns.

The report ends with a summary of Commission activities from July 1, 2023, through June 30, 2024. We include a description of the research projects the Commission is supporting and an overview of our community forums and future activities. In the upcoming year, we plan to investigate pressing topics,

13 Murrar, S., Campbell, M. R., & Brauer, M. (2020). Exposure to peers’ pro-diversity attitudes increases inclusion and reduces the achievement gap. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 4, 889–897. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-020-0899-5>

14 Paluck, E. L., & Chwe, M. S.-Y. (2017). Confronting hate collectively. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 50(4), 990–992. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096517001123>

15 Kalmoe, N. P., & Mason, L. (2022). *Radical American partisanship: Mapping violent hostility, its causes, and the consequences for democracy*. University of Chicago Press. <https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/R/bo163195227.html>

including hate online and the role of the criminal legal system in addressing hate crimes. We also plan to publicize our findings and continue to learn from, and work with, subject matter experts, other government entities, community leaders, community-based organizations, and members of the public. Through these efforts, we intend to deepen our work toward each of our strategic goals and design additional policy recommendations to create a more inclusive California, free of hate.

INTERIM POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Understanding the State of Hate

1. Establish Ongoing Funding for Developing a Comprehensive Accounting of Hate
2. Increase Information and Data Sharing between Public Entities and Community-Based Organizations

Addressing Hate against Public Officials and at Public Meetings

3. Enhance Training and Resources for Public Officials and Staff
4. Enhance Security for Public Officials and Public Meetings
5. Explore Amendments to Open Meeting Laws
6. Invest in Data and Research on Hate against Public Officials
7. Engage in Efforts to Shift Norms and Reassure Communities

Enhancing Resources and Support

8. Implement a Statewide Rapid Response Support Team
9. Address the Gaps in Law Enforcement Training Requirements
10. Implement Evidence-Based Law Enforcement Trainings
11. Enhance Public Education about Reporting Hate
12. Provide Ongoing Investments to Security Grants
13. Provide Ongoing Investments to California vs Hate
14. Provide Ongoing Investments to Community-Based Organizations

Creating a California Free of Hate

15. Invest in Evidence-Based School Interventions and Public Messaging Campaigns to Prevent Hate
16. Support Research and Data Collection on Prevention Initiatives
17. Support Collaborations between Researchers, Policymakers, and Practitioners
18. Incorporate Prevention Messages into Public Statements
19. Prepare Californians before Hate Occurs

Introduction

The past year was another sobering year with respect to hate in California as reported hate crimes in some of California's largest cities rose sharply. This continues a troubling trend of substantial year-over-year increases in reported hate crimes in California since 2020, including a 20% rise from 2021 to 2022. The impact of this swell in bias-motivated violence is multifaceted and far-reaching, affecting both individual victims and entire communities. In some cases, the impacts persist intergenerationally, adversely impacting the mental and physical health of communities over generations. Over the past year, the Commission on the State of Hate (Commission) has examined data and heard firsthand from adults and youth who have been targets of hate, ranging from microaggressions to brutal violence.

The increase in hate violence is happening within a broader political context where it is not uncommon for political leaders to use hate speech that pits one group against another and to advocate for policies that would harm communities especially vulnerable to hate. This includes attacks on inclusive educational curricula; attacks on efforts promoting diversity, equity, and inclusion; and bans on lifesaving gender affirming care for transgender and gender-expansive youth. The surge in hate violence over the past year also coincides with the tragic war between Israel and Hamas and its devastating impact on people in Israel and Gaza. This conflict has had ripple effects throughout California, including a wave of hate violence targeting people because they are, or are perceived to be, Jewish, Muslim, Palestinian, Israeli, or Arab.

To counter these trends, California is making historic investments in protecting Californians from hate violence. For example, in 2022, this Commission was established to engage in fact-finding and research on hate, including monitoring trends in hate; engage in community outreach and education; and develop evidence-based, community-informed policy recommendations to enhance the State's efforts to prevent and respond to hate.

In 2023, the Civil Rights Department launched the California vs Hate Resource Line and Network (CA vs Hate), which hundreds of people targeted for hate have already used to report hate and obtain support and services. Reports to CA vs Hate can be made in 15 different languages through the online portal and in over 200 languages when calling the hotline. Reports of hate violence have come in from across California, and the demand for resources and support is clear – over 60% of all people who reported hate also accepted care coordination services, such as direct or ongoing support accessing legal aid or counseling.¹⁶

In addition to establishing CA vs Hate and this Commission, California recently invested in a broad spectrum of initiatives to prevent hate and enhance resources and support for those affected by hate. These efforts include the Stop the Hate Grant Program, which has provided over \$130 million in funding to community-based organizations to support hate prevention initiatives and services to people impacted by hate; grants to media organizations aimed at publicizing resources and information about hate to specific communities; efforts by the California Department of Justice to assist local, state, and federal law enforcement authorities and community partners in addressing hate crimes; financial and other forms of support from the California Victim Compensation Board; and the CRD's Community Conflict Resolution Unit, which works to constructively manage and resolve conflicts in communities experiencing discrimination and hate.

The Commission is pleased to present this second annual report to the Governor, the Legislature, and the public. Among other topics, this report addresses the state of hate in California, the impacts of hate, California law enforcement responses to hate, the role of community-based organizations in providing resources and support, and the efficacy of interventions to reduce and prevent hate.

¹⁶ California Civil Rights Department. (2023, November 13). *CA vs Hate joins local government and community partners for launch of sixth annual United Against Hate Week.* <https://www.cavshate.org/news/uahw2023>

The report also includes a set of preliminary, evidence-based tools and recommendations for policymakers and communities to help combat hate violence. These include guiding principles for the development of school-based interventions and public messaging campaigns; an interim research framework that can be used to measure the prevalence of hate, its impacts, and the needs of victims; and interim recommendations to prevent hate and enhance resources and support for Californians experiencing hate.

Though the policy recommendations and tools in this year's report are preliminary, the Commission has chosen to include them given the pressing need to address hate in California. Over the next year, the Commission will continue to systematically review research, support original research studies, consult subject matter experts (including community-based organizations), and gather public input. As we do so, we may modify our tools and recommendations in future reports. Given the preliminary nature of the deliverables in this report, the Commission and CRD staff may be contacted to advise and provide further context about this report at CSH@CalCivilRights.ca.gov.

STRATEGIC PLAN OF THE COMMISSION ON THE STATE OF HATE

As detailed in last year's Commission on the State of Hate Annual Report, the Commission's vision is for California to be free of hate.¹⁷ To achieve this aspirational vision, we developed the following mission statement:

Strengthen California's efforts to monitor, prevent, and respond to hate activity, as well as support those targeted by hate, through community-informed research, education, and advisement.

The Commission's strategic plan consists of three strategic goals, each paired with a selection of key activities. The three goals are:

- Provide a comprehensive accounting of hate activity in California.
- Develop recommendations for reducing hate crimes.
- Develop recommendations for enhancing resources and support for people and communities affected by hate.

To accomplish these goals, which are rooted in the Commission's authorizing statute (California Government Code section 8010), the Commission is developing a foundation of knowledge for each goal. We are relying on two sources of information in this regard: empirical research and community input. The Commission has been systematically reviewing existing empirical research and data, consulting subject matter experts, and supporting original research studies and analyses where possible. In parallel, the Commission has been learning from communities through partnerships and consultations with community leaders and community-based organizations, as well as public comments at Commission meetings and community forums. To ensure a diverse set of community voices are represented in our work, we are also supporting research studies to interview and learn from community-based organizations and members of the public impacted by hate.

¹⁷ The 2022-2023 Commission on the State of Hate Annual Report is available via this link: <https://calcivilrights.ca.gov/commission-on-the-state-of-hate/commission-reports/>

The Commission's Vision, Mission, and Strategic Goals

VISION

A California free of hate

MISSION

Strengthen California's efforts to monitor, prevent, and respond to hate activity

STRATEGIC GOALS

1. Provide a comprehensive accounting of hate activity in California
2. Develop recommendations for reducing hate crimes
3. Develop recommendations for enhancing resources and support for people and communities affected by hate

FOUNDATION

Empirical research and community input

THE SCOPE OF THE COMMISSION'S WORK

As described in the last annual report, hate activity is broad and systemic, which presents challenges to demarcating precise boundaries around the Commission's efforts. Because harm can result from criminal and noncriminal acts of hate, the Commission decided to approach its work using an expansive definition of hate that includes both hate crimes and hate incidents.

The definition of "hate crime" that the Commission is using with respect to its work is enumerated in California Penal Code sections 422.55 and 422.56. These sections define a hate crime as a criminal act committed, in whole or in part, because of one or more actual or perceived characteristics of the victim, including race, color, disability, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, or gender (including gender identity), and/or because that person is a part of a protected group. A hate crime can also be based on someone's association with a person or group with one or more actual or perceived protected characteristics.

Regarding hate incidents, the Commission is using the following working definition with respect to its work:

- A hostile expression or action committed, in whole or in part, because of a person's actual or perceived identity(ies) or characteristic(s), including race, color, disability, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, or gender, including gender identity, and/or because that person is a part of a protected group.
- There are two main kinds of hate incidents: (1) acts of hate that are not crimes but violate civil rights laws and (2) acts of hate that may not violate the law. Both types cause significant harm to communities.

Hate incidents include, but are not limited to, epithets, distribution of hate material in public places, posting of hate material on public property that does not result in property damage, and the display of hate material on one's own property. However, if over an extended period of time a person directs numerous bigoted, biased, or prejudiced statements to the same person, such a pattern of conduct could be determined to be unlawful criminal harassment or stalking under certain criminal laws, including but not limited to California Penal Code section 646.9.

The definition of hate incidents covers both protected characteristics in existing law as well as other identities and characteristics that could be the basis for bias-motivated hostile expressions or acts. We chose to use this expansive definition to consider an array of cases that may not be covered by existing law. At this point in time, the Commission has not dedicated resources to exploring hate incidents related to identities and characteristics not covered by existing law. As described in the last report, if we do, we will proceed carefully and consider the nature of the incidents, the fundamental purposes of hate-related criminal and civil laws, and the broader, community-level consequences of targeted hostile expressions, actions, and crimes.

HATE INCIDENT

A hostile expression or action committed, in whole or in part, because of a person's actual or perceived identity(ies) or characteristic(s), including race, color, disability, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, or gender, including gender identity, and/or because that person is a part of a protected group.

HATE CRIME

A criminal act committed, in whole or in part, because of one or more actual or perceived characteristics of the victim, including race, color, disability, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, or gender (including gender identity), and/or because that person is a part of a protected group. A hate crime can also be based on someone's association with a person or group with one or more actual or perceived protected characteristics.

ANNUAL REPORT

This report summarizes the key activities of the Commission within the last year, substantive learnings pertaining to each of the Commission's strategic goals, interim policy recommendations, and a preliminary set of tools for policymakers and communities. As described above, we developed the interim policy recommendations by building a knowledge base consisting of empirical research and community input.

Consistent with the Commission's mandate to provide a comprehensive accounting of hate in California, Chapter 2 contains a compilation and review of existing data on the prevalence of hate in California. It details patterns and trends based on the data and information the Commission has gathered to date. A particularly troubling trend is the interaction of hate and public institutions. This chapter discusses the impact of political events and political speech on hate activity. It synthesizes data on the growing trend of hate directed toward public officials and in public meetings. Despite the number of data sets that speak to trends and patterns in hate in California, significant knowledge gaps remain. Chapter 2 includes an overview of those gaps. It also details the work of the Commission to address some of the gaps through an original research study in partnership with the University of California, Los Angeles. Based on this ongoing study, the report introduces an interim model research framework that other entities, such as local governments and nongovernmental organizations, can use to measure the prevalence of hate, its impacts, and the needs of victims of hate in their communities. The chapter ends with a set of interim policy recommendations, including investing in statewide research to develop a more robust understanding of hate in California.

Chapter 3 summarizes the Commission’s findings with respect to resources, support, and responses to hate in California. It begins with an overview of the multifaceted impacts of hate, including the mental, physical, and economic toll that hate can take on individuals and communities. To highlight gaps in existing resources and support in California, we include a case study and the lessons learned after two major mass casualty events in January 2023: the shootings at Half Moon Bay and Monterey Park. We address law enforcement responses to hate, including a discussion of gaps in law enforcement data and training, and provide an overview of our work developing a new training for law enforcement officers. We also discuss the critical role that community-based organizations play in providing resources and support to individuals and communities experiencing hate. The chapter ends with preliminary policy recommendations for enhancing the State’s responses to mass casualty events, closing the gaps in law enforcement data and training, and supporting the critical work of community-based organizations.

To mitigate the impacts of hate on individuals and communities, resources and support must be enhanced. Equally important are prevention and intervention. Chapter 4 examines two approaches to preventing hate: school programs and public messaging campaigns. Our reviews of the empirical research related to each approach yielded a set of interim guiding principles for developing and implementing educational programs and public messaging campaigns. Chapter 4 ends with a discussion of provisional recommendations for implementing evidence-based educational programs in schools and public messaging campaigns to prevent and reduce hate.

Chapter 5 provides a summary of the activities of the Commission from July 1, 2023, to June 30, 2024. It includes a summary of research projects the Commission has supported and overviews of our community forums and future activities. The Commission plans to investigate pressing topics, including online hate and the role of the criminal legal system with respect to hate crimes. We also plan to publicize our findings and continue to learn from and work with subject matter experts, other government entities, community leaders, community-based organizations, and members of the public to deepen our understanding of each of our strategic goals and design policy recommendations to create a peaceful, inclusive California, free of hate.

The State of Hate in California:

Patterns, Trends, and Data

In our 2022-2023 Commission on the State of Hate Annual Report, we detailed our plan to provide a comprehensive accounting of hate activity in California, which includes measuring the prevalence of hate crimes and noncriminal hate incidents. We also introduced a framework for considering the numerous data sets and publications about patterns and trends in hate facing California today. Establishing a comprehensive, statewide accounting of hate is foundational to understanding the scope and nuances of hate activity in California, which will be instrumental in shaping the Commission’s recommendations and activities.

Since the last annual report, we compiled and reviewed existing data sets, information, and publications addressing, in one way or another, the prevalence of hate in California today. This chapter synthesizes the results of these efforts to provide an overview of patterns and trends in hate. Despite the various data sets on hate activity that exist today, significant data gaps remain. The Commission plans to address many of these gaps by proactively surveying Californians in partnership with the California Health Interview Survey (CHIS). This chapter discusses that work and introduces a research framework for community-based organizations, governments, and others interested in measuring the prevalence of hate, its impacts, and the needs of victims in their jurisdictions. The chapter ends with interim policy recommendations for improving data and information on hate in California.

DATA ON THE PREVALENCE OF HATE IN CALIFORNIA

As described in the last annual report, several governmental and nongovernmental entities collect data on hate activity in California using varied approaches.

The Commission has found four primary sources of data about hate activity in California:

- Data collected by law enforcement
- Representative data from surveys
- Community-based data
- Administrative data collected by non-law-enforcement governmental entities

In this section, we review each type of data and explain its strengths and limitations. Then we describe the patterns and trends gleaned from these data and other sources.

Law Enforcement Data

Pursuant to California Penal Code section 13023, law enforcement agencies in California are required to report hate crimes to the California Department of Justice (DOJ). Using this data, the Office of the Attorney General publishes statewide statistics on hate crimes, available online at openjustice.doj.ca.gov/resources/publications. Additionally, local law enforcement agencies are required to post the data and information reported to DOJ to their websites monthly.

Nationally, law enforcement agencies may also choose to voluntarily report data on hate crimes to the FBI’s Uniform Crime Reporting Program (UCR) or the newer National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS). However, because data submission is voluntary, many law enforcement agencies do not do so. Moreover, in 2021, the FBI at first required all law enforcement agencies to report hate crime data only through the newer system, NIBRS, but many law enforcement agencies were unable or unwilling to submit their data through this system. As a result, national data on hate crimes compiled by the FBI contains significant gaps.

A key strength of law enforcement data is that, for the most part, it is collected relatively consistently over time each year and can therefore illuminate broad trends in many types of hate crimes across the state

and over time. In addition, a law enforcement agency only reports those events that the agency considers to be a hate crime.¹⁸ As a result, law enforcement data is frequently cited in news reports to speak to year-over-year changes in hate crimes in California.

Despite the importance of law enforcement data for understanding patterns and trends in hate crimes, evidence indicates that these data underestimate the true prevalence of hate activity. According to researchers, national law enforcement data may only capture between half to less than 3% of the total number of hate crimes that actually happen.¹⁹ One source of this underestimation is variation in how law enforcement officers and other staff record and investigate suspected reports of hate crimes. This variation can arise from several factors, including differences in resources, training, policies, and emphasis on investigating reports of hate across law enforcement agencies. As described below, the recent passage of Assembly Bill 449 (Chapter 524, Statutes of 2023) may help address these variations in training and policies by requiring local law enforcement agencies to implement and train staff on new hate crimes policies.

National law enforcement data may only capture between half to less than 3% of the total number of hate crimes that actually happen.

A second source of the underestimation of law enforcement data is that members of the public many times do not report hate crimes to law enforcement. The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), which collects nationally representative data on hate crimes, finds about two in five (42%) violent hate crime victimizations were never reported to law enforcement. This gap may actually be larger, however, because the NCVS undersamples some of the same populations that are less likely to report hate crimes to law enforcement, such as immigrants and youth.

The reasons for not reporting to law enforcement are diverse and often reflect individual and community experiences. For instance, some communities may be reluctant to report due to distrust arising from negative law enforcement encounters in the past or a fear of the potential consequences of involvement with the criminal legal system. This is particularly true for undocumented people and other immigrants who may fear that reporting will result in negative consequences, such as deportation or being denied a visa. They may also face practical barriers, such as language barriers or a lack of cultural competence among law enforcement officers. In other cases, hate activity against particular communities may be so normalized that community members do not believe it warrants reporting. For some individuals and communities, reporting may not seem worthwhile if they reported in the past and never saw evidence of an investigation or prosecution. In addition, individuals in communities that have disproportionately experienced mistreatment from law enforcement and over-policing may be reluctant to report to these entities.

Importantly, law enforcement data often do not consistently capture noncriminal hate incidents, which, like hate crimes, can cause significant harm to individuals and communities. It is an open question whether and to what extent law enforcement should collect noncriminal hate incident data. On the one hand, some law enforcement agencies, such as the Los Angeles Police Department, collect reports of hate incidents.

18 The California DOJ requests law enforcement agencies to establish a procedure whereby the initial responding officer and at least one other officer review each report to ensure it is, in fact, a hate crime.

19 Harlow, C. W. (2005, November). Hate crime reported by victims and police. Office of Justice Programs. <https://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/hcrvp.pdf>; Southern Poverty Law Center. (2006, January 31). *Report: FBI hate crime statistics vastly understate problem*. <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2006/report-fbi-hate-crime-statistics-vastly-understate-problem>; Miller-Idriss, C. (2022, December 16). The FBI's 2021 hate crime data is worse than meaningless. Lawfare. <https://www.lawfaremedia.org/article/fbi-2021-hate-crime-data-worse-meaningless>

Collecting incident data, if done well, would be useful for providing a fuller understanding of hate activity overall (although this understanding would be limited to hate activity reported to law enforcement). Law enforcement agencies that collect hate incident data also provide a channel for members of the public to report noncriminal hate incidents. In some cases, this information may help law enforcement with investigations of hate crimes. On the other hand, law enforcement's collection of hate incident data may have adverse collateral effects, such as violations of privacy and chilling effects on speech and expression. Moreover, many individuals may not feel safe reporting hate incidents to law enforcement. Consequently, a more effective governmental approach for reporting hate incidents and compiling such data may be through channels not affiliated with law enforcement, such as CA vs Hate.

Representative Data

A second category of data, representative data sets, consists of surveys that ask a sample of people that is reflective of a population about their experiences with hate activity. The primary strength of these data sets is that they allow researchers to develop reliable inferences about patterns and trends across large populations. This is done by employing sophisticated sampling techniques that survey a relatively small number of people. Another strength of surveys, generally, is that they can overcome the underreporting limitation of law enforcement data. Because surveys proactively reach out to a sample of people, rather than relying on a person to report, they can measure whether a crime or incident happened regardless of whether the victim reported to law enforcement or any other entity.

An example of a statewide representative survey is UCLA's California Health Interview Survey (CHIS), which surveys households each year on a range of health matters, including experiences with hate. Because the CHIS uses a rigorous sampling strategy that randomly surveys 20,000 households across the state, including targeted oversamples, researchers can use CHIS data to make robust inferences about tens of millions of people statewide as well as the populations in 41 of California's 58 counties. As we discuss in more detail below, the Commission, the Civil Rights Department, and CA vs Hate staff have been partnering with the CHIS to include additional questions to understand how hate has impacted Californians.

Other examples of representative data sets that measure topics related to hate include the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics' National Crime Victimization Survey, administered by the U.S. Census Bureau; the California Healthy Kids Survey, sponsored by the California Department of Education; Stop AAPI Hate's AAPI Civil Rights Survey 2022, administered by NORC at the University of Chicago; and the Human Rights Campaign and University of Connecticut's LGBTQ+ Youth Surveys.

Representative data sets are critical for gaining a broad, representative picture of hate activity, but it is important to understand their potential limitations. These limitations vary across data sets, but we describe a few common limitations here. In surveys, some respondents may skip certain questions, especially those that are confusing or sensitive, resulting in missing data points. Additionally, like many of the other types of data discussed, some populations may be systematically undercounted or excluded, depending on the sampling strategy of the survey. For instance, surveys that employ a sampling strategy using addresses or places of residence may exclude people living on military bases, those living in institutional settings (for example, correctional or hospital facilities), and the unhoused population. In practice, there may also be individuals that are underrepresented because they are reluctant to participate in this survey. This can include individuals who do not legally reside in the United States, who primarily speak a language other than those offered by the survey, or who are disinclined to trust authority figures or governmental agents, such as those administering the survey questions. Nevertheless, representative data sets can address many of these limitations through various techniques, including sampling strategies that oversample specific

populations and a statistical technique known as weighting, which involves adjusting how a representative data set is analyzed so that the results are more inclusive of the broader population being studied. Indeed, many data sets, such as the CHIS, invest in targeted oversamples and weighting to develop data sets that speak to the experiences of smaller populations.

Some representative surveys, such as the CHIS, include supplemental interviews of a subset of respondents to gather in-depth, qualitative information. Because surveys are often limited in the types of questions they can ask respondents, supplemental interviews can be helpful for asking more complex questions and gathering details. In addition, interviews give interviewers opportunities to ask clarifying questions, enhancing the ability of researchers to understand complex topics and responses in more depth than survey questions allow.

Community-Based Data

A third category of data sets is community-based. These data are primarily gathered by community-based organizations (CBOs) through various methods, such as nonrepresentative surveys, reporting portals that allow anyone to report hate directly, or even requests these organizations received from individuals seeking assistance with a hate crime or incident. Given the barriers to reporting to law enforcement among some communities, in some respects, the data collected by nongovernmental organizations and CBOs can provide a more comprehensive, qualitative, and sometimes real-time understanding of hate activity than law enforcement data alone. These organizations not only are trusted by community members, but they also often allow people to report in their preferred languages. In some cases, they also help people connect to resources, which incentivizes reporting and addresses the immediate needs of those harmed. Some of the community-based data sets on hate include data from Stop AAPI Hate's reporting portal; the Southern Poverty Law Center's Hate Map; the Council on American-Islamic Relations' incident report tracker and their report on bullying in California; the Anti-Defamation League's incident reporting portal; and the Human Rights Campaign's surveys on violence against LGBTQ+ populations and online hate.

As with all data sets, community-based data sets can have limitations, though the exact limitations vary across different data sets. Some data sets are not collected using statistical sampling techniques, resulting in challenges to making valid statistical inferences about patterns and trends within the broader population. In addition, data from reporting portals is often limited to those who are aware of the reporting portal and are inclined to report. Some factors can limit reporting, such as reporting fatigue or limited access to technology. Furthermore, although some organizations clean and publish analyses of their data, some organizations do not have the resources to do so. Finally, it is difficult to combine findings from various data sets to examine overall patterns and trends, as organizations often collect data in varying ways, such as using different definitions of hate activity.

Despite their potential limitations, community-based data sets are critical for portraying the landscape of hate that communities face. They often provide deep qualitative insights that are essential for understanding the state of hate, such as how hate manifests, why it occurs, the range of impacts it has, and the barriers individuals may face to getting support. These data sets also give voice to members of communities who face barriers to reporting elsewhere.

Non-Law-Enforcement Governmental Data

A fourth category of data sets consists of administrative data collected by non-law-enforcement governmental entities, including local, state, and federal agencies. For example, CA vs Hate, which was officially launched in May of 2023, encourages people from around California to report hate and connects them to resources.

CA vs Hate publishes a summary of its data every few months. As discussed in the Commission’s previous report, data collected from CA vs Hate complements existing data sets in several respects. First, the phone line and online portal allow people to report both hate crimes and hate incidents. Second, because CA vs Hate is not a law enforcement reporting channel, people who do not feel comfortable reporting to law enforcement may be more likely to report to CA vs Hate and get support. Third, it allows individuals to report in over 200 languages, reducing barriers to reporting among people who primarily speak a language other than English. Fourth, it incentivizes people to report by offering them support with accessing culturally competent services. As a result, data from CA vs Hate can also provide important information about the resources that Californians need in the aftermath of hate.

Another type of administrative data set consists of data that the California Department of Social Services collects from organizations that received Stop the Hate grants. These data can speak to the range of activities the grantees are engaged in and the number of people they have served. In addition, the California Department of Social Services is conducting an impact evaluation of grantees. The Commission anticipates this evaluation will provide a deeper, systematic understanding of these organizations’ activities and their impacts addressing hate.

The limitations of governmental data vary depending on the source. As with law enforcement data, some non-law-enforcement governmental data may not fully capture the experiences of communities who distrust government resources. A challenge of data from reporting lines is that they are one of many resources available for Californians to report hate incidents. As a result, while some people may report to just one reporting line, others may report to multiple. This makes merging data sets challenging. A limitation of CA vs Hate data specifically, is that, as a relatively new resource, many people may not be aware of it. This makes the data somewhat limited for understanding deeper trends across the state, especially changes in patterns over time. As Californians become more aware of and use CA vs Hate, the data will likely provide a more robust picture of patterns and trends in hate across the state.

The Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations addresses many of these limitations through an innovative, rigorous data synthesis process. Each year, it publishes an annual accounting of hate in the county through a synthesis of data from law enforcement, school districts and universities, community-based organizations, and reports to LA vs Hate.²⁰ For their annual reports on hate crimes, a team of researchers compiles reports of hate and analyzes the data, removing duplicate reports and reviewing each case to verify that it meets the criteria of the California penal code definition of a hate crime. Although this process requires considerable time, resources, and expertise, it produces a data set that harnesses the strengths of data from community-based organizations, law enforcement, and direct reports from victims to provide a more detailed accounting of hate than any of the data sets provide independently. These nuances include quantifying levels of hate crime activity targeted at specific racial and ethnic communities and detailed information about the intent of the perpetrator. But as with all data sets, there are limitations. The combined data set does not contain information about hate crimes that are never reported to the organizations represented in the data set. Moreover, reports of hate that do not meet the legal definition of a hate crime, such as noncriminal hate incidents, are not included in the report.

20 LA vs Hate is a community-centered system designed to support all residents and communities targeted for hate acts of all kinds in Los Angeles County. LA vs Hate allows residents of Los Angeles County to report hate crimes and hate incidents online or over the phone. To learn more visit www.lavshate.org.

PATTERNS AND TRENDS IN HATE IN CALIFORNIA

The following sections detail patterns and trends in hate in California based on the data and information the Commission has gathered to date across each of the categories of data described above. Throughout the sections, we synthesize qualitative and quantitative data from several sources, including the California Department of Justice (DOJ), representative surveys, CA vs Hate, CBOs, public comment, and presentations at community forums.²¹ Synthesizing this information presents methodological challenges because entities can differ in how they collect data, how they define hate crimes and incidents, who makes up their target populations, and the level of aggregation released to the public. However, synthesizing the general findings from each of these data sets reveals some patterns and trends. This section begins with an overview of trends and patterns in hate activity overall in California. It then discusses patterns and trends with respect to hate targeting specific communities. It ends with a discussion of communities that are often underrepresented in available data.

Overview of Hate in California

According to the DOJ's 2022 Hate Crimes in California Report, 2,120 hate crime events were reported to law enforcement in California in 2022.²² As discussed earlier, this is likely a substantial underestimate of the total number of actual hate crime events that occurred in the state because it only includes those crimes reported to and verified by law enforcement. Nationally, estimates indicate that the number of hate crimes reported in law enforcement data range from half to less than 3% of the true number of hate crimes that occur.²³

Despite their limitations, the law enforcement data compiled in the DOJ's report is the only data set on hate crimes in California that has been collected and analyzed relatively consistently each year. As a result, although it underestimates the absolute number of hate crimes, it can be useful for understanding relative patterns and trends in California. For example, the data demonstrate that hate crimes happened in communities throughout California, with a substantial number of hate crime events taking place on roads or highways and in residences, including homes and driveways. A significant number of reported hate crime events happened in unspecified locations. The data also provide information about patterns and trends about individual offenses.²⁴ Nearly 70% of reported hate crime offenses are violent crimes, while less than 30% are property crimes.²⁵ This pattern is mostly consistent over time, although the proportion of hate crimes that are violent has increased somewhat since 2012.

21 Inclusion of an organization's data set is not an endorsement of the organization, including its activities and positions. In some cases, the data or information from an organization is included to give voice to the constituents of an organization.

22 Consistent with the DOJ report, we use the term *hate crime event* to refer to an occurrence where a hate crime is involved. The event could involve one or more suspects, victims, or offenses.

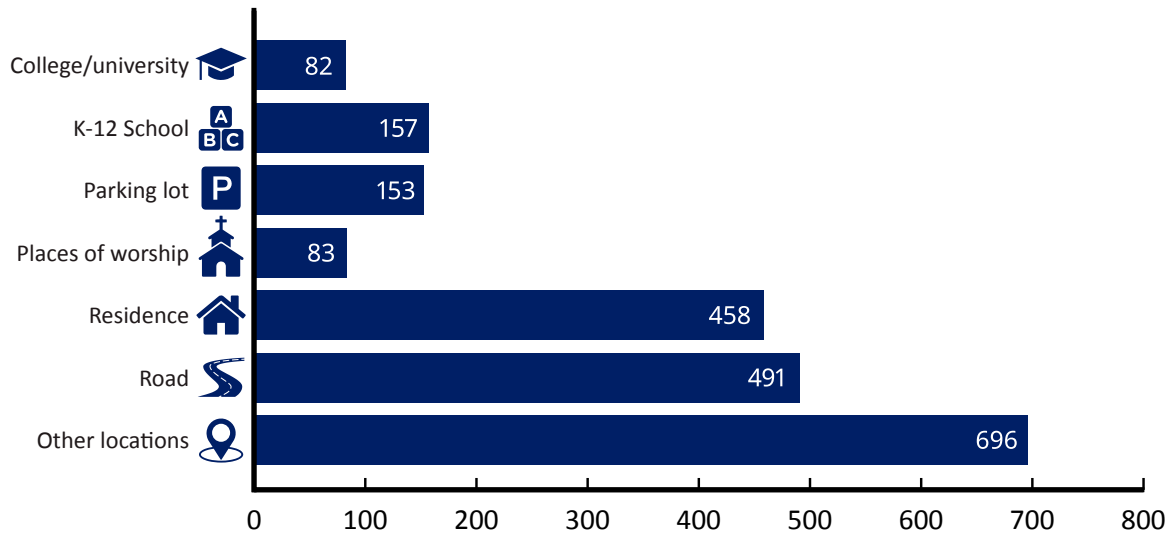
23 Harlow, 2005. <https://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/hcrvp.pdf>; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2006. <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2006/report-fbi-hate-crime-statistics-vastly-understate-problem>; Miller-Idriss, 2022. <https://www.torrossa.com/en/resources/an/5558863>

24 Consistent with the DOJ report, we define the term hate crime offense as criminal acts that are recorded as follows: murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, arson, simple assault, fondling, kidnapping/abduction, intimidation, destruction/vandalism, false pretense/swindle, hacking/computer invasion, and weapons law violation as defined by the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reporting Program and in their national Hate Crimes Statistics Report.

25 It is possible that the proportion of property hate crime offenses is an underestimate, as people may be less likely to report property crimes than violent crimes. For example, with respect to crime reporting generally, researchers from the Bureau of Justice Statistics found that, in 2022, 42% of violent victimizations were reported to law enforcement, while only 32% of property victimizations were reported. (Thompson, A. and Tapp, S.N. (2023, September). *Criminal victimization, 2022*. U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics. <https://bjs.ojp.gov/document/cv22.pdf>)

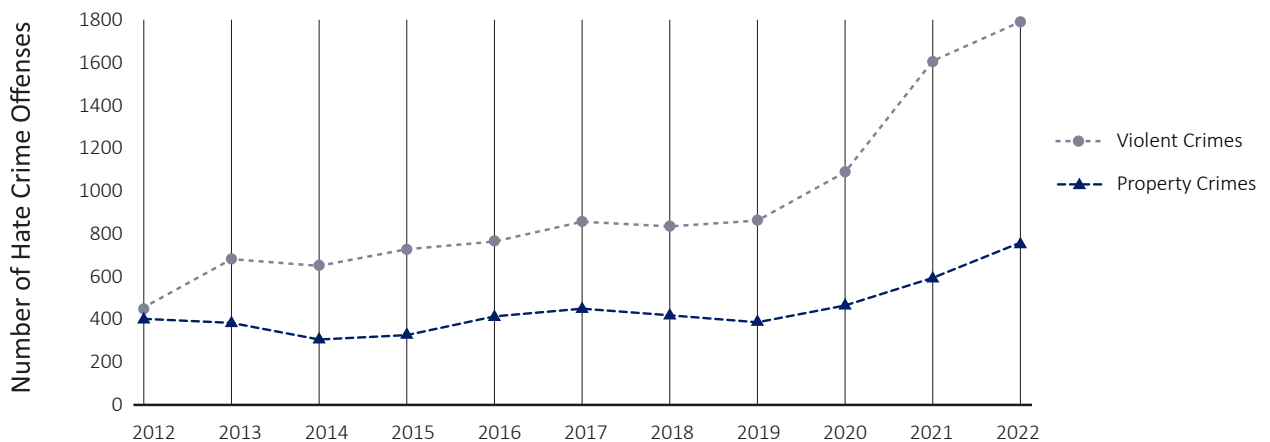
Most of the violent hate crime offenses in 2022 consisted of either intimidation or simple or aggravated assault, while most property hate crime offenses consisted of destruction or vandalism.

Number of Hate Crime Events in 2022



Source: California Department of Justice

Violent and Property Hate Crime Offenses in California (2012-2022)

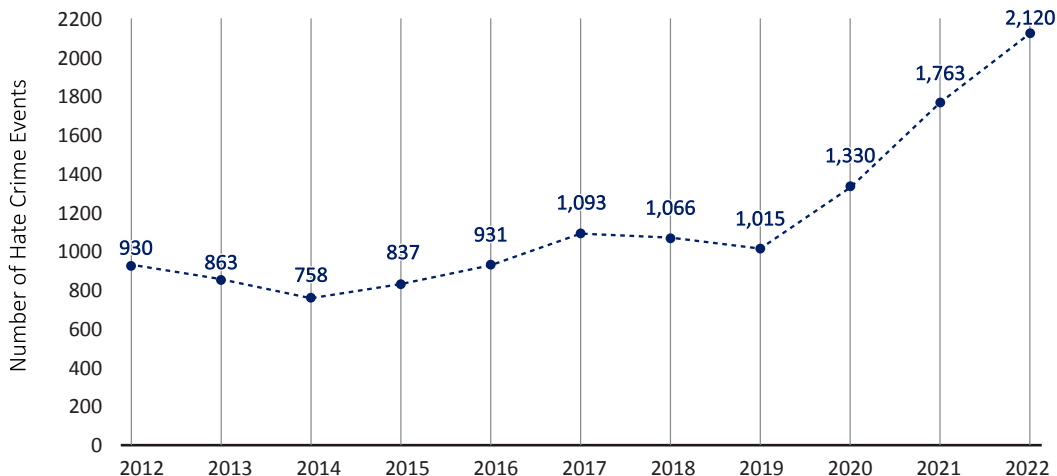


Source: California Department of Justice

The DOJ report suggests that California has been experiencing a surge in hate. The total number of reported hate crime events in California increased about 20% from 2021 to 2022. The surge in hate crimes between 2021 and 2022 is part of a larger trend of increased hate crime events over the past few years, particularly since 2020. Although the number of reported hate crime events has gone up and down over the past 10 years, there were 146% more reported hate crime events in 2022 than in 2013. Moreover, since 2020, the year-over-year rate of increase has been substantial, ranging from about 20% to 32%.

Comparing 2013 and 2022 by bias motivation broadly, the number of reported hate crimes against racial, ethnic, and national origin groups increased, although there are nuances to this trend, as discussed below.²⁶ Reported hate crime events against religious groups overall increased by almost 135% between 2013 and 2022, from 129 to 303 events. Hate crime events related to bias by sexual orientation increased by 81% between 2013 and 2022, from 216 to 391 events. There were more than three times the number of reported hate crimes motivated by gender in 2022 (84 events), as compared to 2013 (25 events).

Number of Hate Crime Events in California (2012-2022)



Source: California Department of Justice

Although this section summarizes trends and patterns in the number of reported hate crimes reported to law enforcement, it presents an incomplete accounting of patterns and trends in hate crimes overall. As explained, law enforcement data underrepresents the true prevalence of hate crimes, particularly among some populations. Moreover, additional analyses could present a fuller, more nuanced accounting of hate crimes in California. For instance, when examining the number of hate crimes perpetrated against a particular group, the population of that group could also be considered to examine per capita rates of hate crimes. Such an analysis could illuminate the extent to which members of communities are at-risk of being victimized. One study on hate crimes experienced by LGBT individuals consisted of such an analysis.²⁷

The researchers analyzed the number of LGBT people who reported being a victim of a hate crime, relative to people who did not identify as LGBT. The analysis found that, between 2017 and 2019, the violent hate crime

victimization rate for LGBT people was 6.6 victimizations per 1,000 persons, while the rate for non-LGBT persons was 0.8 victimizations per 1,000 persons. In other words, LGBT individuals were more than eight times more likely to report being a victim of a violent hate crime than non-LGBT individuals.

In a 2022 study, LGBT individuals were more than

8X



Source: Flores et al., 2022

26 Bias motivation refers to the protected characteristic (e.g., religion, race, ethnicity) that motivated the crime. Victims may or may not actually possess the characteristic that motivated the crime.

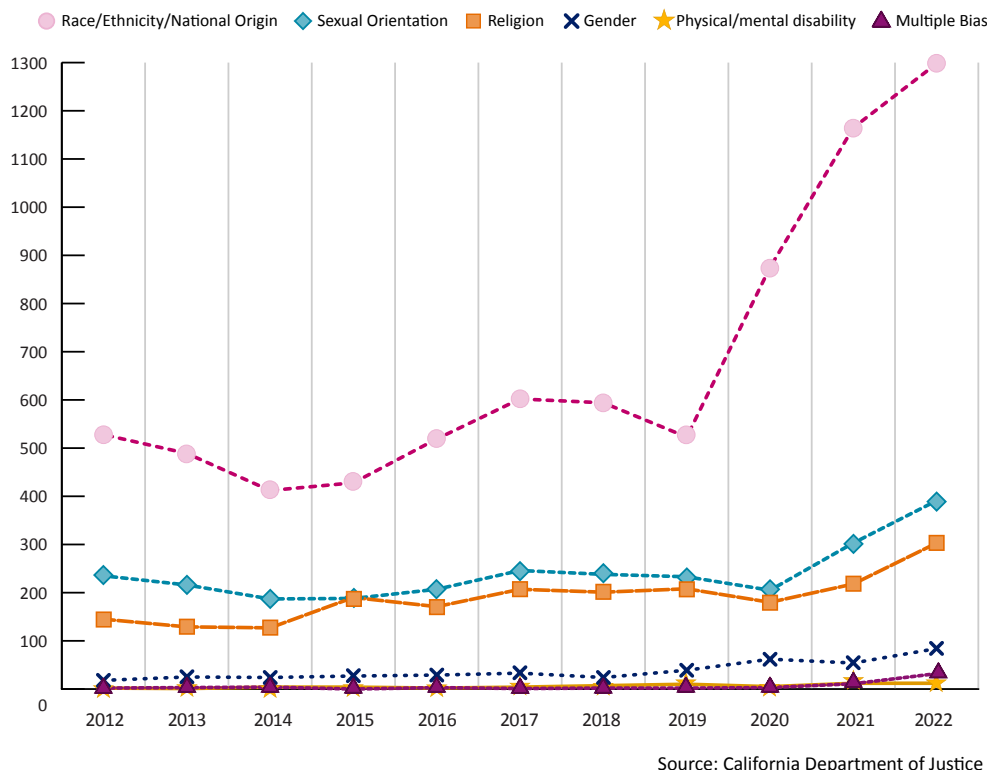
27 Flores, A. R., Stotzer, R. L., Meyer, I. H., & Langton, L. L. (2022). Hate crimes against LGBT people: National Crime Victimization Survey, 2017-2019. *PLoS One*, 17(12), e0279363. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0279363>

Given the shortcomings of law enforcement data, the following sections draw on several data sets beyond law enforcement data to develop a nuanced synthesis of patterns and trends in hate activity against communities in California.

Hate against Communities in California

The following sections examine patterns and trends in hate activity against specific communities, or groups with shared identities, in California. Though the sections are organized primarily by bias motivation, it is important to recognize that acts of hate motivated by a bias against one community can often impact other communities. For example, in Fresno, an Armenian bakery was vandalized with a note stating, “All Jewish businesses will be targeted.”²⁸ Although the owners of the bakery were Christian, investigators believed that the perpetrator targeted them because he believed they were Jewish. Additionally, hate ideologies are often broad, targeting and impacting many communities simultaneously. For example, a public meeting of the Laguna Beach City Council in February 2024 was recently cut short due to an onslaught of hate speech during the public comment portions of the meeting.²⁹ A small number of people had “Zoom bombed” the meeting with profanity-laden hate speech against members of the Black, Latine, LGBTQ+, and Jewish communities.³⁰

Hate Crime Events by Bias Motivation (2012-2022)



28 Willis, B., & Garcia, N. (2023, October 10). Suspect in custody after Fresno business vandalized, synagogue also targeted. *ABC30*. <https://abc30.com/fresno-hate-crimes-temple-beth-israel-hamas-gaza-incident-jewish/13888878/>; Martinez, C. (2023, October 11). Man arrested in possible hate crime at Fresno bakery is also a suspect in synagogue vandalism. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2023-10-11/man-arrested-in-possible-hate-crime-at-fresno-bakery-is-also-a-suspect-in-synagogue-vandalism>

29 Fry, H. (2024, February 14). Laguna Beach shuts down council meeting after ‘Zoombombing’ incident. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2024-02-14/laguna-beach-shuts-down-council-meeting-after-zoom-bombing-incident>

30 “Latine” is a gender-neutral term to refer to people of Latin American descent.

It is also important to note that a focus on patterns and trends by bias motivation risks missing how people can be targeted because of multiple and/or intersecting identities and characteristics. Indeed, individuals with intersecting marginalized identities, such as LGBTQ+ people of color, are often targeted by acts of hate at higher rates than aggregate data on single bias motivations indicate. Unfortunately, the nature of many data sets is that individual experiences are aggregated to single, larger categories like gender, sexual orientation, and race, which can conceal important distinctions in how hate activity is experienced within

Individuals with intersecting marginalized identities, such as LGBTQ+ people of color, are often targeted by acts of hate at higher rates than aggregate data indicate.

broad identity categories. One poignant example of intersectionality in bias motivation was brought out in the murder of O’Shae Sibley, who was stabbed, and later died, after he was targeted while vogueing to a Beyoncé song in a parking lot in Brooklyn.³¹ According to reports, a group of men approached Sibley and his friends and yelled homophobic slurs and anti-Black statements at them. This study serves as a powerful illustration of the intersectional nature of many hate occurrences, and how aggregated numbers can oversimplify the harm caused by hate activity. Throughout the following sections, we include information, where available, about intersectional experiences alongside aggregate community-level statistics.

Hate in the wake of October 7

Beginning in October of 2023 and continuing into 2024, communities across California have been experiencing a wave of hate coinciding with the tragic attacks by Hamas in Israel on October 7, 2023, and the subsequent war in Gaza. Concerns of safety, security, displacement, shelter, and famine have been raised by parties abroad and in the United States. As the war has unfolded, a corresponding rise in hate crimes and incidents have been reported throughout California targeting members of the Jewish, Muslim, Palestinian, Israeli, and Arab communities, as well as those who were perceived as belonging to or allied with those communities.³² Many of the incidents also targeted individuals because of their presumed or actual political positions. The DOJ report from 2023 is not yet published as of this writing, but several data sources point to sharp spikes in reports of hate shortly after October 7. Preliminary data from the Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism at California State University, San Bernardino, which compiles law enforcement data from major cities around the U.S., indicate that, in Los Angeles between 2022 and 2023, anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim hate crimes increased by 48% and 40%, respectively.³³ This trend is reflected in data from many other major cities around the country.³⁴ Commissioner Brian Levin discussed these trends in his presentations at public meetings of the Commission throughout the year. In his presentation at the January 24, 2024, Commission meeting, he noted, “When we have these kinds of conflicts in the Middle East, we see a rise in both anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim hate crime.” Levin discussed how many conflicts taking place around the world have resulted in a corresponding increase in hate activity, explaining “the more conflicts elongate, the more time there is for the kindling of hate.”

31 Tebor, C. (2023, August 5). Suspect in O’Shae Sibley killing charged with murder. CNN. <https://www.cnn.com/2023/08/05/us/oshae-sibley-suspect-charged/>; Meko, H., & Parnell, W. (2023, August 8). Twist in dancer’s killing as key detail about suspect is corrected. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/08/nyregion/oshae-sibley-stabbing-suspect-dimitriy-popov.html>

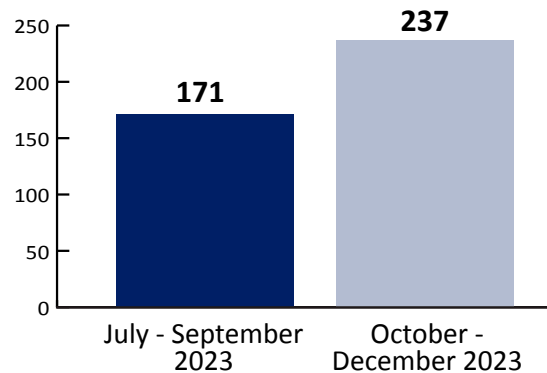
32 It is important to note that hate against a particular community can harm individuals that do not identify with that community. For example, perpetrators of anti-Muslim hate often target members of the Sikh community due to an incorrect confusion of the Sikh and Muslim faiths.

33 This data was presented in the January 24, 2024, meeting of the Commission: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9mkU6heZd7Y>.

34 Yancey-Bragg, N. (2021, October 27). Hate crimes reached record levels in 2023. Why ‘a perfect storm’ could push them higher. *USA Today*. <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2024/01/05/hate-crimes-hit-record-levels-in-2023-why-2024-could-be-even-worse/72118808007/>

The CA vs Hate hotline and reporting website also reported an increase in reports of hate after October 7. Comparing the three months following October 7 to the three months before, overall reports rose from approximately 171 to 237. Though this increase is consistent with other data sets, it should be interpreted with caution. The overall increase may have been due to a variety of factors, including the launch of a new public awareness campaign about CA vs Hate around the time of the beginning of the war. In addition, the relatively small number of reports across these time periods precludes reporting detailed trends about specific bias motivations.

Increases in Reports to CA vs Hate after October 7, 2023



Source: California Civil Rights Department

Community-based organizations have documented unprecedented increases in hate activity nationwide since October 7. In the last three months of 2023, the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) received 178% more requests for help and reports of bias than during the same time period in 2022.³⁵ In fact, the organization received the highest number of anti-Muslim reports in 2023 than in any other year in its 30-year history. The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) reported receiving four times the number of anti-Semitic reports between October 7, 2023, and early January 2024 than during the same period the previous year.³⁶ Moreover, the volume of reports exceeded the number of reports during the whole year of 2014, during Israel's previous ground invasion of Gaza.³⁷ In addition, the organization documented an 11-fold increase in bomb threats and swatting incidents targeted at Jewish institutions in 2023.³⁸ These increases in hate activity take place within the context of generational grief, and the effects of hate can take a devastating toll on communities (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of the mental health effects of hate).³⁹

Students and staff on college campuses in California have experienced heightened tensions and sharp increases in hate activity since October 7. This hate activity has had particularly troubling impacts on students who are, or are perceived to be, members of the Muslim, Jewish, Israeli, Palestinian, and Arab communities. Reports of anti-Semitic graffiti and signage on campuses as well as threats of violence and discrimination toward Jewish students have occurred throughout California. In March of 2024, UC Berkeley opened an investigation into incidents of physical battery and anti-Semitic slurs against two

35 CAIR is the nation's largest Muslim civil rights and advocacy organization; however, the complaints received by this organization may include acts of hate with other bias motivations besides anti-Muslim bias, such as anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian bias. Council on American-Islamic Relations. (2024, January 29). *CAIR: New data shows the end of 2023 was a 'relentless' wave of bias, community resilience is 'impressive.'* https://www.cair.com/press_releases/cair-new-data-shows-the-end-of-2023-was-a-relentless-wave-of-bias-community-resilience-is-impressive/

36 ADL Center on Extremism. (2024, April 16). *Audit of antisemitic incidents 2023.* ADL. <https://extremismterms.adl.org/resources/report/audit-antisemitic-incidents-2023>

37 Anti-Defamation League. (2015, March 30). *Audit: In 2014 anti-Semitic incidents rose 21 percent across the U.S. in a "particularly violent year for Jews."* <https://www.adl.org/resources/press-release/audit-2014-anti-semitic-incidents-rose-21-percent-across-us-particularly>; Sales, B. (2024, January 11). ADL reports antisemitism in United States has 'skyrocketed' since Oct. 7 attack. *The Times of Israel.* <https://www.timesofisrael.com/adl-reports-antisemitism-in-united-states-has-skyrocketed-since-oct-7-attack/>

38 Swatting incidents are defined as prank calls made to authorities to lure them to a location under the false pretense a crime has been committed or is in progress. (ADL Center on Extremism, 2024).

39 Perry, B., & Alvi, S. (2012). 'We are all vulnerable': the in terrorem effects of hate crimes. *International Review of Victimology*, 18(1), 57-71. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0269758011422475>; Awaad, R. (2023, November 16). The devastating mental health effects of islamophobia. *Time.* <https://time.com/6335453/islamophobia-mental-health-effects-essay/>

Jewish students.⁴⁰ In November of 2023, an Arab Muslim student at Stanford University was targeted in a hit-and-run on campus in which the driver yelled, “F*** you and your people” before accelerating toward him. A preliminary report issued this year by the Stanford Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian (MAP) Communities Committee notes that acts of hate have led members of Stanford’s MAP community to fear for their safety.⁴¹

The increase in hate activity and targeting of students is intertwined with deeply held beliefs, protests, and political advocacy. Many individuals are targeted because they hold, or are presumed to hold, particular political positions. A national survey of college students fielded in December 2023 through January 2024 found that a majority of Jewish and Muslim students felt in personal danger because of their “support for either Israelis or Palestinians in the current war between Israel and Hamas.”⁴² On October 17, 2023, a Stanford student of color experienced attempted battery by an unknown assailant while promoting Palestinian liberation at White Plaza, an area of campus reserved for free speech activities. At UC Berkeley in February 2024, a student group planned to host a speaker from an Israeli libertarian think tank, and other students organized a protest in response. The conflict turned violent, resulting in reports of physical battery and property damage. Shortly thereafter, the House Education Committee initiated an investigation into reports of anti-Semitism on the UC Berkeley campus.⁴³ Additionally, the U.S. Department of Education announced that it was opening an investigation into potential violations of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 at UC Berkeley a few weeks after the incident.⁴⁴ Since October 7, the U.S. Department of Education has opened Title VI investigations at UCLA, UC San Diego, UC Davis, UC Santa Barbara, and Stanford.⁴⁵ These investigations only capture the tip of the iceberg with respect to hate on campuses, however, as many students do not take legal action and refrain from filing Title VI complaints for fear of repercussions.⁴⁶

Hate against religious communities

In 2022, according to data from the California DOJ, reported antireligious hate crimes surged. Much of this surge was due to increases in reported anti-Jewish hate crime events, which consistently make up the majority of reported antireligious hate crime events in DOJ data. Reported anti-Jewish hate crime events increased 24.3% between 2021 and 2022, reaching their highest level since at least the 10 years before. DOJ data on reported hate crimes against all other religious groups, such as Catholics, Protestants, Sikhs, and Muslims, are sparse, which precludes reliable comparisons between years and raises questions about the reliability of the data for some groups. For example, the law enforcement data in the DOJ report contained only 25 reported

Reported anti-Jewish hate crime events increased 24.3% between 2021 and 2022, reaching their highest level since at least the 10 years before.

40 Public Affairs (2024, March 4). Responding to the events of Feb. 26. *Berkeley News*. <https://news.berkeley.edu/2024/03/04/responding-to-the-events-of-feb-26>

41 Stanford Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian Communities Committee. (2024, February 1). *Preliminary recommendations*. https://mapcommittee.stanford.edu/sites/g/files/sbiybj30401/files/media/file/map_committee_jan_2024_interim_rec_2-28-24.pdf

42 Pape, R. A. (2024, March 7). *Understanding campus fears after October 7 and how to reduce them*. Chicago Project on Security and Threats. https://cpost.uchicago.edu/publications/cpost_understanding_campus_fears_after_october_7_and_how_to_reduce_them/

43 Baker, A. (2024, March 4). Hate crime investigation launched in connection to protest over Israeli speaker at UC Berkeley. *KRON4*. <https://www.kron4.com/news/bay-area/hate-crime-investigation-launched-in-connection-to-protest-over-israeli-speaker-at-uc-berkeley/>

44 Title VI protects students from discrimination based on race, color or national origin at federally funded institutions.

45 U.S. Department of Education. (n.d.) *List of open Title VI shared ancestry investigations, fiscal year 2024 (beginning 10/1/2023)*. <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/sharedancestry-list.html>

46 At the time of this writing, the situation on campuses across California continues to evolve. The Commission is monitoring these events and will take them into consideration in future research and policy recommendations, as appropriate.

anti-Muslim hate crime events in the entire state in 2022. While many factors contribute to the relatively low numbers of reported hate crimes against Muslims and other groups in the data, a significant factor contributing to the low numbers of anti-Muslim hate crimes may be a distrust in law enforcement. For instance, after 9/11, domestic surveillance of the Muslim community increased substantially. This may have resulted in a long-term reluctance among members of the Muslim community to report hate to law enforcement.⁴⁷ In a 2020 survey of the U.S. Muslim population, researchers found that over 80% of respondents who had experienced an Islamophobic incident did not report it to the authorities.⁴⁸

As described above, a wave of hate has impacted faith communities in California since October 7. In one report, an elderly Jewish man in Beverly Hills wearing a yarmulke and walking to Shabbat services with his wife was struck on the head with a belt buckle. The suspect also attempted to rob the spouse.⁴⁹ In November 2023, two Muslim students were stabbed several times outside of a Fremont shopping center and reported the incident as a hate crime.⁵⁰

Tragically, antireligious hate impacts youth as well. The Commission has heard from students around California about their experiences with prejudice and hate. In one Commission community forum, students shared their personal experiences with antireligious hate in schools, along with data that spoke to the prevalence of the phenomenon. Students affiliated with the Muslim faith presented data from CAIR California's 2023 Bullying Report, which drew on survey responses from Muslim students in California schools between August 2022 and May 2023. Nearly half of the Muslim students surveyed (46%) reported

Nearly half of the Muslim students surveyed (46%) reported being bullied at school because of their affiliation with the Muslim faith.

being bullied at school because of their affiliation with the Muslim faith.⁵¹ In addition, about one-third of students who reported wearing a head covering experienced their covering being tugged, pulled, or offensively touched by another student. Students also experienced hate and bias from adults. About one-quarter of students in the survey reported that adults at their school, including teachers and administrators, acted or spoke in a way that was offensive to Islam or Muslims. Of these students, 40% reported that an adult presented material that was offensive, and 20% reported that an adult made offensive comments toward them personally.

During the forum, students from the Jewish and Israeli communities discussed their personal experiences with being victims of anti-Semitic bullying and hate in schools, particularly since October 7, 2023. According to data from the ADL, there was a 49% increase in reports of anti-Semitic incidents nationwide in K-12 schools from 2021 to 2022, and reports of hate activity in schools have increased since October 7.⁵²

47 Khan, S., & Ramachandran, V. (2021, September 16). *Post-9/11 surveillance has left a generation of Muslim Americans in a shadow of distrust and fear*. PBS Newshour. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/post-9-11-surveillance-has-left-a-generation-of-muslim-americans-in-a-shadow-of-distrust-and-fear>

48 Elsheikh, E., & Sisemore, B. (2021, September). *Islamophobia through the eyes of Muslims: Assessing perceptions, experiences, and impacts*. Othering & Belonging Institute. <https://belonging.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/2021-09/Islamophobia%20Through%20the%20Eyes%20of%20Muslims.pdf>

49 Alfonseca, K. (2023, December 13). Los Angeles area plagued by antisemitic attacks in 'tsunami' of hate: Advocates. *ABC News*. <https://abcnews.go.com/US/los-angeles-area-plagued-antisemitic-attacks-tsunami-hate/story?id=105623842>

50 Randall. (2023, November 21). 2 Muslim students stabbed in SF Bay Area in possible hate crime. *AsAm News*. <https://asamnews.com/2023/11/21/random-stabbing-violent-crime-muslim-victims-fremont-police-department/>

51 Bazian, H, Awaad, R., Tor-Cabuk, K., Rajeh, N., Deen, S., Jabbar, A., & Council on American-Islamic Relations. (2023). *2023 bullying report*. Council on American-Islamic Relations. <https://ca.cair.com/updates/bullying-report-2023/>

52 ADL Center on Extremism. (2023, March 23). *Audit of antisemitic incidents 2022*. ADL. <https://www.adl.org/resources/report/audit-antisemitic-incidents-2022>

Instances of anti-Semitic graffiti and gestures have been reported across the state, such as swastikas tagged on a locker in a high school in Corona Del Mar and Nazi gestures from a student at a school in the Bay Area.⁵³ There are also reports of individuals grabbing religious head coverings off children.⁵⁴

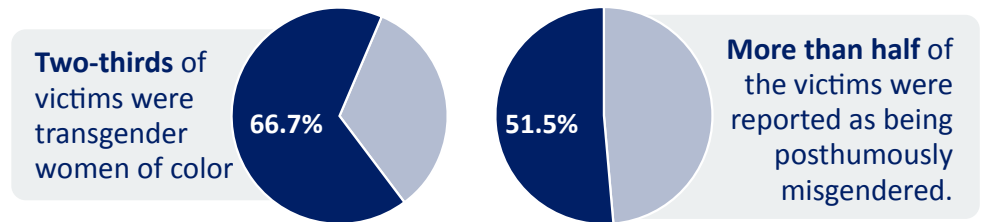
Anti-LGBTQ+ hate

Members of the LGBTQ+ community continue to be targets of hate. Nationwide data from the National Crime Victimization Survey demonstrates that individuals who identify as LGBT are more than eight times more likely to be the victims of a violent hate crime than non-LGBT individuals.⁵⁵ Data from the California DOJ indicates that reported anti-transgender and anti-sexual-orientation hate crime events in 2022 reached their highest levels since at least 2013.⁵⁶ In 2022, hate crimes due to a person’s sexual orientation were 29% higher than in 2021, which itself was a record-breaking year.⁵⁷

California DOJ data are unfortunately limited with respect to understanding detailed trends in anti-transgender crimes, but national data reveal that transgender people of color are particularly at risk of experiencing violence and hate. For instance, the Human Rights Campaign compiles data on fatal violence against transgender and non-binary people, which includes, but is not limited to, hate crimes.⁵⁸ Between November 2022 and November 2023, two-thirds of all transgender and non-binary victims of fatal violence were transgender women of color. More than half of the victims were black transgender women. Moreover, the data finds that misgendering is frequent even after a fatal incident occurs, with more than

half of the victims between 2022 and 2023 initially misgendered by the media and/or police. In addition to being deeply disrespectful, misgendering can compound the community-level impact of these incidents and result in reporting delays and difficulties identifying victims. The Commission has heard firsthand from transgender Californians about their experiences with hate. Public comments to the Commission have ranged from difficulties reporting incidents of bias and discrimination in the workplace to acts of violence and mistreatment perpetrated by law enforcement.

In a 2023 Report on Fatal Violence Against Transgender and Gender Non-Conforming Communities



Source: Human Rights Campaign Foundation

53 Goldberg, N. (2023, October 20). Newport Beach police investigate swastikas on school locker as hate crime. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2023-10-20/newport-beach-police-investigate-swastikas-on-school-lockers-as-hate-crime>; Goss, E. (2023, December 28). Two Bay Area middle schools respond to Nazi salutes, graffiti. *J Weekly*. <https://jweekly.com/2023/12/28/two-bay-area-middle-schools-respond-to-nazi-salutes-graffiti/>

54 ADL Center on Extremism, 2023. <https://www.adl.org/resources/report/audit-antisemitic-incidents-2022>

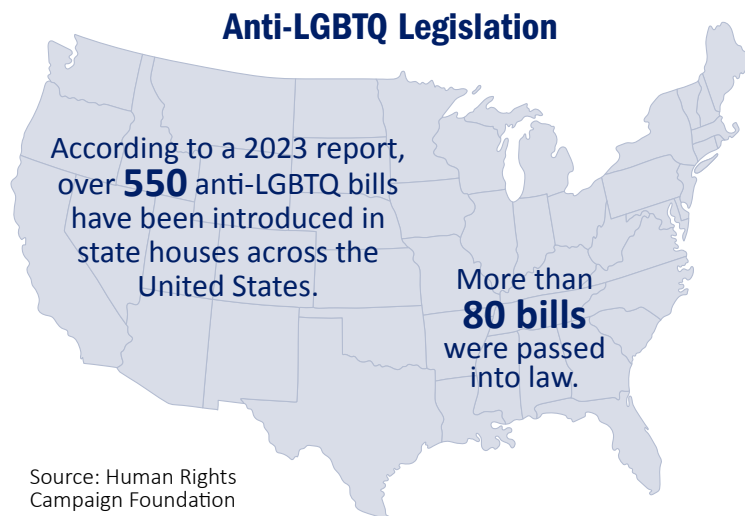
55 The violent hate crime victimization rate for LGBT people is 6.6 violent hate crime victimizations per 1,000 people, whereas the violent hate crime victimization rate for non-LGBT individuals is 0.8 per 1,000 people. (Flores, A. R., Stotzer, R. L., Meyer, I. H., & Langton, L. L. (2022). Hate crimes against LGBT people: National Crime Victimization Survey, 2017-2019. *PLoS one*, 17(12), e0279363. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0279363>)

56 California Department of Justice (2023). Hate crime in California for 2022. <https://oag.ca.gov/system/files/attachments/press-docs/Hate%20Crime%20in%20CA%202022f.pdf>

57 Ibid. <https://oag.ca.gov/system/files/attachments/press-docs/Hate%20Crime%20in%20CA%202022f.pdf>

58 HRC Foundation. (2023, November 17). *Toplines for the 2023 fatal violence report: The epidemic of violence against the transgender and gender non-conforming community*. <https://hrc-prod-requests.s3-us-west-2.amazonaws.com/Toplines-for-the-2023-Fatal-Violence-Report.pdf>

Individual hate crimes and incidents have been occurring within the context of a wave of anti-LGBTQ+ hate from national political movements and political leaders, as well as declining public support for policies that protect LGBTQ+ individuals from discrimination. In one 2023 survey of the U.S. population, 76% of respondents supported policies that protect LGBTQ Americans from discrimination in housing, employment, and public accommodation, a decline from a high of 80% the previous year.⁵⁹ In 2023, there were over 550 anti-LGBTQ bills introduced in state houses across the country, a majority of which target transgender people.⁶⁰ More than 80 of these bills were passed into law. Many of these laws are rooted in



hate, misinformation, and a lack of acceptance of members of the LGBTQ+ community, particularly transgender and gender-expansive people. These laws include bans on lifesaving medical care for transgender and gender-expansive people, as well as requirements that make schools less safe for LGBTQ+ youth, such as forced outing policies and restrictions on discourse about LGBTQ+ issues. In addition to the direct harm these policies cause, survey data indicate that the political rhetoric related to such policies adversely impacts the mental health of LGBTQ+ youth.⁶¹

Youth from the LGBTQ+ community are especially vulnerable to hate. In a report from the Human Rights Campaign, more than half of all LGBTQ+ youth nationwide experienced bullying due to their sexual identity, gender identity, and/or gender expression, and more than half of those youth who had been bullied experienced negative mental health consequences as a result.⁶² The Commission has heard directly from LGBTQ+ youth about their experiences with hate in a recent community forum. One presenter described experiencing isolation and homelessness as a result of their gender identity before receiving assistance from the Los Angeles LGBT Center. Another presenter described his experiences with hate directed toward him and his friends as a queer person of color in his school, calling for acceptance and solutions to bullying.

59 PRRI Staff. (2024, March 12). *Views on LGBTQ rights in all 50 states: Findings from PRRI's 2023 American Values Atlas*. <https://www.prrri.org/research/views-on-lgbtq-rights-in-all-50-states/>

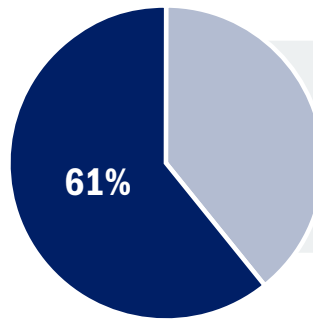
60 HRC Foundation. (2023, November). *The epidemic of violence against the transgender and gender non-conforming community in the United States: The 2023 report*. <https://reports.hrc.org/an-epidemic-of-violence-2023>

61 The Trevor Project. (2022). *2022 National Survey on LGBTQ Youth Mental Health*. https://www.thetrevorproject.org/survey-2022/assets/static/trevor01_2022survey_final.pdf

62 HRC Foundation. (2023, August). *2023 LGBTQ+ youth report: Physical and verbal harassment and violence*. <https://reports.hrc.org/2023-lgbtq-youth-report#physical-and-verbal-harassment-and-violence>

Race, ethnicity, and national origin-based hate

Each year, the most common types of hate crime events in California are those that target someone due to their race, ethnicity, or national origin. The California DOJ reports that 61% of all reported hate crime events in 2022 were due to a person’s race, ethnicity, or national origin. Though DOJ data from 2023 is not yet published, CA vs Hate data suggests this pattern has continued in 2023. According to CA vs Hate, the most common type of bias motivation among the reports it received between May 2023 to December 2023 is race, ethnicity/national origin, or ancestry. Such reports made up almost half (45%) of all reports to the resource line.



The majority of hate crimes reported to the California DOJ in 2022 were due to a person's race, ethnicity, or national origin.

Source: California Department of Justice

DOJ data consistently points to the impact of hate on the Black community. In 2022, though only 6.5% of California’s population was Black or African American, over 30% of all reported hate crime events in California were committed against a person because they were Black or African American, according to the DOJ report. As with many other types of hate crimes, the number of reported anti-Black hate crimes are increasing. Moreover, the number of anti-Black hate crimes has increased at a higher rate than hate crimes overall. While overall reported hate crime events increased 20% between 2021 and 2022, anti-Black hate crime events increased by 27%.

In 2022, though only 6.5% of California’s population was Black or African American, over 30% of all reported hate crime events in California were committed against a person because they were Black or African American.

Examples of hate against individuals because they are Black or African American abound. In September 2023, a grand jury in California indicted 17 members and associates of the Hells Angels biker gang for chasing and beating three young Black men in the Ocean Beach neighborhood of San Diego. The perpetrators used racial epithets and told the three young men they “didn’t belong” there.⁶³ At a city council meeting in San Bernardino in October 2023, two men called in and shouted race and gender slurs and made racist comments while a Black woman was participating

in the public comment portion of the meeting about a hiring decision for the city.⁶⁴ In July 2023, three crosses were burned outside a church serving predominantly Latine and Black congregants in the Sylmar neighborhood of Los Angeles.⁶⁵ Although officials initially investigating this event did not believe it was a hate crime, cross burning is a practice historically tied to racism and intimidation of marginalized groups.⁶⁶ Regardless of how they are classified, as discussed in Chapter 3, these instances of hate have a tremendous impact on individuals and communities.

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63 Sweeney, D. (2023, September 26). Hells Angels bikers chase and beat 3 Black men in hate crime, California officials say. *The Sacramento Bee*. <https://www.yahoo.com/news/hells-angels-bikers-chase-beat-152155950.html>

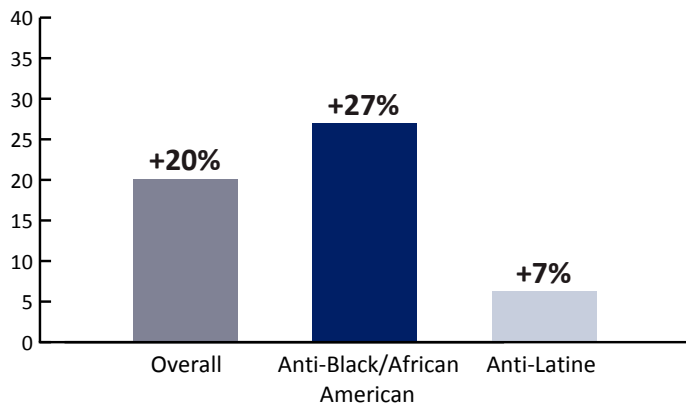
64 Solis, N. (2023, October 24). Racist comments uttered at San Bernardino council meeting: Did city take too long to apologize? *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2023-10-24/san-bernardino-city-council-meeting-racist-comments>

65 Solis, N. (2023, July 6). Crosses set on fire outside Sylmar church in possible hate crime. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2023-07-06/crosses-set-on-fire-sylmar-church-possible-hate-crime>

66 FOX 11 Digital Team. (2023, July 7). Officials rule out hate crime after burning of Sylmar church crosses. *FOX 11 LA*. <https://www.foxla.com/news/sylmar-church-crosses-set-on-fire-arson-possible-hate-crime>

Reported hate crime events against members of the Latine community make up a significant number of overall hate crimes in the California DOJ reports as well. In 2022, anti-Latine hate crime events comprised almost 10% of the total number of reported events in 2022. Reported anti-Latine hate crime events increased by 7% between 2021 and 2022. (Note that a previous version of this report contained an incorrect data point on the increase in reported anti-Latine hate crimes.) Some research indicates that law enforcement data significantly undercount hate crimes against Latine communities. In some cases, this is due to underreporting as a result of concerns about immigrant status, as described below.⁶⁷

Increases in Reported Hate Crimes between 2021 and 2022



Source: California Department of Justice

At the Commission’s third community forum, presenters from the Black Youth Leadership Project discussed the connection between the prevalence of hate crimes motivated by racial bias and the bias, discrimination, and harassment disproportionately directed toward Black students. They shared data from the California Department of Education indicating that Black male students are more than three times as likely to be suspended and expelled as

compared to their peers in California.⁶⁸ Black female students are six times more likely to be expelled and three times more likely to be suspended than their white female peers.⁶⁹ The presenters described the many cases reported to BYLP by students of racist experiences at school, particularly from adults, such as teachers using slurs and physical violence against Black students.

In California, reported anti-Asian hate crime events remain high, continuing a trend of elevated anti-Asian hate since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020.⁷⁰ In 2021, the California DOJ recorded the highest number of anti-Asian hate crime events since at least 2013. The second highest number of anti-Asian hate crime events occurred in 2022. Despite a drop of 43% in reported anti-Asian hate crime events between 2021 and 2022, the number of events in 2022 is between two and four times higher than the years before the pandemic. In other words, levels of anti-Asian hate remain at historic levels.

67 Cuevas, C. A., Farrell, A., McDevitt, J., Robles, J., Lockwood, S., Geisler, I., Van Westendorp, J., Temple, J., & Zhang, S. (2021). Hate crime and bias victimization of Latinx adults: Rates from a multisite community sample. *Psychology of Violence*, 11(6), 529–538. <https://doi.org/10.1037/vio0000320>

68 Wood, J. L., Harris III, F., & Howard, T. C. (2018). *Get Out! Black male suspensions in California public schools*. San Diego, CA: Community College Equity Assessment Lab and the UCLA Black Male Institute. <https://bma.issueab.org/resource/get-out-black-male-suspensions-in-california-public-schools.html>

69 U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights. (2021, June). *An overview of exclusionary discipline practices in public schools for the 2017-18 school year*. Civil Rights Data Collection. <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/crdc-exclusionary-school-discipline.pdf>

70 Within the DOJ data, data on anti-Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander hate crimes is extremely sparse and disaggregated from anti-Asian hate crimes. We therefore report only on anti-Asian hate crimes with respect to DOJ data.

Representative data provide additional information about the state of hate toward the Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) community. A nationwide Pew Research Center poll found that a majority of Asian Americans (57%) surveyed believe that discrimination against Asians living in the U.S. is a major problem.⁷¹ Qualitative data from the survey indicate that Asian American respondents experience a range of “othering” behaviors and other forms of hate, such as being treated as a foreigner even if they were born in the U.S., frequent screening at security checkpoints, and threats and attacks in relation to the COVID-19 pandemic.⁷²

The Stop AAPI Hate coalition, which is the nation’s leading aggregator of reports of hate crimes and noncriminal hate incidents directed toward the AAPI community, documented 11,467 anti-AAPI hate crimes and noncriminal hate incidents nationwide from March 2020 to March 2022.⁷³ Thirty-eight percent of those reports were from California.

The data from the Stop AAPI Hate reporting portal provide rich insights into the patterns of hate against the AAPI community. Overall, most acts of hate reported to Stop AAPI Hate took place in public spaces, with more than half occurring in settings open to the public and more than a quarter occurring at businesses. In addition to reports of hate crimes, Stop AAPI Hate collects reports of microaggressions, civil rights violations, and systemic racism, all of which have the potential to harm individuals and communities. About half of all reports involved explicit expressions of anti-AAPI bias, while about 20% report coded, or implied, bias.

At a Commission community forum, students from AAPI Youth Rising discussed their experiences with racially motivated hate and discrimination that they and those in their community experienced during the height of the COVID-19 pandemic. They attributed much of these experiences to systemic discrimination and described initiatives their organization is undertaking in response. These initiatives include advocating for Asian American and Pacific Islander history and culture to be included in school curricula.

Reported hate crimes in major California cities

Although annual law enforcement data from the California DOJ for 2023 is not yet published at the time of this writing, preliminary law enforcement data from select cities in California portray city-level patterns and trends in 2023. Reflecting the national trend, hate crime events reported to law enforcement in some of California’s largest cities rose in 2023 following a 20% rise statewide from 2021 to 2022. Below we detail preliminary patterns of hate crimes reported to law enforcement in Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco, as well as two cities in Orange County: Santa Ana and Irvine.⁷⁴

In 2023 in Los Angeles, the state’s most populous city, the number of overall hate crime victims rose 17% from 2022 to 841, according to law enforcement data compiled by the Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism at California State University, San Bernardino. Consistent with state and national patterns, the number of reported anti-Black hate crime victims in Los Angeles increased in 2023, making up the greatest

The number of anti-Asian hate events in 2022 was between

2-4X

higher than before the start of the 2020 pandemic.

Source: California Department of Justice

71 Ruiz, N. G., Im, C., & Tian, Z. (2023, November 30). *Discrimination experiences shape most Asian Americans’ lives*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/race-and-ethnicity/2023/11/30/discrimination-experiences-shape-most-asian-americans-lives/>

72 Ruiz et al., 2023. <https://www.pewresearch.org/race-and-ethnicity/2023/11/30/discrimination-experiences-shape-most-asian-americans-lives/>

73 Stop AAPI Hate. (2022). *Stop AAPI Hate national report*. <https://stopaapihate.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/22-SAH-NationalReport-3.1.22-v9.pdf>

74 Note that each department’s data discussed here publish information on hate activity in slightly different ways. For instance, while some data sets contain data on victimizations, others contain data on hate crime events.

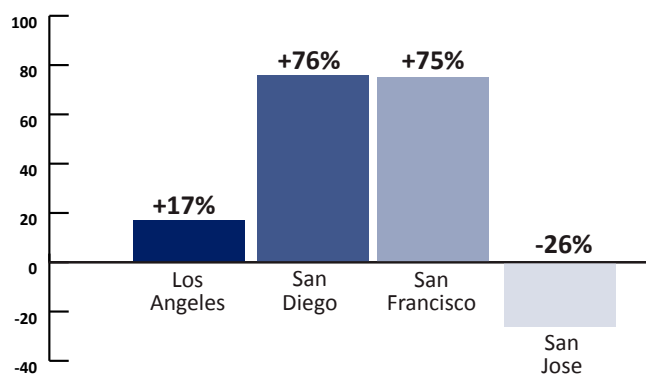
proportion of total hate crime victims in the city. Relative to 2022, reports of anti-Black motivated hate crime victims rose 2% to a total of 219 victims in 2023. Other types of reported hate crimes increased as well. Reported hate crimes motivated by bias against gay males rose 28% to 133 victimizations, while reported hate crime victimizations motivated by bias against transgender individuals rose 19% in 2023. There was a 9% rise in reported hate crime victimizations against Latine individuals to a total of 106, while reported hate crime victimizations against members of the Asian American community, which hit a record in 2021, fell 19% to 30 – a total far higher than pre-pandemic levels. Following the events of October 7, reported hate crimes against several groups in Los Angeles spiked. Reports of anti-Jewish hate crime victims rose 62% to a record 165, of which 71 victimizations occurred in the last three months of the year. Reported anti-Arab hate crime victims increased 220% to 16, while reported anti-Muslim hate crime victims rose 60% to eight victims, with the vast majority of victimizations also occurring in October through December 2023.

In San Diego, California’s second largest city, hate crime events reported to law enforcement rose 76% from 2022 to 2023 to a total of 65, which was the highest total number since 2003.⁷⁵ In 2022, reported hate crime events declined in the city, although they remained elevated over numbers from 2020. Reported hate crime events motivated by bias against an individual or group’s religion rose from six to 18, or 200%, with more events motivated by antireligious hate occurring between October and December 2023 than occurred in all of 2022. Reported hate crime events motivated by race or ethnicity, with Black individuals as the most frequent target, rose slightly from 24 to 25. Reported hate crime events motivated by bias against sexual orientation rose from five in 2022 to 21 in 2023 – a 320% increase.

Turning to San Francisco, the San Francisco Police Department’s website publishes the number of hate crime reports to SFPD prior to the analysis of the Hate Crimes Unit.⁷⁶ According to SFPD data, reports of hate crimes increased 75% in 2023,

from 36 to 63, after a decline in 2022. Hate crime reports in 2023 motivated by race, ethnicity, or ancestry rose 53% (from 15 to 23) and those motivated by antireligious bias rose 213% (from eight to 25). Reports of hate crime motivated by sexual orientation rose 13% (from eight to nine), while those based on gender nonconforming prejudice doubled, from three to six. In 2023, almost two-thirds of the total reports of hate crimes in San Francisco motivated by antireligious bias occurred between October and December of 2023. Twenty-three of the 25 total reports of antireligious hate crimes in 2023 were anti-Jewish.

Change in Reported Hate Crimes between 2022 to 2023 in California's Largest Cities



*Data for Los Angeles consist of year-over-year change in hate crime victims. Data for San Diego, San Francisco, and San Jose consist of year-over-year changes in hate crime events. Sources: San Diego Police Department; San Francisco Police Department; Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism at California State University, San Bernardino

75 Data for San Diego is from the San Diego Police Department website’s open data portal, which reports hate crime events. This data is available online on the San Diego Police Department’s website: <https://data.sandiego.gov/datasets/police-hate-crimes/> (City of San Diego, (2018). Hate crimes (Version 2016 through year-to-date) [Data set]. City of San Diego Open Data Portal. <https://data.sandiego.gov/datasets/police-hate-crimes/>)

76 These reports can include multiple victims. They do not necessarily constitute the number of reports found to be hate crimes after investigation by the SFPD. DataSF. (n.d.). *Police Department investigated hate crimes*. Dataset Explainers. Retrieved May 26, 2024, from <https://datasf.gitbook.io/datasf-dataset-explainers/police-department-investigated-hate-crimes>.

To be sure, although reported hate crimes increased in many cities in 2023, they did not increase in every city year-over-year. In some cases, the number of reported hate crimes declined and in other cases they remained at elevated levels. For instance, in Orange County, hate crime events in Santa Ana declined by 53% in 2023, as compared to 2022, according to data from the Santa Ana Police Department’s website.⁷⁷ Hate crime events in 2023 for another city in Orange County, Irvine, declined by 21% since 2022, according to data from the Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism.

In San Jose, California’s third largest city, preliminary data from the Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism suggest that total hate crime events reported to law enforcement declined by 26% in 2023 from the prior year, falling from 115 to 85 events. Hate crime events motivated by anti-Black bias declined by 45% from 31 to 17, and anti-Latine events remained unchanged, with 16 reported in both years. Reported anti-Asian hate crime events declined from 18 in 2022 to five in 2023. Reported anti-gay hate crime events dropped from 19 in 2022 to 14 in 2023. With respect to other categories of hate crimes, a lack of data precludes drawing strong conclusions about trends. Preliminary data suggest that anti-transgender events fell from two in 2022 to one in 2023. Anti-Jewish hate crimes declined from seven in 2022 to three in 2023. Anti-Muslim hate crime event reports rose from one in 2022 to two in 2023, anti-Hindu hate crime reports rose from zero in 2022 to two in 2023. The most frequent locations for overall hate crime were highways/roads/alleys/streets/sidewalks (35%), then residences (25%), followed by schools and colleges (8%).

Hate against underrepresented communities

Despite the numerous data sets and other sources of information on hate activity, there are many communities in California for whom there is a dearth of reliable data. Undocumented communities, Indigenous communities, individuals with disabilities, and unhoused individuals are often underrepresented in, or, in some cases, completely excluded from, data sets. This is a result of an array of factors. For many communities, underrepresentation is partly due to a hesitancy to report to law enforcement because of distrust in law enforcement and government institutions. For Indigenous communities specifically, underrepresentation in law enforcement data may occur, at least in part, because of fragmented information-sharing between tribal, local, and state law enforcement. Individuals who reside in institutional settings, such as people in mental hospitals and carceral facilities, tend to be excluded from data collection efforts altogether, including surveys that aim to gather a representative sample of the population. Data sets that rely on sampling individuals with a registered address, such as some representative surveys, often end up excluding many undocumented and unhoused individuals. This section details some of what is known with respect to hate against communities whose experiences are systematically underrepresented in many data sets.

Undocumented communities, Indigenous communities, and individuals with disabilities are often underrepresented in, or, in some cases, completely excluded from, data sets.

Undocumented populations. Twenty-seven percent of California’s population is foreign-born.⁷⁸ Within California’s foreign-born population, most individuals are from Latin America (49%) or Asia (41%), and more than half (55%) are now naturalized citizens. A proportion of the foreign-born population is

77 City of Santa Ana Police Department. (2023, February 28). *2022 hate crime statistics*. <https://www.santa-ana.org/documents/2022-hate-crime-statistics/>; City of Santa Ana Police Department. (2024, January). *2023 hate crime statistics*. <https://storage.googleapis.com/proudcity/santaanaca/uploads/2023/02/2023-Hate-Crime-Statistics.pdf>

78 Perez, C. A., Mejia, M. C., & Johnson, H. (2023). *Immigrants in California*. *Public Policy Institute of California*. <https://www.ppic.org/publication/immigrants-in-california/>

undocumented, with most undocumented individuals (77%) originally from Mexico or Central America.⁷⁹ Unfortunately, reliable, systematic data on the experiences of these groups are sparse. Many acts of hate against these groups go unreported. For individuals who are undocumented or not naturalized, there may be a hesitancy to report hate due to a general fear of law enforcement, governmental entities, or anyone acting in an official capacity, such as someone administering a survey. In addition, one of the most cited data sources on hate activity, the U.S. Department of Justice, does not compile data on hate crimes with a citizenship status bias motivation. Though the California Department of Justice does collect data on “anti-citizenship status” hate crimes, the available data is extremely sparse, making year-over-year comparisons of the rates of hate crimes involving citizenship status unreliable.

Native and Indigenous populations. Although Native and Indigenous populations are deeply affected by hate, their experiences are often underrepresented in data.⁸⁰ Data from the California DOJ includes hate crimes motivated by anti-American Indian/Alaska Native bias, but the data is sparse. As with non-tribal law enforcement, research indicates that, in some cases, tribal law enforcement may not accurately record hate crime data.⁸¹ Closely related to hate crimes is the alarming prevalence of missing and murdered Indigenous people in California. Existing data indicates that California has the fifth highest number of reports of missing and murdered Indigenous people in the country, and they are disproportionately women, girls, Two-Spirit individuals, and LGBTQ+ individuals.⁸² For example, only 9% of murders of Indigenous women in California have been solved, compared to 60% in the greater population.⁸³

Populations with disabilities. Hate crimes perpetrated against individuals with disabilities are often referred to as “invisible hate crimes” given the lack of reporting, investigation, and prosecution of these crimes.⁸⁴

People with disabilities are **2.5X** more likely to experience violence than those without a disability.

Source: U.S. Department of Justice

Nationally, people with disabilities are two-and-a-half times more likely to experience violence than those without, according to the National Crime Victimization Survey.⁸⁵ Many of these violence incidents are bias-motivated and might be classified as hate crimes if adequately investigated.⁸⁶ The California DOJ report contained only 12 anti-disability hate crime events statewide in 2022. This is likely a substantial underestimation of the prevalence of anti-disability hate crimes. Advocates have noted members of the disability

79 Migration Policy Institute. (2019). *Profile of the unauthorized population: California*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/data/unauthorized-immigrant-population/state/CA>

80 LeGates, R. (2024, January 23). News from Native California’s “stop the hate” resource guide. *News from Native California*. <https://newsfromnativecalifornia.com/news-from-native-californias-stop-the-hate-resource-guide/>

81 McNeel, H. D. (2014). Hate crimes against American Indians and Alaskan Natives. *Journal of Gang Research*, 21(4), 11–21. <https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/hate-crimes-against-american-indians-and-alaskan-natives>; Perry, B. (2008). *Silent victims: Hate crimes against native Americans*. University of Arizona Press.

82 Sharp, A. (2023, November 21). The crisis of missing and murdered Indigenous people in California and the push for change. *CBS Sacramento*. <https://www.cbsnews.com/sacramento/news/the-crisis-of-missing-and-murdered-indigenous-people-in-california-and-the-push-for-change/>

83 Du Sault, L. (2020, August 3). “Pervasive failure to investigate:” Report finds lack of scrutiny in cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women. *CalMatters*. <https://calmatters.org/california-divide/2020/08/unsolved-missing-indigenous-women/>

84 Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. (2016, December 19). *Disability hate crime*. https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/5/0/290021_1.pdf; McKinney, D. (2018, August 5). *The invisible hate crime*. Southern Poverty Law Center. <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2018/invisible-hate-crime>

85 Harrell, E. (2017, July). *Crime against persons with disabilities, 2009-2015- Statistical tables (NCJ 250632)*. U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics. <https://bjs.ojp.gov/library/publications/crime-against-persons-disabilities-2009-2015-statistical-tables#:~:text=During%20the%205%20year%20aggregate,rate%20for%20those%20without%20disabilities>

86 McKinney, 2018. <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2018/invisible-hate-crime>

community often have trouble reporting to law enforcement due to a number of factors, including a lack of cultural competence and sensitivity and a lack of proper accommodations among law enforcement.⁸⁷ In addition, it can be difficult to prove bias motivation against people because of a disability, as some might claim these crimes and incidents are motivated by opportunity rather than a bias against a particular characteristic of a person.⁸⁸ Over the past year, the Commission has received public comments and heard from subject matter experts on the prevalence and impacts of anti-disability hate. Many of these comments have pointed to the lack of data on anti-disability hate and underscore the need for more robust data to inform solutions for improving resources, support, and prevention efforts.

Unhoused populations. Because housing status is not a protected characteristic under existing law, bias and violence targeting individuals because they are unhoused is not tracked in the DOJ report on hate crimes in California. However, there are several tragic examples of bias and targeted violence against unhoused individuals in California. In November 2023, a shooter appeared to have intentionally targeted unhoused individuals in Los Angeles. Over a period of four days, the shooter killed three unhoused men as they slept on a sidewalk or in an alley.⁸⁹ In San Francisco in 2023, reports surfaced that the city's former fire commissioner had been approaching unhoused individuals and spraying them with bear spray.⁹⁰ Data from a report by the National Coalition for the Homeless points to the disproportionate rates of violence experienced by the unhoused population. Survey data from 2014 indicates about half (49%) of unhoused individuals in a sample of five U.S. cities report being victims of violence, as compared to 2% of the general population.⁹¹ More recent data from the ACLU in 2021 indicates that discrimination against unhoused people in California is becoming more normalized, particularly among people of color.⁹² For example, black adults are more likely to be cited for anti-homeless infractions than their white peers.

[A]bout half (49%) of unhoused individuals report being victims of violence, as compared to 2% of the general population.

MEASURING HATE ACTIVITY IN CALIFORNIA THROUGH THE CALIFORNIA HEALTH INTERVIEW SURVEY

Today, there is no single data set from a comprehensive, representative statewide survey of all Californians that measures their experiences with hate. Such a survey has the potential to address many of the gaps in

87 U.S. Department of Justice, Community Relations Service. (2023, May 11). *CRS facilitates virtual dialogue to address hate crimes against disability community*. <https://www.justice.gov/crs/highlights/hate-crimes-against-disability>

88 McKinney, 2018. <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2018/invisible-hate-crime>

89 Vives, R., Winton, R., Childs, J., & Queally, J. (2023, December 1). L.A. police search for gunman who killed 3 homeless people as they slept. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2023-12-01/killer-preying-on-the-unhoused-lapd-searching-for-shooter-targeting-homeless-people>; Smart, S. & Razek, R. (2023, December 3). Suspect arrested in shootings of three homeless men was already in custody for another crime, authorities say. *CNN*. <https://www.cnn.com/2023/12/02/us/los-angeles-homeless-population-murders/index.html>

90 Burke, M. & Miyasawa, T. (2023, April 27). Ex-San Francisco fire commissioner who said homeless man beat him is accused of initiating altercation with bear spray. *NBC News*. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/ex-san-francisco-fire-commissioner-said-homeless-man-beat-metal-rod-ac-rcna81767>

91 Meibresse M., Brinkley-Rubinstein L., Grassetto A., Benson J., Hall C., Hamilton R., Malott M., & Jenkins D. (2014). Exploring the experiences of violence among individuals who are homeless using a consumer-led approach. *Violence and Victims* 29(1): 122–136. <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/24672998/>; National Coalition for the Homeless. (2020, December). *20 years of hate: Reporting on bias-motivated violence against people experiencing homelessness in 2018-2019*. National Coalition for the Homeless. https://nationalhomeless.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/hate-crimes-2018-2019_web.pdf

92 ACLU Southern California. (2021, October 26). *ACLU report: California's war on unhoused people*. <https://www.aclusocal.org/en/press-releases/aclu-report-californias-war-unhoused-people>

existing data sets. Most notably, a survey can overcome the barriers to proactively reporting acts of hate to law enforcement or other agencies. To report, survivors and witnesses must be aware of reporting channels, trust the reporting channels, and be appropriately incentivized to report. A statewide survey, on the other hand, would proactively reach out to a representative sample of Californians to learn about their experiences.

To develop such a survey, the Commission has joined CA vs Hate and CRD in partnering with the California Health Interview Survey. The CHIS, which is administered by the UCLA Center for Health Policy Research, is the nation's largest state health survey. By systematically sampling 20,000 households across California, the data are collected in such a way as to allow researchers to make statistical inferences about patterns and trends across the state and within nearly every county of California.

Today, there is no single data set from a comprehensive, representative statewide survey of all Californians that measures their experiences with hate.

This section provides an overview of the research project with the CHIS, including the goals of the project, the methodology, and a timeline for the availability of data. Appendix B contains additional details about the methodology. By providing an overview of this project, it is the hope of the Commission that this research framework will be a template for others interested in developing an accounting of hate in their communities.

Research Goals and Considerations

Measure the prevalence of hate in California

A strategic goal of the Commission is to provide a comprehensive accounting of hate activity in California. As a rigorous, statewide survey, the CHIS is an ideal vehicle for addressing this goal. Before the Commission was established, CA vs Hate, CRD, and the CHIS designed a set of questions designed to measure the number of Californians who experienced hate and gather details about those experiences. Modeled after questions in the National Crime Victimization Survey, these survey questions asked respondents if they experienced or witnessed a hate crime or incident in the past year. They also ask about the protected characteristic that was the basis for the targeting, the actions of the perpetrator, and where the crime or incident happened. These questions were added to the CHIS in 2023. The data from these questions can speak to important questions, such as how many people in California have experienced or witnessed a hate crime or incident in the past year and what the most common targeted characteristics were. When combined with other data in the CHIS, they can also shed light on the prevalence of hate within specific geographic areas of the state and the health impacts of hate.

The Commission added questions to the CHIS for 2024. The new questions have several goals, including measuring how frequently respondents experienced hate. The answer to this question can provide additional information about the overall prevalence of hate in California and what factors are correlated with frequent targeting.

Measure the impacts of hate in California

A second goal of the research project is to understand the specific impacts of hate on Californians. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, hate can affect people and communities in many ways, from health to economic impacts. However, to our knowledge, no comprehensive study measuring the impacts of hate on people in California exists. Such a study can provide a more nuanced accounting of hate and point to potential policy solutions for mitigating its impacts.

Assess unmet needs of victims of hate in California

The third research goal of the project is to identify resources and support needed by victims of hate. The research project will measure both the resources and services victims were able to access after experiencing hate, as well as the resources and services that victims needed but were not able to access. This information will help the Commission with its strategic goal of making recommendations to enhance resources and support for individuals and communities affected by hate. Because the survey data can be analyzed on a smaller geographic level, the data may yield insights into the statewide landscape of available resources and services for victims of hate. For example, it can show whether resources or services are less available in rural or urban areas or in certain counties.

Methodological Framework

To accomplish the research objectives, staff from the Commission, CRD, CHIS, and CA vs Hate collaborated on three interrelated studies. (For a detailed overview of the methods, please see Appendix B.) First, as mentioned, a significant gap in data on hate today is the absence of a single comprehensive, representative statewide survey of all Californians that measures their experiences with hate. Such a data set is foundational for developing policies to create a California free of hate. To address this gap, the Commission, CRD staff, CHIS staff, and CA vs Hate collaborated to design a set of questions to be included in the annual CHIS survey. The first study evaluated the clarity of the questions and subsequently refined them using feedback from qualitative interviews with 28 participants who reported witnessing or experiencing a hate crime or incident within the past year. The second study consisted of fielding the final survey questions across California. The final questions are included in the 2023 and 2024 CHIS survey, which is administered in multiple languages to 20,000 households across the state each year. Survey results are available in October of the following year. The third study, which is forthcoming, is intended to develop a deeper understanding of respondents' experiences and give a voice to members of smaller communities that are not as well-represented in the survey data. The study will consist of 50 in-depth interviews with a subset of respondents from the survey who indicated they had witnessed or experienced a hate crime or incident within the past year. The findings can shed light on complex topics that are challenging to answer with surveys, such as the mental models of victims as they navigate resources, cultural barriers to accessing resources, experiences working with law enforcement, and why some resources are more

helpful than others. Interviews will be conducted in English, Spanish, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, or Tagalog. The findings from the in-depth interviews will be available June 2025.

Together, the three studies have the potential to profoundly advance the strategic goals of the Commission and, importantly, the overall knowledge base of hate in California. The survey and in-depth interview data will provide critical

information to develop a comprehensive accounting of hate in California, including where, how often, and to whom hate is happening, and how it is affecting Californians. Importantly, the data will point to solutions.

Summary of Research Method**STUDY 1:**

Conducted 28 interviews with survivors and witnesses of hate

STUDY 2: (ONGOING)

Administering annual survey to 20,000 California households

STUDY 3 (FORTHCOMING):

Conduct 50 in-depth interviews with diverse cross-section of survey respondents

A detailed understanding of these topics can help the Commission, CBOs, and policymakers with developing specific, focused interventions. The data may also allow the Commission to develop actionable policy recommendations for focusing resources and interventions targeted at preventing hate activity and providing support to individuals impacted by hate.

INTERIM RECOMMENDATIONS FOR UNDERSTANDING THE STATE OF HATE

Establish Ongoing Funding for Developing a Comprehensive Accounting of Hate

Although the Commission's partnership with CHIS is addressing an important gap in available data sets, the Commission's funding for this research is temporary and comes at the expense of funding other projects, such as research on preventing hate. Given the importance of reliable, comprehensive data on hate in California, it is critical to establish permanent infrastructure for the measurement of the state of hate on an ongoing basis. The infrastructure could consist of a permanent team of statisticians, survey design experts, and subject matter experts housed within a State agency or research institute with sufficient funding and contracting authority to collect, analyze, and publish data regularly for use by the public and policymakers.

Given the importance of reliable, comprehensive data on hate in California, it is critical to establish permanent infrastructure for the measurement of the state of hate on an ongoing basis.

Funding must also include an investment in research with specific communities impacted by hate. Traditional representative surveys collect data in such a way as to make broad conclusions about the general population. Data are often too sparse to make statistical inferences about smaller populations, such as people who live at the intersection of underrepresented identities. Moreover, traditional surveys often exclude those who are in institutions, resulting in gaps in understanding of those populations, such as people who are incarcerated or in mental health or assisted living facilities.

For those reasons, the Commission recommends that any research infrastructure focused on providing a comprehensive accounting includes research on the needs of smaller communities. This could be done by ensuring the team of researchers described above includes qualitative researchers who conduct systematic interviews with members of underrepresented communities. Additionally, it may be important to establish a grant program to fund innovative research projects focused on communities that may be excluded in survey research. The grants could support community-informed research methods or research on sophisticated sampling techniques, such as respondent-driven sampling.

Increase Information and Data Sharing between Public Entities and Community-Based Organizations

As trusted entities and service providers in their communities, many CBOs collect a wealth of data about hate crimes and incidents, including the experiences and the needs of their constituencies. While some CBOs collect reports through formal reporting channels, such as the Stop AAPI Hate reporting portal, others gather data and information through intake processes for providing services. Despite the potential of this information to be used for improving government resources and support, it is not always compiled and shared. There are many reasons for this. In some cases, there are no clear communication channels between public entities and community-based organizations. In other cases, community-based organizations do not have the resources or expertise to publish and share information and data. In addition, they may be reluctant to share sensitive information that people have trusted to them.

To enhance government resources and services to those affected by hate, it is vital to support CBO data collection efforts and institutionalize appropriate information-sharing channels between CBOs and public entities. Investments in data collection efforts could take several forms. To improve data quality and consistency, an investment could be made in a team of researchers and subject matter experts who provide consultations and methodological expertise for the collection of data and information to CBOs. Additionally, a grant program for CBOs could be established that funds positions and contracts for collecting, analyzing, and publishing the data they collect.

Investments in enhanced information sharing between CBOs and public entities could take several forms as well. For example, government agencies could be required to hire community liaisons to facilitate communication between CBOs and their agencies. Another approach could be requiring agencies to consider community input. For example, in one Commission meeting, a representative from a CBO proposed requiring law enforcement agencies to host listening sessions with CBOs. A requirement could be implemented that both law enforcement agencies and relevant state agencies host listening sessions to hear from CBOs on a quarterly basis about their communities' experiences with hate.

CA vs Hate has been leading efforts to harness the rich information and data that CBOs collect on hate today. CA vs Hate is developed partnerships with many CBOs and data experts to compile the aggregate data that the CBOs collect and identify how to share this information publicly. The CBO data will supplement the data CA vs Hate publishes about direct reports to its hotline and online portal.

HATE AND PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

Among the patterns and trends in hate in California is the complex relationship between hate and public institutions. This includes both the role political leaders play in engaging in hate-based rhetoric and acts of hate from members of the public that are directed toward political leaders and public institutions. The Commission has turned its attention to this topic in several respects. First, the Commission has learned that during high-profile events, such as significant elections, there is potential for an increase in hate crimes and incidents. Understanding this pattern is critical for preparing communities, community-based organizations, and governmental entities. Second, political leaders and public officials often espouse hateful rhetoric and ideologies, which harm many communities in California, including through further marginalization, decreased feelings of safety, and the incitement of violence. Third, there appears to be a growing trend of increased threats and harassment toward public officials and institutions. This trend is intertwined with the trend of hateful ideologies being espoused by political leaders.

In addition to harming the targeted individuals and communities, as discussed below, these threats and harassment have troubling implications for civic engagement, policy, and the future of democracy.

Political Events and Increases in Hate

While many factors contribute to patterns and trends in hate, researchers have noted a consistent correlation: Spikes in hate violence often follow high-profile “catalytic events.” This includes highly charged political elections, political events, international conflicts, and the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic. In an analysis of decades of hate crimes data, Commissioner Levin and his colleagues found that the highest months of reported hate crimes

Spikes in hate violence often follow high-profile “catalytic events.” This includes highly charged political elections, political events, international conflicts, and the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic.

in the U.S. occurred in conjunction with several catalytic events.⁹³ For example, after the 9/11 attacks, the United States witnessed historic spikes in hate crimes. September and October 2001 were two of the three highest months of hate crimes in recorded history. In September 2001, 330 anti-Muslim hate crimes were reported, a monthly total that eclipsed the totals from any other full year. Other key events resulted in spikes in hate crimes, including the acquittals of Los Angeles Police Department officers in the Rodney King case in 1992, the 1995 acquittal of O.J. Simpson, a violent insurgency during the 2003 Iraq War, the murder of George Floyd by police in 2020, and the COVID-19 pandemic. High-profile political elections also tend to coincide with spikes in overall hate crimes. Following the 2016 presidential elections, overall reported hate crime totals spiked for two weeks.

Understanding this pattern is critical for helping communities and governments prepare for potential increases in hate. For example, anticipating the spike in hate violence after the war between Israel and Hamas escalated on October 7, the Commission collaborated on a press release with CRD to uplift CA vs Hate as a resource.⁹⁴ In addition, Governor Gavin Newsom doubled funding for the Nonprofit Security Grant Program to bolster safety and security at religious institutions, places of worship, and faith-based institutions across the state.⁹⁵

The Impact of Political Speech on Hate Activity

Evidence points to a relationship between hate-based rhetoric from political leaders and increases in hate. In March of 2020, the week after President Trump’s first Tweet using the words “Chinese virus” and other variants of the term, the number of anti-Asian hashtags on Twitter increased by 174 times.⁹⁶ Stop AAPI Hate reported thousands of hate incidents that echoed the hateful rhetoric from public officials, with many of these incidents accompanied by threats of violence.⁹⁷ Similarly, hate crimes against Muslims spiked in the two weeks following then-candidate Trump’s call for a “total and complete shutdown” of the country’s borders to Muslim people.⁹⁸ Rhetoric from public officials targeting the LGBTQ+ community also has direct adverse impacts. In a nationwide survey of LGBTQ youth, 29% of LGBTQ youth experienced

In a 2022 Poll, LGBTQ Youth Reported That Anti-LGBTQ Policies and Debates Led To:



Source: The Trevor Project

93 Levin, B., Nolan, J., & Perst, K. (2022). US hate crime trends: What disaggregation of three decades of data reveals about a changing threat and an invisible record. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 112(4), 749-800. <https://scholarlycommons.law.northwestern.edu/jclc/vol112/iss4/3/>

94 California Civil Rights Department. (2023, October 17). *Commission on the State of Hate, Civil Rights Department urge Californians to take advantage of anti-hate resources amid reports and threats of hate violence* [Press release]. <https://calcivilrights.ca.gov/2023/10/17/commission-on-the-state-of-hate-civil-rights-department-urge-californians-to-take-advantage-of-anti-hate-resources-amid-reports-and-threats-of-hate-violence/>

95 Office of Governor Gavin Newsom. (2023, October 18). *Governor Newsom doubles funding to bolster safety and security in faith communities and takes action to immediately increase police presence at places of worship* [Press release]. <https://www.gov.ca.gov/2023/10/18/faith-security-funding/#:~:text=Today's%20announcement%20authorizes%20%2410%20million,for%20violent%20attacks%20and%20hate>

96 Stop AAPI Hate. (2022, October). *The blame game: How political rhetoric inflames anti-Asian scapegoating*. <https://stopaapihate.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Stop-AAPI-Hate-Scapegoating-Report.pdf>

97 Stop AAPI Hate, 2022. <https://stopaapihate.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Stop-AAPI-Hate-Scapegoating-Report.pdf>

98 Levin et al., 2022. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48722477>

cyberbullying or online harassment, 19% experienced bullying at school, and 6% reported physical assault, all as a direct result of anti-LGBTQ policies and debates.⁹⁹

Accounts of hate incidents illustrate the close relationship between political rhetoric and hate incidents. An analysis of ProPublica’s Documenting Hate database found over 300 hate acts where hate speech invoked former President Donald Trump’s name or slogan.¹⁰⁰ For example, on November 16, 2016, a man reported being dragged out of his car and physically assaulted by attackers who repeatedly said, “You know my new president says we can kill all you fa**ots now.”¹⁰¹ One day later, a Puerto Rican man reported that his family’s car had been vandalized with the words “Trump” and “Go home” scratched into the car. In San Diego, a Black woman reported leaving a grocery store when a motorist slowed down next to her to yell, “F**k you, n****, go back to Africa. The slave ship is loading up . . . Trump!”¹⁰²

Exactly how hateful political speech results in hate activity is complex, but one potential explanation for this relationship is the role of political speech in perpetuating norms. Specifically, the expression of hate by political leaders may provide a license to others to commit acts of hate. Researchers have argued that this occurred after the election of Trump, writing, “Potential perpetrators of hate crimes in the present-day United States are not necessarily ‘learning’ hatred from Trump’s dehumanizing statements.... Rather, potential perpetrators are encouraged to act by the fact that Trump garnered votes and now holds the highest office. They infer from this that they have a better chance of escaping social and legal sanction than before his election.”¹⁰³

Even jokes from political leaders, such as Trump’s disparagement of a political reporter with a disability at a 2015 rally, can result in tangible harm through the perpetuation of norms. As with hateful rhetoric, disparaging jokes can communicate a message of tacit approval or tolerance of hate, shifting norms of acceptable behavior and leading to discrimination and hate activity. For example, in one study of men who held prejudicial attitudes toward women, researchers examined how sexist jokes may create a normative standard that allows prejudiced beliefs to result in discriminatory behaviors. In this study, prejudiced men who heard a sexist comedy skit exhibited a higher likelihood of cutting money from a women’s student organization than prejudiced men who heard a neutral comedy skit. The authors argued that the sexist skit created a “local, prejudiced norm—a norm tolerant of sexism. Sexist participants took advantage of the local prejudiced norm to release their prejudice against women without fear of disapproval from others.”¹⁰⁴

The Commission has also examined how norms can be leveraged in a positive direction to perpetuate inclusive behaviors and reduce hate. Chapter 4 contains an in-depth discussion of how public messages may draw on the influence of norms to counter hate.

99 The Trevor Project. (2023). Issues impacting LGBTQ youth: Polling presentation. https://www.thetrevorproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Issues-Impacting-LGBTQ-Youth_Morning-Consult-Poll_Jan-2023_Public.pdf

100 Carless, W. (2018, May 7). They spewed hate. Then they punctuated it with the president’s name. *Salon*. https://www.salon.com/2018/05/07/they-spewed-hate-then-they-punctuated-it-with-the-presidents-name_partner/

101 Mashek, K. (2016, November 16). 75-year-old Sarasota man says he was attacked for being gay. *ABC Action News*. <https://www.abcactionnews.com/news/region-sarasota-manatee/sarasota/sarasota-man-says-he-was-attacked-for-being-gay>

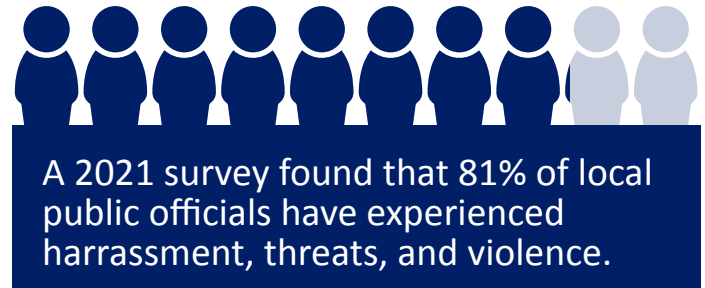
102 Carless, 2018. https://www.salon.com/2018/05/07/they-spewed-hate-then-they-punctuated-it-with-the-presidents-name_partner/

103 Paluck, E. L., & Chwe, M. S.-Y. (2017). Confronting hate collectively. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 50(4), 990–992. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096517001123>

104 Ford, T. E., Boxer, C. F., Armstrong, J., & Edell, J. R. (2008). More than “just a joke”: The prejudice-releasing function of sexist humor. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 34(2), p. 168. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167207310022>

Hate, Threats, and Harassment against Public Officials and in Public Meetings

There is a growing body of evidence documenting escalating attacks, violence, threats, harassment, and hate against public officials.¹⁰⁵ Nationally, threats against members of Congress have increased drastically within recent years.¹⁰⁶ A 2021 survey found that 81% of local public officials reported experiencing harassment, threats, and violence.¹⁰⁷ Within California, recent instances of hate at public meetings abound. For example, in May 2023, the Sacramento City Council halted a public meeting after experiencing a tirade of anti-Semitic remarks during the public comment portion of the meeting.¹⁰⁸ After the incident, social media posts appeared that supported the anti-Semitic remarks and encouraged people to call into subsequent meetings. For months, numerous anonymous people called in regularly through Zoom to deliver racist and anti-Semitic diatribes during public comment.¹⁰⁹ Reports of racist and anti-Semitic remarks at public meetings have emerged across the state, including at meetings of the Los Angeles City Council, San



Source: Violence, Inequality and Power Lab/Institute for Civil Civic Engagement

Diego City Council, and Ventura City Council, across the Bay Area, and at school board meetings.¹¹⁰ Elected officials are also targeted outside of public meetings. In one survey, 35% of elected officials reported experiencing in-person incidences of harassment, threats, and violence when they were off work.¹¹¹

In December 2023, the Commission hosted a community forum on this topic.¹¹² During the forum, researchers discussed studies and public officials shared their personal experiences that point to the prevalence of this phenomenon, including in San Diego. In a survey of over 300 elected officials in San Diego County, including officials who serve on school boards, community college boards, and city councils, 75% of respondents reported experiencing threats and harassment. Almost half of the officials reported receiving threats or harassment monthly. Though these threats and harassment are not necessarily all

105 Hodel, R. (2023). *How scared are you? A literature review contextualizing the environment of threats and harassment of local officials in the United States over the last 10 years*. The Violence, Inequality, and Power Lab, Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice, University of San Diego. <https://digital.sandiego.edu/ipj-research/69/>

106 Kleinfeld, R. (2022, March 31). *The rise in political violence in the United States and damage to our democracy*. Testimony before the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2022/03/31/rise-in-political-violence-in-united-states-and-damage-to-our-democracy-pub-87584>

107 Rainwater, B. (2021). *On the frontlines of today's cities: Trauma, challenges and solutions*. National League of Cities. <https://www.nlc.org/resource/on-the-frontlines-of-todays-cities-trauma-challenges-and-solutions>

108 Haubner, A. (2023, May 19). Sacramento City Council meeting becomes chaotic after antisemitic remarks during public comment. *CBS News*. <https://www.cbsnews.com/sacramento/news/sacramento-city-council-chaotic-anti-semitic-remarks/>

109 Vera, V. (2023, September 12). Sacramento leaders want to cut Zoom from public meetings as hate speech escalates. *ABC 10*. <https://www.abc10.com/article/news/local/sacramento/sacramento-leaders-zoom-public-meetings-hate-speech/103-53f04ba4-cc7a-4f1d-a9df-2532e954a445>

110 Bowen, A. (2023, September 19). Antisemitic tirades at San Diego City Council meeting highlight perils of anonymous public comment. *KPBS*. <https://www.kpbs.org/news/local/2023/09/19/antisemitic-tirades-at-san-diego-city-council-meeting-highlight-perils-of-anonymous-public-comment>; Munce, M. F. (2023, September 23). Bay Area officials say antisemitic 'Zoombombing' is derailing local democracy. *San Francisco Chronicle*. <https://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/article/antisemitic-jewish-rant-meeting-18376866.php>; Barron, T. (2023, October 18). 3 Zoom callers spew hate speech at Ventura City Council meeting. *Ojai Valley News*. https://www.ojavalleynews.com/news/3-zoom-callers-spew-hate-speech-at-ventura-city-council-meeting/article_e62291c6-62f1-11ee-b6f8-d7f9a7215666.html; Newton, J. (2023, November 2). City councils in L.A. and across California face urgent issues. They're also facing more racist anger. *CalMatters*. <https://calmatters.org/commentary/2023/11/city-council-california-hate-speech/>

111 Rainwater, 2021. <https://www.nlc.org/resource/on-the-frontlines-of-todays-cities-trauma-challenges-and-solutions>

112 Video of the Commission's December 8, 2023, community forum is available via the following link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pe8x_TCTfco.

hate-based, much of them are. In addition, they often arise out of discussions of anti-hate policies and disproportionately target officials with identities and characteristics that are often targets of hate, such as people of color, women, and LGBTQ+ people. Several media reports of hate speech in public meetings across the state point to the commenters being anonymous or using names related to the Holocaust or Nazis.¹¹³ The study of San Diego elected officials found that threats and harassment tend to consist of “highly personalized othering” and include death threats, threats of sexual violence, doxing, and threats and harassment toward family members.

The researchers also examined the root causes of the threats and harassment. They found national events can mobilize actions against local officials. The researchers explained that discussions of specific “flash point topics” among public bodies often result in increased threats and harassment. These topics include equity, inclusion, LGBTQ+ rights, and critical race theory. Given that these topics are frequent subjects of national political rhetoric, this suggests a connection between national rhetoric and threats and harassment against local elected officials. The researchers also found that, in some cases, local officials experienced threats and harassment from other elected colleagues.

This growing trend has myriad consequences. On an individual level, public officials experience severe direct impacts. As with all individuals who experience hate, public officials may face adverse mental and physiological impacts and incur financial costs, such as costs for security or relocating their homes. There is evidence that threats and harassment may also deter public officials from serving in their positions. In the San Diego study, 52% of elected officials reported considering leaving public service because they experienced threats and harassment. Women were nearly twice as likely to report leaving office than men. In January 2024, after six years of public service, an Asian American Berkeley City Council member and mayoral candidate resigned from the council and suspended his campaign due to threats, harassment, and stalking that targeted him and his family.¹¹⁴ As described by researcher Rachel Locke during the community forum, in some cases this is the point of the harassment. Targeted harassment is often intended to drive women, people of color, and other underrepresented groups out of leadership positions.

Targeted harassment is often intended to drive women, people of color, and other underrepresented groups out of leadership positions.



23% of surveyed elected officials in San Diego County reported they were less likely to speak their minds about a policy due to threats or harassment.

Source: Violence, Inequality and Power Lab/Institute for Civil Civic Engagement

Threats and harassment also adversely impact the work of public bodies. To avoid being targeted, public officials may be less inclined to speak out about particular issues or even pursue particular policies. In the survey of San Diego elected officials, 23% of respondents said they were less likely to speak their minds about a policy due to threats or harassment.

This is compared to 14% who reported being more likely to speak their minds. Threats and harassment also divert resources from other work. Public officials must expend time and resources developing new procedures and policies in response to hate-based comments, such as drafting statements, seeking legal

¹¹³ Bowen, 2023. <https://www.kpbs.org/news/local/2023/09/19/antisemitic-tirades-at-san-diego-city-council-meeting-highlight-perils-of-anonymous-public-comment>. See also Star, 2023. <https://www.vcstar.com/story/news/2023/10/01/antisemitic-racist-remarks-sour-ventura-city-council-meeting/71006335007>

¹¹⁴ Robinson, R. (2024, January 9). Opinion: Why I am stepping down from the Berkeley City Council. Berkeleyside. <https://www.berkeleyside.org/2024/01/09/opinion-why-i-am-stepping-down-from-the-berkeley-city-council>

advice, funding additional security, and making changes to the public comment process. In some cases, funding for modifications to meetings must come from other critical programs. For example, a school board may need to use funds that would have been allocated to schools to pay for increased security at public meetings.

Threats and harassment can also lead to violence. For example, individuals may use the public meeting as a platform to perpetuate hate-motivated messages, which, in some cases, can mobilize violent acts against officials or members of the community. As researcher Dr. Carl Luna described in the community forum, “One of the problems with the threat environment being raised as it is...is that it encourages escalation of threats to cross the line into violence. And once you start to cross that line more regularly, it can lead to the danger of a cascade effect where suddenly what we were hoping to avoid becomes more manifest.”

The impacts extend to civic participation and the future of democracy. Safety concerns deter members of the public from attending and participating in public meetings, particularly members of communities that are targeted by the rhetoric. Hate-based attacks may also narrow opportunities for public comment and potentially interfere with citizens’ rights to free speech. In response to a series of disruptive racist and hateful comments over Zoom, the Sonoma City Council limited public comments to in-person attendees.¹¹⁵ Although such restrictions are understandable responses, they limit public participation from members of the public who are unable to attend in-person, such as people with disabilities and parents with young children.

INTERIM RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ADDRESSING HATE AGAINST PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND AT PUBLIC MEETINGS

Given the far-reaching impacts of threats and harassment in public meetings and against public officials and the troubling implications of this trend for the future of democracy, the Commission has been exploring policy recommendations for addressing this issue. To be clear, in recognizing the harms of this behavior, it is critical to promote participation in public bodies and protect and uphold civil liberties, including the freedom of speech and expression. As Sacramento Mayor Darrell Steinberg described in a statement, “[d]issenting and passionate voices have a vital role in pushing elected officials to respond faster and better to real human suffering. While bigots and racists have a first amendment right to spew their hate, they have no right to incite violence. No one, no matter their point of view, has the right to disrupt the public’s business or make it impossible for others to participate.”¹¹⁶

Enhance Training and Resources for Public Officials and Staff

Elected officials often undergo training after being sworn in or appointed. But this training does not always include information about how to address threats, harassment, and hate. Training and onboarding for officials should be expanded to include this. Trainings could range from helping officials prepare for the possibility of threats and harassment to information about how to respond to these incidents. Training could also consist of de-escalation training for use both during and outside of public meetings. Security and staff could also participate in de-escalation training.

In addition to training, resources should be made available for the many local and state public bodies throughout the state. These resources should include information about how to access mental health services.

115 County of Sonoma. (2023, September 15). *Sonoma County to limit verbal public comments to those attending in person at September 19 Board of Supervisors meeting* [Press release]. <https://sonomacounty.ca.gov/sonoma-county-to-limit-verbal-public-comments-to-those-attending-in-person-at-september-19-board-of-supervisors-meeting>

116 Padilla, C. (2023). Mayor Steinberg calls out “bigots and racists” after latest Sacramento city council meeting disruption.” *CBS News*. <https://www.cbsnews.com/sacramento/news/mayor-steinberg-calls-out-bigots-and-racists-after-latest-sacramento-city-council-meeting-disruption/>

It is also important to promote networks and communication among elected officials. In their studies of San Diego officials, researchers noted that many felt alone and that the incidents were isolated. Formal networks can allow officials to share information about their experiences with hate-based threats and harassment, including best practices for addressing them. For example, the National League of Cities offers an online network as well as “constituency groups” where elected members with similar backgrounds and identities can meet and share experiences.¹¹⁷

Resources on how to manage threats and harassment in public meetings should also be developed and promoted to the numerous public bodies throughout the state. These resources could include model strategies and detailed toolkits for public bodies about how to prepare for various types of hate and harassment and what to do if they are targeted. This could include example modifications to meeting policies or procedures, infrastructure changes that could be made to enhance security, model codes of conduct to implement in meetings, and model response strategies or action plans that could be used in the event of various types of incidents.

Enhance Security for Public Officials and Public Meetings

Given the intensity and personalization of attacks on local elected officials, it may be necessary to provide security personnel to targeted local officials. In some cases, security and law enforcement may need to be present in public meetings. However, law enforcement and security presence should be implemented judiciously. Many communities do not feel safe in the presence of law enforcement, and enhanced security may stifle discourse. Moreover, heavy law enforcement presence may escalate tensions. As an alternative, public bodies may wish to explore infrastructure changes, such as adding metal detectors or ballistic glass.

Explore Amendments to Open Meeting Laws

The Brown Act and the Bagley-Keene Open Meeting Act (Bagley-Keene Act) are important California laws that guarantee the public access to meetings of local legislative bodies and state public bodies, respectively. With some limited exceptions, these laws require that meetings of these bodies be open to the public and provide opportunities for public comment. These laws are essential for providing public transparency into the operation of public bodies. However, as described, in some cases members of the public are exploiting the access guaranteed by these laws to threaten, harass, and platform hateful messages. This has wide-ranging impacts, including undermining public participation by deterring other members of the public from attending public meetings.

In the Commission’s December community forum, subject matter experts advocated for amending these laws to give public bodies the flexibility to address the escalating threats and harassment in public meetings while preserving public access.¹¹⁸ For example, the Brown Act was recently amended to allow for the removal of attendees who disrupt a public meeting. The Bagley-Keene Act was not similarly amended. Other amendments to the laws could include allowing bodies to have some limited private discussions, such as among members of the body to address hate in meetings or with constituents on a limited basis to address sensitive topics that tend to attract hate-based acts. Other amendments could involve allowing for fully remote meetings, especially in response to escalations of hate. In the Commission’s experience with public meetings to date, remote attendance from members of the public far exceeds in-person attendance.

117 Discussion board can be accessed here: <https://connectedcommunity.nlc.org/home>. NLC constituency groups are described here: <https://www.nlc.org/current-initiatives/constituency-groups-2/>.

118 The presentation from Dr. Carl Luna at the Commission’s December 8, 2023, community forum can be viewed via the following link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pe8x_TCTFco.

In cases where public bodies are repeatedly targeted, this may provide a physically safer space for the public body and members of the public to meet.

Invest in Data and Research on Hate against Public Officials

Although available data suggest hate against public officials is a growing problem, there are gaps in this data. Many incidents go unreported and there is not a statewide survey of elected officials' experiences with hate, similar to the study conducted in San Diego. To effectively address this problem and allocate resources, it is critical that incidents are documented and data are shared across jurisdictions. Comprehensive reporting, information-sharing, and research partnerships can advance an understanding of the problem and potential solutions.

Engage in Efforts to Shift Norms and Reassure Communities

To some extent, the targeting of public officials is a result of permissive norms that sanction prejudiced beliefs and acts of hate. Rhetoric from prominent political leaders has contributed to the perpetuation of these norms. Therefore, it is critical to invest in evidence-based messaging strategies that promote norms of peaceful and inclusive behaviors and provide reassurance to communities. Chapter 4 discusses evidence-based approaches to promoting norms through public messaging efforts. Public bodies and officials can also play a role in shifting norms. When acts of hate occur, it is critical for public officials to model acceptable behavior and promote positive norms. It is also important to reassure impacted communities and promote resources such as CA vs Hate. Public bodies should also develop, promote, and enforce codes of conduct. Codes of conduct could be posted outside of meetings and reinforced through consistent messaging throughout meetings. As described in Chapter 4, there is empirical research demonstrating that posters that promote norms of inclusion and appreciation for diversity can shift behavior and promote inclusion and feelings of safety among students on college campuses. Postings in public meeting spaces that promote positive norms may have a similar effect.

FUTURE ACTIVITIES

Fill Data Gaps

As discussed, the Commission's partnership with the California Health Interview Survey will address many of the gaps in data on hate activity in California today. The data from the CHIS's statewide survey will be able to speak to broad patterns and trends in hate in California. In parallel, the CHIS is conducting interviews with survey respondents who reported experiencing an act of hate. These interviews will be an opportunity to gather in-depth information from specific groups, especially those that are less well-represented in the survey. The Commission will also procure additional research studies to address other data gaps. For example, although the transgender population is particularly at risk of experiencing hate, survey data may not be able to fully capture the experiences of this community. Therefore, the Commission has procured a focused research study with the Williams Institute at UCLA to conduct research into anti-transgender hate crimes in California.

Continue to Learn from CBO Data

Numerous community-based organizations throughout California collect data and information about hate in their communities. While the Commission has reached out to many CBOs to review their reports and findings, there may be additional CBOs collecting data that the Commission has yet to review. The Commission will continue to invest in reaching out to CBOs across the state to learn about the patterns and trends they are seeing and investigate how to uplift and support their data gathering efforts.

Support CA vs Hate

CA vs Hate is gathering critical data for understanding the state of hate in California. It is also addressing the limitations in existing data by providing a non-law-enforcement option for reporting hate crimes and hate incidents that allows callers to report in over 200 languages. Moreover, CA vs Hate incentivizes reporting by connecting those who report with information about their options and connections to resources.

Over the next year, the Commission will continue to draw on the data and information from reports to CA vs Hate. Where possible, it will support efforts to analyze and publish the data.

Understand and Improve Gaps in Law Enforcement Data

The Commission will continue to invest in efforts to understand and improve law enforcement data. Over the next year, the Commission will continue to engage in fact-finding through reviews of research and data, as well as conversations with law enforcement, subject matter experts, and community-based organizations. Additionally, the Commission will publicize a new law enforcement training it has developed in partnership with the California Commission on Peace Officers Standard and Training (POST) and community representatives. The Commission expects the training to enhance law enforcement data collection by providing law enforcement officers with information about identifying hate and by emphasizing the importance of investigating and responding to hate crimes and incidents.

Understand the Intersection between Hate and Public Institutions

Hateful rhetoric from political leaders and escalating hate-based targeting of public officials necessitates continued investment from the Commission. Over the next year, the Commission will continue to engage in fact-finding and research to understand the issue more deeply, including solutions and resources that exist today, and develop recommendations.

Enhancing Resources and Support

Government Code section 8010 requires the Commission on the State of Hate (Commission) to develop recommendations for enhancing responses to hate crimes. Understanding how to enhance responses to hate requires an understanding of the impacts of hate. Over the past year, the Commission has heard from experts and members of the public about how hate impacts individuals and communities. This chapter begins with a high-level overview of the adverse impacts of hate. It then synthesizes learnings from the response to mass shootings in Monterey Park and Half Moon Bay in 2023 to highlight gaps in government response to mass casualty events and potential solutions. This chapter also discusses the role of law enforcement in responding to hate and the work the Commission is doing to improve law enforcement response. It ends with interim recommendations for enhancing the resources and support for individuals and communities affected by hate.

THE IMPACT OF HATE

Chapter 2 reviewed patterns and trends with respect to hate crimes and incidents in California, demonstrating that hate is increasing overall and touches many communities. However, data on the prevalence of hate often does not capture the true number of people affected by hate. Within the past year, the Commission has heard from experts and members of the public about the devastating impacts of hate on both victims of hate and broader communities. These impacts are multifaceted, ranging from health to finances. The following section provides a high-level overview of what the Commission has learned over the past year about the impacts of hate.

Mental Health Impacts

As highlighted by Dr. Eraka Bath in the Commission’s community forum, hate is a public health threat. That is, hate has far-reaching and devastating health impacts on individuals who directly experience it and the communities of which they are a part. Researchers have documented how hate crimes are associated with more severe impacts than non-hate-related crimes. For example, victims of hate crimes are more likely to face post-traumatic stress disorder than victims of non-hate-related crimes.¹¹⁹ In one study in Sacramento, lesbian and gay survivors of hate crimes exhibited more severe psychological consequences than lesbian and gay respondents who were survivors of crimes that did not appear to be motivated by bias.¹²⁰

These consequences included greater depression, anger, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress.

More broadly, there is ample evidence that instances of hate, prejudice, and discrimination are associated with adverse health consequences. For example, researchers have found that lesbian, gay, and bisexual people face a unique set of stressors that arise due to prejudice and stigma, which then result in adverse mental and physical disorders.¹²¹ These stressors include feelings of rejection, concealment of identity,

In one study in Sacramento, lesbian and gay survivors of hate crimes exhibited more severe psychological consequences than lesbian and gay respondents who were survivors of crimes that did not appear to be motivated by bias.

119 Ratini, M. (2022, May 18). *How do hate crimes affect health?* WebMD. <https://www.webmd.com/a-to-z-guides/hate-crime-health-effects>

120 Herek, G. M., Gillis, J. R., & Cogan, J. C. (1999). Psychological sequelae of hate-crime victimization among lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 67*(6), 945-951. <https://doi.org/10.1037//0022-006x.67.6.945>

121 Meyer, I. H., & Frost, D. M. (2013). Minority stress and the health of sexual minorities. In C. J. Patterson & A. R. D’Augelli (Eds.), *Handbook of Psychology and Sexual Orientation* (pp. 252–266). New York, NY: Oxford University Press. https://psycnet.apa.org/record/2012-32754-018?fbclid=IwAR1VEV_u7htVFNGV_a_huxb6Kh7luQUB33TS0Ezqo34wMrPpgkvHVeAKTk

internalized homophobia, and experiences in which a person's gender identity is not affirmed. These stressors elevate the risk of experiencing depression, anxiety, substance use, and suicidal behaviors, among other adverse health consequences. One study found that transgender individuals who reported being denied equal treatment were twice as likely to attempt suicide as transgender individuals who had not reported experiencing such treatment.¹²²

Race-based hate has detrimental health effects as well. In a comprehensive review of nearly 300 studies examining the health effects of racism on Asian American, Latine, and Black populations, researchers found that experiencing racism is associated with negative mental health impacts, including depression, anxiety, and psychological distress.¹²³ Racism was also associated with poorer physical and overall health. There was no evidence that other characteristics, such as a person's age, sex, education level, or birthplace moderated or buffered racial minorities from these effects. Recognizing the consequences of racism, most major medical organizations, including the American Medical Association, and a number of local jurisdictions have characterized racism as a public health crisis.

In a comprehensive review of nearly 300 studies examining the health effects of racism on Asian American, Latine, and Black populations, researchers found that experiencing racism is associated with negative mental health impacts, including depression, anxiety, and psychological distress.

Transgender individuals who reported being denied equal treatment were

2X

more likely to attempt suicide.

Source: Herman et al., 2019

There is evidence that hate has ripple effects throughout communities, resulting in adverse health outcomes for individuals who share identities and characteristics with victims of hate. In one study, researchers found that LGBT youth in neighborhoods with high rates of LGBT assaults were significantly more likely to report suicidal ideation and attempts than LGBT youth in neighborhoods with lower rates of LGBT assaults.¹²⁴ There was no relationship between overall neighborhood levels of violent crime and suicidality among LGBT youth, suggesting that hate crimes have specific, community-level impacts.

Communities of color also experience second-order health impacts of hate. Researchers examined every police shooting in the United States between 2013 and 2015 and data on the health of the overall population in every state.

122 Herman, J., Brown, T. N. T., Haas, A. P. (2019). *Suicide thoughts and attempts among transgender adults: Findings from the 2015 U.S. Transgender Survey*. University of California, Los Angeles School of Law, Williams Institute. <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Suicidality-Transgender-Sep-2019.pdf>

123 Paradies, Y., Ben, J., Denson, N., Elias, A., Priest, N., Pieterse, A., Gupta, A., Kelaher, M., & Gee, G. (2015). Racism as a determinant of health: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *PLoS ONE*, 10(9), e0138511. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0138511>

124 Duncan, D. T., & Hatzenbuehler, M. L. (2014). Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender hate crimes and suicidality among a population-based sample of sexual-minority adolescents in Boston. *American Journal of Public Health*, 104(2), 272–278. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2013.301424>

They found that each shooting of an unarmed Black American resulted in several days of poor mental health for members of the Black population in the state where the shooting occurred. The accumulation of these days of poor health was akin to the effects of diabetes.¹²⁵

The researchers observed no effect of the shootings of unarmed Black Americans on the white population, suggesting that there is a specific community-level effect that occurs because of targeted violence.

In a 2018 study, each police shooting of an unarmed Black American resulted in several days of poor mental health for members of the Black population in the state where the shooting occurred.



Source: Bor et al., 2018

Physiological Impacts

Intertwined with the mental health consequences of hate are physiological effects. Among other impacts, discrimination and hate can result in altered brain development, lead to poorer sleep, and result in a higher risk of obesity.¹²⁶ In a study of the impacts of discrimination on Black youth, researchers found that Black teenagers who reported experiencing severe discrimination had high levels of stress hormones, inflammation, body mass index, and blood pressure by age 20.¹²⁷

A number of studies have examined rates of allostatic loads, which refers to the physiological aging that occurs due to the burden of chronic stress and life events. Over the course of a person's life, exposure to persistent and recurrent prejudice and other social disadvantages results in wear and tear on bodily organs, accelerated aging, and health deterioration. Researchers have documented striking disparities in allostatic loads and physiological deterioration. Because of the stress caused by recurrent and pervasive hate-related threats, allostatic loads are consistently higher for Black Americans than white Americans, even after controlling for other factors.¹²⁸

In one study of a sample of 48- to 60-year-olds, Black respondents were, on average, physiologically 2.6 years older than their chronological age, whereas white respondents were physiologically 3.5 years younger than their chronological age, a difference of more than six years.¹²⁹

125 Bor, J., Venkataramani, A. S., Williams, D. R., & Tsai, A. C. (2018). Police killings and their spillover effects on the mental health of black Americans: a population-based, quasi-experimental study. *The Lancet*, 392(10144), 302-310. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(18\)31130-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(18)31130-9)

126 Slopen, N., Lewis, T. T., & Williams, D. R. (2016). Discrimination and sleep: a systematic review. *Sleep Medicine*, 18, 88-95. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sleep.2015.01.012>; Bor, J., Venkataramani, A. S., Williams, D. R., & Tsai, A. C. (2018). Police killings and their spillover effects on the mental health of black Americans: a population-based, quasi-experimental study. *The Lancet*, 392(10144), 302-310. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(18\)31130-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(18)31130-9); Assari, S., & Mincy, R. (2021). Racism may interrupt age-related brain growth of African American children in the United States. *Journal of Pediatric Child Health Care*, 6(3), 1047 – 1056. <https://doi.org/10.26420/jpediatrchildhealthcare.2021.1047>; Zhang, X., Wang, H., Kilpatrick, L. A., Dong, T. S., Gee, G. C., Labus, J. S., Osadchiv, V., Beltran-Sanchez, H., Wang, M.C., Vaughan, A., & Gupta, A. (2023). Discrimination exposure impacts unhealthy processing of food cues: crosstalk between the brain and gut. *Nature Mental Health*, 1(11), 841-852. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s44220-023-00134-9>

127 Brody, G. H., Yu, T., & Beach, S. R. H. (2016). Resilience to adversity and the early origins of disease. *Development and Psychopathology*, 28(4pt2), 1347–1365. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0954579416000894>

128 Geronimus, A. T., Hicken, M., Keene, D., & Bound, J. (2006). “Weathering” and age patterns of allostatic load scores among Blacks and whites in the United States. *American Journal of Public Health*, 96(5), 826–833. <https://doi.org/10.2105/ajph.2004.060749>

129 Forrester, S., Jacobs, D., Zmora, R., Schreiner, P., Roger, V., & Kiefe, C. I. (2019). Racial differences in weathering and its associations with psychosocial stress: The CARDIA study. *SSM- Population Health*, 7, 100319. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2018.11.003>

Intangible Impacts

In addition to the health impacts, hate has severe intangible effects on individuals and communities. Hate can inflict fear, diminish a sense of belonging, and serve to exclude or even expel a group from a community.¹³⁰ Indeed, in many cases, that is exactly the point. Perpetrators often commit hate acts with the overt intent to stoke fear and marginalize specific communities.

These intangible effects have a range of direct and indirect consequences. Survivors of hate and people from communities targeted by hate may distrust others, be highly alert, modify their appearances, downplay or remove religious garments and symbols, stop attending places of worship, or refrain from expressing affection with partners in public.¹³¹ A recent national survey of the Asian American population found that one in five Asian Americans have hidden part of their heritage, such as cultural customs, food, clothing, or religious practices, from non-Asians at some point in their lives.¹³² When asked why, respondents described being afraid of discrimination, being teased, and being embarrassed. Similarly, as mentioned earlier, a key driver of stressors in the LGBTQ+ community are expectations of rejection and efforts to hide or conceal their identity due to the hate they face.

Economic Impacts

In addition to the toll that hate can take on the well-being and health of individuals and communities, hate also has considerable economic impacts. After hate occurs, individuals, communities, community-based organizations, and governments incur a range of costs, ranging from health care costs to moving expenses. These economic costs are particularly important to consider as policymakers weigh potential solutions for preventing hate. Although preventive solutions may require financial investments, it is important to examine the costs of prevention against the substantial costs of hate on individuals, communities, and governments today.

A recent study from the Bard Center for the Study of Hate estimated the cumulative economic cost of hate nationally. Synthesizing data from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) and law enforcement, the researchers developed an economic model that estimates that the annual cost of hate crimes against persons is almost \$3.39 billion and the annual cost of hate crimes against property is almost \$7.7 million.¹³³ The researchers estimate that the total cost of hate crimes in one year is nearly \$3.4 billion (\$3,395,893,071). Although this estimate suggests hate is extremely costly, the researchers



The total estimated cost of hate crimes in the U.S. for one year is nearly **\$3.4 billion.**

Source: Martell, 2023

130 See comments from Dr. Eraka Bath at the Commission's August 25, 2023, community forum: <https://youtu.be/vv08Ed-mMv0>.

131 Perry & Alvi, 2012. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0269758011422475>; Bell, J.G., & Perry, B. (2015). Outside looking in: The community impacts of anti-lesbian, gay, and bisexual hate crime. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 62(1), 98–120. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2014.957133>; Iganski, P., & Sweiry, A. (2016). How 'hate' hurts globally. *The Globalisation of Hate*. Oxford University Press, 96–109; Kutateladze, B. L. (2022). Acting "straight": Socio-behavioral consequences of anti-queer hate crime victimization. *Justice Quarterly* 39(5), 1036–1058. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2021.1906931>; Turlock, L., & Mayan, M. (2023). How can community-based participatory research address hate crimes and incidents?. *Engaged Scholar Journal*, 9(1), 61–74. <https://doi.org/10.15402/esj.v9i1.70794>

132 Chen, R., Shah, S., & Ruiz, N. G. (2023, September 11). *Among Asian Americans, U.S.-born children of immigrants are most likely to have hidden part of their heritage*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2023/09/11/among-asian-americans-us-born-children-of-immigrants-are-most-likely-to-have-hidden-part-of-their-heritage/>

133 Martell, M. E. (2023, March 13). Economic cost of hate. *Bard Center for the Study of Hate*. https://bcsh.bard.edu/files/2023/03/BCSH-Economic-Cost-of-Hate_3-13-23_Online-.pdf

argue that this is an underestimate given the limitations in existing data. For example, both the NCVS and the law enforcement data underestimate the true prevalence of hate crimes. The NCVS does not measure the prevalence of hate in particular populations, such as children under 12 and individuals who are institutionalized. It also undersamples the elderly and immigrants, among other groups. With respect to law enforcement data, not all hate crimes are reported to law enforcement, and police do not record all hate crimes as such. The researchers estimate that the true number of hate crimes nationally may be 60% higher than the number used in their models. Adjusting for this discrepancy, the cost of hate crimes may be more than \$3.7 billion.

To be clear, economic models of hate have a number of limitations. It is extremely complex to account for the range of costs incurred as a result of hate, and researchers must make numerous assumptions to generate an estimate. This model also does not consider the costs of noncriminal hate incidents, which, as discussed above, have substantial tangible and intangible impacts. Most importantly, such models do not consider impacts such as pain and suffering and the effects on quality of life and on full economic and social inclusion.

The Commission is unaware of a study that has measured the economic impact of hate in California. The Commission is collaborating with the California Health Interview Survey (CHIS) to partially fill this gap. The CHIS research partnership described in Chapter 2 includes efforts to survey respondents about whether they've incurred economic costs because of a hate crime or incident as well as in-depth interviews with victims of hate that will examine how hate may have affected victims financially.

RESOURCES AND SUPPORT IN THE AFTERMATH OF MASS CASUALTY EVENTS: LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE MONTEREY PARK AND HALF MOON BAY SHOOTINGS

This past year, California observed the one-year anniversary of two devastating tragedies impacting the Asian American and Latine communities. On the eve of Lunar New Year in 2023, a gunman opened fire in a dance hall in Monterey Park, killing 11 people. Nine others were injured. Two days later, on January 23, 2023, a gunman killed seven

people, all of whom were either Chinese or Latine migrants, who worked and lived on two farms in Half Moon Bay.

The shootings impacted communities that were already facing a host of challenges. Many members of the Asian American community were experiencing the continued impact of elevated levels of hate since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. In Half Moon Bay, the farmworker community was experiencing deplorable working and living conditions. Media reports demonstrated that members of the community lived in shipping containers and received pay as low as nine dollars an hour.¹³⁴

Lessons Learned from the Monterey Park and Half Moon Bay Shootings

Government resources should be ready within 48 hours

Collaborations between government and community partners are critical

Affected individuals need a continuum of services

Mental health services should be easily accessible

Resources and services should be available in a variety of languages

Access to resources and services should be streamlined

Systems for long-term support should be established

¹³⁴ Venkatraman, S. (2024, January 23). Half Moon Bay shooting survivors face uncertainty as housing vouchers expire. *NBC News*. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/half-moon-bay-shooting-survivors-face-uncertainty-housing-vouchers-exp-rcna135145>

The shootings also had ripple effects throughout the broader Asian American and Latine communities, sparking fears that the shootings would result in additional hate violence.

Immediately after the shootings, the Civil Rights Department staff from the Community Conflict Resolution Unit (CCRU) and CA vs Hate joined community-based organizations and law enforcement to support impacted individuals, families, and community members. Although the shootings were ultimately deemed not to be hate crimes, they activated many of the same systems that activate in response to a hate-based mass shooting, providing a window into the effectiveness of those systems. Through their experiences, CRD staff observed firsthand the multifaceted and complex needs of individuals and communities after a mass casualty event. They also observed the gaps in government response. The following section details lessons learned from the event.

Government Resources Should Be Ready within 48 Hours

After a mass casualty event, it is critical for all levels of government to convene and join with community-based organizations as quickly as possible to share information, understand what the needs are, and compile resources. A resource guide consolidating the information from all responding entities needs to be available within 48 hours, if not sooner. Given the continuum of resources and support that survivors might need, as described below, this guide should include access to navigators.

Collaborations Between Governments and Community Partners Are Critical

To meet the needs of survivors appropriately and quickly, governments need to partner closely with community-based organizations. As we emphasize throughout the report, CBOs hold a wealth of

When governments partner with CBOs, they should communicate regularly about the resources that each entity is best-suited to provide.

information and cultural understanding critical for supporting victims, survivors, and communities. This includes a deep understanding of the needs of their communities, barriers that community members may face accessing resources, and best practices for communication. For instance, in the wake of the shootings, Asian Americans Advancing Justice developed a detailed resource guide. Demonstrating the cultural competence needed to develop such a guide, it included both information about how to access mental health care as well as information about

how younger members of the AAPI community can encourage elders to seek mental health care. The responding CBOs were also aware of communication channels to distribute information, such as channels on WeChat, a Chinese social networking app. Importantly, as discussed below, CBOs played a critical role in overcoming language barriers as well.

When governments partner with CBOs, they should communicate regularly about the resources that each entity is best-suited to provide. For example, CBOs may be able to provide survivors with resources and services but may not have access to the latest sensitive information about an incident, such as names of victims and survivors. Therefore, it is important for government agencies interacting with victims and survivors to gather information about resources and services from the CBOs and communicate this promptly and accurately to victims and other impacted groups.

Affected Individuals Need a Continuum of Services

In the immediate aftermath of the shooting, impacted individuals and their families needed access to a continuum of resources and services. As discussed below, there was a critical need for trauma-informed, culturally competent mental health services. There was a need for assistance on a range of legal matters such as probate, estate, and insurance issues, as well as distributing funds to families in other countries. There were also specialized needs, such as assistance for family members flying into the United States for the funerals, including assistance with obtaining flight vouchers and visas.

CBOs, survivors, and witnesses had a host of informational needs that required specialized expertise. For example, in the wake of the shootings, CBOs began to receive donations from GoFundMe campaigns and other sources to distribute to survivors. Important questions were raised about the tax implications of receiving the funds. CBOs also needed guidance on issues such as how to distribute the funds and how to address scams and fraud. Additionally, there was a need for information about culturally appropriate funeral homes and support for burials outside of the United States.

Information about public benefit programs was also critical. Many members of the Half Moon Bay community were undocumented, poor, and in need of public assistance. They needed accurate information about their options, as well as navigators to assist with applying to these programs and overcoming distrust they might have had in government because of their undocumented status.

Mental Health Services Should Be Easily Accessible

After a mass casualty event, victims, survivors, and communities require immediate and long-term culturally competent mental health services. Mental health professionals administering the services must be trained in complex trauma and capable of speaking the language of the people affected. To connect impacted people with mental health services, governments need to work closely with community-based organizations and understand the cultures and languages within their jurisdictions.

Governments should also invest in streamlining access to mental health resources as much as possible. After the shootings, there was a need for a list of local mental health providers trained in complex trauma and capable of speaking the languages and dialects of the communities affected. CBOs also pointed out that it would be helpful if mental health were able to bill directly to the Victim's Compensation Board.

Hate and mass casualty events can impact the mental health of community members beyond the communities directly impacted. For example, after the Monterey Park shooting, community-based organizations in other areas of the state reported calls from seniors who were scared and concerned about additional incidents. Schools in the area also needed support. Teachers and staff needed information, training, and resources to support their students who were experiencing mental health impacts of the events. Anticipating these needs, government could proactively develop resource guides and contact schools throughout the state to provide information and resources.

To connect impacted people with mental health services, governments need to work closely with community-based organizations and understand the cultures and languages within their jurisdictions.

Resources and Services Should Be Available in a Variety of Languages

It is critical for governments to ensure that resources and services are provided in the languages and dialects of affected individuals and communities, particularly after a mass casualty event. Government communications with the public, such as press conferences, public statements, and resource guides, need to be provided in the languages and dialects of the impacted communities. This is especially important in

It is critical for governments to ensure that resources and services are provided in the languages and dialects of affected individuals and communities.

California where nearly one-third of the population is born outside of the United States, and a majority of immigrant families speak languages other than English in the home.¹³⁵

Both shootings impacted communities with high proportions of people who spoke several languages and dialects. Unfortunately, the government's response did not prioritize providing resources and services to affected communities in languages they could understand, exposing the need for more government awareness of and investment in high-quality interpretation and translation services, especially in moments of crisis.

Governments should prioritize language assistance services for multilingual communities in the aftermath of hate and mass casualty events to ensure communities have meaningful access to important information about resources, support, and services in a language they can understand. Such language assistance services should include access to skilled interpreters, including, when possible, those who have received cultural competency and sensitivity training and have prior experience working with those who may be experiencing grief and trauma, as well as skilled translators equipped to render accurate translations of important documents quickly.

Governments should also make every effort to deploy skilled interpreters to the site of a hate incident or mass casualty event to provide direct in-language support to multilingual communities in need. In addition, governments should make every effort to connect affected communities with direct services and organizations that provide culturally competent care and resources, such as mental health services and legal assistance services, and have staff or volunteers who are comfortable conversing in the languages and dialects of the affected individuals.

It is also important for points of contact to be available who are comfortable conversing in languages that affected communities can understand. When the first point of contact has a high level of proficiency in the language or dialect of the person seeking assistance, it is less likely they will be handed off to other individuals and that miscommunication due to language barriers will occur. This can be done by providing affected individuals with designated phone numbers impacted people may use to seek support in specific languages and/or by employing a navigator who can contact service providers and governments on behalf of individuals.

Governments should ensure that they contract with interpreters and translators who are competent, appropriately trained, and able to communicate effectively in English and the target language. This is especially critical given the importance and complexity of the information that governments provide after mass casualty events.

¹³⁵ Perez et al., 2023. <https://www.ppic.org/publication/immigrants-in-california/>

Access to Resources and Services Should Be Streamlined

Navigating resources and services after a mass casualty event can be challenging for victims. In the case of the Half Moon Bay and Monterey Park shootings, there were numerous responding entities, including community-based organizations and government officials and agencies of all levels. Survivors, communities, and community-based organizations needed a streamlined way to access resources, services, and information.

Streamlining should be implemented in several ways. First, as described above, a culturally competent resource guide should be available within 48 hours in the language(s) of the affected communities. Governments and CBOs should proactively send the guide to all survivors and affected community members, and governments should work with CBOs on identifying communication channels for distributing it. Second, responding entities, particularly all levels of government, should implement a “no wrong door policy.” This means that any entity a person contacts can either help the person directly or connect them to an entity that can. Third, navigators should be made available at each level of government. Local, state, and federal governments should each have a navigator to help access the information, resources, and services

Streamline Resources for Victims

Resource guide available within 48 hours

“No wrong door” policy

Culturally competent navigators at each level of government

that each level of government can provide. The navigators should be culturally competent, understand the resources and services that the various responding entities are capable of offering, and be able to communicate in the language of the person seeking assistance.

Systems for Long-Term Support Should Be Established

The shooting in Half Moon Bay revealed the deplorable living and working conditions on the farms. After the shooting, multiple labor agencies cited the farms for labor violations. News reports have detailed the trauma and economic uncertainty that the victims’ families continue to face one year after the shooting.¹³⁶ The tragedy left many without jobs and housing. Some of the survivors of the Half Moon Bay shooting received a one-year housing voucher while a new affordable housing development for farm workers was being built, but the development is not yet complete. Additionally, there are still concerns about the working conditions at the farm, and many of the farmers are unwilling to speak up about the conditions because of their undocumented status. Responders in the aftermath of a mass-casualty event should consider how to make resources and support available long-term. For example, funds and donations could be set aside for long-term needs. Responding entities should also connect survivors with general benefits programs to provide sustained support.

IMPROVING LAW ENFORCEMENT RESPONSES TO HATE

Government Code section 8010 tasks the Commission with providing resources and recommendations to law enforcement for responding to hate. As described in the 2022-2023 Annual Report, not all communities feel safe reporting hate to law enforcement, and the Commission supports organizations and resources that may serve as alternatives to law enforcement. However, for instances in which law enforcement does respond to acts of hate, it is important that law enforcement have the appropriate

¹³⁶ Venkatraman, 2023. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/half-moon-bay-shooting-survivors-face-uncertainty-housing-vouchers-exp-rcna135145>

knowledge base, policies, and procedures to respond effectively. Within the past year, the Commission has identified three significant gaps in law enforcement response: gaps in data collection, gaps in statewide training requirements, and gaps in research on the efficacy of trainings.

Gaps in Law Enforcement Data on Hate

One of the most significant gaps with respect to law enforcement response is the lack of comprehensive data. Closing this gap is a foundational task. As described in Chapter 2, law enforcement data are frequently cited to understand trends and patterns in hate crimes. More comprehensive data can help answer important questions about hate in California, such as where, when, how, and to whom hate activity is most likely to occur. These questions are important for the implementation of prevention interventions as well as the development of resources and services to support communities at risk of being targeted for hate.

Law enforcement data alone substantially underestimate the prevalence of hate activity. Most notably, data from most law enforcement agencies does not include an accounting of noncriminal hate incidents, which can cause profound harm to both individuals and communities. Moreover, in some cases hate incidents are precursors to hate crimes, and records of hate incidents can yield important information for responding to and prosecuting hate crimes.

In addition to not capturing hate incidents, law enforcement data does not capture the full scale of hate crimes. Researchers estimate that the number of hate crimes in law enforcement data ranges from half to fewer than 3% of the total number that actually occur. Unfortunately, the Commission is unaware of any generalizable, comprehensive data sets that could be used to gauge the extent of the undercount in California specifically.

There is evidence that underreporting may be a problem, particularly among smaller, less well-resourced agencies. In 2022, the most recent year data is available, 10 of California's 58 counties reported zero hate crime events. Six counties reported only one event. In other words, nearly 28% of all counties in California reported one or fewer hate crime events, and 17% reported zero hate crime events for 2022. All counties that reported one or zero hate crime events have populations of fewer than 105,000 people. Taken as a whole, this gap is troubling. The total population of all 10 of the zero-reporting counties is about 251,050 people, according to 2022 Census estimates. Available data suggests that it is unlikely that zero of 251,050 people experienced a hate crime in California. For example, Santa Cruz County, with a population of about 264,240 people, reported 28 hate crime events; Yolo County (population of 222,018) reported 22 hate crime events; and Shasta County (population of 180,937) reported 5 hate crime events.

As described above, there are many explanations for the underreporting of hate crimes in law enforcement data. These explanations fall primarily under one of two categories. Broadly, one category consists of the actions of law enforcement officers and agencies. When a member of the public reports a hate crime to law enforcement, it may not be recorded due to insufficient resources, training, policies, and investigative emphases of agencies. Sufficient training could address this to some extent. Law enforcement officers could be instructed on why it is important to investigate hate activity and the proper procedures for doing so. The second broad category has to do with why members of the public may not report to law enforcement. There are many reasons for this, including distrust in law enforcement, a belief that an

Key Gaps in Law Enforcement Data and Training

Gaps in data collection

Gaps in statewide training requirements

Gaps in research on the efficacy of trainings

instance does not rise to the level of a crime, an inability to report due to language barriers, and a lack of incentives to report. For a more detailed discussion of the gaps, see Chapter 2.

Gaps in Law Enforcement Training

Over the past year, the Commission has examined the availability of trainings of law enforcement officers to enhance responses to hate crimes and requirements for taking the trainings. The California Commission on Peace Officers Standard and Training (POST) sets selection and training standards for California law enforcement, which has included developing a two-hour training for existing law enforcement officers, informational videos, and a model policy on hate crimes.¹³⁷ As we discuss below, the Commission is currently collaborating with POST to develop an additional training on new hate crimes requirements. Over the past year, the Commission has also learned about trainings that community-based organizations, including the Islamic Networks Group, the Anti-Defamation League, and Out to Protect have developed and, in some cases, administered. Some of these trainings are available to view at <https://opendata.post.ca.gov/>.

Today hate crimes instruction is mandatory statewide in the basic academy, also known as the police academy. The hate crimes curriculum covers many topics, including the legal definition of hate crimes; indicators of hate crimes; the legal rights and remedies available to victims of hate crimes; the impact of hate on victims, victims' families, and the community; and considerations when investigating and documenting incidents involving possible hate crimes.

Despite the number of trainings on hate crimes that exist today for law enforcement, there are two significant gaps in training. The first gap is with respect to statewide requirements for hate crime training. Although hate crimes instruction is required in the basic course of instruction administered during the academy, today there are no statewide requirements in effect for hate crime trainings after law enforcement officers are appointed or sworn in. Thus, although officers will learn about hate crimes when they begin their careers, there is no additional statewide requirement in effect for training after that point.

[T]oday there are no statewide requirements in effect for hate crime trainings after law enforcement officers are appointed or sworn in.

Within the past year, the Commission has examined Penal Code section 13519.6(e). The subdivision contains two requirements for all peace officers to take hate crime training. One provision requires all peace officers to take a POST-certified hate crimes course online or in-person within one year of POST incorporating its 2017 video course or any successor video into the basic academy course and making it available to stream online via the POST learning portal. The second provision requires in-service peace officers to take the course every six years. In conversations with POST, the Commission has learned that POST has interpreted both requirements to not be in effect due to a clause implying that they are not in effect until an appropriation of funds is made available in the annual Budget Act or other statute. (Penal Code section 13519.6(e)(1).) Today, it appears that the Legislature has made no such appropriation.

The absence of active statewide training requirements beyond the basic course curriculum in the police academy raises questions about whether law enforcement is equipped to respond to hate effectively.

¹³⁷ The two-hour training for existing officers is available at the POST website at <https://post.ca.gov/POST-Multimedia-Products>. The model policy requires that all law enforcement personnel be “properly trained in the department’s hate crimes policy” and suggests POST training opportunities (California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training. (2024). *POST hate crimes model policy*. https://post.ca.gov/Portals/0/post_docs/publications/Hate_Crimes.pdf).

For example, there are no requirements for officers to take regular training later in their careers to remind them of important information, such as the definition of a hate crime and their legal obligations. For law enforcement officers, chiefs, and others in leadership positions who may have been sworn in before the

The absence of active statewide training requirements beyond the basic course curriculum in the police academy raises questions about whether law enforcement throughout the state is equipped to respond to hate effectively.

hate crime training was developed for the basic course curriculum, there is no requirement for them to take any hate crimes training. Nevertheless, local law enforcement agencies may administer additional requirements and learning opportunities for officers. In some cases, agencies have developed their own trainings. Statewide, however, active requirements are insufficient for ensuring all law enforcement officers are adequately trained to respond to hate crimes.

The second gap in law enforcement training is the lack of data and information on the effectiveness of hate crime trainings. The Commission is unaware of any data or information demonstrating the efficacy of existing trainings on hate crimes. Although community-based organizations and other entities may solicit feedback on the trainings, the Commission

is unaware of any systematic, rigorous impact evaluations of existing POST trainings on hate crimes. Such evaluations are especially important given the resources and efforts invested in developing and administering trainings, as well as the time spent by law enforcement officers to participate in trainings – as opposed to being in the field. This past year, the Commission learned from Dr. Jack Glaser – a public policy professor at UC Berkeley and a subject matter expert on stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination, including racial profiling in police stops – about the importance of evaluation to understand the efficacy of trainings. Dr. Glaser pointed to an implicit bias training conducted with officers from the New York Police Department during an eight-hour workday. Although there were moderate increases in general knowledge and improvement in attitudes toward discrimination immediately after the training, a follow-up evaluation of these same measures 2 to 13 months later found diminished effects on behavior in the field.¹³⁸

OVERVIEW OF A NEW LAW ENFORCEMENT TRAINING

Within the past year, the Commission has been collaborating with POST to develop a new training for law enforcement. The goal of the training is to improve law enforcement response to hate by providing information about changes to the law because of AB 449 (Ting 2023), as well as general information about effectively responding to hate. Consistent with the Commission’s strategic plan, the foundation for the development of the training was community input and rigorous research. The Commission sought input and worked with community members, law enforcement officers, and subject matter experts to develop the training. It also invested in reviewing available peer-reviewed research related to training law enforcement. The following sections include an overview of the changes to the law because of AB 449, an overview of the Commission’s process for developing the training, and insights from the Commission’s review of research, which informed the training development.

¹³⁸ Worden, R. E., McLean, S. J., Engel, R. S., Cochran, H., Corsaro, N., Reynolds, D., Najdowski, C. J., & Isaza, G. T. (2020). *The impacts of implicit bias awareness training in the NYPD*. The John F. Finn Institute. <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5b7ea2794cde7a79e7c00582/t/6539470a5d6d6f79ba086f3f/1698252637552/impacts-of-implicit-bias.pdf>; Kaste, M. (2020, September 10). NYPD study: implicit bias training changes minds, not necessarily behavior. *NPR*. <https://www.npr.org/2020/09/10/909380525/nypd-study-implicit-bias-training-changes-minds-not-necessarily-behavior>

AB 449: New Requirements for Law Enforcement Agencies

The passage of AB 449 in 2023 resulted in several changes to existing law in order to improve law enforcement responses to hate crimes statewide. First, it established a new requirement for state and local law enforcement agencies to adopt a hate crimes policy. Before the passage of AB 449, local law enforcement agencies were authorized to, but not required to, adopt hate crimes policies. The policy that agencies adopt must include, among other things, requirements to complete the supplemental hate crime report in POST's model policy framework and a schedule of hate crime and related trainings the agency conducts.

Although the model policy requires all law enforcement staff to be properly trained in the new policy, there are no details or criteria for such a training and no additional new training requirements because of AB 449 or the model policy framework. However, AB 449 did establish a new requirement for POST to consult with subject matter experts if they update their guidelines for instruction or training of law enforcement officers addressing hate crimes.

AB 449 also established a new required process for the review of the policies, although the process is subject to the "availability of adequate funding." This process requires the California attorney general to review state and local law enforcement agencies' formal policies on hate crimes. Agencies must also submit compliant materials by specified dates and every four years after those dates, and the California Department of Justice must post the names of agencies that submitted compliant materials on its website.

Overview of the Process for Developing a Training

Due to the new requirements resulting from AB 449, over the past year the Commission has collaborated with POST to develop, film, and produce a new training for law enforcement. The training is an informational video, categorized as a "short special" by POST, which is defined as less than 15 minutes of high-quality finished video. The video is designed to be shown during roll call at the beginning of law enforcement officers' shifts. The intent of the training is to ensure that all officers recognize their new obligations under AB 449, including the importance of the adoption of and training on their hate crimes policies, as well as filling out the new supplemental hate crimes and incident form and providing resources for victims of hate incidents and crimes. The training is also intended to provide a powerful explanation of the "why" behind hate crimes laws and emphasize the importance of identification and investigation of hate incidents and hate crimes, including data collection.

To develop this informational training, the Subcommittee on Recommendations for Law Enforcement examined peer-reviewed research and gathered community input at public meetings and with CBOs. It also gathered input from CRD staff and subject matter experts, including law enforcement officers and former prosecutors. From these discussions, the Subcommittee developed an outline of content for the training. The Commission provided feedback on the content in the January and February 2024 public meetings of the Commission.

From February 28 through March 1, 2024, POST led a three-day content development session in Carlsbad, California. Commissioner Andrea Beth Damsky, CRD staff, subject matter experts, civil rights leaders, and community advocates participated in the session, generating ideas and aligning on priorities for the training. From the sessions, POST developed a draft script of the training. The Subcommittee shared notes on the development session at a public meeting of the Commission in March where members of the full Commission provided feedback. POST led an additional session with Commissioners, law enforcement, and community leaders to produce and film the video from April 29 through May 2, 2024.

Evidence-Based Insights for Developing a Law Enforcement Training

With the assistance of the Commission’s research consultant Arin Fisher, the Subcommittee on Recommendations for Law Enforcement reviewed research and resources to inform the development of the training. Among other insights, the review identified two primary evidence-based theoretical frameworks for teaching and learning. Participants in February’s content development session used these frameworks and the other insights to inform the design of the training and the content. A summary of the findings from the research review is below.

[I]nformation is processed most effectively when it is presented in distinct, manageable segments.

The first theoretical framework was cognitive load theory, which posits that information is processed most effectively when it is presented in distinct, manageable segments. One of the main assumptions of this theory is that working memory is limited, and so the format of the instruction should not overload cognition.¹³⁹

The theory is based on how humans process information: incoming information gets processed through sensory memory, then working memory, and, finally, long-term memory.¹⁴⁰ Sensory

memory passes on the most pertinent information to working memory, which can only hold onto a limited amount of information at a time. Once information passes to working memory, it is processed and stored as knowledge within categorical schemas.

Cognitive overload occurs when there is more information than can be held in a person’s working memory at a given time.¹⁴¹ Breaking down learning into distinct segments and integrating materials such as diagrams and statistics into the narrative of the segment can help avoid cognitive overload.¹⁴² When diagrams are used, it is best to limit written labels and use narration instead. The principle underlying this approach is that participants can more easily process diagrams with narration than diagrams with extensive written text.¹⁴³ In addition, knowledge that builds on existing experiences already sorted cognitively as schema does not overload working memory.¹⁴⁴ In the realm of law enforcement training, this could mean that new knowledge can be processed more effectively if it builds on scenarios officers have already trained for and encoded into long-term memory.

Breaking down information into smaller parts to reduce the amount of new information presented at one time can be a useful technique for reducing cognitive load and enabling effective learning.¹⁴⁵ This suggests that a training video could be broken down into succinct key messages, drawing on schema with which law enforcement officers are already familiar. For example, the training might first have law enforcement

139 Bannert, M. (2002). Managing cognitive load—recent trends in cognitive load theory. *Learning and Instruction*, 12(1), 139–146. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0959-4752\(01\)00021-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0959-4752(01)00021-4)

140 Atkinson, R. C., & Shiffrin, R. M. (1968). Human memory: A proposed system and its control processes. In *The Psychology of Learning and Motivation* (Vol. 2, pp. 89–195). Academic Press. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0079-7421\(08\)60422-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0079-7421(08)60422-3)

141 Chandler, P., & Sweller, J. (1991). Cognitive load theory and the format of instruction. *Cognition and Instruction*, 8(4): 293–332. https://doi.org/10.1207/s1532690xci0804_2

142 Sweller, J. (1988). Cognitive load during problem solving: Effects on learning. *Cognitive Science*, 12(2), 257–285. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0364-0213\(88\)90023-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/0364-0213(88)90023-7); Mugford, R., Corey, S., & Bennell, C. (2013). Improving police training from a cognitive load perspective. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 36(2), 312–337. <https://doi.org/10.1108/13639511311329723>

143 Mayer, R. E., & Moreno, R. (1998). A split-attention effect in multimedia learning: Evidence for dual processing systems in working memory. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 90(2), 312–320. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.90.2.312>

144 Bartlett, F. C. (1932). *Remembering: A study in experimental and social psychology*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511759185>

145 Kotovsky, K., & Simon, H. A. (1990). What makes some problems really hard: Explorations in the problem space of difficulty. *Cognitive Psychology*, 22(2), 143–183. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0010-0285\(90\)90014-U](https://doi.org/10.1016/0010-0285(90)90014-U)

officers recount a previous experience in the field most would be familiar with, such as a traffic stop or responding to a call reporting an incident. Then the training could layer in the new information, such as how to document hate activity, on top of a familiar schema, such that the information integrates into a previously conceived knowledge structure. By building smaller pieces of information onto existing schemas, a training can encourage integration of the material into long-term memory.

The second theoretical framework is constructivist theory, which says that learning is an active process of constructing knowledge by relating new information to prior experiences and understandings.¹⁴⁶ As a result, people most effectively learn to the extent that they can relate new information to their prior knowledge. As with cognitive load theory, constructivist theory encourages building on existing knowledge. However, while cognitive load theory focuses on integrating new knowledge into existing schemas, constructivist theory emphasizes forming fresh connections to new material by conceptually tying it to previous experiences.¹⁴⁷ This suggests that, where possible, the trainings should leverage officers' existing experiences to deepen comprehension. For example, a video could include elements encouraging trainees to reflect individually on their own experiences (for example, "Think of a time you encountered a situation that could be classified as a hate crime or incident. What information did you collect and what was the outcome?"). Following this, the training could encourage viewers to think about how their response in the scenario aligns with or differs from the new legal standards. By prompting officers to make these comparisons themselves, a training could leverage their existing knowledge and experiences to facilitate a more active, personalized, and meaningful integration of the new information.

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In addition to these theoretical principles, training is likely to be most effective when supervisors are actively engaged in reinforcing the goals of the training.

In addition to these theoretical principles, training is likely to be most effective when supervisors are actively engaged in reinforcing the goals of the training. Some ways in which supervisors could reinforce training within a department is through monitoring and intervening with individual officers as necessary, addressing relevant issues during roll calls, and incentivizing officers to report.¹⁴⁸ These mechanisms may foster change by shifting norms within departmental cultures toward a greater understanding and emphasis on investigating and appropriately responding to hate activity.

Departments can also encourage practicing the skills learned in a realistic environment to apply the content of trainings into everyday experiences in the field.¹⁴⁹

146 Staller, M. S., & Koerner, S. (2022). (Non-) learning to police: A framework for understanding police learning. *Frontiers in Education*, 7, 730–789. <https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2022.730789>

147 Vogel-Walcutt, J. J., Gebirim, J. B., Bowers, C., Carper, T. M., & Nicholson, D. (2011). Cognitive load theory vs. constructivist approaches: Which best leads to efficient, deep learning? *Journal of Computer Assisted Learning*, 27(2), 133–145. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2729.2010.00381.x>

148 Worden et al., 2020. <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5b7ea2794cde7a79e7c00582/t/6539470a5d6d6f79ba086f3f/1698252637552/impacts-of-implicit-bias.pdf>

149 Lum, C., Koper, C., Gill, C., Hibdon, J., Telep, C., & Robinson, L. (2016). *An evidence-assessment of the recommendations of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing: Implementation and research priorities*. U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs. <https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/evidence-assessment-recommendations-presidents-task-force-21st>

Research on effectiveness of trainings is difficult to measure and is not often conducted.¹⁵⁰ As discussed above, there are limited robust studies on trainings with law enforcement; only a few studies employ a randomized design, which is an ideal method for isolating the effectiveness of a training. Even assessments that do employ a randomized design do not always include an assessment of change in behavior as a result of the training. One such evaluation was conducted to examine the impact of an implicit bias training conducted with the New York Police Department on officers' beliefs and attitudes, as mentioned briefly above.¹⁵¹ The training consisted of lecture-based training, activities, exercises, and role-play lessons over a full eight-hour workday. Researchers evaluated the effectiveness of the training by taking advantage of a randomized roll-out of the training to various districts over time, which allowed them to compare differences in outcomes between those districts that had been trained and those that had not yet received the training. This randomized rollout served as a proxy for a true randomized control trial. An evaluation conducted immediately after the training found moderate improvements in knowledge and some small improvements in officers' attitudes toward discrimination and their motivation to act without prejudice. However, a follow-up evaluation of these same measures administered between 2 and 13 months after the training found diminished effects of the training on actual behavior in the field. Overall, the researchers did not find sufficient evidence for the effectiveness of the training in reducing racial and ethnic disparities in police enforcement actions. These results indicate that one-time interventions likely may only temporarily temper implicit biases.

When the Subcommittee met with Dr. Glaser he shared some of his expertise related to what might make for effective trainings for law enforcement officers. For an effective video for rank-and-file law enforcement officers, he emphasized a “less is more” approach, narrowing the video down to the more critical aspects so there are only a few clear takeaways. Attempting to teach something more in-depth would not be conducive to encoding beyond trainees' short-term memory, according to Dr. Glaser.

He also explained that it is important to have the training focus on something concrete that officers should do. In other words, given the short length of the training, there is not much time to teach about a subject; instead, trainings should provide tangible steps officers should take in response to potential hate activity.

[T]rainings should provide tangible steps officers should take in response to potential hate activity.

Although the brevity of the training that POST and the Commission have developed provides advantages, such as increasing the likelihood that officers will view it, it constrains the amount of information that can be conveyed. Therefore, the Commission is considering an additional, more in-depth training in the future.

THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS

Over the past year, the Commission has examined the resources and support that community-based organizations provide to individuals and communities impacted by hate. The Commission gathered input from members of the public and CBOs, reviewed research, and examined the work of some CBOs that, with

¹⁵⁰ Worden et al., 2020. <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5b7ea2794cde7a79e7c00582/t/6539470a5d6d6f79ba086f3f/1698252637552/impacts-of-implicit-bias.pdf>

¹⁵¹ Implicit bias is a concept from social psychology that asserts most of human memory operates outside of conscious awareness and can be activated unconsciously. In contexts outside of policing, efforts to decrease implicit biases have included perspective-taking interventions, exposure to counter-stereotypic stimuli, interventions promoting egalitarianism among members of in-group and out-group, and efforts to condition by promoting association of out-group members with positive stimuli.

the support of California’s Stop the Hate grant program, have been providing anti-hate programs and services. Though an examination of the work of CBOs will continue through next year, the following section provides a high-level overview of the Stop the Hate grant program and the Commission’s preliminary findings with respect to the importance of community-based organizations in responding to hate.

Beginning in 2021, the State of California funded a series of Stop the Hate grant programs to provide grants to nonprofit organizations. The goal of these grants has been to fund culturally competent, culturally responsive services to victims and survivors of hate, including interventions to prevent hate

across California. To date, over 180 organizations have received grants through these programs to fund a range of programs, resources, and services. The grants have resulted

in CBOs providing more than 14,000 people direct services and reaching more than 2 million people through prevention and intervention services. Consistent with the multifaceted and far-reaching impacts of hate, these organizations provide a range of services for many communities throughout California. These services include prevention services, such as arts and cultural work, youth development, and cross-racial alliance work; intervention services, such as outreach, restorative justice, and coordinated regional rapid response; and direct services, such as mental health services, legal services, navigation, and case management.



2 million people

reached through prevention and intervention services funded by Stop the Hate grants

An important service that Stop the Hate grantees and other CBOs provide is facilitating social connections among community members. For example, community-based organizations often host programs and events to bring community members together and build relationships. With financial support from the Stop the Hate grants, Asian Youth Center implemented a series of multicultural art pop-ups that showcased the arts, crafts, games, and cultural histories of their communities in San Gabriel Valley.

Through consultations with subject matter experts, the Commission has learned that community building is essential for buffering community members from the adverse health consequences of prejudice and other stressors. Researchers have examined how communities and social ties can provide important resources to help individuals cope with stressors and sustain well-being.¹⁵² These resources include role models, shared norms and values, and opportunities for social support. In one study, researchers examined factors that buffered Black teenagers from the long-term impacts of discrimination. The researchers found that Black

youth who reported experiencing ongoing discrimination in their teen years reported worse physical health when they reached the age of 20.¹⁵³ This was not true for teenagers who had quality social relationships, suggesting that quality social ties provided protective benefits from the adverse health impacts of discrimination.

There is suggestive evidence that involvement in community organizing is associated with health benefits. One study examined the impact of community organizing on the

Community building is essential for buffering community members from the adverse health consequences of prejudice and other stressors.

152 Meyer, I. H. (2015). Resilience in the study of minority stress and health of sexual and gender minorities. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, 2(3), 209–213. <https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000132>

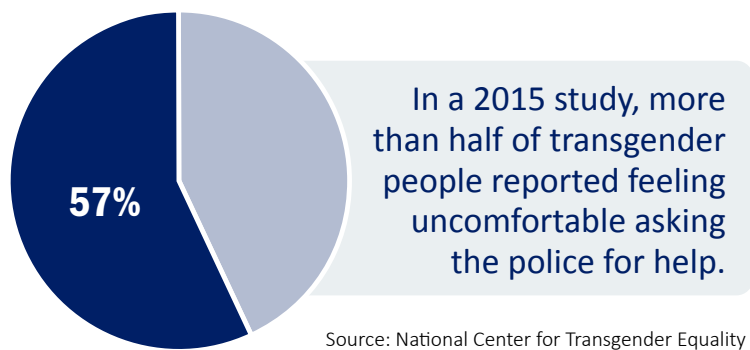
153 Brody et al., 2016. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579416000894>

disproportionately high rates of suicide within First Nation communities in Canada. It found communities with lower rates of suicide were those who had been involved with challenging the federal government for rights and services and had engaged in preserving community practices and traditions.¹⁵⁴ Within the United States, a study examined the relationship between mental health and involvement with the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement.¹⁵⁵ The researchers found that state-level BLM engagement was associated with positive mental health indicators, such as lower reported symptoms of depression and anxiety.

In addition to building community, CBOs also play essential roles as first responders throughout the state. As trusted entities within their communities, CBOs are sometimes the first place a community member turns to for support and resources. CBOs may also serve as liaisons between government entities and communities in the aftermath of hate. The Korean American Foundation of Los Angeles (KAFLA) is a Stop the Hate grantee that serves community members in Koreatown. KAFLA provides a wide range of services to help community members who experience hate, such as help with filing police reports, connecting to law enforcement officers who speak Korean, accessing legal resources and victim benefits, and translating documents. They also hold seminars to assist community members with understanding legal processes and are working to install a Korean language interpreter at their local police station.

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The role of community-based organizations as first responders is critical given that members of the public do not always feel safe contacting law enforcement, particularly among communities that often experience hate.



For example, in a survey of thousands of transgender individuals in the United States, more than half of respondents (58%) who interacted with law enforcement in the past year reported experiencing some form of mistreatment, ranging from repeatedly being referred to as the wrong gender to physical and sexual assault.¹⁵⁶ More than half (57%) of all respondents expressed that they would feel uncomfortable asking the police for help if they needed it.

Throughout the past year, the Commission has also heard directly from members of the public and community-based organizations about distrust in law enforcement. In a Commission community forum, Eric Harris, Director of Public Policy at Disability Rights California, pointed to the distrust some people with disabilities have in law enforcement and explained the ableism that can exist in systems designed to provide public resources. He explained that disability rights organizations play an important role, functioning as safe spaces for people with disabilities. During public comment throughout the year, the

154 Chandler, M. J., & Lalonde, C. (1998). Cultural continuity as a hedge against suicide in Canada's First Nations. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 35(2), 191–219. <https://doi.org/10.1177/136346159803500202>

155 Brannon, T. N. (2023). Racism hurts, can antiracism heal?: Positive mental health correlates of antiracist engagement. *PNAS Nexus*, 2(10). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pnasnexus/pgad309>

156 James, S. E., Herman, J. L., Rankin, S., Keisling, M., Mottet, L., & Anafi, M. (2016). *The report of the 2015 U.S. Transgender Survey*. Washington, DC: National Center for Transgender Equality. <https://transequality.org/sites/default/files/docs/usts/USTS-Full-Report-Dec17.pdf>

Commission heard from members of the public describing their negative experiences with law enforcement. Several commenters described mistreatment and distrust in law enforcement throughout their lives because they are transgender. One commenter emphasized how distrust results in hate crimes not being reported in law enforcement data. Another commenter pointed to the adverse mental health effects their community was experiencing due to mistreatment by their local police department.

Addressing the deep distrust members of the public have in law enforcement is a vastly complex project that will require systemic, multifaceted, long-term solutions. In the meantime, it is critical that California invest in community-based organizations and other law enforcement alternatives that serve as trusted first responders for members of the public and as liaisons to law enforcement.

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INTERIM RECOMMENDATIONS

Implement a Statewide Rapid Response Support Team

The gaps in government response after the Monterey Park and Half Moon Bay shootings underscored the need for a comprehensive statewide rapid response support team for hate crime events. Though the California Attorney General's Office has a Hate Crime Rapid Response Team to respond to hate crime events, there is an acute need among many communities for an alternative to law enforcement and a continuum of services and resources after hate events, from mental health services to legal services. The rapid response team should be trained in trauma-informed care, have a deep understanding of how to navigate different levels of government, be capable of deploying interpreters and translators immediately, and have a deep level of trust with community-based organizations throughout the state. Of particular importance for such a team is the prioritization of cultural competence and language access.

Before an event occurs, the team should proactively build the necessary infrastructure to respond effectively. This should include working with all levels of government to establish trusted navigators before an event occurs. Policymakers may want to consider requiring agencies to designate navigators that can assist the rapid response team after a major hate event. The team should proactively build relationships with community-based organizations throughout California and understand the services they offer. The team should also engage in regular audits and other validation processes to ensure resources, services, and information are high quality and will be available when needed.

Address the Gaps in Law Enforcement Training Requirements

As described above, the Commission has observed several gaps with respect to law enforcement response, including the lack of investigation and the absence of active, ongoing statewide training requirements on hate crimes. Specifically, there is no statewide requirement that officers are trained in hate crimes after being sworn in or appointed. The Commission recommends that an appropriation be made to activate the law enforcement training requirements set forth in Penal Code section 13519.6(e). In making this recommendation, the Commission acknowledges the substantial resources required to train law enforcement. However, given the significant gaps in law enforcement response today, it is critical that agencies and the State of California make such an investment.

Implement Evidence-Based Law Enforcement Trainings

There is a lack of data on the efficacy of existing hate crime trainings. Investments should be made in research throughout all stages of development and implementation of law enforcement trainings. For

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instance, as recommended in the Little Hoover Commission report, it is critical to design trainings with researchers who understand key principles of learning, particularly within the context of law enforcement. In conversations with researchers to date, the Commission has noted there are many evidence-based factors to consider to increase the likelihood that a training is effective. Researchers can assist with developing the training as well as strategies for deploying trainings in a way that allows for the rigorous measurement of their effectiveness. For

instance, researchers can design a systematic deployment strategy, such as a randomized rollout of required trainings among agencies paired with data collection of agencies that did and did not receive the training within a specific period. Such a methodology would be similar to a randomized control trial, in which a treatment group and a control group are created and researchers collect data from each group to see if there are significant effects. Unlike a typical randomized control trial, however, the training would be rolled out to all agencies after a specific period to ensure all law enforcement officers are ultimately trained. Such a study could examine the impact the training has on a set of measures, such as the number of hate crimes reported by an agency, or survey measures of officers' understanding of how to investigate hate crimes.

Additionally, as law enforcement participate in trainings, researchers can assist with evaluating the program, including systematically collecting and analyzing feedback on the training and incorporating this feedback to iteratively improve training content.

Enhance Public Education about Reporting Hate

In addition to law enforcement trainings and policies, public education may improve law enforcement response. Specifically, educational campaigns and other programs could equip the public with information to hold law enforcement accountable and provide important information to law enforcement when reporting an act of hate. Educational initiatives could include teaching the public about their rights, the obligations of law enforcement, the importance of providing evidence and statements, how to report, and the importance of recording and reporting noncriminal hate incidents. Such educational initiatives could be deployed through broad public education campaigns, as well as partnerships with CBOs and trusted community leaders.

Educational initiatives could include teaching the public about their rights, the obligations of law enforcement, the importance of providing evidence and statements, how to report, and the importance of recording and reporting noncriminal hate incidents.

Recognizing the challenges inherent in a uniform public messaging strategy for a state as large and diverse as California, CA vs Hate developed a campaign that consisted of providing campaign collateral to community-based organizations. These campaign materials allowed CBOs to develop their own messaging and publicize CA vs Hate using the language and cultural framing appropriate for their communities.

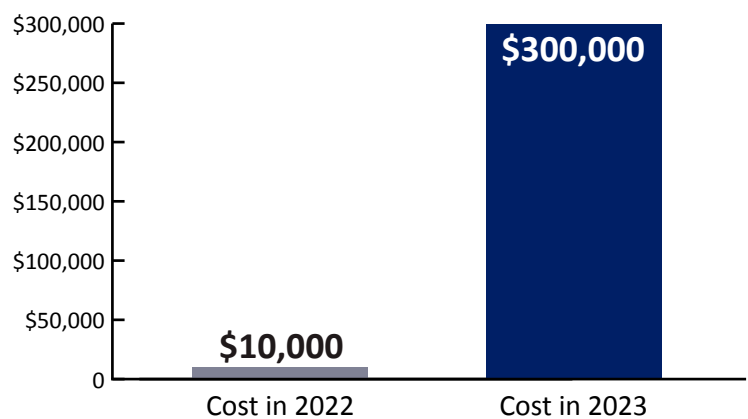
Although such a strategy requires resources to engage with community-based organizations, it ultimately increases the reach of such campaigns to the wide variety of communities throughout California.

Provide Ongoing Investments in Security Grants

It is critical that communities have the necessary resources to feel safe and secure. One program to assist communities with security is California’s Nonprofit Security Grant Program, which provides funding to religious institutions and places of worship to enhance safety and security. Importantly, this program provides grantees the flexibility to implement security measures that do not necessarily involve increasing law enforcement. As described earlier, not all communities feel safe in the presence of law enforcement. The grants allow nonprofits to invest in the security efforts that are most effective for keeping their communities safe, such as hiring community ambassadors and securing physical infrastructure. For example, in a listening session with faith leaders, the Commission heard firsthand about the investments that houses of worship are making to enhance locks and security systems for their buildings.

In addition to the Nonprofit Security Grant Program, investments should be made in grants to assist with other indirect security costs, such as the cost of insurance. An investigation of the insurance coverage required for Pride parades in California found increased threats to the LGBTQ+ community have resulted in skyrocketing insurance costs. For instance, while San Diego Pride organizers paid \$10,000 for coverage in 2022, the cost for insurance in 2023 was \$300,000.¹⁵⁷ Ensuring these events can proceed and remain accessible is essential to the well-being of Californians. As described above, community-building events play an important role in buffering community members from the harms of hate.

Escalating Insurance Costs for San Diego Pride



Source: Rodd, 2023

Provide Ongoing Investments to California vs Hate

Throughout this past year, the Commission has observed the unparalleled work of CA vs Hate in providing resources and support across the state. Developed with the expertise of subject matter experts and communities across California, CA vs Hate helps members of the public overcome many of the barriers they encounter when considering whether to report hate. As a non-law-enforcement resource line, CA vs Hate is an option for members of the public who do not feel safe reporting to law enforcement. Because reports can be made in over 200 languages and to culturally competent responders, CA vs Hate removes many of the barriers members of the public may encounter when attempting to report to other entities. Additionally, because CA vs Hate connects callers with resources and services, it promotes healing and incentivizes reporting. Ongoing investments in CA vs Hate can ensure that, when hate happens, victims can access culturally competent resources and support in their own language.

¹⁵⁷ Rodd, S. (2023, July 11). Pride festivals see insurance costs skyrocket in the face of anti-LGBTQ+ threats. *KPBS*. <https://www.kpbs.org/news/public-safety/2023/07/11/pride-festivals-see-insurance-costs-skyrocket-in-the-face-of-anti-lgbtq-threats>

Provide Ongoing Investments to Community-Based Organizations

CBOs, including those who received Stop the Hate grants, provide important resources and services for communities impacted by hate. Many of these resources and services require a level of local, nuanced cultural knowledge that only CBOs possess. Moreover, because they are trusted entities in their communities, CBOs do not face the barriers government entities do when reaching out to communities that do not trust government. Continuous, intentional investments in community-based organizations can help create a sustained, broad network of community-based resources and support across the state.

Continuous, intentional investments in community-based organizations can help create a sustained, broad network of community-based resources and support across the state.

In addition to investing in CBOs, the State should invest in efforts to bridge CBOs and facilitate the flow of information between them. For example, through the Stop the Hate program, grantee organizations participate in regular convenings where they learn about each other's work, network, and have important conversations about addressing hate in California.

Recently, the Budget Act of 2023 allowed for the expenditure of grants for "statewide coalition development." Though the exact goals and structure of this coalition are under development, these types of efforts are important for supporting the work of CBOs and building a network of supporting organizations for people across California impacted by hate.

FUTURE ACTIVITIES

Understand Gaps in Resources and Support

Over the next year, the Commission plans to conduct more systematic fact-finding activities to learn more about gaps in resources and support. Specifically, the Commission plans to gather information from CBOs, CA vs Hate, and victims of hate directly. With respect to CBOs, the Commission is interested in understanding more about the unique resources and services they provide and challenges they face, particularly as they work with public entities. To do so, the Commission plans to conduct interviews with a sample of community-based organizations and review the findings from the California Department of Social Services' impact evaluation of Stop the Hate grantees that is currently underway. The Commission also plans to continue to collaborate with CA vs Hate to learn more about the needs of people who experience hate.

The Commission also plans to understand more about the needs of victims of hate in California through a set of research studies in partnership with the California Health Interview Survey. The details of these studies are described in Chapter 2, but broadly, one study consists of a set of survey questions that asks a representative sample of people in California about the resources and support they needed after experiencing hate. A follow-up companion study consists of interviews with 50 victims of hate in California to develop a deeper understanding of their needs. The Commission will analyze this data to develop a more robust understanding of the gaps in resources and services in California and develop policy recommendations for closing those gaps.

Publicize the New Law Enforcement Training

Ensuring that law enforcement participates in the new POST training that the Commission developed will require publicizing the training. Once the training is available, the Commission will explore avenues for

promoting the training, including at conferences and convenings with law enforcement and potentially through partnerships with community-based organizations.

Understand Gaps in Data Collection and Response among Law Enforcement

The factors contributing to the gaps in law enforcement data and response are varied and enormously complex, ranging from a lack of training for law enforcement to distrust among certain communities. Given the complexity of these contributing factors, the Commission will invest in additional fact-finding efforts, including reviews of research and data and consultations with subject matter experts, law enforcement, CBOs, and members of the public. The information obtained from these efforts will equip the Commission with developing additional policy recommendations for improving law enforcement data and enhancing responses from law enforcement to hate.

Creating a California Free of Hate:

Hate Prevention and Intervention

A key strategic goal of the Commission on the State of Hate (Commission) is to develop recommendations for preventing and reducing hate. However, there are numerous challenges in doing so. The category of hate includes a diverse, broad range of acts and circumstances with complex, often systemic, and unknown causes. Recommendations for preventing and reducing hate need to be complex, multifaceted, and holistic. Therefore, the Commission has approached this goal as it has with others: with a deep investment in research and community input.

Recommendations for preventing and reducing hate need to be complex, multifaceted, and holistic.

This chapter provides an overview of insights generated from two of the Commission's research efforts examining interventions to prevent hate. The first effort examines interventions to prevent and reduce hate in K-12 schools. The second effort examines public messages as potential tools for preventing hate. The chapter also presents interim guiding principles for developing school interventions and public messages and offers policy recommendations for advancing the State's understanding of how to prevent hate, followed by a summary of future activities.

PROGRAMS AND INTERVENTIONS TO PREVENT HATE IN SCHOOLS

School programs and interventions are essential for preventing and reducing hate in California. Youth begin to develop bias and prejudice early, often around the age of five.¹⁵⁸ Research on youth development shows that schools are a critical context for positive development, as well as exposure to cultural norms and values.¹⁵⁹ Unfortunately, schools are also a space where youth are increasingly experiencing hate,

Youth begin to develop bias and prejudice early, often around the age of five.

prejudice, and stigma-based bullying. Recent data found that the prevalence of hate crimes at schools is growing, with more than 1,000 hate crimes occurring in schools in 2022.¹⁶⁰ In October 2023, a California high school investigated swastikas left on lockers as a hate crime, and a 2023 survey from Santa Barbara Unified School District showed that Black students and staff reported high rates of discrimination and stigma-based bullying.¹⁶¹

Schools and policymakers have an obligation to implement evidence-based interventions to prevent and reduce hate in schools. Such interventions are essential for creating safe spaces for learning, improving educational outcomes, and instilling values critical for creating a California free of hate. From a practical standpoint, schools are an ideal place to focus as well. Many programs that would be challenging to implement with the general public, such as long-term educational programs or in-depth exercises, are much more feasible to implement in schools. Moreover, as public institutions over which state policymakers and agencies have oversight and jurisdiction, schools are important places to examine as the Commission develops policy recommendations.

158 Raabe, T., & Beelmann, A. (2011). Development of ethnic, racial, and national prejudice in childhood and adolescence: A multinational meta-analysis of age differences. *Child Development*, 82(6), 1715–1737. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2011.01668.x>

159 Eccles, J. S., & Roeser, R. W. (2011). Schools as developmental contexts during adolescence. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 21(1), 225–241. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2010.00725.x>

160 Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2024). *Reported Hate Crime at Schools: 2018-2022*. U.S. Department of Justice. [https://www.justice.gov/hatecrimes/reported-hate-crimes-schools/dl?inline="](https://www.justice.gov/hatecrimes/reported-hate-crimes-schools/dl?inline=)

161 Insight Education Group. (2023, April). *2023 Anti-Blackness and racial climate assessment and analysis*. Santa Barbara Unified School District. [https://go.boarddocs.com/ca/sbunified/Board.nsf/files/CQVNV9617B35/\\$file/2023%20SBUSD%20Anti-Blackness%20%26%20Racial%20Climate%20Assessment%20%26%20Analysis.pdf](https://go.boarddocs.com/ca/sbunified/Board.nsf/files/CQVNV9617B35/$file/2023%20SBUSD%20Anti-Blackness%20%26%20Racial%20Climate%20Assessment%20%26%20Analysis.pdf); Goldberg, 2023. <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2023-10-20/newport-beach-police-investigate-swastikas-on-school-lockers-as-hate-crime>

To review the research and available evidence pertaining to hate prevention and reduction in schools, the Commission engaged in a research partnership with PhD candidate Sara Wilf at the Initiative to Study Hate (ISH) at the University of California, Los Angeles. ISH conducted an interdisciplinary review of research and data pertaining to the efficacy of K-12 education programs with respect to preventing and reducing hate and hate-related outcomes among students. Consistent with the Commission’s broad view of the definition of hate, the review examined programs targeted at reducing hate and related phenomena, such as prejudice, bias, discrimination, stigma, and hate-related bullying. The scope of this review is limited primarily to student-level interventions, which are programs and interventions targeted at reducing hate-based attitudes and behaviors of students. Subsequent reviews will examine interventions that employ different strategies, such as modifying the built environment of the schools or the training of teachers and administrators.

The following review introduces categories of programs and interventions to reduce hate. Each section contains an overview of each of the categories and a summary of some of the available evidence related to each category. The review begins with interventions, many of which are based on social psychological research, that are targeted primarily at reducing hate and related phenomenon among students. The review also includes a discussion of programs that are often implemented school-wide to reduce conflict in schools overall. Although many of these programs are not specifically targeted at reducing hate, they do target closely related outcomes, such as preventing bullying and violence in schools.

The review ends with a discussion of the gaps and limitations in existing research and interim evidence-based guiding principles for designing and implementing effective school programs and interventions. As with all research, the research on school programs and interventions to reduce hate has gaps and limitations. For example, studies tend to examine outcomes primarily for college students, rather than younger students, and for members of majority groups, rather than members of groups who are most at risk of experiencing hate. Moreover, studies primarily examine short-term impacts, such as the impact of an intervention on the same day or week it was implemented. Given the limitations in the research, it is important to exercise caution when generating broader conclusions from individual studies. Findings may not necessarily hold in other contexts and with other populations. As a result, the Commission has refrained from making specific, concrete recommendations for school programs and the interventions. Instead, the Commission has drawn on the findings to develop a set of evidence-based principles for designing and implementing programs and interventions to prevent and reduce hate in schools.

Student and Classroom-Level Interventions to Prevent and Reduce Hate

Intergroup contact

Contact theory, also known as intergroup contact, is a foundational social psychological theory underlying many anti-hate interventions. Contact theory argues that exposure to and interactions with members of different groups can increase skills such as perspective-taking and empathy and reduce fear and anxiety about people from these groups.¹⁶² Systematic reviews of the literature find that interventions based on intergroup

Contact theory argues that exposure to and interactions with members of different groups can increase skills such as perspective-taking and empathy and reduce fear and anxiety about people from these groups.

162 Al Ramiah, A., & Hewstone, M. (2013). Intergroup contact as a tool for reducing, resolving, and preventing intergroup conflict: Evidence, limitations, and potential. *American Psychologist*, 68(7), 527–542. <https://psycnet.apa.org/doiLanding?doi=10.1037%2Fa0032603>

contact can reduce prejudiced and biased behaviors of students and adults.¹⁶³ For instance, youth from ethnic-majority groups in Germany who formed friendships with people from ethnic out-groups had lower prejudiced beliefs over time than those who did not form such friendships.¹⁶⁴ In the United States, a

In addition to being evidence-based, intergroup contact interventions can also be free to implement, with little or no additional trainings or costs required.

longitudinal study found that the diversity of a student's classroom in preschool was associated with less racial bias and more cross-racial friendships in first and third grade.¹⁶⁵

In addition to being evidence-based, intergroup contact interventions can also be free to implement, with little or no additional trainings or costs required. For example, in diverse schools, teachers can facilitate intergroup contact by randomly assigning students to work with partners or in small groups. One study in Nigeria found that being in a computer classroom with diverse classmates (in this case, Christian and Muslim

classmates) or being assigned to a project partner from a different group resulted in reductions in tendencies to exhibit discriminatory behaviors.¹⁶⁶ However, the study found no changes in prejudiced attitudes.

Cooperative learning is a pedagogical approach rooted in intergroup contact theory. Cooperative learning involves assigning students from different backgrounds to work together on small group assignments to foster positive interactions. There is evidence that cooperative learning reduces prejudice and fosters positive impacts on perspective-taking, peer relationships, and helpfulness.¹⁶⁷ Cooperative learning also increases students' in-class participation rates.¹⁶⁸

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Despite decades of research demonstrating the potential of intergroup contact theory to reduce prejudice, it does not always do so. For instance, one of the most historically notable examples of intergroup contact interventions are school desegregation efforts, which increased contact between children of different groups, but did not always enhance intergroup relations.¹⁶⁹ In fact, a recent working paper found that, although school integration efforts resulted in white

163 Beelmann, A., & Heinemann, K. S. (2014). Preventing prejudice and improving intergroup attitudes: A meta-analysis of child and adolescent training programs. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 35(1), 10–24. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2013.11.002>; Scacco, A., & Warren, S. S. (2018). Can social contact reduce prejudice and discrimination? Evidence from a field experiment in Nigeria. *American Political Science Review*, 112(3), 654–677. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055418000151>

164 Titzmann, P. F., Brenick, A., & Silbereisen, R. K. (2015). Friendships fighting prejudice: A longitudinal perspective on adolescents' cross-group friendships with immigrants. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 44(6), 1318–1331. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-015-0256-6>

165 Gaias, L. M., Gal, D. E., Abry, T., Taylor, M., & Granger, K. L. (2018). Diversity exposure in preschool: Longitudinal implications for cross-race friendships and racial bias. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 59, 5–15. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2018.02.005>

166 Scacco & Warren, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055418000151>

167 McKown, C. (2005). Applying ecological theory to advance the science and practice of school-based prejudice reduction interventions. *Educational Psychologist*, 40(3), 177–189. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15326985ep4003_4; Paluck, E. L., & Green, D. P. (2009). Prejudice reduction: What works? A review and assessment of research and practice. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 60, 339–367. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.60.110707.163607>

168 Herrmann, K. J. (2013). The impact of cooperative learning on student engagement: Results from an intervention. *Active Learning in Higher Education*, 14(3), 175–187. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469787413498035>

169 Cook, S. W. (1984). The 1954 Social Science Statement and school desegregation: A reply to Gerard. *American Psychologist*, 39(8), 819–832. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.39.8.819>

students in the South expressing more positive racial attitudes as adults, there was no similar effect of school integration in other parts of the country.¹⁷⁰ In an experimental study demonstrating the mixed results from intergroup contact interventions, researchers examined the impact of cooperative learning on the social inclusion of students in need of adaptations and support among fifth-grade students.¹⁷¹ The program emphasized interactions between students in need of adaptations and support and those without. Although the program resulted in greater social acceptance of students in need of adaptations and support, it had no effects on their friendships or perceptions of classroom relationships. Recent scholarship has posited that in-person intergroup contact could potentially have negative effects for members of socially disadvantaged communities.¹⁷² For example, one study of Turkish-origin German high school students found that having more cross-racial friendships with their ethnic majority peers was associated with higher levels of depression and lower life satisfaction.¹⁷³ There is little research on the negative effects of intergroup contact interventions with marginalized students, but it is possible that these negative effects occur because the increased number of between-group interactions simply creates more opportunities for negative experiences, such as microaggressions.¹⁷⁴

Researchers have examined how to use intergroup contact to minimize potential negative consequences and optimize its positive effects. For instance, to mitigate potential negative impacts on students from socially disadvantaged

communities, an awareness-raising component for majority group members may be helpful. This could entail teaching students about historical injustices against minority group members before implementing an intergroup contact intervention.¹⁷⁵ Research has also examined some of the

optimal conditions for intergroup contact to be effective. One condition is equal status contact. Contact between group members when they are in equal status positions is more effective at reducing prejudice than contact between group members in unequal status positions.¹⁷⁶ For example, in a classic study of 8-

Optimizing Intergroup Contact

- Include an awareness-raising component for majority group members
- Create equal status contact conditions
- Seek and maintain institutional support
- Center contact around cooperative work and shared goals

170 Chin, M. J. (2022, July). The impact of school desegregation on white individuals’ racial attitudes and politics in adulthood. In *2020 APPAM Fall Research Conference* (EdWorkingPaper: 20–318). Retrieved from Annenberg Institute at Brown University. <https://doi.org/10.26300/0gag-kf60>

171 Klang, N., Olsson, I., Wilder, J., Lindqvist, G., Fohlin, N., & Nilholm, C. (2020). A cooperative learning intervention to promote social inclusion in heterogeneous classrooms. *Frontiers in Psychology, 11*, Article 586489. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.586489>. Students “in need of special adaptations and support” refers to students in the study who are identified as having “special education needs.” Specifically, in this study, children with special education needs “include those in need of extra adaptations and special support” as documented in an individualized educational plan and are not necessarily students who are identified as having a disability. The term used in this report is the preferred way to reference these students, according to the language style guide published online by the National Center on Disability and Journalism.

172 Killen, M., Luken Raz, K., & Graham, S. (2022). Reducing prejudice through promoting cross-group friendships. *Review of General Psychology, 26*(3), 361–376. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10892680211061262>

173 Brenick, A., Schachner, M. K., & Jugert, P. (2018). Help or hindrance? Minority versus majority cross-ethnic friendships altering discrimination experiences. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 59*, 26–35. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2018.04.006>

174 Fu, R., Leff, S. S., Carroll, I. C., Brizzolara-Dove, S., & Campbell, K. (2024). Racial microaggressions and anti-racism: A review of the literature with implications for school-based interventions and school psychologists. *School Psychology Review, 53*(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2022.2128601>

175 Al Ramiah & Hewstone, 2013. <https://psycnet.apa.org/doiLanding?doi=10.1037%2Fa0032603>

176 Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*(5), 751–783. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751>

to 12-year-old children at interracial summer camps, researchers engaged children in a week of intensive intergroup contact under equal status conditions. The researchers induced equal status by randomly assigning campers in the intervention to camps that had equal numbers of Black and white campers, as well as Black and white counselors. This intervention significantly reduced Black and white children's levels of prejudiced attitudes and behaviors.¹⁷⁷

A second condition for enhancing the positive effects of intergroup contact is the presence of institutional support promoting intergroup contact. Institutional support can take many forms, such as norms promoting equality or messages from teachers promoting the importance of respect and equality. Such support increases the likelihood that intergroup contact is perceived as appropriate, worthwhile, and effective.¹⁷⁸

Researchers have also found that the positive impacts of intergroup contact are enhanced when members of the groups engage in intergroup cooperation and work cooperatively on shared goals.¹⁷⁹ This finding is particularly relevant for schools where intergroup contact could be facilitated through group-based projects. Intergroup contact interventions have used cooperative learning with shared goals to successfully reduce bullying in schools.¹⁸⁰ Despite the evidence that the conditions reviewed here (equal status contact, institutional support, intergroup cooperation, and shared goals) enhance the impacts of intergroup contact interventions, intergroup contact can be effective even when the conditions are not met.¹⁸¹

Given the potential downsides of in-person intergroup contact interventions, indirect contact is a promising alternative for school interventions. Indirect contact interventions, which include vicarious and imagined contact, draw on the principles of contact theory but do not involve direct contact. Vicarious contact

Simply thinking about positive interactions with a member of a specific group can reduce prejudice and prejudiced behaviors toward that group.

simulates contact through media or narratives, while imagined contact consists of imagining a social interaction with a member of another group. In these interventions, simply thinking about positive interactions with a member of a specific group can reduce prejudice and prejudiced behaviors toward that group. Because indirect contact interventions do not require direct contact with groups, they avoid the potential downside of adversely impacting students from socially disadvantaged communities. Indirect

contact interventions are also advantageous because they can be employed in schools where in-person intergroup contact is not feasible, such as relatively homogenous student populations.

One randomized experiment testing the impacts of imagined contact with Italian fifth graders had nonimmigrant students imagine contact with immigrant peers over three weeks.¹⁸² This exercise resulted in more positive behavioral intentions and attitudes toward immigrant children. A similar study with Italian fifth graders used a drawing activity in which students compared their own drawings to those of migrant

177 Clore, G. L., Bray, R. M., Itkin, S. M., & Murphy, P. (1978). Interracial attitudes and behavior at a summer camp. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 36(2), 107–116. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.36.2.107>

178 DeLamater, J. D., Myers, D. J., & Collett, J. L. (2015). *Social psychology* (8th ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429493096>

179 Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751>

180 Van Ryzin, M. J., & Roseth, C. J. (2018). Cooperative learning in middle school: A means to improve peer relations and reduce victimization, bullying, and related outcomes. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 110(8), 1192–1201. <https://doi.org/10.1037/edu0000265>

181 Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751>

182 Vezzali, L., Capozza, D., Giovannini, D., & Stathi, S. (2012). Improving implicit and explicit intergroup attitudes using imagined contact: An experimental intervention with elementary school children. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 15(2), 203–212. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430211424920>

children, with the goal of improving students' empathy through imagined contact.¹⁸³ This intervention consisted of seven sessions over two months and resulted in reductions in students' implicit prejudice toward migrant children. A recent systematic review of imagined contact interventions in European schools found they were effective in reducing prejudice, but that the most significant impacts were found with younger children and with interventions that were led by researchers, as opposed to teachers.¹⁸⁴ The authors hypothesized a number of reasons for this difference, including that researcher-led interventions could maintain more control and standardization over the program's implementation, that teachers may hold biases in ways that could impact the intervention, and that students may pay more attention to an external researcher than to their routine teacher.

Some interventions combine intergroup contact theory with other types of interventions described below (such as perspective-taking and information, knowledge, and awareness interventions) and have shown promising results. For instance, one study aimed at improving intergroup relations between Israeli and Palestinian elementary school students combined intergroup contact (by assigning Palestinian and Israeli students to the same classrooms); information, knowledge, and awareness (through a curriculum promoting respect for the "other"); and social, emotional, and moral development (by teaching skills including perspective-taking and empathy, and encouraging values such as tolerance).¹⁸⁵ The intervention consisted of 12 four-hour meetings with students over an entire academic year and was implemented primarily by trained facilitators from the community. It successfully reduced students' negative stereotyping and discriminatory tendencies and increased their willingness to engage in social contact with students from the other ethnic group, both directly after the program was implemented and at a 15-month follow-up. Interestingly, students' negative stereotyping and discriminatory tendencies toward Ethiopian children, who were not one of the groups involved in the study, also decreased, indicating that this program potentially had prejudice-reduction effects beyond the Israel-Palestine conflict.

Socio-cognitive interventions

Interventions that draw on social cognitive theory generally presume that perpetrating hate is a result of fundamental underlying cognitive processes, such as patterns of thinking and social categorization.¹⁸⁶ To reduce hate, interventions should disrupt these processes.¹⁸⁷ These interventions encourage participants to use reflective and emotional regulation strategies to counter the prejudices they hold. Though not specifically focused on hate, randomized controlled trials have demonstrated that changing a student's thinking patterns can result in reduced antisocial behaviors. For example, three separate randomized controlled trials with high schoolers in Chicago found that a program called *Becoming a Man*, which encouraged youth to slow down before making decisions, resulted in lower violent crime arrests and

183 Gabrielli, S., Catalano, M. G., Maricchiolo, F., Paolini, D., & Perucchini, P. (2022). Reducing implicit prejudice towards migrants in fifth grade pupils: Efficacy of a multi-faceted school-based program. *Social Psychology of Education: An International Journal*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11218-022-09688-5>

184 Vrdoljak, A., Jelić, M., Čorkalo Biruški, D., & Stanković, N. (2023). Efficacy of imagined contact intervention with children and adolescents in reducing negative intergroup outcomes: A systematic review. *Social Psychology of Education: An International Journal*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11218-023-09869-w>

185 Berger, R., Benatov, J., Abu-Raiya, H., & Tadmor, C. T. (2016). Reducing prejudice and promoting positive intergroup attitudes among elementary-school children in the context of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. *Journal of School Psychology, 57*, 53–72. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2016.04.003>

186 Aboud, F. E. (2008). A social-cognitive developmental theory of prejudice. In S. M. Quintana & C. McKown (Eds.), *Handbook of Race, Racism, and the Developing Child* (pp. 55–71). John Wiley & Sons, Inc. <https://www.wiley.com/en-us/Handbook+of+Race%2C+Racism%2C+and+the+Developing+Child-p-9781118269930>

187 Ibid. <https://www.wiley.com/en-us/Handbook+of+Race%2C+Racism%2C+and+the+Developing+Child-p-9781118269930>

recidivism, as well as higher graduation rates and school engagement.¹⁸⁸

Social categorization is one type of social cognitive intervention that trains participants to rethink group boundaries or to learn about identities and experiences they share with out-group members. For example, decategorization interventions train participants to view people as individuals, rather than as part of a group, while recategorization trains participants to think of themselves and out-group members as part of the same collective group.¹⁸⁹ Although some peer-reviewed studies found that these types of interventions are effective in the general population, studies that have examined these interventions with K-12 students have found no evidence of their effectiveness.¹⁹⁰

Other derivatives of social cognitive interventions are cognitive behavioral therapy, rational emotive behavioral therapy, and solution-focused brief counseling. These therapeutic strategies are typically used selectively in educational interventions to target students who have already exhibited problematic behaviors and attitudes. These strategies have shown promise in anti-bullying interventions, but the Commission has not encountered research on their use in K-12 schools with the goal of reducing stigma-based bullying or hate more broadly.¹⁹¹

Information, knowledge, and awareness

Information, knowledge, and awareness (IKA) interventions focus on increasing students' understanding of hate and prejudice. Some of these interventions, such as the Facing History and Ourselves program, educate students through historic and current examples of hate, while also focusing on building students' social and emotional skills, such as empathy and perspective-taking. In a nonexperimental study with a comparison group, researchers found that the 10-week Facing History and Ourselves intervention significantly reduced eighth graders' racial prejudice when compared to students in the comparison group.¹⁹² Other IKA interventions teach students about how prejudice and hate manifest, including against targeted communities. Some studies have demonstrated that learning about discrimination can improve students' ability to detect, and in some cases, challenge, discrimination.¹⁹³ For example, a one-day intervention that taught elementary school children about gender stereotypes through storytelling and experiential reflective activities reduced gender-biased behavior among students.¹⁹⁴

Information, knowledge, and awareness (IKA) interventions focus on increasing students' understanding of hate and prejudice.

188 Heller, S. B., Shah, A. K., Guryan, J., Ludwig, J., Mullainathan, S., & Pollack, H. A. (2017). Thinking, fast and slow? Some field experiments to reduce crime and dropout in Chicago. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 132(1), 1–54. <https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjw033>

189 Grapin, S. L., Griffin, C. B., Naser, S. C., Brown, J. M., & Proctor, S. L. (2019). School-based interventions for reducing youths' racial and ethnic prejudice. *Policy Insights from the Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 6(2), 154–161. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2372732219863820>

190 Ülger, Z., Dette-Hagenmeyer, D. E., Reichle, B., & Gaertner, S. L. (2018). Improving outgroup attitudes in schools: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of School Psychology*, 67, 88–103. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2017.10.002>; Paluck, E. L., Porat, R., Clark, C. S., & Green, D. P. (2021). Prejudice reduction: Progress and challenges. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 72, 533–560. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-071620-030619>

191 E.g., Studer, J. R., & Mynatt, B. S. (2015). Bullying prevention in middle schools: A collaborative approach: Collaborative, proactive anti-bullying interventions and policies that strive to create and sustain a safe environment for all adolescents. *Middle School Journal*, 46(3), 25–32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00940771.2015.11461912>

192 Schultz, L. H., Barr, D. J., & Selman, R. L. (2001). The value of a developmental approach to evaluating character development programmes: An outcome study of Facing History and Ourselves. *Journal of Moral Education*, 30(1), 3–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057240120033785>

193 Bigler, R. S., & Wright, Y. F. (2014). Reading, writing, arithmetic, and racism? Risks and benefits to teaching children about intergroup biases. *Child Development Perspectives*, 8(1), 18–23. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12057>

194 Brinkman, B. G., Jedinak, A., Rosen, L. A., & Zimmerman, T. S. (2011). Teaching children fairness: Decreasing gender prejudice among children. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy (ASAP)*, 11(1), 61–81. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1530-2415.2010.01222.x>

Another category of IKA interventions is cross-cultural education (also called multicultural or diversity education), which focuses on teaching students about different communities and cultures. Rooted in the idea that it can reduce bias and prejudice, cross-cultural education is frequently implemented by schools

[L]earning about discrimination can improve students' ability to detect, and in some cases, challenge, discrimination.

and workplaces. As this review focused on stand-alone interventions specifically targeted at preventing hate, it does not include broad curricular approaches to reducing hate, such as cross-cultural education, ethnic studies, and social studies programs. However, it is worth noting that a meta-analysis found that there is very little experimental research on the efficacy of these approaches, although nonexperimental research shows cross-cultural education can positively impact college students' perspective-taking and interest in getting along with students from other racial backgrounds, particularly among white students.¹⁹⁵

Ethnic studies, which is closely related to cross-cultural education, can boost students' academic engagement and high school graduation rates, with particularly strong effects for Latine students.¹⁹⁶ However, less is known about how ethnic studies may impact students' prejudiced attitudes and behaviors.

Starting with the class of 2030, it is anticipated that California high school students will be required to pass an ethnic studies course to graduate from high school. In 2021, the State Board of Education adopted an ethnic studies model curriculum that includes sample lessons as an optional resource for school districts across the state. The curriculum focuses on the untold stories and contributions of several underrepresented communities, including Black, Latine, and Asian and Pacific Islander communities. Some California school districts are already offering ethnic studies courses, and educators have shared powerful testimonials about the impact of their lessons on their students.¹⁹⁷ Given how meaningful it may be for students over the long term to see their stories and those of their peers more deeply reflected in classroom instruction, it is all the more critical, especially in light of the acute educator shortages in recent years, that California prioritize the recruitment and retention of educators equipped with the skills, knowledge, and humility to provide culturally responsive instruction to all students.

However, implementing the requirement has proven to be challenging and contentious, given disagreements about the content in the model curriculum and alternative curriculums that school boards have considered and adopted.¹⁹⁸ To provide guidance to school officials on the implementation of the ethnic studies curriculum, the California Attorney General's Office issued a legal alert in January 2024.¹⁹⁹ The alert explained that ethnic studies offers the opportunity to “combat harmful stereotypes and open up new avenues for understanding and tolerance.” It provided guidance to school boards developing their

195 Zirkel, S. (2008). The influence of multicultural educational practices on student outcomes and intergroup relations. *Teachers College Record*, 110(6), 1147–1181. <https://doi.org/10.1177/016146810811000605>; Paluck et al., 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-071620-030619>

196 Bonilla, S., Dee, T. S., & Penner, E. K. P. (2021). Ethnic studies increases longer-run academic engagement and attainment. *PNAS Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 118(37), Article e2026386118. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2026386118>

197 Tagami, M. (2023, March 31). California high schools are adding hundreds of ethnic studies classes. Are teachers prepared? *CalMatters*. <https://calmatters.org/education/higher-education/college-beat/2023/03/california-high-schools-ethnic-studies/#:~:text=California%20needs%20more%20ethnic%20studies,subject%20to%20the%20graduation%20requirement>

198 Goldstein, D. (2024, February 15). California's push for ethnic studies runs into the Israel-Hamas war. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/15/us/california-ethnic-studies-israel-gaza-war.html>

199 California Department of Justice & Office of the Attorney General. (2024). Legal alert. *In Legal Alert* [Report]. <https://oag.ca.gov/system/files/attachments/press-docs/Legal%20Alert%20Re%20Inclusive%20Curricula.1.9.24.1157CLEAN.pdf>

own curricula or modifying the model curricula, explaining that school boards could modify the model curriculum to account for local needs and include lesson plans on a variety of other groups not covered. It also explained that controversial topics should not be avoided, but that care must be taken to ensure that the topics are approached in a “balanced and sensitive manner.” Moreover, it emphasized that curricula must be free of bias, bigotry, and discrimination and not blame any racial, ethnic, or religious group for the actions of a government.

IKA interventions are often combined with other interventions, such as intergroup contact. For example, one anti-bullying intervention with high school students in New Zealand consisted of an educator sharing their personal story of coming out as LGBTQ+ while teachers facilitated conversations with students on the concepts of sexual orientation and homophobia. This program had measurable improvements in students’ attitudes and understanding of their LGBTQ+ peers.²⁰⁰ In Israel, a four-week intervention used dolls representing people from different racial and immigrant backgrounds to create vicarious contact with these groups while also teaching kindergarteners about different cultures.²⁰¹ The intervention increased students’ knowledge and interest in other groups and reduced some prejudiced behaviors.²⁰²

In addition to their impacts on reducing hate, IKA interventions can have psychological and identity benefits for students holding marginalized identities. Specifically, such interventions can validate their experiences and empower them to challenge racism.²⁰³ When students learn about the efforts of their community to resist oppression, it can empower them and lead to a more affirming collective identity.²⁰⁴ At the same time, there is also a risk of negative consequences of such interventions. For example, students whose communities are the topic of discussion in an IKA program may feel increased anxiety, fear, or stereotype threat, while majority group students may feel guilt or that they are being wrongfully accused.²⁰⁵ In one study, students learned about discrimination against African American communities, which reduced white students’ prejudice. However, this reduction was also associated with small, but statistically significant, increases in white students’ levels of guilt.²⁰⁶

Social and emotional learning

Social and emotional learning (SEL) is a broad, multifaceted educational framework by which children “acquire and apply the knowledge, skills, and attitudes to develop healthy identities, manage emotions and achieve personal and collective goals, feel and show empathy for others, establish and maintain supportive relationships, and make responsible and caring decisions.”²⁰⁷ Social and emotional interventions vary with respect to the specific skills they

SEL programs can lead to numerous positive outcomes for youth, including academic success, emotional and behavioral regulation, and self-efficacy.

200 Lucassen, M. F., & Burford, J. (2015). Educating for diversity: An evaluation of a sexuality diversity workshop to address secondary school bullying. *Australasian Psychiatry*, 23(5), 544–549. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1039856215592324>

201 Nasie, M., Ziv, M., & Diesendruck, G. (2022). Promoting positive intergroup attitudes using persona dolls: A vicarious contact intervention program in Israeli kindergartens. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 25(5), 1269–1294. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302211005837>

202 Ibid. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302211005837>

203 Bigler & Wright, 2014. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12057>

204 Hope, E. C., Mathews, C. J., Wray-Lake, L., Hope, E. C., & Abrams, L. S. (2024). Identity and changemaking. In *Young Black Changemakers and the Road to Racial Justice* (pp. 60–80). Cambridge University Press. <https://www.cambridge.org/us/universitypress/subjects/psychology/social-psychology/young-black-changemakers-and-road-racial-justice?format=PB>

205 Bigler & Wright, 2014. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12057>

206 Hughes, J. M., Bigler, R. S., & Levy, S. R. (2007). Consequences of learning about historical racism among European American and African American children. *Child Development*, 78(6), 1689–1705. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2007.01096.x>

207 Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL). (2024). Fundamentals of SEL. <https://casel.org/fundamentals-of-sel/>

emphasize, but at its core, SEL emphasizes skills such as empathy, perspective-taking, emotional regulation, and self-management.²⁰⁸ Although SEL interventions overlap somewhat with socio-cognitive interventions discussed above, this review treats SEL as a separate category of interventions because it is used as a stand-alone framework in many educational interventions.

Research has found SEL programs can lead to numerous positive outcomes for youth, including academic success, emotional and behavioral regulation, and self-efficacy.²⁰⁹ Rigorous studies of two SEL programs, the Roots of Empathy and Second Step programs, have found that the programs result in improved outcomes, such as reductions in student aggression, difficult behavior like problems with peers and conduct, and homophobic bullying.²¹⁰ SEL programs can also increase empathy and perspective-taking. As described below, research has shown empathy and perspective-taking may have several positive benefits, such as decreasing anti-immigrant prejudice and increasing the likelihood a student intervenes when they witness cyberbullying.²¹¹

An emerging type of educational SEL intervention focuses on teaching mindfulness and compassion to reduce prejudice. Two studies demonstrate that interventions teaching mindfulness and compassion to children have positive impacts on empathy and perspective-taking.²¹² A partially randomized study with Israeli-Jewish elementary and middle school children showed that a mindfulness-compassion intervention reduced prejudice against Israeli Palestinians.²¹³ Importantly, these reductions persisted six months later, even after a notable escalation in the Israel-Palestine conflict that increased the prejudice of students in the study's control group. These studies show that compassion and mindfulness practices may be promising additions to the social and emotional toolbox being used to reduce hate today.

Despite the evidence of positive impacts of SEL programs, given the multifaceted nature of SEL programs, the precise mechanisms by which SEL interventions reduce hate are somewhat unclear. For example, one evaluation found that the Roots of Empathy program demonstrably reduced prejudice, but increases in empathy did not play a role. Furthermore, some rigorously evaluated SEL interventions have not found significant reductions in violent, hate-based behaviors.²¹⁴

208 van de Sande, M. C. E., Fekkes, M., Kocken, P. L., Diekstra, R. F. W., Reis, R., & Gravesteyn, C. (2019). Do universal social and emotional learning programs for secondary school students enhance the competencies they address? A systematic review. *Psychology in the Schools*, 56(10), 1545–1567. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pits.22307>

209 Taylor, R. D., Oberle, E., Durlak, J. A., & Weissberg, R. P. (2017). Promoting positive youth development through school-based social and emotional learning interventions: A meta-analysis of follow-up effects. *Child Development*, 88(4), 1156–1171. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12864>; van de Sande et al., 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pits.22307>

210 Schonert-Reichl, K. A., Smith, V., Zaidman-Zait, A., & Hertzman, C. (2012). Promoting children's prosocial behaviors in school: Impact of the "Roots of Empathy" program on the social and emotional competence of school-aged children. *School Mental Health: A Multidisciplinary Research and Practice Journal*, 4(1), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12310-011-9064-7>; Espelage, D. L., Low, S., Polanin, J. R., & Brown, E. C. (2015). Clinical trial of Second Step© middle-school program: Impact on aggression & victimization. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 37, 52–63. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2014.11.007>; Connolly, P., Miller, S., Kee, F., Sloan, S., Gildea, A., McIntosh, E., Boyer, N., & Bland, M. (2018). A cluster randomised controlled trial and evaluation and cost-effectiveness analysis of the Roots of Empathy schools-based programme for improving social and emotional well-being outcomes among 8- to 9-year-olds in Northern Ireland. *Public Health Research*, 6(4). <https://doi.org/10.3310/phr06040>

211 Miklikowska, M. (2018). Empathy trumps prejudice: The longitudinal relation between empathy and anti-immigrant attitudes in adolescence. *Developmental Psychology*, 54(4), 703–717. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000474>; Herry, E., Gönültaş, S., & Mulvey, K. L. (2021). Digital era bullying: An examination of adolescent judgments about bystander intervention online. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 76, Article 101322. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2021.101322>

212 Flook, L., Goldberg, S. B., Pinger, L., & Davidson, R. J. (2015). Promoting prosocial behavior and self-regulatory skills in preschool children through a mindfulness-based kindness curriculum. *Developmental Psychology*, 51(1), 44–51. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0038256>; Schonert-Reichl, K. A., Oberle, E., Lawlor, M. S., Abbott, D., Thomson, K., Oberlander, T. F., & Diamond, A. (2015). Enhancing cognitive and social-emotional development through a simple-to-administer mindfulness-based school program for elementary school children: A randomized controlled trial. *Developmental Psychology*, 51(1), 52–66. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0038454>

213 Berger, R., Brenick, A., & Tarrasch, R. (2018). Reducing Israeli-Jewish pupils' outgroup prejudice with a mindfulness and compassion-based social-emotional program. *Mindfulness*, 9(6), 1768–1779. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-018-0919-y>

214 E.g., Espelage et al., 2015. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2014.11.007>

Perspective-taking

Perspective-taking is one of the primary skills underlying SEL programs, but it is also studied independently as its own stand-alone category of interventions. Perspective-taking refers to a person's ability to understand and make inferences about others' goals and motivations.²¹⁵ Educational interventions focused on perspective-taking often use narrative methods or media to encourage students to see events or to understand challenges from another person's perspective.²¹⁶ As described below, several perspective-taking interventions have successfully reduced prejudice, stigma, and bias.

Perspective-taking is closely related to indirect contact interventions. For instance, an experimental study with elementary school students in Italy consisted of the researcher reading students fictional stories related to immigrant and sexuality-based prejudice (an indirect contact intervention). Although the intervention effectively reduced prejudice toward those groups, this effect only held among students who identified with the main character in the story.²¹⁷ In other words, indirect contact appears to have reduced prejudice primarily because it increased students' perspective-taking toward immigrant and LGBTQ+ out-group members.

Perspective-taking refers to a person's ability to understand and make inferences about others' goals and motivations.

Relatedly, there is evidence that perspective-taking interventions can have stronger effects when a member of a target community is present. For example, an experiment with 11- to 17-year-old students in Italy found that a perspective-taking intervention where students used a motorized wheelchair in the presence of a person with a motor disability was more effective at reducing prejudiced attitudes toward people with disabilities than without the person present.²¹⁸

Some perspective-taking programs tend to integrate other strategies, such as information about how bias affects minority group individuals. One recent notable intervention attempted to reduce prejudice among Israeli students toward immigrants, Arab people, and people with visual impairments. This intervention consisted of showing students a television series exploring sensitive social topics and facilitating group discussion about intergroup disagreements, inequality, and discriminatory experiences.²¹⁹ Another perspective-taking intervention with Turkish elementary school children successfully reduced peer violence and victimization and improved interethnic social ties in classrooms.²²⁰

A few studies with adults have demonstrated that the effects of perspective-taking can be limited. In one study, a brief perspective-taking writing exercise about refugees increased the likelihood of engaging in inclusionary behaviors, such as writing a letter to politicians supporting refugees, but did not measurably impact attitudes toward refugees.²²¹ In another study designed to reduce intergroup tensions between

215 Alan, S., Baysan, C., Gumren, M., & Kubilay, E. (2021). Building social cohesion in ethnically mixed schools: An intervention on perspective taking. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 136(4), 2147–2194. <https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjab009>

216 Weiss, C. M., Ran, S., & Halperin, E. (2023). Educating for inclusion: Diversity education programs can reduce prejudice toward outgroups in Israel. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 120(16). <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2218621120>

217 Vezzali, L., Stathi, S., Giovannini, D., Capozza, D., & Trifiletti, E. (2015). The greatest magic of Harry Potter: Reducing prejudice. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 45(2), 105–121. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12279>

218 Matera, C., Nerini, A., Di Gesto, C., Policardo, G. R., Maratia, F., Dalla Verde, S., Sica, I., Paradisi, M., Ferraresi, L., Pontvik, D. K., Lamuraglia, M., Marchese, F., Sbrillo, M., & Brown, R. (2021). Put yourself in my wheelchair: Perspective-taking can reduce prejudice toward people with disabilities and other stigmatized groups. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 51(3), 273–285. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/jasp.12734>

219 Weiss et al., 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2218621120>

220 Alan et al., 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjab009>

221 Adida, C. L., Lo, A., & Platas, M. R. (2018). Perspective taking can promote short-term inclusionary behavior toward Syrian refugees. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 115(38), 9521–9526. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1804002115>

communities in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, a radio program that discussed tolerance for out-group members and encouraged interpersonal discussion had the surprising result of increasing intolerance and dislike for out-group community members.²²² The reasons behind these results are unclear, but could include insufficient guidance for group discussions; lack of structure or clear next steps for interpersonal discussion, which could have fueled listeners' anger; and the fact that indirect contact (through the soap opera characters) may not have been sufficient to overcome the strong out-group prejudice listeners held at the beginning of the study. Further research is needed to understand the limitations and optimal conditions of perspective-taking interventions.

Moral reasoning

Some researchers have hypothesized that the interplay of a child's identity and their moral reasoning development with respect to fairness and justice can influence their prejudice.²²³ This scholarship argues that other successful interventions to reduce prejudice, such as intergroup contact, may do so in part because they encourage children to reject group-based stereotypes in favor of moral reasoning that assesses prejudiced practices, like social exclusion, to be morally wrong.²²⁴

Overall, there is a dearth of research on the efficacy of moral reasoning interventions with respect to hate reduction. However, some interventions demonstrate promise. The Developing Inclusive Youth curriculum encourages students to see intergroup social exclusion as morally wrong.²²⁵ In a study of this classroom-based curriculum, children ages 8 to 11 years old learned about one fictional scenario each week, followed by classroom discussions. The scenarios illustrated similarly aged children socially excluding children with identities and characteristics different than themselves, including characteristics related to their immigrant status, gender, race, and ethnicity. Teachers then prompted students to reflect on the scenario's moral reasoning and to see the positive aspects of including people different from themselves, including by emphasizing their shared interests and values. Although the Commission has not found peer-reviewed studies of this program, existing data shows statistically significant effects of this program on improving students' moral reasoning and values around prejudice.²²⁶

Conflict Reduction and Prevention Programs: Conflict Resolution, Anti-Bullying, and Recidivism Reduction Programs

The categories of interventions described above are primarily ideal for classroom implementation and are directed at reducing students' hate-related behaviors and attitudes. However, there are several prominent categories of programs aimed at preventing conflict, bullying, and violence school wide. They are not necessarily designed to reduce hate but may be efficacious for doing so. While some of these programs are effective with respect to their target outcomes, there is little to no research on the impacts of others. The following sections contain summaries of prominent categories of programs that generally fall under the categories of conflict resolution, violence reduction, anti-bullying, and recidivism reduction.

222 Paluck, E. L. (2010). Is it better not to talk? Group polarization, extended contact, and perspective taking in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 36(9), 1170–1185. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167210379868>

223 Rutland, A., Killen, M., & Abrams, D. (2010). A new social-cognitive developmental perspective on prejudice: The interplay between morality and group identity. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 5(3), 279–291. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691610369468>

224 Ibid. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691610369468>

225 Killen, M. (2019). Developing inclusive youth: How to reduce social exclusion and foster equality and equity in childhood. *American Educator*, 43(3), 8–12. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1231535>

226 Ibid. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1231535>

Conflict resolution

Conflict resolution and de-escalation interventions teach students how to stop conflict and violence in a nonviolent manner. Overall, rigorous research on the efficacy of conflict resolution interventions to prevent hate specifically is scarce. However, some studies indicate promising effects. For example, one recent study employed multiple mechanisms to encourage seventh- to ninth-grade students in Germany to practice

Conflict resolution and de-escalation interventions teach students how to stop conflict and violence in a nonviolent manner.

“counterspeech” against hate speech.²²⁷ The intervention, which consisted of 4.5-hour sessions daily for one week, incorporated several components, such as encouraging students to create school-level anti-hate speech projects and presentations for parents’ meetings. The study showed significant increases in students’ empathy and counterspeech one month after the intervention, as compared to a control group.²²⁸

Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports (PBIS) is typically a whole-school program that uses a combination of behavioral and social-emotional instruction to improve student behaviors and create more positive school climates. These interventions are increasingly studied at scale in large school districts, although their outcomes on hate and prejudice have not been assessed. Nevertheless, multiple rigorous experiments have demonstrated that PBIS positively impacts a variety of student outcomes, ranging from prosocial behavior to suspension rates and disciplinary actions.²²⁹ Conflict resolution education is often combined with PBIS to reduce bullying behaviors. In addition to facilitating positive social behaviors through positive reinforcement, for instance, schools train students in conflict resolution strategies such as open communication and peacefully resolving disagreements. When combined with PBIS, conflict resolution education shows success in reducing bullying.²³⁰

There are potential downsides of PBIS. Implementation of the program requires a great deal of training, buy-in from school leadership, and coordination.²³¹ Also, PBIS has the potential to be controversial among parents and teachers. In California, one school district faced criticism from parents who argued that the PBIS approach was leading to increased violence and bullying because of a perceived lack of accountability for student perpetrators.²³² Similar to restorative justice approaches, PBIS requires full buy-in from all school stakeholders. Furthermore, PBIS approaches are not typically designed to identify, remedy, and prevent conduct that may constitute harassment based on a student’s actual or perceived protected characteristics. Consequently, school districts might wish to provide age-appropriate instruction to their students on a regular basis that distinguishes discriminatory harassment from bullying, describes the type of conduct that could constitute discriminatory harassment and explains why such conduct is harmful to students and school communities, and provides guidance to students on what to do if they observe or learn of such conduct.

227 Wachs, S., Krause, N., Wright, M. F., & Gámez-Guadix, M. (2023). Effects of the prevention program “HateLess. Together against Hatred” on adolescents’ empathy, self-efficacy, and countering hate speech. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 52, 1115–1128. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-023-01753-2>

228 Ibid. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-023-01753-2>

229 Safran, S. P., & Oswald, K. (2003). Positive behavior supports: Can schools reshape disciplinary practices? *Exceptional Children*, 69(3), 361–373. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001440290306900307>

230 E.g., Safran et al., 2003. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001440290306900307>

231 Horner, R. H., Kincaid, D., Sugai, G., Lewis, T., Eber, L., Barrett, S., Dickey, C. R., Richter, M., Sullivan, E., Boezio, C., Algozzine, B., Reynolds, H., & Johnson, N. (2014). Scaling up school-wide positive behavioral interventions and supports: Experiences of seven states with documented success. *Journal of Positive Behavior Interventions*, 16(4), 197–208. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1098300713503685>

232 Cederlof, C. (2019, March 8). Visalia schools face ‘crisis’ as students ‘rage’ without discipline. *Visalia Times-Delta*. <https://www.visaliatimesdelta.com/story/news/2019/03/08/visalia-schools-face-crisis-as-students-rage-under-pbis-without-discipline/3098350002/>

Peer mediation trains students in techniques to mediate conflict between their peers. There is evidence that peer mediation programs may not reduce bullying.²³³ Peer education, where students are trained to raise awareness about the existence of hate and prejudice among their peers, as well as skills and strategies to stop hate, may be more effective than peer mediation. For example, a quasi-experimental study in Italy examined the efficacy of the NoTrap! anti-bullying program, which trained fifth-grade students to raise awareness about bullying among their peers and to lead cooperative activities to build skills such as empathy. The study found the program resulted in decreased rates of bullying victimization both online and at school.²³⁴ A recent experimental study found that the NoTrap! program reduced students' self-reported bullying victimization based on their ethnic background, but this effect only held when at least one of the peer educators had an immigrant background.²³⁵ Another type of student training is peer support intervention. This intervention trains students to identify and address bullying behavior. Although peer support can reduce the negative impact of bullying on victims, studies have found mixed effects with other important outcomes like reducing bullying victimization rates.²³⁶

Anti-bullying interventions

There are many anti-bullying programs that have been implemented at scale across the country. Although some programs reduce bullying significantly, many are not specifically designed to focus on reducing prejudice or stigma-based bullying, and these outcomes are rarely assessed in the academic literature.²³⁷ Moreover, there is evidence that some programs may have weaker effects on reducing bullying toward students of color. For example, one experimental study with U.S. middle school students found the Olweus anti-bullying program successfully reduced bullying for white students, but did not reduce victimization among students of color.²³⁸ Another experimental study of the Olweus program with students in grades 3 through 11 found the program had weaker effects on reducing bullying perpetration and victimization among Black and Latine students than among white students.²³⁹

Although some programs reduce bullying significantly, many are not specifically designed to focus on reducing prejudice or stigma-based bullying.

Given these findings, scholars have called for designing anti-bullying programs to tackle prejudice and stigma-based bullying, specifically.²⁴⁰ Although a new strand of research is focused on designing anti-stigma-based bullying interventions, overall there are only a few peer-reviewed studies on such

233 Ttofi, M. M., & Farrington, D. P. (2011). Effectiveness of school-based programs to reduce bullying: A systematic and meta-analytic review. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 7, 27–56. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-010-9109-1>.

234 Palladino, B. E., Nocentini, A., & Menesini, E. (2016). Evidence-based intervention against bullying and cyberbullying: Evaluation of the NoTrap! program in two independent trials. *Aggressive Behavior*, 42(2), 194–206. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.21636>

235 Zambuto, V., Stefanelli, F., Palladino, B. E., Nocentini, A., & Menesini, E. (2022). The effect of the NoTrap! antibullying program on ethnic victimization: When the peer educators' immigrant status matters. *Developmental Psychology*, 58(6), 1176–1187. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0001343>

236 Cowie, H., Naylor, P., Talamelli, L., Chauhan, P., & Smith, P. (2002). Knowledge, use of and attitudes towards peer support: A 2-year follow-up to the Prince's Trust survey. *Journal of Adolescence*, 25(5), 453–467. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jado.2002.0498>; Cowie, H., Hutson, N., Oztug, O., & Myers, C. (2008). The impact of peer support schemes on pupils' perceptions of bullying, aggression and safety at school. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 13(1), 63–71. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13632750701814708>

237 Chatters, S. J., & Zalaquett, C. P. (2018). Bullying prevention and prejudice reduction: Assessing the outcome of an integrative training program. *The Journal of Individual Psychology*, 74(1), 20–37. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jip.2018.0002>

238 Bauer, N. S., Lozano, P., & Rivara, F. P. (2007). The effectiveness of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program in public middle schools: A controlled trial. *The Journal of Adolescent Health: Official Publication of the Society for Adolescent Medicine*, 40(3), 266–274. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2006.10.005>

239 Limber, S. P., Olweus, D., Wang, W., Masiello, M., & Breivik, K. (2018). Evaluation of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program: A large scale study of U.S. students in grades 3-11. *Journal of School Psychology*, 69, 56–72. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2018.04.004>

240 Zambuto et al., 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0001343>

programs to date.²⁴¹ One example of such a study examined the efficacy of a program that integrated best practices from both anti-bullying programs and prejudice-reduction programs. The program included a curriculum that taught students about the active bystander approach (anti-bullying) and antidiscrimination education (prejudice reduction) through group discussions, role play, and classroom instruction. Although the sample size of the study was small, it demonstrated promise. The study found a reduction in students' prejudiced attitudes immediately and at a two-month follow-up.

Though students often experience hate online, there is a lack of research demonstrating the effects of school programs to reduce online hate specifically. General cyberbullying interventions might use empathy training or awareness-raising campaigns at schools to reduce bullying and victimization of students online.²⁴² A 2019 systematic review and meta-analysis found many school-based interventions to reduce cyberbullying broadly (inclusive of and beyond stigma-based bullying) were effective, leading to reductions in cyberbullying perpetration and victimization.²⁴³ However, none of the studies measured whether these interventions impacted hate-related outcomes. A separate meta-analysis review comparing traditional anti-bullying and cyberbullying interventions found that, overall, cyberbullying interventions were less effective than traditional anti-bullying programs.²⁴⁴

Recidivism reduction programs

Another prominent category of school-level programs is aimed at reducing recidivism among youth who have committed acts of hate and are identified as “at risk” of engaging in such behaviors again. However, rigorous peer-reviewed research and formal evaluations of these programs are scarce, and, in some cases, nonexistent.

An example of a program that demonstrates promise is PATHWAYS to Tolerance targeted at at-risk youth and young adults. The program consists of a 12-week group therapy intervention, which aims to modify participants' hate-related attitudes and behaviors through a combination of cognitive-behavioral therapy and self-analysis. A 2004 non-peer-reviewed evaluation found that, at a six-month follow-up, none of the 62 youth who completed the program engaged in hate crimes or bias-motivated crimes.²⁴⁵ However, the Commission has found no additional rigorous peer-reviewed research on this program.

The Los Angeles County District Attorney's office developed an anti-hate program called JOLT (Juvenile Offenders Learning Tolerance). This program aimed to prevent and intervene in hate crimes among adolescents and young adults by employing a multifaceted approach. JOLT partnered with Facing History and Ourselves (described above) to implement full-day workshops with school teachers, staff, and students across Antelope Valley elementary, middle, and high schools. They also provided teachers with a curriculum on prejudice and bias to integrate into lesson plans. A component of the program targeted youth who had perpetrated low-level hate crimes as well. Over seven weeks, youth engaged in three-hour sessions that encouraged them to reflect on their own biases. There do not appear to be formal evaluations or peer-reviewed studies evaluating the impact of this program on hate.

241 E.g., Zambuto et al., 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0001343>

242 Gaffney, H., Farrington, D. P., Espelage, D. L., & Ttofi, M. M. (2019). Are cyberbullying intervention and prevention programs effective? A systematic and meta-analytical review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 45, 134–153. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2018.07.002>

243 Ibid. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2018.07.002>

244 Ng, E. D., Chua, J. Y. X., & Shorey, S. (2022). The effectiveness of educational interventions on traditional bullying and cyberbullying among adolescents: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Trauma, Violence & Abuse*, 23(1), 132–151. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838020933867>

245 Misch, G., Evangelou, T., & Burke, C. (2004, March). PATHWAYS to tolerance: Changing attitudes of youth at risk of committing hate crimes. U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs. <https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/pathways-tolerance-changing-attitudes-youth-risk-committing-hate>

Restorative justice

Whereas traditional punishment practices in schools focus on exclusion (for example, removing the perpetrating student from the classroom or school spaces), restorative justice is a promising approach to addressing hate. Restorative justice consists of a set of practices to promote nonviolent conflict resolution and communication between the responsible party and the victim.

Restorative justice is a broad term that can include using external mediators to respond to incidents of bullying or violence; promoting social and emotional skills like empathy and conflict resolution; and creating a restorative school culture through community-building circles, peer mediation training, and family group conferencing.²⁴⁶ Research outside of schools shows that criminal justice interventions using the restorative justice approach can reduce youth recidivism rates for several years afterward.²⁴⁷

[C]riminal justice interventions using the restorative justice approach can reduce youth recidivism rates for several years afterward.

In a systematic review of restorative justice in schools, researchers found that schools that implemented restorative justice practices reported lower rates of student misconduct, injuries, school crimes, aggression, bullying, violence, and cyberbullying.²⁴⁸ The review noted that restorative justice practices often aim to reduce recidivism by supporting perpetrators with gaining skills, such as self-esteem and nonviolent communication, and by learning about the victim's experiences. Scholars have argued that restorative justice programs have the potential to transform those who commit

[S]chools that implemented restorative justice practices reported lower rates of student misconduct, injuries, school crimes, aggression, bullying, violence, and cyberbullying.

hate crimes while also giving victims pathways toward healing and enhancing feelings of safety.²⁴⁹ Although, to our knowledge, published research on restorative justice's impact on reducing hate crimes does not exist, its positive impacts on similar outcomes (such as bullying and cyberbullying) indicate that it could be a promising approach to addressing hate crimes in schools, although further research is needed.

As with PBIS and other interventions that target entire school systems, restorative justice programs are costly to implement and scale. As a whole-school intervention, all

stakeholders must be highly invested in the project (particularly the principal of the school), and they must be highly involved in and supportive of restorative practices. All staff and administrators who may be present for student conflict – including counselors, teachers, coaches, and other school staff – must receive training. The school must make substantial and numerous changes to its policies and procedures, and it is often necessary to bring in external facilitators due to a lack of trained staff on-site at schools. However, the costs of implementing restorative justice programs must be considered relative to the long-term benefits of programs and the existing costs of disciplinary approaches and school policing.

246 Lodi, E., Perrella, L., Lepri, G. L., Scarpa, M. L., & Patrizi, P. (2022). Use of restorative justice and restorative practices at school: A systematic literature review. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 19(1), 96. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph19010096>

247 Shem-Tov, Y., Raphael, S., & Skog, A. (2024). Can restorative justice conferencing reduce recidivism? Evidence from the Make-it-Right program. *Econometrica*, 92(1), 61–78. <https://doi.org/10.3982/ECTA20996>

248 Lodi et al., 2021. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph19010096>

249 E.g., Walters, M. A. (2019). *Repairing the harms of hate crime: Towards a restorative justice approach?* [Paper presentation]. The United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders: Criminal Justice Response to Crimes Motivated by Intolerance and Discrimination. Akishima, Tokyo, Japan. https://www.unafei.or.jp/publications/pdf/RS_No108/No108_01_ALL.pdf

Other Approaches to Preventing and Reducing Hate

Youth-led civic programs

Youth-led civic programs, such as action civics, Theater of the Oppressed, and youth organizing, are programs rooted in the research demonstrating that young people can create positive change in their schools and communities, and that they can gain valuable skills and knowledge while doing so.²⁵⁰ These programs are often group-based and youth-led and focus on enhancing students' civic knowledge and efficacy, and sometimes encourage students to take civic action. Although many of these interventions have been rigorously evaluated, hate-related outcomes are often not in these evaluations. Nevertheless, given the prominence of the programs and their potential for reducing hate through a focus on self-efficacy and community improvement, we include them here.

Action civics programs often have students conduct social action projects that consist of students identifying a social problem in their communities and developing solutions, often by conducting their own research on the problem and building a team to create a solution to implement. For example, Generation Citizen is an action civics program designed to empower young people through social action projects. Students in the program develop projects on a range of social issues, ranging from gun control to energy policy. Studies of Generation Citizen have found that it significantly increased students' civic knowledge and their civic self-efficacy.²⁵¹ These studies have not measured the impact of the program on students' hate-related attitudes or behaviors.

A related program is the Youth Together Project, which was developed in response to rising hate incidents in Bay Area schools in the 1990s. In this program, schools organized multiracial groups of students into teams that, together, came up with ideas to prevent hate at their schools. These teams were supported with biweekly trainings. However, there appear to be no formal evaluations or peer-reviewed studies exploring the impact of this program.

Theater of the Oppressed is a youth-led program that directs students to discuss their personal experiences, thereby encouraging empathy and perspective-taking, while collectively developing a theatrical program around a social issue.²⁵² In this way, students direct the conversation around an issue and develop strategies for social change. One study examined the impact of Theater of the Oppressed on anti-LGBTQ+ bullying. In a sample of over 800 LGBTQ+ and heterosexual students, researchers found the program increased students' self-reported likelihood of standing up to LGBTQ+ bullying and their confidence in successfully intervening.²⁵³

Youth organizing is a category of youth-led programs that shows promise by incorporating numerous theoretical pillars of anti-hate interventions: intergroup contact, knowledge and awareness, and social and emotional skills. For instance, a qualitative study of a youth organizing program with predominantly Latine and African American youth found that youth described their journey in the program as consisting of three distinct stages: first, interacting with youth from other groups; second, developing increased knowledge

250 Wray-Lake, L., & Ballard, P. J. (2023). Civic engagement across adolescence and early adulthood. In L. J. Crockett, G. Carlo, & J. E. Schulenberg (Eds.), *APA Handbook of Adolescent and Young Adult Development* (pp. 573–593). American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0000298-035>

251 Ballard, P. J., Cohen, A. K., & Littenberg-Tobias, J. (2016). Action civics for promoting civic development: Main effects of program participation and differences by project characteristics. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 58*(3–4), 377–390. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12103>

252 Bhukhanwala, F. (2014). Theater of the Oppressed in an after-school program: Middle school students' perspectives on bullying and prevention. *Middle School Journal, 46*(1), 3–12. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00940771.2014.11461899>

253 Wernick, L. J., Dessel, A. B., Kulick, A., & Graham, L. F. (2013). LGBTQ youth creating change: Developing allies against bullying through performance and dialogue. *Children and Youth Services Review, 35*(9), 1576–1586. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2013.06.005>

and understanding of youth from these groups; and third, using their greater empathy and awareness to act in less prejudiced and biased ways.²⁵⁴ Youth in this program reported that their prejudiced attitudes and behaviors against youth from different racial/ethnic groups and LGBTQ+ youth decreased as a result of their engagement in the program.

Although rigorous research on the impact of these programs on hate is relatively sparse, youth-led programs have many potential benefits. Most notably, these programs develop potential solutions to complex problems by harnessing the lived experiences of students. There is evidence students also benefit, gaining self-efficacy and practice with important skills, such as public speaking, teamwork, community involvement, and leadership skills.

Another benefit of youth-led interventions is that they may reduce potential backlash effects from parents. Because students themselves often choose the social issues to tackle and the way they do so, their efforts may be more likely to be supported by parents than programs implemented by schools.

[A] benefit of youth-led interventions is that they may reduce potential backlash effects from parents.

Sports and recreation programs

There is a substantial literature on sport and peace-building, such as the United Nations' International Day of Sport for Development and Peace initiative.²⁵⁵ Researchers hypothesize that sports programs can increase community cohesion, encourage healthy intergroup contact, and promote peace.²⁵⁶ A quasi-experimental study with youth in Liberia found that a sports program resulted in small reductions in attitudes toward violence and increases in social responsibility.²⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the evidence of the impact of sports programs on hate is limited. A recent review of the sports and peace-building literature with youth in post-conflict situations found 30 nonexperimental studies and concluded that involving local stakeholders and communities in sports programs was key to their success.²⁵⁸ Although some studies found positive impacts of sports programs, such as decreases in attitudes toward violence and increases in personal responsibility among youth in a soccer program in Liberia, there do not seem to be studies reporting hate-related outcomes. A recent landmark study with adults in Iraq used a randomized experimental design and demonstrated mixed impacts.²⁵⁹ Drawing on the principle of intergroup contact, the researchers randomly assigned Christian adults to play either on all-Christian teams or on teams with a mixture of Christian and Muslim players to improve intergroup relations between the groups. Although the experiment found that Christian participants assigned to teams with Muslim players were more willing to train with peers from a different religious background up to six months after the intervention, there were no significant changes in other attitudinal and behavioral indicators, such as whether players would attend

254 Watkins, N. D., Larson, R. W., & Sullivan, P. J. (2007). Bridging intergroup difference in a community youth program. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 51(3), 380–402. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764207306066>

255 United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace. (2012, June). UNOSDP Annual Report 2011. https://www.sportanddev.org/sites/default/files/downloads/unosdp_annual_report_2011_final_web_single_pages_1.pdf

256 Lawson, H. A. (2005). Empowering people, facilitating community development, and contributing to sustainable development: The social work of sport, exercise, and physical education programs. *Sport, Education and Society*, 10(1), 135–160. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1357332052000308800>

257 Blom, L. C., Bronk, K. C., Sullivan, M., McConchie, J., Ballesteros, J., & Farello, A. (2021). Peace and development indicators in Liberia youth through sport for development programming. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 27(2), 284–296. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000463>

258 Clarke, F., Jones, A., & Smith, L. (2021). Building peace through sports projects: A scoping review. *Sustainability*, 13(4), 2129. <https://www.mdpi.com/2071-1050/13/4/2129>

259 Mousa, S. (2020). Building social cohesion between Christians and Muslims through soccer in post-ISIS Iraq. *Science*, 369(6505), 866–870. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.abb3153>; Blom et al., 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000463>

a mixed social event or patronize a restaurant with the different religious group. Additional research is needed, particularly with youth in the United States, to understand how sport, especially when facilitating intergroup contact, might affect prejudice and bias.

Play and recess have also been studied with youth in relation to school climate and bullying behavior. For example, the Playworks program in the US brings trained coaches into low-income schools to facilitate cooperative learning activities during recess. A randomized evaluation found schools implementing the program experienced an improved school climate and reduced bullying and exclusionary behavior.²⁶⁰ However, outcomes specifically related to hate and prejudice were not measured. Nature-based activities have the potential to reduce hate. Outward Bound is a leadership program for adolescents and young adults that trains youth in wilderness survival skills. Based on intergroup contact theory, researchers studied the impact of Outward Bound on prejudice by randomly assigning white youth to be in either racially and ethnically homogenous or heterogenous programs.²⁶¹ One month after the program concluded, white youth in the heterogeneous groups reported greater tolerance toward people of different races and ethnicities and gay youth.

Research Gaps and Limitations

Although this review suggests several promising directions for preventing and reducing hate in schools, it uncovered significant research gaps. One of the most significant gaps is the lack of rigorous data on whether existing school programs that increase prosocial behaviors generally can reduce hate specifically. Peer-reviewed studies have demonstrated that many existing programs and interventions can have a host of positive outcomes, but there are often few, if any, rigorous research studies measuring their efficacy against hate-based attitudes

Gaps and Limitations of Hate Prevention Research

There is a lack of research focused on hate-based attitudes and behaviors

Studies typically only measure outcomes for majority groups

There is a lack of research focused on K-12 student populations

Studies generally measure short-term effects

and behaviors. This includes both student and classroom-level interventions, as well as conflict reduction and prevention programs.

Among research studies that do assess the impact of interventions on hate, there are gaps as well. With a focus on reducing prejudice and acts of

hate, studies tend to focus primarily on measuring outcomes for majority groups, rather than understanding the direct impacts of the interventions on the groups who are most at risk of experiencing hate. This is particularly worrisome given that some interventions, such as intergroup contact, may inadvertently result in some negative outcomes for youth from socially disadvantaged backgrounds. Future research should assess the risks that specific interventions might pose to these students and explore opportunities to incorporate healing and empowerment opportunities for students who are targeted by hate.

Research on school interventions to reduce hate also tends to rely on understanding outcomes for college

260 Fortson, J., James-Burdumy, S., Bleeker, M., Beyler, N., London, R. A., Westrich, L., Stokes-Guinan, K., & Castrechini, S. (2013, May 2). *Impact and implementation findings from an experimental evaluation of Playworks: Effects on school climate, academic learning, student social skills and behavior*. Mathematica Policy Research and John W. Gardner Center. <https://www.playworks.org/report/impact-and-implementation-findings-from-an-experimental-evaluation-of-playworks-effects-on-school-climate-academic-learning-student-social-skills-and-behavior/>

261 Green, D., & Wong, J. (2009). Tolerance and the contact hypothesis: A field experiment. In E. Borgida, C. M. Federico, and J. L. Sullivan (Eds.), *The political psychology of democratic citizenship*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195335453.003.0010>

students rather than younger students. A recent review found that two-thirds of all interventions for reducing hate and prejudice (both in and outside schools) were conducted with college-aged students, with only 10% conducted with younger students.²⁶² Additional research is needed to focus on interventions targeting younger children, particularly since children begin showing prejudice and engaging in stigma-based bullying by elementary school.

Finally, research on interventions to reduce hate tends to measure short-term effects primarily. For example, many studies have assessed impacts on the same day as the intervention or less than one week afterward. Few studies assess longer-term impacts, although there are some promising examples of anti-hate interventions that evaluate outcomes up to six months or a year after the program ended.²⁶³ Given the investment that many of these programs require, it is important to understand whether these programs will result in long-term, durable reductions in hate.

Guiding Principles for Programs and Interventions to Prevent Hate in Schools

As described above, there are significant gaps in existing research on the impact of school programs and interventions on hate prevention and reduction. This constrains the Commission’s ability to recommend specific programs and interventions at this time. However, the synthesis did yield a set of high-level findings that point to promising directions. The Commission has compiled these findings and developed

Summary of Guiding Principles

interim evidence-based guiding principles for consideration when designing and implementing school programs. As school administrators, policymakers, and others consider how to approach hate in schools, these guiding principles can point to general directions. For example,

Review evidence related to the program

Implement programs with evidence-based mechanisms

Combine mechanisms where possible

Monitor the impacts on students and, when possible, collect data

Follow general best practices for implementing educational programs

as a school district decides between different programs to implement, these principles can help the school understand and consider each of the components of each program, including their potential benefits and risks. For schools that have implemented programs already, these principles can help them consider potential modifications to the program. These principles can also illuminate directions for future research on school programs.

Review evidence related to the program

Before implementing a specific program in a school, it is critical to review existing research on that program. Despite the limitations in existing research, there are many studies, including systematic research reviews, that provide important, nuanced insights about factors to consider when implementing different types of programs. These factors include potential negative consequences that may arise, optimal conditions of programs, and the limitations of programs. For example, studies have found that intergroup

262 Paluck et al., 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-071620-030619>

263 E.g., Berger et al., 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-018-0919-y>; Paluck et al., 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-071620-030619>

contact interventions work better for younger children, whereas knowledge and awareness interventions work better for adolescents.²⁶⁴ A full accounting of all the nuanced factors to consider with respect to each type of program is too unwieldy to include in this review, but many of the meta-analyses and review articles cited in this review can serve as important foundational resources for understanding these factors.

Implement programs with evidence-based mechanisms

This review introduced several evidence-based theories and mechanisms that appear promising for reducing hate, such as intergroup contact, perspective-taking, and moral reasoning. It also highlighted the potential limitations of each of these mechanisms. For example, although decades of research have demonstrated intergroup contact can reduce prejudice, there are specific conditions under which the interventions should be implemented to increase the chance of success. Many of the studies cited in this paper can be helpful starting points for schools considering implementing programs that use the mechanisms introduced here.

Combine mechanisms where possible

Existing school programs to reduce hate and encourage prosocial behavior often combine mechanisms that are theoretically distinct, but, in practice, complement each other. For example, information, knowledge and awareness programs that teach students about a culture can include exercises that encourage imagined contact and discussions that increase perspective-taking and empathy. Combining promising interventions is especially important given the gaps in existing research. Although some interventions may work better than others, combining interventions may produce a more robust program with a higher likelihood of success. Given that many interventions logically complement each other, this can be done with relative ease.

Monitor the impacts on students and, when possible, collect data

Given the gaps in existing research, to the extent possible, practitioners, school staff, and others who implement programs to reduce hate should consider partnering with research professionals to evaluate programs. Researchers can assist with several tasks, including developing metrics and deploying the program in such a way that optimizes for rigorous evaluation. Although research partnerships can be resource-intensive, in some cases, they may be relatively straightforward. For example, anti-bullying programs and diversion programs often measure outcomes related to recidivism, but not necessarily hate. A research partnership could be as simple as ensuring additional metrics are collected, such as rates of hate-based bullying or hate-related complaints from students.

As programs are put in place, a best practice is to closely monitor the impacts on students, particularly those with identities and characteristics that are targeted for hate. Though monitoring may require additional resources, research suggests this practice is important given potential negative consequences. For example, during program sessions to increase awareness of specific cultures, it is possible that some students and teachers may discuss topics in a stigmatizing or culturally insensitive way. Monitoring could be accomplished by checking in regularly with those students who are at risk of experiencing hate. From a research perspective, monitoring can be implemented through measurement of a range of outcomes beyond hate reduction, such as overall feelings of stress or feelings of respect and belonging among all students.

264 Beelmann, A., & Lutterbach, S. (2022). Developmental prevention of prejudice: Conceptual issues, evidence-based designing, and outcome results. *Review of General Psychology*, 26(3), 298–316. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10892680211056314>

Follow general best practices for implementing educational programs

As with the implementation of many school programs, it is important to consider general best practices for successful implementation of any new program. Given the sensitivity inherent in hate-related programs, a few best practices are important to highlight here. First, it is important to get buy-in from all stakeholders on the implementation of the program. For example, as described, implementation of transformative programs such as PBIS and restorative justice programs have the potential to be controversial among parents and school staff. Second, it is important to provide substantive training to prepare the staff leading interventions. There is evidence that insufficient training may come at the expense of the efficacy of the program itself. For example, one meta-analysis found that some interventions were impactful if led by the researcher but not by teachers, most likely because of insufficient training.²⁶⁵ Third, interventions tend to be more effective when implemented over time, rather than concentrated in one-off sessions. Distributing sessions of programs over time avoids overwhelming students with new information in a single session. Moreover, periodic sessions can be designed to reinforce each other, allowing students to continuously reflect on the material between sessions.

PUBLIC MESSAGING AS A TOOL FOR PREVENTION

Within the past year, the Commission has observed the ubiquity of anti-hate public messaging efforts. For the purposes of this section, the Commission defines public messages as communication initiatives

[T]he Commission defines public messages as communication initiatives in public and online spaces to bring attention to a problem and attempt to intervene. This includes traditional media campaigns, such as posters and commercials, statements on social media, and public statements from officials.

in public and online spaces to bring attention to a problem and attempt to intervene. This includes traditional media campaigns, such as posters and commercials, statements on social media, and public statements from officials. Because of the significant local and state investment in public messages to address hate, the Commission conducted a review of peer-reviewed empirical research relevant to public messaging to understand how, and whether, such messages could be employed to prevent hate. This review was led by Nya Hardaway, a consultant with the Commission.

This section begins with examples of state and city-level anti-hate public messaging campaigns. It then describes findings from a review of peer-reviewed research on interventions primarily targeted at reducing bias, prejudice, and other forms of hate-related beliefs and opinions. Although reducing hate-related beliefs and opinions is an important goal, researchers have noted that such reductions may not necessarily lead to corresponding decreases in hate-related behaviors. For example, reducing prejudice may not necessarily result in a decrease in hate violence. Therefore, the Commission also reviewed research on norms, which often examines how perceptions of social norms can result in tangible shifts in behaviors. Although this research sets forth principles for framing norms in public messages to encourage positive behaviors, the Commission encountered few studies that examine how perceptions of norms influence hate-related behaviors specifically.

265 Ülger et al., 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2017.10.002>

The review also discusses gaps and limitations in the research. For example, many of the studies on prejudice reduction do not measure the long-term effects of an intervention. Additionally, a review of prejudice-reduction research found evidence that the real-world impact of interventions tested in published studies may be much smaller than the research suggests.²⁶⁶ Therefore, it is important to exercise caution when drawing conclusions from individual research studies. Despite the gaps in the research, the findings from the review point to a set of promising evidence-based guiding principles for designing and employing public messages to prevent hate. The review introduces these principles with the caveat that they are broad guiding principles, rather than concrete recommendations, due to the limitations of existing research.

Although reducing hate-related beliefs and opinions is an important goal, researchers have noted that such reductions may not necessarily lead to corresponding decreases in hate-related behaviors.

Anti-Hate Public Messaging Efforts in California

Across California, many public messaging campaigns have been developed with a number of goals. These goals include encouraging people to report hate incidents, publicizing resources for victims, advocating for bystander support of people being victimized by hate-related incidents, and discouraging and preventing hate. The following section contains a non-exhaustive review of select government and community messaging initiatives seeking to address hate in California. It begins with an overview of state-level campaigns, followed by city-level campaigns.

State-sponsored public messaging campaigns

In February 2021, the California State Assembly passed House Resolution 23, which condemned hate incidents and crimes against Asian American and Pacific Islander communities. Through the resolution, the Assembly affirmed that it “denounces hate crimes, hateful rhetoric, and hateful acts against Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and works to ensure that APIs feel safe and welcome, both during this COVID-19 pandemic and beyond.” Such resolutions serve in part as public messaging acts, effectively communicating injunctions – statements guiding people to refrain from specific actions – against hate-related behavior.

As described in Chapter 3, in 2021, the State of California launched the Stop the Hate grant program. The program provides grants to community-based organizations to implement prevention services, intervention services, and direct services. These prevention services include public messaging campaigns. For example, the Asian Solidarity Collective received funding from the Stop the Hate grant program in 2022. As part of their work, they implemented the C.A.R.E. (Community Action and Response Efforts) campaign.

The campaign encourages Asian and Asian American communities and businesses to display posters that pledge to: (1) build supportive relationships, (2) keep one another safe; and (3) uplift existing community efforts and resources. The poster also contains a QR code that links to a list of “trusted community organizations & relevant contact information for urgent situations.”²⁶⁷

266 Paluck et al., 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167210379868>

267 Asian Advocacy Community & Action Center. (n.d.). *C.A.R.E.: Community Action & Response Efforts*. Retrieved May 28, 2024, from <https://www.asianadvocacycenter.org/care>

In other words, this type of campaign is intended to uplift community care practices and resources, many of which may serve as an alternative to law enforcement and the criminal legal system.

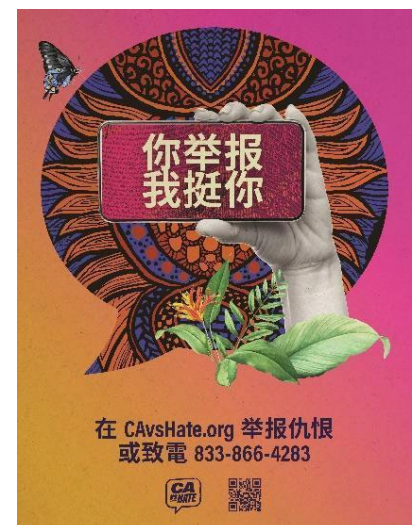


Through its Ethnic Media Grant Outreach Program, the California State Library offers grants to build awareness of the Stop the Hate grant funding. Over \$13 million was awarded to ethnic media outlets and collaboratives serving historically vulnerable communities, including California’s Asian American and Pacific Islander, Black, Latine, Middle Eastern, Native American, Slavic, and LGBTQ+ communities. Some notable projects highlighted by the State Library in the 2021-2022 round of awardees include: Ethnic Media Services, which launched Love Across Color Lines, the first multiethnic media reporting collaborative with the goal of helping media outlets push beyond stereotypes of communities; Independent Arts and Media, which uses the El Tímpano text-messaging platform to spread awareness of California’s hate crime laws and resources to over 2,500 Latine and Mayan immigrants in Oakland and the wider East Bay; and San Joaquin Valley Media

Alliance, which publicized the initiative to change the name of Sq*** Valley (the word “sq***” is derogatory and insulting). Through their newspaper and social media platform, the San Joaquin Valley Media Alliance educated its audience on the negative nature of the term and advocated for changing the name of the valley to Yokuts Valley, after the Indigenous people who have lived there for thousands of years.

Both the Stop the Hate grants and ethnic media outreach grants were components of a larger AAPI Equity Budget to address attacks against California’s Asian American community and other communities targeted for hate. This budget also included \$5 million allotted for the Mental Health Services Accountability and Oversight Commission to support a peer social media network project addressing bullying and mental health for children and youth. This project creates videos, written testimonials, and visual shareables for major social media networks designed, in part, to bring awareness to the discrimination youth may face because of race, culture, language, or country of origin.²⁶⁸

Coinciding with the launch of the CA vs Hate Resource Line and Network was the launch of a media campaign to build awareness of resources available to Californians impacted by hate. The campaign includes print, radio, and digital ads and focuses on reaching traditionally hard-to-reach communities. In addition to English, ads are in Spanish, Chinese, Vietnamese, Tagalog, Korean, Tongan, Mixtec, and Hmong. This ad campaign also developed “campaign collateral,” which is essentially a swath of public communication assets that members of the public and community-based organizations can download and customize.²⁶⁹ These assets include graphics and templates for social media, flyers and posters, and customizable content in many different languages. Some messages included in the content were “Use your voice to report hate,” “There is



268 Mental Health Services Oversight and Accountability Commission. (2022, August). *Anti-bullying Initiative update report*. <https://mhsoac.ca.gov/wp-content/uploads/Anti-Bullying-Update-Report-August-2022.pdf>

269 See <https://www.cavshate.org/partner-resource-hub>

support when you report,” and “California is for everyone.”

City-level public messaging campaigns

Various cities in California have initiated their own anti-hate public messaging campaigns. This section does not cover all existing initiatives but provides an overview of select noteworthy efforts. One of the largest city-level efforts is United Against Hate Week (UAHW). With roots in the Bay Area, UAHW has spread to over 200 communities throughout California.²⁷⁰ The campaign consists of posters, social media “storms,” and events throughout the week. Social media storms are organized, mass postings with similar messaging used to spread awareness about an initiative or protest an action. This past year, CA vs Hate participated in UAHW, and the Commission hosted a community forum as part of the week’s events.



The UAHW posters contain various messages and are often displayed in windows of homes, businesses, and schools. For social media, UAHW provides prewritten text on their website for people to copy and use in their posts. It includes a quote, a call to action, and a link to UAHW’s graphics. This organized messaging campaign seeks to unite Californian cities against hate and in support of one another while promoting resources and shifting norms about hate.

Similarly, LA vs. Hate has developed campaign collateral. The LA vs. Hate campaign offers posters and social media graphics in addition to Zoom backgrounds, coloring books, and GIFs. Their messaging includes “Get Support, Report Hate,” “We Love Each Other,” and “I Love My Muslim Neighbors.”

LA for All, an anti-hate campaign collaboration spearheaded by community organizers and the Los Angeles city government, uses artwork for social media and poster public messaging campaigns to discourage hate acts, promote inclusivity, and encourage the reporting of hate incidents. Individuals and organizations can download LA for All campaign toolkits to join and advance the mission of LA for All.

Hate Is a Virus offers public messaging in the form of

merchandise.²⁷¹ The founding organizers connected over social media and created the organization with the mission of educating the AAPI community about hate and mobilizing their community to stand in solidarity with other communities experiencing hate and racial violence. Their website sells T-shirts and other merchandise that have “Hate Is a Virus” logos. The organization encourages individuals to post pictures wearing the merchandise and use the “Hate Is a Virus” hashtag. Additionally, they have compiled anti-hate resources on their website, which they publicize through social media campaigns.



270 United Against Hate. (n.d.). *Spread the word*. Retrieved May 28, 2024, from <https://www.unitedagainsthateweek.org/spread-the-word>

271 #HATEISAVIRUS. (n.d.). *Resources*. Retrieved May 28, 2024, from <https://hateisavirus.org/resources>.

The Laban Group, a Filipino media collaborative including the Asian American Liberation Network, Bulosan Center for Filipinx Studies, Everyday Impact Consulting, and Philippine Fiesta, created an anti-hate public messaging campaign in the greater Sacramento area. This communication effort includes displays of data, helplines, and messaging such as “Stand Up to Anti-Asian Hate” and “35% of Incidents Were Reported to Have Occurred in a Public Space.” Like the Laban Group, smaller grassroots organizations and community groups have spearheaded public messaging efforts to condemn hate and offer support to victims and survivors of hate.

Relevant Literature on Reducing Prejudice

One of the most significant bodies of research on hate prevention centers on developing and testing interventions for reducing interpersonal prejudice and bias, particularly regarding implicit bias. A general description of implicit prejudice is that it is a negative attitude or association held against a specific group that a person is not necessarily consciously aware they possess.²⁷² In some cases, these negative attitudes may lead to discrimination and tension, and can even escalate to hate-related violence or incidents. As discussed below, however, such biases do not necessarily lead to biased behaviors. Although this literature does not yield definitive, direct evidence of the efficacy of public message campaigns with respect to reducing hate crimes, it does point to a set of evidence-based guiding principles relevant for designing public messaging campaigns to reduce hate-based prejudice and, potentially, hate violence.

Intergroup contact

For decades, researchers, particularly social psychologists, have examined the role of intergroup contact, or contact theory, in reducing prejudice. Specifically, as described above with respect to school programs, contact theory argues that exposure to, and interactions with, members of different groups can increase skills like perspective-taking and empathy, and reduce fear and anxiety about people from these groups.²⁷³ Within this body of research are numerous studies finding that even extended and imaginary contact can reduce prejudice.

Extended contact consists of an awareness of friendships between one’s own group and another group. Imagined contact consists of imagining a social interaction with a member of another group. Interventions that have successfully used extended and imagined contact to reduce prejudice take unique forms, such as assigning children to read stories in which able-bodied children befriended children with disabilities to reduce ableist prejudice.²⁷⁴ Some studies even found that simply asking a person to imagine a positive conversation with a group different than their own can reduce prejudice against that group.²⁷⁵

Evidence-based Interventions to Reduce Prejudice

Intergroup contact

Perspective-taking and empathy

Value consistency

Counternarratives

Entertainment, narratives, stories, and celebrities

272 American Psychological Association. (n.d.). *Implicit Bias*. Retrieved May 28, 2024, from <https://www.apa.org/topics/implicit-bias>

273 Ramiah A., & Hewstone M. (2013). Intergroup contact as a tool for reducing, resolving, and preventing intergroup conflict: evidence, limitations, and potential. *The American Psychologist*, 68(7), 527–542. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0032603>

274 Cameron, L., Rutland, A., & Brown, R. (2007). Promoting children’s positive intergroup attitudes towards stigmatized groups: Extended contact and multiple classification skills training. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 31(5), 454–466. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0165025407081474>

275 Paluck et al. 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-071620-030619>

Zhou et al. reviewed 20 years of contact theory research to conduct a meta-analysis, which consists of compiling studies on a specific topic and analyzing the results across multiple studies at once.²⁷⁶ The

[S]imply asking a person to imagine a positive conversation with a group different than their own can reduce prejudice against that group.

researchers found that the impact of extended group contact interventions on intergroup attitudes was just as strong as direct friendships.²⁷⁷ These findings suggest that an intervention as simple as bringing awareness to the fact that someone has friendships with people in a group different than their own can decrease prejudice against that group comparable to the effect of direct contact with that group. In another review of indirect contact studies, researchers found it is a potentially key intervention for reducing prejudice, although the studies do have limitations, as discussed below in the section on gaps in the literature.²⁷⁸

Perspective-taking and empathy

Researchers have also examined the impact of perspective-taking on reducing prejudice. Typically, this intervention involves instructing individuals to imagine themselves in the position of a person belonging to another group. Researchers posit that this exercise reduces barriers and divisions between groups, resulting in more favorable attitudes toward both the imagined person and that person's group.²⁷⁹ Perspective-taking interventions take many forms, such as instructing someone to write an essay about a specific group or immersing a respondent in another person's experiences through virtual reality.²⁸⁰

Several studies have demonstrated that this technique can reduce prejudice and increase positive behaviors toward the imagined group. For instance, one study examined the effect of perspective-taking on prejudice against transgender people among South Florida voters.²⁸¹ In this study, canvassers went door-to-door to hundreds of potential voters. The canvassers asked voters to engage in a technique called analogic perspective-taking for about 10 minutes. This consisted of having the voters talk about a time when they were judged negatively for being different, and then encouraging the voters to see how their own experience might allow them to understand the experiences of transgender people. In a follow-up survey, researchers found the exercise substantially reduced transphobia and significantly increased support for a law protecting transgender people from discrimination. Moreover, a follow-up survey found the effects persisted for at least three months.

In a separate set of studies, researchers used a similar technique to reduce prejudice toward undocumented immigrants and transgender people.²⁸² This study was conducted with nearly 7,000 voters across the United States. Within this study, the researchers compared the impact of perspective-taking

276 Zhou, S., Page-Gould, E., Aron, A., Moyer, A., & Hewstone, M. (2019). The extended contact hypothesis: A meta-analysis on 20 years of research. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 23(2), 132–160. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868318762647>

277 The authors found a 0.25 effect size for the aggregate relationship between extended contact and intergroup attitudes (a 0.17 effect size after removing the contribution of direct friendship). The 0.25 effect size is significant considering the effect size of direct friendship found was 0.27 (adjusted to 0.17 after removing the contribution of extended contact).

278 Paluck et al., 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-071620-030619>

279 Galinsky, A. D. & Moskowitz, G. B. (2000). Perspective-taking: Decreasing stereotype expression, stereotype accessibility, and in-group favoritism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78(4), 708–724. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.78.4.708>

280 Paluck et al. 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-071620-030619>

281 Broockman, D., & Kalla, J. (2016). Durably reducing transphobia: A field experiment on door-to-door canvassing. *Science*, 352(6282), 220–224. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1126/science.aad9713>

282 Kalla, J. L., & Broockman, D. E. (2020). Reducing exclusionary attitudes through interpersonal conversation: Evidence from three field experiments. *American Political Science Review*, 114(2), 410–425. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055419000923>

conversations with the impact of conversations where voters simply heard arguments against prejudice toward transgender and undocumented people. Conversations in which a voter heard arguments against anti-immigrant and anti-trans prejudice had no effect on prejudice against those groups. Conversations in which voters participated in perspective-taking exercises, such as considering a time when someone showed them compassion when they needed it, reduced prejudice against both groups. In a four-month follow-up survey, the effects remained.

Value consistency

Another category of interventions draws on the impact of people's motivations to hold beliefs and engage in behaviors that are consistent with their values and identity, as well as to maintain a positive self-image. Because of these motivations, informing an individual that an attitude they hold is inconsistent with their own values or positive self-image can shift that attitude. For instance, researchers have found that simply giving feedback to study participants that they hold a high level of unconscious prejudice can result in less

Informing an individual that an attitude they hold is inconsistent with their own values or positive self-image can shift that attitude.

prejudiced attitudes and behaviors.²⁸³ In one set of studies in the Netherlands, researchers found that students with a strong Dutch identity generally expressed more exclusionary attitudes toward the Muslim population.²⁸⁴ However, when researchers explained that the Netherlands has a history of valuing religious tolerance, students with a strong Dutch identity significantly increased their support for Muslim rights. The researchers posited that this effect was a result of a motivation among the students to be consistent with their national identity.

Counter-narratives

There is evidence that providing counter-narratives to negative stereotypes may effectively reduce bias. A meta-analysis of the implicit bias literature found that interventions that expose an individual to counter-stereotypical exemplars (examples that are contrary to commonly held stereotypes) generally reduce implicit bias.²⁸⁵ In one study, researchers found that reading a newspaper article about counter-stereotypical exemplars of African American celebrities effectively reduced white respondents' stereotypical perceptions and racist beliefs about African Americans.²⁸⁶

Despite the potential efficacy of this intervention, it should be deployed with caution. The use of counter-stereotypical exemplars may result in unwanted consequences, such as perpetuating overly broad generalizations of entire groups of people, rather than recognizing and valuing individuality and multiculturalism within groups. Moreover, perpetuating even positive stereotypes can be harmful. In some cases, positive stereotypes can result in further divisions between groups.²⁸⁷

283 Paluck et al. 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-071620-030619>

284 Smeekes, A., Verkuyten, M., & Poppe, E. (2012). How a tolerant past affects the present: Historical tolerance and the acceptance of Muslim expressive rights. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38(11), 1410–1422. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167212450920>

285 FitzGerald, C., Martin, A., Berner, D., & Hurst, S. (2019). Interventions designed to reduce implicit prejudices and implicit stereotypes in real world contexts: A systematic review. *BMC Psychology*, 7, 29. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40359-019-0299-7>

286 Ramasubramanian, S. (2015). Using celebrity news stories to effectively reduce racial/ethnic prejudice. *Journal of Social Issues*, 71(1): 123–138. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.121100>

287 E.g., Czopp et al. (2015) find that positive stereotypes have negative effects on intergroup relationships as they legitimate prevailing systems of social inequality and intergroup division. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691615588091>

Entertainment, narratives, stories, and celebrities

Narrative, stories, entertainment, and celebrities are potentially useful vehicles for reducing prejudice. Studies testing the efficacy of narrative and entertainment-based interventions have found they tend to have quite strong effects on reducing explicit prejudice.²⁸⁸ Relative to direct arguments, these interventions appear impactful. Researchers have found that, when participants hear narratives and stories against their prejudiced beliefs, they counter-argue less than when they hear direct arguments against their beliefs. Participants also view narratives and stories as less manipulative, threatening, and accusatory than direct arguments and are more likely to reduce their prejudiced beliefs when hearing narratives, rather than direct arguments, against those beliefs.²⁸⁹

Fictional characters and celebrities may be effective vehicles for reducing prejudice. As described above, a children's book effectively reduced ableist attitudes by using the extended contact technique.²⁹⁰ Some studies have also shown how exposure to celebrities can reduce various types of prejudice. One study examined the impact of Mohamed Salah, a Muslim soccer player, on Islamophobia and hate crimes in England.²⁹¹ Using data on hate crime reports and tweets, the authors found that, after Salah joined a Liverpool soccer team, overall hate crimes in the Liverpool area dropped by 16%, relative to a comparison group. Moreover, Liverpool fans reduced their rates of posting anti-Muslim tweets by 50% compared to fans of other elite soccer clubs. The researchers also designed a survey in which some respondents read a vignette emphasizing Salah's Muslim identity. Respondents who read the vignette reported small, but statistically significant, increases in positive feelings toward Islam.

Gaps in the literature on reducing prejudice

Despite the many studies on interventions to reduce prejudice and hate-related beliefs and opinions, there are several gaps in the literature. First, many of the studies on prejudice reduction have been conducted in artificial settings, such as laboratories. One review finds only 11% of prejudice-reduction studies within recent years have been empirically tested in the real world.²⁹² It is not immediately clear if the effects of such interventions would hold outside of a research setting, particularly in contexts where prejudiced beliefs are frequent or normative. Second, this literature tends to focus on shifting attitudes and self-reported behaviors. In one review, two-thirds of all study outcomes consisted of measuring attitudes or beliefs, and only 7% of outcomes were behavioral.²⁹³ Although understanding how to reduce prejudice is certainly important, scholars have long noted that attitudes and beliefs are not reliable predictors of a person's behavior.²⁹⁴ Consequently, interventions that influence hate-based beliefs may not necessarily influence hate-based behaviors as well. Third, studies often do not measure whether the effects of interventions persist for longer periods of time. It is possible that many of the effects are only fleeting, but there is a lack of longitudinal data to speak to this point. Fourth, as with all research, the body of research may suffer from publication bias. That is, studies that find evidence of an intervention's efficacy are more likely to be published than studies that do not find an effect, resulting in a biased perspective in

288 Paluck et al. 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-071620-030619>

289 Kalla & Broockman 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12657>

290 Cameron, L., Rutland, A., & Brown, R. (2007). Promoting children's positive intergroup attitudes towards stigmatized groups: Extended contact and multiple classification skills training. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 31(5), 454–466. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0165025407081474>

291 Alrababah, A., Marble, W., Mousa, S., & Siegel, A. A. (2019). Can exposure to celebrities reduce prejudice? The effect of Mohamed Salah on Islamophobic behaviors and attitudes. *American Political Science Review*, 115(4), 1111–1128. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055421000423>

292 Paluck, E. L. (2016). How to overcome prejudice. *Science*, 352(6282), 147. <https://www.science.org/doi/10.1126/science.aaf5207>

293 Paluck et al., 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-071620-030619>

294 Ibid. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-071620-030619>

the literature. In their review of the prejudice-reduction literature, researchers point to statistical evidence suggesting such a bias exists.²⁹⁵ Given the gaps in the research on prejudice reduction, this review also examined the literature on norms, which often focuses on how to design public messages to shift individual behaviors toward more positive outcomes.

Relevant Literature on Norms

When designing communication interventions, scholars have emphasized the importance of social norms, or shared rules and standards by members of a group that guide social behaviors.²⁹⁶ This review specifically looks at the effects of normative influence, or the reliance on others for behavioral guidance, a fundamental mechanism that can drive behavioral change. Although much of this literature does not explore public messages with respect to hate reduction specifically, it does point to guiding principles for designing such messages.

Researchers have turned their attention to two types of norms, descriptive and injunctive. Descriptive norms refer to perceptions about how other people in a particular group or society typically behave. Injunctive norms refer to perceptions about what is approved or disapproved of by others in a particular group or society. In other words, descriptive norms consist of perceptions about what is commonly done, while injunctive norms refer to perceptions about what should or should not be done according to societal standards, beliefs, and expectations. For example, a person may be influenced to wear a face mask if they observe everyone else in their environment wearing one (descriptive norm) or if they believe most people in their environment believe that people should wear masks (injunctive norm). Although both types of norms can guide behaviors, researchers generally find injunctive norms shape behavior more strongly than descriptive norms. In a meta-analysis of empirical studies on norms, researchers found injunctive norms had an effect about three times as strong as descriptive norms.²⁹⁷

Additionally, experts have cautioned against the use of descriptive norms in public messaging campaigns that emphasize the prevalence of the behavior they seek to inhibit. Doing so may frame the behavior as normative and implicitly encourage it. For example, anti-tobacco campaigns that emphasize the prevalence of smoking may signal that smoking is normative and socially acceptable. As one scholar wrote in 2003, “[t]here is an understandable, but misguided, tendency to try to mobilize action against a problem by depicting it as regrettably frequent.... Within the statement ‘Many people are doing this undesirable thing’ lurks the powerful and undercutting normative message ‘Many people are doing this.’”²⁹⁸

One study demonstrates how descriptive and injunctive norms may impact hate speech in schools.²⁹⁹ Researchers surveyed over 1,700 students about how often they witness hate speech (descriptive

Within the statement 'Many people are doing this undesirable thing' lurks the powerful and undercutting normative message 'Many people are doing this.'

295 Ibid. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-071620-030619>

296 Cialdini, R. B., & Trost, M. R. (1998). Social Influence: Social Norms, Conformity and Compliance. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The Handbook of Social Psychology* (4th ed., p. 152). McGraw-Hill. <https://psycnet.apa.org/record/1998-07091-021>

297 Rhodes, N., Shulman, H. C., & McClaran, N. (2020). Changing norms: A meta-analytic integration of research on social norms appeals. *Human Communication Research*, 46(2–3), 161–191. <https://doi.org/10.1093/hcr/hqz023>

298 Cialdini, R. B. (2003). Crafting normative messages to protect the environment. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 12(4), 105–109. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8721.01242>

299 Wachs, S., Wettstein, A., Bilz, L., Krause, N., Ballaschk, C., Kansok-Dusche, J., & Wright, M. F. (2022). Playing by the rules? An investigation of the relationship between social norms and adolescents' hate speech perpetration in schools. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 37(21–22), NP21143–NP21164. <https://doi.org/10.1177/088626052111056032>

norm), how acceptable/unacceptable hate speech is to their peers (injunctive norm), and how often they perpetrate hate speech themselves. Consistent with the research on norms, students who reported witnessing higher amounts of hate speech (descriptive norm) reported perpetrating hate speech more often. However, students who believed that others viewed hate speech as unacceptable (injunctive norm) reported that they were less likely to perpetrate hate speech, even if they reported witnessing hate speech often. These findings suggest that an injunctive norm, wherein students perceive hate speech as unacceptable, may lower the likelihood of students committing hate speech, even in an environment where hate speech is perceived to be frequent (descriptive norm).³⁰⁰

It is possible, and potentially very effective, to develop a messaging strategy that uses both descriptive and injunctive norms. To do so successfully, such a strategy should align the emphases on descriptive and injunctive norms. For example, in a foundational study on the influence of norms, researchers tested the effectiveness of various messages targeted at reducing towel usage in hotel rooms.³⁰¹ The researchers found that a message that aligned descriptive norms (what people typically do) with injunctive norms (approving/disapproving) was the most effective. The successful message highlighted the descriptive norm with the message “When given the opportunity, nearly 75% of hotel guests choose to reuse their towels each day” and the injunctive norm with “Many of our hotel guests have expressed to us their approval of conserving energy.”

Using norms to promote inclusion on campus

Although much of the research on norms does not examine how norm-based messaging can prevent hate-based behaviors specifically, a few compelling field studies demonstrate the effectiveness of norm-based messages for enhancing inclusion and intergroup relations. In a series of studies with thousands of students on a college campus, researchers examined how different messages could be used to promote a more inclusive climate.³⁰² The researchers showed students posters and videos, some of which emphasized that the university community welcomes diversity. These materials included statistics demonstrating that nearly all students at the school agreed with the pro-diversity messages. Some of the materials also attempted to validate the experiences of students who experienced discrimination by acknowledging that discriminatory behaviors do occur. Specifically, the video stated that acts of bigotry occur on campus and that, although most students hold pro-diversity attitudes and try to behave inclusively, this does not imply that students from marginalized groups are no longer the target of discrimination.

The researchers found students who viewed the pro-diversity videos and posters reported more pro-diversity and inclusive attitudes. Importantly, the researchers also looked at the impact of the messages among students who came from ethnic or religious minority backgrounds. They found those students reported an increased sense of belonging and better treatment from their peers. They also reported earning better grades.³⁰³

This series of studies provides powerful evidence of the potential for norm-based public messages to increase inclusivity and reduce hate-based attitudes and behaviors. The researchers argue consistent efforts across campus could amplify the effects of the interventions. For example, instructors could uplift

300 Although these findings are consistent with the research on norms, the findings are based on correlational data. They do not necessarily provide evidence of a causal effect of norms on perpetrating hate speech.

301 Schultz, W. P., Khazian, A. M., & Zaleski, A. C. (2008). Using normative social influence to promote conservation among hotel guests. *Social Influence*, 3(1), 4–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15534510701755614>

302 Murrar, S., Campbell, M. R., & Brauer, M. (2020). Exposure to peers' pro-diversity attitudes increases inclusion and reduces the achievement gap. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 4, 889–897. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-020-0899-5>

303 Murrar et al., 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-020-0899-5>

pro-diversity behaviors, and university administrators could develop a campus-wide communications strategy that emphasizes to students that most of their peers on campus aim to treat others in a welcoming, respectful, and inclusive way. The study also demonstrated an important nuance with implementing norm-based messages targeted at reducing hate: Although the interventions in the study emphasized positive norms by pointing to the prevalence of inclusionary behaviors and attitudes on campus, they also validated the experiences of students who experienced discrimination.

Using norms to reduce hate and promote intergroup relations

Potential hate crime perpetrators...are more likely to engage in hateful or biased acts if they believe they have normative support from their in-group or community.

Also relevant to the Commission’s work to prevent hate is Elizabeth Paluck and colleagues’ body of research examining the impact of norms on intergroup relations.³⁰⁴ For instance, in one paper, Paluck and Michael Chwe argue potential hate crime perpetrators are “actually quite conscious of the degree to which their community supports or condemns their actions” and are more likely to engage in hateful or biased acts if they believe they have normative support from their in-group or community.³⁰⁵ As a result, they argue it is critical for potential perpetrators of hate to understand clearly that

everyone around them believes hate is unacceptable. More to that point, much of Paluck’s research has effectively demonstrated how norm perception, or how people view community standards, can effectively drive social change.³⁰⁶

In a study in Rwanda, Paluck examined the effectiveness of radio soap operas that emphasize community norms pertaining to intergroup relations.³⁰⁷ Participants in the study listened to one of two radio soap operas in groups. One set of groups (the reconciliation groups) listened to a soap opera featuring messaging on prejudice, violence, and trauma reduction. The other set of groups were control groups who listened to a reproductive health soap opera. Compared with the control groups, participants in the reconciliation groups changed their perceptions of social norms and positively changed their behaviors with respect to intermarriage, open dissent, trust, empathy, cooperation, and trauma healing. The radio programs had little impact on personal beliefs, however. Essentially, the radio program on antiviolenace and reconciliation promoted awareness of community norms and, in turn, behaviors. From this, Paluck concludes that targeting how people perceive normative behaviors is critical and more effective at improving intergroup relations than attempts to directly influence individual beliefs.

304 Tankard, M.E., & Paluck, E.L. (2016), Norm perception as a vehicle for social change. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 10: 181–211. <https://doi.org/10.1111/sipr.12022>; Blair, G., Littman, R., & Paluck, E. L. (2019). Motivating the adoption of new community-minded behaviors: An empirical test in Nigeria. *Science Advances*, 5(3). <https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.aau5175>; Gomila, R., & Paluck, E. L. (2020). The social and psychological characteristics of norm deviants: A field study in a small cohesive university campus. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 8(1), 220–245. <https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v8i1.1134>; Gomila, R., Shepherd, H., & Paluck, E. L. (2023). Network insiders and observers: who can identify influential people? *Behavioural Public Policy*, 7(1), 115–142. <https://doi.org/10.1017/bpp.2020.8>

305 Paluck, E. L., & Chwe, M. S.-Y. (2017). Confronting hate collectively. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 50(4), 990–992. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096517001123>

306 Paluck, E. L. (2011). Peer pressure against prejudice: A high school field experiment examining social network change. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 47(2), 350–358. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2010.11.017>; Paluck, E. L., & Shepherd, H. (2012). The salience of social referents: A field experiment on collective norms and harassment behavior in a school social network. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 103(6), 899–915. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0030015>; Littman, R., & Paluck, E. L. (2015). The cycle of violence: Understanding individual participation in collective violence. *Political Psychology*, 36(Suppl 1), 79–99. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12239>; Tankard, M.E., & Paluck, E.L. (2016). Norm perception as a vehicle for social change. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 10(1), 181–211. <https://doi.org/10.1111/sipr.12022>;

307 Paluck, E. L. (2009). Reducing intergroup prejudice and conflict using the media: A field experiment in Rwanda. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96(3), 574–587. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0011989>

Importantly, the researchers argued that a key vehicle for this effect to occur was group processing. That is, group discussions and emotions were important factors that allowed the radio program to influence participant perceptions of the group norms. In a separate paper, Paluck and Chwe explain that collective viewing of anti-hate messages can be important for increasing the effectiveness of the messages.³⁰⁸ The authors give an example of a public service announcement addressing domestic violence. They argue a Super Bowl ad could be more effective than a magazine advertisement because potential perpetrators could infer the millions watching the Super Bowl found domestic violence unacceptable because of watching the ad.

The influence of high-status messengers

There is evidence that individuals who are afforded high status or respect within a community or society can promote and shape norms that shift behavior. As described in Chapter 2, political speech and rhetoric from political leaders can embolden others to perpetrate acts of hate. Conversely, there is evidence that leaders can shift perceived norms toward nonviolence. In a series of nationwide surveys in 2019 and 2020, researchers examined whether antiviolence messages from Biden and Trump could reduce support for violence among survey respondents with strong partisan identities.³⁰⁹ They found that messages of

Messages of antiviolence from either Biden or Trump reduced support for violence among strongly partisan respondents, regardless of whether the respondent was Republican or Democrat.

antiviolence from either Biden or Trump reduced support for violence among strongly partisan respondents, regardless of whether the respondent was Republican or Democrat. Though a message from Trump had a stronger impact than from Biden among partisan Republicans, a message from either Biden or Trump reduced support for violence among partisan Democrats to the same degree. The study provides compelling evidence that messages from political leaders have the potential to pacify violent attitudes, particularly among adherents of the leaders.

In a study in Nigeria, researchers examined whether messages from religious leaders could shift community members' attitudes toward peaceful reintegration of former members of the violent group Boko Haram.³¹⁰ In the messages, the religious leader emphasized the importance of forgiveness in religious texts, announced that he would forgive repentant former Boko Haram members, and called for others to forgive as well. The message effectively shifted attitudes and behavioral intentions toward greater acceptance of the former members. The message also shifted norms, resulting in a stronger perception among listeners that others in their community supported reintegration.

The influence of status may extend to schools as well. In a study of middle schools, researchers found that training a group of students to publicly oppose conflict in their schools resulted in significant reductions in reports of conflicts among their peers.³¹¹ When the trained group of students was composed of a substantial number of students considered to be the most popular at the school, the impact was much stronger. This suggests that popular students may have been significantly more effective than other students at shifting norms and reducing conflicts among their peers.

308 Paluck & Chwe, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096517001123>

309 Kalmoe, N. P., & Mason, L. (2022). *Radical American partisanship: Mapping violent hostility, its causes, and the consequences for democracy*. University of Chicago Press. <https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/R/bo163195227.html>

310 Blair, G., Littman, R., Nugent, E. R., Wolfe, R., Bukar, M., Crisman, B., Etim, A., Hazlett, C., & Kim, J. (2021). Trusted authorities can change minds and shift norms during conflict. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 118(42), e2105570118. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1073/pnas.2105570118>

311 Paluck, E. L., Shepherd, H., & Aronow, P. M. (2016). Changing climates of conflict: A social network experiment in 56 schools. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 113(3), 566–571. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1073/pnas.1514483113>

A study of hate online observed the impact of a person’s status on reducing hate speech. Specifically, the researchers investigated whether confronting Twitter users about their use of a racial slur could reduce the likelihood they would use the slur again.³¹² To do so, the researchers created fake Twitter profiles with either a high or low follower count and a profile picture of either a Black or white avatar. These profiles posted a reply to actual Twitter users who used a racial slur, explaining that the racial slur causes harm. The researchers found that Twitter users were less likely to use a racial slur again when confronted by fake accounts with white avatars and high follower counts than fake accounts with Black avatars and low follower counts.

Guiding Principles for Public Messages

The Commission’s review of research has yielded a set of evidence-based guiding principles for the design and implementation of public messages targeted at reducing hate. Below we introduce these guiding principles, but with a caveat. As described above, there are significant knowledge gaps in the research on the effectiveness of public messaging as a strategy for reducing hate. These gaps include a limited understanding of the extent to which prejudice-reduction interventions could necessarily reduce hate-based behaviors, as well as how effective these interventions would be in the real world, where hateful messages, such as those espoused by national politicians, are unfortunately frequent.

However, these principles can help guide decisions. For instance, if an organization or government agency is designing a public messaging strategy and choosing

between various types of messages, these principles can point to promising directions. Additionally, as discussed at the end of this chapter, given the gaps in the empirical literature, the Commission supports pairing public messaging campaigns with data collection and research. These principles can help guide that work. An organization implementing an anti-hate public messaging campaign could use these principles to design and pilot several variations of messages, examine the data on the effectiveness of each, and launch the one that is most successful.

Emphasize relationships across groups

Extended or imaginary contact presents potential avenues for public messaging interventions to reduce hate. For example, a campaign could highlight friendships and other relationships between groups, consistent with the extended contact hypothesis. Considering the effectiveness of imagined contact, a television commercial targeted at reducing prejudice toward a specific group could prompt a viewer to consider positive conversations or relationships with a member of that group or it could remind the viewer of the relationships between the specific target group and other groups.

Guiding Principles for Public Messages to Counter Hate

Emphasize relationships across groups

Encourage empathy and perspective-taking

Highlight egalitarian values

Employ narratives, stories, and entertainment

Emphasize and align descriptive and injunctive norms

Provide a group-based context for processing messages

Align and combine interventions

Consider the messenger and the audience

312 Munger, K. (2017). Tweetment effects on the tweeted: Experimentally reducing racist harassment. *Political Behavior*, 39(3), 629–649. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-016-9373-5>

Encourage empathy and perspective-taking

Instructing a person to engage in deep perspective-taking can result in durable reductions in prejudice. Implementing such an intervention through a public message may be challenging, as this intervention may depend on deep engagement and reflection. Nevertheless, the evidence of the long-term effectiveness of this approach suggests it is worth exploring. For example, a public messaging strategy that encourages people to consider, generally, the experiences of certain groups may be more effective than a messaging campaign that simply presents arguments against prejudice. Moreover, as we discuss later, immersive mediums, such as television shows and other forms of entertainment, may be effective vehicles for reducing prejudice. It is conceivable that a television show or a commercial about a group's experiences could result in viewers taking the perspective of that group and inspire the type of reflection and engagement that facilitates effective perspective-taking.

Highlight egalitarian values

Highlighting the values of a group an individual identifies with can motivate them to engage in beliefs and behaviors consistent with those values. To implement this in a public messaging context, it is important to carefully consider the audience for the message, understand their identities and values, and design the campaign around those identities and values. For example, a campaign targeted at people who identify strongly with California might highlight that California values diversity and equality, similar to the norm-based campus interventions described above. Or a campaign could highlight other types of identities, such as being an American or a fan of a particular sports team. For example, an ad at the Super Bowl could emphasize that fans of each team value inclusion and egalitarianism. Such an ad potentially would have the added benefit of being processed in a group setting, which researchers argue may increase the impact of norm-based interventions on positive intergroup behaviors.³¹³

[A] public messaging strategy that encourages people to consider, generally, the experiences of certain groups may be more effective than a messaging campaign that simply presents arguments against prejudice.

Employ narratives, stories, and entertainment

Researchers have demonstrated that narratives, stories, fictional characters, and prominent celebrities have the potential for reducing prejudice. Rather than directly confronting a person's prejudicial beliefs or behaviors, which may lead to counter-arguing and perceptions of manipulation, narrative-based interventions may employ stories to share the experiences of a group or community experiencing hate. Many of the principles discussed here could be implemented through narrative-based strategies. For example, a video on social media could draw on perspective-taking interventions, describing a story about the experience of a member of a group or community who experienced hate. Although, as discussed, such interventions should be careful not to emphasize negative descriptive norms, such as the prevalence of hate-based behavior.

Emphasize and align descriptive and injunctive norms

Norms are frequently communicated in public messaging campaigns. For example, in the context of hate incidents, public messages may emphasize how often hate incidents occur (for example, "One in four Asian Americans have reported experiencing a hate incident"). Emphasizing the frequency with which

313 See Paluck & Chwe, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096517001123>

hate occurs can serve important purposes, such as educating audiences, mobilizing support for policy changes, and persuading policymakers to invest in anti-hate programs. Although these are important goals, the framing of these messages could work against the goal of preventing hate because emphasizing the frequency with which hate occurs without any broader social context may signal that hate is a normative experience, and thus tacitly tolerated by society.

Public messages targeted at prevention could emphasize injunctive norms (perceptions of what society approves or disapproves of), such as that Californians value inclusivity and protecting communities. Messages could also emphasize positive descriptive norms (perceptions of what is commonly done), such as by sharing statistics about the number of people in the community who support anti-hate initiatives. For example, a campaign to reduce hate incidents could state “95% of California residents value an inclusive California and support creating a California free of hate. Because Californians do not tolerate hateful interactions, California has implemented a resource line to report hate when it occurs and connect victims of hate to resources.”

Provide a group-based context for processing messages

Hearing a norm-based message with others in a group setting may enhance its effectiveness. Interestingly, this effect may hold even if people are not located in the same space and interacting with each other; simply being aware that others are hearing a message simultaneously can affect a listener’s receptiveness to a message. Implementing this may be challenging for public messaging campaigns in which ads are shown in various settings and at different times. However, it does point to some possibilities. For example, it suggests community teach-ins could be effective. It also suggests webinars or informative presentations live streamed or delivered in person to a group could be more effective at reducing hate than videos that are viewed independently.

Align and combine interventions

Many of the principles set forth here can be combined. In fact, a meta-analysis of behavioral interventions related to racial bias found a combination of multiple prejudice-reduction strategies maximizes the potential of reducing implicit racial bias.³¹⁴ For example, as described above, a public message could describe a story about a member of a group experiencing hate (employing narrative and, potentially, perspective-taking interventions) followed by statistics on the number of Californians who support this group (emphasizing descriptive norms) and a message that Californians value peaceful interactions between groups and reporting hate when it happens (emphasizing injunctive norms).

Consider the messenger and the audience

The influence of people who are afforded high status or respect within a community suggests potential pathways for strengthening the impact of anti-hate messages. Those who design a public messaging campaign may want to consider how they could leverage this influence. For instance, the process of designing a public messaging campaign often includes understanding and researching the audience. This process could include understanding who the audience considers trustworthy and high status. These trustworthy and high-status people may be ideal messengers for enhancing the effectiveness of the campaign.

314 Lai, C. K., Marini, M., Lehr, S. A., Cerruti, C., Shin, J. E. L., Joy-Gaba, J. A., & Nosek, B. A. (2014). Reducing implicit racial preferences: I. A comparative investigation of 17 interventions. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 143(4), 1765–1785. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0036260>

INTERIM RECOMMENDATIONS

Invest in Evidence-Based School Interventions and Public Messaging Campaigns to Prevent Hate

Despite the gaps in the literature on anti-hate school programs and public messages, these interventions both show promise. There is some evidence that, in specific circumstances, they can reduce hate-based attitudes and behaviors. Rigorous evidence and data should guide the design and implementation of these interventions. The evidence-based principles introduced in this chapter can assist with design and implementation as well. While the principles are interim, they are intended to guide decisions. For example, as an organization designs the copy for a specific ad campaign, these principles can help suggest possible framings. Or, as a school is deciding between two hate-reduction programs, the principles can point to promising elements of specific programs.

Support Research and Data Collection on Prevention Initiatives

Given the knowledge gaps highlighted in this review, investments must be made to close these gaps. Research investments can take several forms. First, with respect to interventions that are currently implemented, research efforts could consist of evaluating the impact of these programs to date to inform the next version. In some cases, this could be as simple as examining additional metrics to data already being gathered. For example, some schools implementing anti-bullying programs compile data today on the impact of the program on bullying, but not necessarily hate-based bullying. Understanding the program's impact on hate could be as simple as disaggregating this data to include hate-related bullying. As another example, research efforts could include collecting several additional waves of data after a program has ended. One of the most significant research gaps is a lack of long-term data. Measuring impacts over time can speak to whether, and for how long, the impact of a program extends beyond its end. Previous research has used such digital advertising tools to measure the efficacy of a wellness campaign and campaigns to reduce searching for harmful content online.³¹⁵

Support Collaborations between Researchers, Policymakers, and Practitioners

Many entities are designing and implementing programs today to reduce hate and bullying among youth and in schools. These include private entities as well as schools and government agencies at various levels. There are also many research centers housed in universities across the world studying hate and prejudice. However, there is a lack of regular communication among these groups. To address the research gaps on school interventions to reduce hate, it is important to support opportunities for collaboration and networking. These opportunities could consist of regular convenings or grants to support collaborations. Ultimately, this could help ensure school programs are evidence-based and implemented in such a way as to allow for rigorous evaluation of their impacts.

Incorporate Prevention Messages into Public Statements

In the aftermath of significant hate-based events, leaders and organizations often issue statements emphasizing important messages, such as condemnations of the perpetrator's actions and expressions

315 Yom-Tov, E., Shembekar, J., Barclay, S., & Muennig, P. (2018). The effectiveness of public health advertisements to promote health: A randomized-controlled trial on 794,000 participants. *npj Digital Medicine*, 1, 24. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41746-018-0031-7>; e.g., Onie, S., Berlinquette, P., Holland, S., Livingstone, N., Finemore, C., Gale, N., Elder, E., Laggis, G., Heffernan, C., Armstrong, S. O., Theobald, A., Josifovski, N., Torok, M., Shand, F., & Larsen, M. (2023). Suicide prevention using Google ads: Randomized controlled trial measuring engagement. *JMIR Mental Health*, 10, e42316. <https://doi.org/10.2196/42316>; see Moonshot. (n.d.). The Redirect Method. Retrieved May 28, 2024, from <https://moonshotteam.com/the-redirect-method/>.

of support for impacted communities. The research review in this chapter points to approaches to framing such messages to prevent the spread of hate. For example, statements could emphasize positive descriptive and injunctive norms, such as the fact that the vast majority of Californians choose peaceful behaviors and kindness, value the diversity of California, and choose to uplift and support each other.

Prepare Californians before Hate Occurs

As described in Chapter 2, political events, such as significant international conflicts and political elections, tend to coincide with increases in hate. During election season and in the immediate aftermath of significant political events, it is important to invest in public message campaigns to promote prevention-

During election season and in the immediate aftermath of significant political events, it is important to invest in public message campaigns to promote prevention-oriented messages and publicize resources.

oriented messages and publicize resources. For example, spending on existing digital campaigns could be increased to expand the reach of the campaigns, and leaders could release proactive public statements that present a strong, consistent voice emphasizing Californians are committed to inclusion and peace.

It is also important to invest in innovative solutions for de-escalating potential conflicts. For example, the Civil Rights Department's Community Conflict Resolution Unit uses mediation and conflict resolution practices to help leaders work across different communities to

constructively manage or resolve conflict, minimize or eliminate the potential for violence, and help people in conflict find mutually acceptable outcomes. This often means helping local government leaders build relationships with CBOs and others outside of crisis situations so they can prepare in advance for conflict that may happen in the aftermath of an act of hate.

FUTURE ACTIVITIES

Convening on Prevention

Within the next year, the Commission plans to partner with UCLA's Initiative to Study Hate to host a convening between researchers and policymakers on approaches to hate prevention. The primary goal of the convening will be to translate research and the expertise of academics into potential policy recommendations that can be implemented in the state. The convening will also build networks between researchers and policymakers to ensure policy is evidence-based and future research efforts speak to policy priorities. The Commission plans to summarize the findings from the convening in subsequent reports and use the findings to shape future policy recommendations.

Over the next year, the Commission will continue to invest in research and data collection to understand how to develop evidence-based approaches for preventing and reducing hate.

Continue to Explore Innovative Approaches to Prevention

Over the next year, the Commission will continue to invest in research and data collection to understand how to develop evidence-based approaches for preventing and reducing hate. This will include reviewing additional research on public messaging and school interventions, as well as procuring original studies where possible.

The Commission will explore subtopics within these areas as well. For example, the review on school interventions in this chapter primarily examined student-level interventions. Additional research efforts may explore prevention training for teachers and staff and the effectiveness of school policies to prevent hate. The Commission also plans to engage in fact-finding to explore prevention approaches beyond the topics explored here. To do so, it will continue to consult with academics and other subject matter experts. Although much of the Commission’s fact-finding efforts on prevention have focused on review of academic research, CBOs have a wealth of experience with prevention efforts. Many CBOs, including Stop the Hate grantees, develop and implement prevention services and programs. CBOs can also speak to questions critical for prevention interventions, such as how to distribute public messaging campaigns throughout communities and how to improve inter-community relations. To gather these insights, as described above, the Commission will continue to consult CBOs and solicit public input, while also pursuing focused research with victims of hate and community-based organizations.

**Activities of the
Commission:
July 1, 2023–June 30, 2024**

Within the first half of 2023, the Commission established critical infrastructure for its operations, including electing officers, assigning subcommittees, hiring staff, contracting with researchers and vendors, and developing its strategic plan. This past year, the Commission began executing on its strategic plan. Specifically, it began to build the foundation of its work, consisting of data and research as well as community input. To do so, the Commission held public meetings and community forums, participated in community outreach events, and initiated several research partnerships.

MEETINGS OF THE FULL COMMISSION



Since July 2023, the Commission has held eight public meetings: August 25, 2023; October 25, 2023; December 8, 2023; January 24, 2024; February 22, 2024; March 20, 2024; April 24, 2024; and May 22, 2024. In the first meeting of the new year on January 24, 2024, the Commission held its annual election for the chair and vice chair positions. Chair Russell Roybal and Vice Chair Bamby Salcedo were reelected to their positions. Each meeting was noticed, agendized, and publicly accessible, adhering to the updated requirements of the Bagley-Keene Open Meeting Act.

Many of the Commission meetings featured presentations from Commissioner Levin on key hate crime trends based on the latest available data. These presentations addressed topics such as the latest trends in hate crimes; hate crime trends related to elections; social media’s role in hate; and trends related to religious hate crime reports to law enforcement. The presentations included discussions about the limitations of law enforcement hate crime data, the impact of elections on increasing hate crimes, and increases in hate against Jewish, Muslim, Palestinian, and Israeli communities, as well as individuals who are perceived as members of those communities, since October 7, 2023.

COMMUNITY OUTREACH: COMMUNITY FORUMS AND OUTREACH EVENTS

Government Code section 8010 requires the Commission to host four community forums each year. Since July 1, 2023, the Commission has held five community forums. Each of these forums consisted of presentations from subject matter experts and opportunities for the public to ask questions and share their personal experiences. The insights and learnings from the forums are embedded throughout this report. Below is a high-level overview of the community forums during the past year.

On August 25, 2023, the Commission held a community forum titled, “Understanding the



Impact of Hate on Mental Health,” which featured presentations from subject matter experts, including Dr. Ilan Meyer, Williams Distinguished Senior Scholar for Public Policy at the Williams Institute at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), and Dr. Eraka Bath, MD, Associate Professor in the David Geffen School of Medicine at UCLA. The presenters discussed the mental health repercussions of hate, particularly for LGBTQ+ populations, communities experiencing racism and race-based violence, and people living at the intersections of identities targeted for hate. Mental health advocates from Disability Rights California and the National Alliance on Mental Illness also presented on the importance of mental health resources and the work of their organizations.

On November 9, 2023, in response to escalating reports of hate on school campuses, the Commission held a community forum titled, “The State of Hate and Bullying Experienced by California’s Youth” at the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles. The presenters were youth from across California affiliated with organizations active in antidiscrimination and anti-hate work, including the Black Youth Leadership Project, La Puente High School Dream Resource Center, Israeli-American Civic Action Network, AAPI Youth Rising, Islamic Network Groups Youth, and the Los Angeles LGBT Center. The presenters discussed their personal experiences with hate, the work of their organizations, and data on hate experienced by youth.

On December 8, 2023, the Commission held a community forum at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice at the University of San Diego titled, “Threats and Harassment Toward Public Officials.” Research experts and elected officials highlighted increasing threats against public officials, the consequences of this trend, and the urgent need for effective responses, including bipartisan policy changes and training and support for local officials.

On March 20, 2024, the Commission held a virtual community forum titled, “Understanding Hate During Election Season.” The forum featured presentations by California Secretary of State Shirley N. Weber, Ph.D., and Jaqueline De León from the Native American Rights Fund on election-related hate and intimidation, as well as barriers to political participation faced by Californians and measures that keep our elections safe and secure.

On May 11, 2024, the Commission held a community forum in Shingle Springs, California, titled, “Resilient Roots: California’s Indigenous Communities and the Struggle Against Hate.” Speakers included James C. Ramos, Assemblymember of California’s 45th District; Morning Star Gali, Executive Director, Indigenous Justice; and Christina Snider-Ashtari, Tribal Affairs Secretary, and Loretta Miranda, Deputy Tribal Affairs Secretary and Special Counsel from the Office of Governor Gavin Newsom. They presented on and discussed topics including systemic discrimination and hate toward Indigenous communities, as well as the Sq*** Valley name change, the Missing and Murdered Indigenous People crisis, and the California Truth and Healing Council.

The Commission was invited to engage in a select number of outreach events as well. As of July 1, 2024, the Commission participated in the following events hosted by other entities:

September 27-29, 2023, Pittsburgh, PA – Chair Roybal, Commissioner Levin, and Commissioner Erroll Southers participated in the Eradicate Hate Global Summit. Commissioner Southers moderated a panel on New York’s online violence prevention model. Commissioner Levin presented and led discussions at the Working Group on Dataset Inventory.

November 13, 2023, Berkeley, CA – Commission staff, the Civil Rights Department, and CA vs Hate joined the City of Berkeley, Not in our Town, LA vs. Hate, and other government and community leaders for the launch of United Against Hate Week.

November 16, 2023 – The Commission joined CA vs Hate to present an overview of their work at a meeting of the City of Beverly Hills Human Relations commission.

December 3, 2023, San Diego – Commissioner Damsky represented the Commission at the San Diego County LGBTQA+ Community Rally Against Antisemitism.

January 26, 2024, Los Angeles – Chair Roybal represented the Commission at the Hate Crime Summit hosted by the U.S. Attorney’s Office for the Central District of California.

March 21, 2024 – Chair Roybal represented the Commission at the California Racial Equity Commission’s community forum.

May 20, 2024, Sacramento, CA – Chair Roybal represented the Commission at the press conference celebrating one year since the launch of CA vs Hate.

Over the past year, local and national news outlets have continued to seek out members of the Commission for their expertise. News outlets have also covered the activities of the Commission, including its community forums, Annual Report, and presentations. For example, the Commission’s work was highlighted in a September 2023 CalMatters article on the State’s multipronged effort to combat hate.³¹⁶ Our Weekly LA reported on the Commission’s 2022-2023 Annual Report, explaining that the Commission is part of key State efforts to combat hate “and a testament to the state’s intentional approach to addressing hate and discrimination.”³¹⁷

RESEARCH PARTNERS

Government Code section 8010 requires the Commission to engage in fact-finding and data collection with respect to the state of hate and hate-related crimes. Consistent with this mandate, the Commission’s strategic plan includes building a foundation of rigorous data and research to develop evidence-based policy recommendations. To assist with its research efforts, the Commission has consulted and contracted with subject matter experts and research institutions to synthesize existing research and conduct original research studies. These projects are detailed throughout the report. The following is a list of formal research partnerships the Commission has established to date.

Initiative to Study Hate, UCLA. The Initiative to Study Hate (ISH) at UCLA is an interdisciplinary research institute that supports cutting-edge research and fosters collaborations between subject matter experts and policymakers to better understand and reduce hate. The Commission has contracted with ISH to provide ongoing research support for its efforts. To date, the primary project of ISH has been to conduct an extended literature review on school interventions to prevent and reduce hate in K-12 schools. Chapter 4 contains the initial findings of the literature review. Over the next year, ISH will partner with the Commission on additional literature reviews and a convening between policymakers and researchers on hate prevention.

California Health Interview Survey, UCLA Center for Health Policy and Research. The CHIS, which is administered by the UCLA Center for Health Policy Research, is the nation’s largest state health survey. Given the rigor of the survey and the wealth of qualitative and quantitative research expertise of the CHIS staff, the Commission has partnered with CHIS to carry out three studies. Chapter 2 contains additional

316 Mello, F. (2023, September 15). From films to counseling – how California is spending \$90 million to fight hate. *CalMatters*. <https://calmatters.org/california-divide/2023/09/hate-crimes-california/>

317 Herriford, E. (2024, January 10). State commission releases alarming report on hate. *OurWeekly*. <https://www.ourweekly.com/2024/01/11/state-commission-releases-alarming-report-on-hate/>

details about the studies. The CHIS has led the design and pretesting of survey questions, which are included in the 2023 and 2024 CHIS surveys. CHIS is also leading a qualitative research study with victims of hate in California to understand how hate impacted them, the resources they needed after experiencing hate, and potential barriers to accessing those resources.

Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law. The Williams Institute at the UCLA School of Law is the nation's leading research center on sexual orientation and gender identity law and public policy. It conducts rigorous, independent research on sexual orientation and gender identity. Given the disproportionate impacts of hate on the LGBTQ+ community and the dearth of data on hate against the trans community in California, the Commission contracted with the Williams Institute to conduct two projects to address important gaps in the research on hate crimes against LGBTQ+ people in California. The first project is a detailed examination of anti-transgender hate crimes in California. The study will characterize anti-transgender victimization, uncover patterns related to where victimization occurs, describe the relationship of the accused perpetrator and victim, and describe what predicts whether an action was taken by the police and prosecutors. Based on this analysis, the project will inform potential pathways to prevention, including recommendations related to policing and prosecution, victim services, and violence prevention efforts aimed at perpetrators.

The second project will contextualize the findings on transgender victimization by examining LGBTQ+ interactions with law enforcement. This project will examine evidence of harassment, violence, and discrimination against LGBTQ+ people by law enforcement; review existing policies that protect LGBTQ+ people who experience misconduct and mistreatment at the hands of law enforcement; and make recommendations to strengthen relationships and improve interactions between law enforcement and LGBTQ+ communities. This project will also consider the unique threats and challenges that LGBTQ+ people of color, particularly transgender people, encounter when they interact with law enforcement.

Independent consultants. The Commission has contracted with three independent research consultants to assist with research tasks. Haleema Bharoocha led research on understanding the resources and services that CBOs provide to victims of hate, with a specific focus on language access. Arin Fisher is leading research to inform the development of law enforcement trainings and policy recommendations for improving law enforcement responses to hate. Nya Hardaway led the research on the effectiveness of public messaging interventions to prevent hate.

Looking Ahead

Over the past year the Commission on the State of Hate (Commission) has made steady progress toward creating a California free of hate. It has built a foundation of knowledge based on data, rigorous research, the expertise of community-based organizations and subject matter experts, and input from people throughout California. Although the Commission has been active for less than two years, embedded within our foundation of knowledge is the decades of experience and expertise from community leaders and other subject matter experts.

With this foundation, the Commission has advanced each of its strategic goals to provide guidance to policymakers and communities. In this report, the Commission has provided an accounting of hate in California that draws on both government statistics and data from community-based organizations. It has also summarized its findings with respect to enhancing resources and support, including insights about the far-reaching impacts of hate, response strategies after mass casualty events, and law enforcement responses. Through syntheses of cutting-edge, rigorous peer-reviewed research, the Commission has examined how to prevent and reduce hate using school programs and public messages.

This report has also introduced a set of practical interim recommendations and tools for governments and communities to use to understand hate, prevent hate, and enhance resources and support. The Commission has introduced 19 interim recommendations for improving an accounting of hate in California, enhancing resources and support, and preventing and reducing hate. This report contains interim tools as well, such as a research framework for creating an accounting of hate, including an evidence-based survey instrument developed with the expertise of survey design experts. The report also introduced evidence-based guiding principles to inform the design and implementation of anti-hate programs in schools and public messaging efforts. While some of the principles are consistent with existing practices, others offer unique, counterintuitive guidance for these interventions.

In introducing recommendations and tools that are interim, the Commission is balancing its obligations to engage in thorough, continuous fact-finding and the pressing need to provide guidance to address the crisis of hate today. The recommendations are interim in several respects. As described throughout the report, there are significant gaps in existing data and research, limiting the ability of the Commission's research efforts to provide direct, concrete guidance. Moreover, there are many people and organizations whose input the Commission has yet to consider. As a fact-finding body, the Commission will continually gather new data and community input, which may result in modifications to the interim recommendations and tools. But given the devastating impacts of hate that Californians are experiencing today, it was important to provide guidance based on the best available evidence the Commission has gathered and analyzed to date.

Although the Commission has been active for less than two years, embedded within our foundation of knowledge is the decades of experience and expertise from community leaders and other subject matter experts.

THE YEAR AHEAD

Over the next year, the Commission will continue to advance each of its strategic goals, which include developing recommendations and tools for policymakers, government agencies, and community-based organizations. It will also invest in focused efforts to understand several key topics.

Comprehensive Accounting of Hate

Over the next year the Commission will continue to invest in compiling and analyzing existing data and information to provide a comprehensive account of the state of hate in California. These data efforts will include continued conversations with CA vs Hate and CBOs. Importantly, next year's report is expected to contain preliminary findings from a new source of data: the California Health Interview Survey. As described above, the Civil Rights Department and CA vs Hate introduced a set of questions to the CHIS for

Over the next year the Commission will continue to invest in compiling and analyzing existing data and information to provide a comprehensive account of the state of hate in California.

its 2023 survey that should provide important insights into the prevalence of hate, such as the number of Californians impacted by hate and details about their experiences. Throughout 2024, CHIS is fielding additional survey questions to gather more details about the needs of victims of hate, the results of which will be available in 2025.

This upcoming year, the Commission expects to provide more investments for the CHIS data collection to continue through at least 2025, which will address

additional data gaps. Data from subsequent years will provide insights into year-over-year patterns and trends in hate. Also, data from multiple years can be merged to develop a data set with greater statistical power. This increased statistical power can be helpful for conducting additional analyses that provide a more robust accounting of hate, including understanding patterns and trends among smaller communities and geographic areas.

Resources and Support

The Commission will continue to advance its strategic goal to provide recommendations for enhancing the resources and support for people and communities affected by hate. Over the next year, the Commission plans to assess peer-reviewed research on clinical approaches to supporting victims and survivors of hate. It will also continue to learn from members of the public and CBOs about their experiences. In addition to gathering public comment through its input channels, the Commission will support two interview-based research projects to proactively and systematically learn from communities and members of the public. The first project will consist of in-depth interviews with victims of hate crimes and incidents, conducted by the California Health Interview Survey. The second will consist of interviews and focus groups with community-based organizations, conducted by Commission consultants and CRD staff. Where possible, the Commission will also support, and learn from, other data collection efforts, such as the California Department of Social Services' impact evaluation with Stop the Hate grantees.

Prevention and Reduction

Over the next year, the Commission will continue to advance its understanding of how to prevent and reduce hate. It will gather additional data and research on the efficacy of prevention programs in schools. Schools are a particularly important focus area, given the wave of hate students are experiencing today and the numerous programs that have been introduced to address it. While the review contained in this report has focused primarily on student-level interventions, the Commission plans to review research on prevention efforts directed at other areas of schools, such as modifying aspects of the school's built environment, school policies, and teacher and staff training.

The Commission also plans to host a convening in partnership with UCLA’s Initiative to Study Hate. The convening will bring together subject matter experts and policymakers to discuss cutting-edge, evidence-based prevention strategies. The Commission plans to provide key learnings from that convening in the next report.

Special Topic Areas

First, given the rising tide of hate against public officials and in public meetings – and its impacts on communities and civic participation – it is important for the Commission to continue to focus on this trend. At the same time, public access to government meetings and to public officials, as well as the freedom of expression and speech, is a critical pillar of an open, democratic society. This makes policy solutions to address hate speech complex. The Commission will continue to invest in fact-finding to understand this challenging topic.

Second, the Commission has yet to focus extensively on the role of the criminal legal system in addressing hate. Some of the earliest laws addressing hate crimes included criminal statutes that allowed for sentencing enhancements for hate crimes. Today, sentencing enhancements and the criminal legal system are one of the most frequently referenced tools for responding to and deterring hate crimes. Therefore, the Commission plans to gather information and data about hate crime sentencing enhancements and the role of the criminal legal system and the full spectrum of their impacts, including their potential efficacy and negative consequences. At the same time, an investment in research on this topic should not be construed as an endorsement of sentencing enhancements for hate crimes. The Commission is aware of the well-documented harms of over-policing, incarceration, and the criminal legal system on Black and Latine communities.³¹⁸ For instance, Black and Latino men make up an overwhelming share of California’s

The Commission plans to gather information and data about hate crime sentencing enhancements and the role of the criminal legal system and the full spectrum of their impacts, including their potential efficacy and negative consequences.

prison population. In 2018, although only 6% of California’s population was Black or African American, 28% of California’s prison population was Black or African American.³¹⁹ Although 36% of California’s population was Latine in 2018, Latino prisoners were 44% of California’s prison population. Comments by the California Task Force to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans pointedly illustrate the harm African Americans continue to bear as a result of the historical legacy of slavery and the contemporary criminal legal system: “[T]hroughout history, the American government at

all levels has treated African Americans as criminals for the purposes of social control, and to maintain an economy based on exploited black labor. [The] criminalization of African Americans is an enduring legacy of slavery. These persisting effects of slavery have resulted in the over-policing of African American neighborhoods, the mass incarceration of African Americans, and other inequities in nearly every corner of the American legal system.”³²⁰

318 For example, see Wildeman, C., & Wang, E. A. (2017). Mass incarceration, public health, and widening inequality in the USA. *The Lancet*, 389(10077), 1464–1474. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(17\)30259-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(17)30259-3); Pettit, B., & Gutierrez, C. (2018). Mass incarceration and racial inequality. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 77(3–4), 1153–1182. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC9540942/>

319 Legislative Analyst’s Office. (2020, January). Demographics of the prison population. https://lao.ca.gov/PolicyAreas/CJ/7_cj_demographics

320 See Chapter 11 in California Task Force to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans. (2023, June 29). The California reparations report. California Department of Justice, Office of the Attorney General. <https://oag.ca.gov/system/files/media/ch11-ca-reparations.pdf>

A third special topic the Commission plans to pursue is online hate. In one nationwide survey, 53% of U.S. adults reported they experienced harassment online, and 32% of those adults reported the harassment was due to their sexual orientation, religion, race or ethnicity, gender identity, or disability.³²¹ Moreover, online activity has been linked to a number of hate crimes occurring offline, such as the 2022 mass shooting in Buffalo, New York.³²² Although the Commission's activities to date have not necessarily omitted online hate, the frequency of hate online and the complexities of addressing it necessitate a dedicated focus. Over the next year, the Commission will explore research partnerships to understand hate online. These projects may include developing an understanding of the prevalence of hate online, how it is used, whom it targets, its impacts, and strategies for prevention.

A HOPEFUL FUTURE

Despite the stubborn persistence of hate, there is reason for optimism. California is increasingly prepared. In addition to having some of the strongest laws in the nation to address hate, California has made historic investments in safeguards to prevent hate and protect Californians. With its multiyear investment in the Commission, the State has committed to supporting an advisory body to generate evidence-based, community-informed policy recommendations and tools for communities. Additionally, with the State's investments in Stop the Hate grants and CA vs Hate, there is a statewide network of CBOs providing resources and support and implementing prevention programs. Many of these CBOs, as well as statewide leaders, are sharing messages of inclusion, which, as Chapter 4 discusses, are critical for shifting norms to promote an inclusive, peaceful climate in California.

The Commission wishes to remind policymakers, community-based organizations, and the people of California that a key activity of the Commission is advisement. Questions or requests for meetings can be sent to CSH@CalCivilRights.ca.gov. Understanding that the recommendations and tools provided in this report are preliminary, we are available to provide additional context and guidance.

With its multiyear investment in the Commission, the State has committed to supporting an advisory body to generate evidence-based, community-informed policy recommendations and tools for communities.

Additionally, the Commission urges the people of California to share their stories and have their voices heard. As a public body, the Commission is committed to hearing from members of the public throughout California. Community forums and public meetings are open to all members of the public and always include a time for public comments. In addition, public comments may be sent to the Commission through its email address. If you do not feel comfortable providing input personally, consider sharing your story with another person or an organization you trust who can contact the Commission on your behalf. It is only through understanding the experiences of the people of California that the Commission can help create a California free of hate.

321 Anti-Defamation League. (2019, February 11). *Online hate and harassment: The American experience*. <https://www.adl.org/resources/report/online-hate-and-harassment-american-experience>

322 James, L. (2022, October 18). *Investigative report on the role of online platforms in the tragic mass shooting in Buffalo on May 14, 2022*. Office of the New York State Attorney General. <https://ag.ny.gov/sites/default/files/buffaloshooting-onlineplatformsreport.pdf>

APPENDIX A

PERSONNEL OF THE COMMISSION

Chair

Russell Roybal – Senate Rules Committee Appointee

Vice Chair

Bamby Salcedo – Gubernatorial Appointee

Commission members

Cynthia Choi – Gubernatorial Appointee

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Brian Levin – Gubernatorial Appointee

Erroll G. Southers – Gubernatorial Appointee

Ex-officio members of the Commission

Abby Browning – Governor’s Office of Emergency Services

Damon Brown – Office of the Attorney General

Former Commission members

Shirin Sinnar – Gubernatorial Appointee

Commission staff

The following staff at the California Civil Rights Department provide substantial support for the Commission’s work:

- Kevin Kish, Director
- Adam P. Romero, Deputy Director of Executive Programs
- Becky Monroe, Deputy Director of Strategic Initiatives and External Affairs
- Rishi Khalsa, Deputy Director for Communications
- Alec Watts, Assistant Deputy Director of Research and Strategic Initiatives*
- Rebecca Goodsell, Research Data Specialist II*
- Kevin D. Thomas, Research Data Specialist II*
- Monica Chavez, Administrator and Research Assistant*
- Shilpa Ram, Assistant General Counsel
- Marquez Equilibria, Assistant Deputy Director of Community Conflict Resolution
- Gregory Mann, Senior Attorney Mediator
- Christina Teixeira, Attorney Mediator

**Position funded by the annual appropriation for the work of the Commission on the State of Hate*

APPENDIX B

METHODOLOGICAL OVERVIEW AND TIMELINE OF THE RESEARCH PARTNERSHIP WITH THE CALIFORNIA HEALTH INTERVIEW SURVEY

In collaboration with the California Department of Public Health and the Department of Health Care Services, the UCLA Center for Health Policy Research administers the California Health Interview Survey (CHIS). Founded over 30 years ago, the CHIS is the largest health survey in the United States. As mentioned above, given the scale of the survey and the expertise of the CHIS staff, CA vs Hate and CRD contracted with the CHIS in 2022 to design and administer a set of questions to measure the prevalence of hate in California and details about hate crimes and incidents. In 2023, the Commission joined this partnership. The Commission contracted with the CHIS to design and implement additional survey questions and two qualitative studies described below.

Considerations and Constraints

In designing the studies, the Commission considered several factors. First, it was important that the studies reduced the likelihood of causing secondary trauma by asking respondents to recall events that may have been traumatizing. Therefore, safeguards have been put in place throughout the studies. Before participants encounter the survey questions or participate in the research interviews, they are warned about the sensitivity of the questions. In addition, participants are not required to answer any question during the interview or survey. At the end of each study, participants receive information about how to report hate and get resources and support. A second important consideration was for the survey questions to be clear and easily understood. To that end, the Commission invested in a pretest study to systematically evaluate comprehension of the draft survey questions. This study is described below. Third, the additional survey questions needed to be administered within two minutes, due to limited resources and consideration of the total time allotted to conduct the CHIS. As a result of this time constraint, CHIS and the Commission developed a relatively succinct set of survey questions that, when administered alone, could be answered within a few minutes. Given that shorter surveys generally result in higher response and completion rates,³²³ this brief survey module is an ideal template for other entities interested in engaging in a similar research project.

Finally, the Commission designed the research project to illuminate potential policy solutions. As a result, the questions and the response options prioritize gathering information about topics that can be addressed through policy changes. They do not necessarily capture the full range of topics or include the full range of potential response options. For example, although the survey asks questions about the resources and services a victim might need after a hate crime or incident, the questions do not ask about support needed from friends or family. Instead, the questions prioritize asking about resources and services that can be directly addressed through policy changes, such as mental health services or legal support.

Pretest Interviews

Beginning in May 2023, the Commission collaborated with CRD staff and CHIS to draft additional survey questions for the CHIS to understand the experiences of victims of hate. To ensure the new questions

323 For example, see Kost, R. G., & Correa da Rosa, J. (2018). Impact of survey length and compensation on validity, reliability, and sample characteristics for ultrashort-, short-, and long-research participant perception surveys. *Journal of Clinical and Translational Science*, 2(1), 31–37. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cts.2018.18>

were clear and easy to understand, the Commission procured a qualitative pretest study that evaluated the clarity of the questions using cognitive interviews. Cognitive interviewing is a research method that consists of administering survey questions to a sample of people, observing them interact with survey questions, and conducting interviews with the respondents to gather their feedback about the questions. The interview findings are then used to revise the survey questions.

The pretest interviews took place during August 2023. Nineteen adult and nine adolescent interviewees participated. All participants had reported witnessing or experiencing a hate crime or incident within the past 12 months. Respondents were selected to represent a range of ages and demographic backgrounds.

Survey

The Commission used the feedback from the pretest interviews to develop the final set of survey questions that were added to the 2024 statewide CHIS survey. The questions are currently being administered across California through CHIS's statewide omnibus survey, which includes questions about a variety of issues pertaining to health, including health behaviors and experiences with hate and discrimination.

The CHIS administers this survey to a sample of adults and adolescents by randomly sampling more than 20,000 households across California to participate. The sample for the survey is collected in such a way as to yield reliable statewide estimates of California's total population, as well as its major racial and ethnic groups. It is conducted in six languages: English, Spanish, Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese), Korean, Japanese, Vietnamese, and Tagalog. Given its scale, the survey can also yield estimates for smaller geographic areas within California, such as particular counties and legislative districts. Thus, it is ideal for developing a comprehensive accounting of patterns and trends of hate across California.

The CHIS is administered throughout the year over two-year cycles. At the end of each calendar year, CHIS staff compile, clean, and anonymize the data. It is then made publicly available. The final data set from the 2023 data will be publicly available in October 2024. It will speak to questions about the number of Californians who experienced and witnessed a hate incident. The 2024 survey data, which includes additional questions about the impact of hate acts and resource needs of victims, will be publicly available in October 2025.

In-Depth Interviews

In addition to the survey questions, the Commission has procured a qualitative study consisting of 50 in-depth interviews with a subset of survey respondents. In-depth interviews are a research method capable of developing a deeper understanding of respondents' experiences and giving a voice to members of smaller communities that are not as well-represented in the survey data. For our purposes, the interview will focus on learning firsthand from victims about their experiences, including the specific needs of the victims in the aftermath of a hate incident and barriers to accessing resources and services. The interview findings can shed light on complex topics that are challenging to answer with surveys, such as the mental models of victims as they navigate resources, cultural barriers to accessing resources, experiences working with law enforcement, and why some resources are more helpful than others.

The sample for the in-depth interviews will consist of survey respondents who reported experiencing hate on the CHIS. The study will attempt to oversample members of smaller communities, whose experiences may not be as well-represented in the survey data given the limitations inherent in developing statistical inferences about smaller populations. Interviews will be conducted in English, Spanish, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, or Tagalog. The findings from the in-depth interviews will be available June 2025.

APPENDIX C

CALIFORNIA LEGISLATION CHAPTERED IN 2023 RELATED TO HATE

AB 449 (Ting) Hate crimes: law enforcement policies.

This bill requires any state or local law enforcement agency to adopt a hate crime policy by July 1, 2024, and to report that policy to the Department of Justice, as provided. This bill also requires the Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training to update its model hate crimes policy framework.

AB 1327 (Weber) Interscholastic athletics: California Interscholastic Federation: racial discrimination, harassment, or hazing.

This bill requires the California Department of Education (CDE) to develop a standardized incident form to track racial discrimination, harassment, or hazing that occurs at high school sporting games or sporting events. The bill also requires each local educational agency that participates in the California Interscholastic Federation to post the standardized incident form on their website.