THE SOCIETAL IMPACTS OF HATE CRIMES: A CASE STUDY

A publication of the Bard Center for the Study of Hate and ADL-Arizona


BLACK
MINORITY
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PREFACE

There have been far too many brutal acts of hate in recent years to fathom—from the Tree of Life massacre in Pittsburgh to the shooting at the Tops store in Buffalo to the mass murder at the Walmart in El Paso, and so many more abhorrent acts that may not always generate headlines but tear at the fabric of our communities.

The burden that hate crimes place on all of us is tremendous, as are the economic costs associated with them: from the need for increased security to impacts upon communities, families, and individuals. On top of that, we must also account for the time, effort, and resources we expend dealing with such terrible acts and, thus, what those acts take away from what we might otherwise accomplish.

The Anti-Defamation League of Arizona (ADL-Arizona) and the Bard Center for the Study of Hate (BCSH), building on the local connections of ADL leaders and the economic model for quantifying the costs of hate crimes developed by a Bard professor, have collaborated to develop a model to estimate the costs of hate crimes and capture the consequences upon one community based on data from 2022. The costs—a veritable "hate tax"—are staggering, but our hope is that attention to this model and its accompanying data will encourage community leaders and members to support initiatives designed to reduce not only hate but the costs associated with it.

The model you'll see here is one other cities and regions can replicate. As the creators of this model, we, Robert S. Braudy of ADL-Arizona and Kenneth Stern of the Bard Center for the Study of Hate, are both available to help anyone who wants to use this template to improve their community.

Finally, we thank all those who so graciously gave of their time and expertise to this collaborative project, and especially those Phoenix community leaders who shared not only their time but also their hopes and insights.

Robert S. Braudy PhD, Chair, GRACE Committee, ADL-Arizona

Kenneth Stern, Director, Bard Center for the Study of Hate, Bard College

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If it were not for Kenneth Stern (Director, Bard Center for the Study of Hate) this collaborative project would not have been possible. We would like to thank Professor Michael E. Martell (Bard College) for his seminal work estimating the costs of hate crimes in the United States. Finally, we thank Mimla Wardak (MS, Economic Theory and Policy program), the Bard College the intern who worked as an integral part of the GRACE Committee team and conducted primary research with Phoenix community leaders who shared their insights on bias, discrimination, and hate crimes affecting their constituents.

The Committee gives a very special thanks to those Phoenix community leaders who so graciously contributed their time, knowledge, and insights about the effects of bigotry upon those in their community (see Appendix A). This study would not have been possible without their contributions.

Kenneth Stern also thanks Mimla Wardak and Michael E. Martell, Bob Braudy and his Arizona colleagues, and also the Bard publications team who made this publication so attractive, in particular Mary Smith, Audrey Golden, and Karen Spencer.


LOVE
NOT
HATE
ONE LOVE!
ARE YOU REALLY FREE?!
SCAM!

HATE HAS CONSEQUENCES
EXAMPLES FROM OUR COMMUNITY

It wasn't just the people in the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, who were killed by hate. Four days later, in Mesa, Arizona, Balbir Singh Sodhi, a Sikh American, was shot dead by someone who mistook the 52-year-old entrepreneur for an Arab. He left behind a wife, two daughters, and three sons.[1]

Imagine being a Sikh American, or an Arab American, or a Muslim in our community at that time, fearing you might be attacked, too.

Imagine being a Jewish child in Chandler, Arizona, eager to make a Chanukah menorah, thrilling in the 7-foot-tall creation in front of your house made with PVC pipe, lights, and love. And then waking up to see someone had bent your menorah into a swastika.[2] Or imagine being a rabbi in Phoenix and receiving this email: "I have come to the realization that YOU people are to blame for everything evil in this world." The sender then mentioned a court case in another state against him and insisted that Jews run the court system. He threatened, "If you do not use your influence to right this wrong, I will execute you and every other JEW I can find tonight at midnight of your Sabbath."[3]

Or consider the case of David Boyles, an Arizona State University professor who is a member of the LGBTQ+ community. He was hounded and assaulted in 2023 for his sexual orientation, for what

1. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Murder_of_Balbir_Singh_Sodhi
2. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2016/12/30/vandals-turned-a-jewish-familys-menorah-into-a-swastika/
3. https://www.cnn.com/2023/11/07/us/arizona-man-charged-jewish-threats/index.html

he teaches, and presumably for his support for Drag Queen Story Hour Arizona.[4] Imagine being a member of the LGBTQ+ community, or someone who advocates for LGBTQ+ issues, or who teaches something some people detest.

Think about the societal costs for these acts of hate. What's the price we can associate with the death of Balbir Singh Sodhi, or the beating of David Boyles? What are the costs of the turning of a menorah into a swastika, of the death threats against a rabbi and all Jews based on a belief in antisemitic conspiracy theories? What did it cost them, their families, and their communities? What does it cost all of us?

Executive Summary

Objective

The overarching objective of this study is to provide Arizona leaders at the state and community level with fact-based information on the societal costs of hate crimes, and actions they might consider if they had the resources to thwart such acts. Developing a generalizable approach to estimating the economic costs of hate crimes and identifying the actions that community leaders might take to reduce bias, discrimination, and hate crimes is the secondary objective of this study.

Approach

In February 2024, the chair of the GRACE Committee of ADL-Arizona called the director of BSCH, prompted by the recent publication of the *Economic Costs of Hate Crimes,* a report written by a professor at Bard College, Michael E. Martell. It was readily apparent that ADL and BSCH had the same overarching goal—to thwart incidents of bigotry. A handshake agreement was quickly reached: both organizations would put resources toward a collectively developed case study of hate crimes in Phoenix, Arizona, in 2022.

To represent leadership in Phoenix (the case study city) leaders from four cohorts were selected: education, government, nongovernmental organizations, and religious and ethnocultural institutions. It was expected that involving leaders from these four cohorts would provide a 360-degree view of the consequences of bias, discrimination, and hate crime incidents in the city of Phoenix.

Members of the GRACE Committee relied upon their personal contacts and were supported with contacts provided by the deputy regional director of the ADL Desert Region and others. Those identified leaders were contacted by the GRACE Committee, and an interview instrument was developed and customized to each subcohort within each cohort. Upon agreeing to participate, each individual was informed that a Bard graduate who is a member of the collaborative team would soon contact them, and each individual was provided with a copy of the questions pertinent to their subcohort. This approach was used with the expectation that the participants would use the time between that meeting and the scheduled interview to consider their responses to the subjective questions and gather cost-related data on incidents of discrimination and hate to which members of their subcohort were subjected over the period between 2022–24.

4. https://www.nbcnews.com/nbc-out/out-news/queer-professor-allegedly-left-bloodied-campus-altercation-right-wing-rcna120617

Findings

A summary of the findings is as follows:

1. For calendar year 2022, the economic costs of hate crimes (the "hate tax") in Arizona and Phoenix more specifically were estimated at, respectively, between $75 million and $300 million, and between $39 million and $160 million.
2. No educational leader that was contacted in Phoenix public school districts or higher education was willing to participate in the study. This finding was not expected.
3. Increasing costs for security place a strain on resources.
4. Resources have been diverted from essential community programs to pay for security.
5. Incidents of discrimination and hate have taken a psychological toll.
6. There are challenges in prosecuting and helping the community understand hate crimes.
7. Incidents of discrimination and hate crimes are significantly underreported.
8. Fear of attending community events continues to increase.
9. Funding to further improve community relationships and collaboration with law enforcement agencies is lacking.

Recommendations

There was much commonality and agreement on the recommendations among study participants. At an overarching level there are four recommendations:

1. Thought should be given by governmental entities to trade-offs that decrease the social costs incurred by hate crimes ("hate tax") by increasing governmental funding to assist communities subjected to crimes of hate and by increasing funding for local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies and agencies that investigate and prosecute such crimes.
2. Fact-based messaging on hate crimes and their consequences, and approaches to prudently decreasing hate crimes, need to be developed and presented to legislators in addition to being accurately and consistently reported in social and other media.
3. Action should be taken to increase the voluntary reporting of those subjected to hate crimes in order to improve the accuracy and completeness of law enforcement data and subsequent analysis of hate crimes.

4 Additional attention and funding are needed to address the psychological impacts of hate crimes, not only for those who are direct victims, but also for others who live in fear of being harmed if they attend gatherings of their community.

COSTS OF HATE CRIMES IN ARIZONA AND PHOENIX

Analysis of Data Sources

Economic Costs of Hate Crimes

This seminal economic work on the economic costs of hate crimes was published in Spring of 2023 by Associate Professor Michael E. Martell of Bard College. The model includes the breadth of costs associated with hate crimes including "Property Damage," "Security Costs & Victim Services," and "Quality of Life/Human Costs." It utilizes the definition of a hate crime as: "attacks on people (shooting, assaults, bombings, etc.) or property (arson, graffiti, etc.) motivated by hate and/or where the actor intends to select a victim of a crime based on the victim's perceived membership in an ethnic, religious, racial, or other protected group." This definition is nearly identical in wording to the definition used by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Martell's work is the basis for calculating the economic costs of hate crimes in Arizona and the case study city Phoenix. His paper is presented in Appendix B.

FBI's Crime Data Explorer

According to the FBI, the FBI's Crime Data Explorer (CDE) aims to provide transparency, create easier access, and expand awareness of criminal, and noncriminal, law enforcement data sharing; improve accountability for law enforcement; and provide a foundation to help shape public policy with the result of a safer nation." This tool can be accessed at https://cde.ucr.cjis.gov/LATEST/webapp/#/pages/home.

Law enforcement agencies voluntarily submit their crime related data to the FBI. The 2022 report was available when this study was conducted and was compiled from data supplied by 16,100 law enforcement agencies out of 18,930 participating agencies. The CDE database can be queried at the national, state, and local law enforcement agency levels. Data is available by category of hate crime.

Table 1 (FBI CDE Comparison United States, Arizona, Phoenix) compares the category of hate crimes in 2022. The table shows that race and ethnicity are by far the most common hate crimes in the United States, Arizona, and Phoenix. Percentages and rankings confirm that, in general, the percentages of hate crimes in the other categories are quite similar across the three geographic domains. Hate crimes based on religion and sexual orientation amount to either the second or third most prevalent hate crimes in the three domains.

Table 1: FBI CDE Comparison: United States, Arizona, Phoenix[5]

Hate-Crime-Catagory¤	U.S. Incidents¤	U.S. Percentages¤	U.S. Ranking¤	Arizona Incidents¤	Arizona Percentages¤	Arizona Ranking¤	Phoenix Incidents¤	Phoenix Percentages¤	Phoenix Ranking¤
Race Ethnicity¤	6,570¤	56.57¤	1¤	121¤	59.31¤	1¤	63¤	59.43¤	1¤
Multiple Bias¤	347¤	2.99¤	5¤	11¤	5.39¤	4¤	9¤	8.49¤	4¤
Gender Identity¤	469¤	4.04¤	4¤	11¤	5.39¤	5¤	7¤	6.6¤	5¤
Gender¤	95¤	0.82¤	7¤	2¤	0.98¤	7¤	1¤	0.94¤	6¤
Disability¤	171¤	1.47¤	6¤	2¤	0.98¤	6¤	0¤	0¤	7¤
Sexual Orientation¤	1,947¤	16.76¤	3¤	32¤	15.69¤	2¤	17¤	16.03¤	2¤
Religion¤	2,014¤	17.34¤	2¤	25¤	12.25¤	3¤	9¤	8.49¤	3¤
Totals¤	11,613¤	100¤	¤	204¤	100¤	¤	106¤	100¤	¤

5. Data drawn from 2022 FBI CDE Comparison: United States, Arizona, Phoenix

Phoenix Police Department's Bias Crimes Statistics

The Phoenix Police Department has a Bias Crime Unit that is part of its Violent Crimes Bureau: "The Bias Crimes Unit performs criminal investigations, acts as a resource to patrol and other follow-up units, engages in officer training [and] public outreach, and is responsible for maintaining bias crime and incident data." Information on the unit may be found at https://www.phoenix.gov/policesite/Pages/Bias-Crimes-Unit.aspx. The unit consists of one sergeant and two detectives.

Figure 1 (FBI CDE Hate Crime Statistics Phoenix, 2019–2023) shows a slight uptick in the number of hate crimes reported in 2023 vs 2022—an increase of 2.83 percent.

Figure 1: FBI CDE Hate Crime Statistics Phoenix 2019–2023[6]

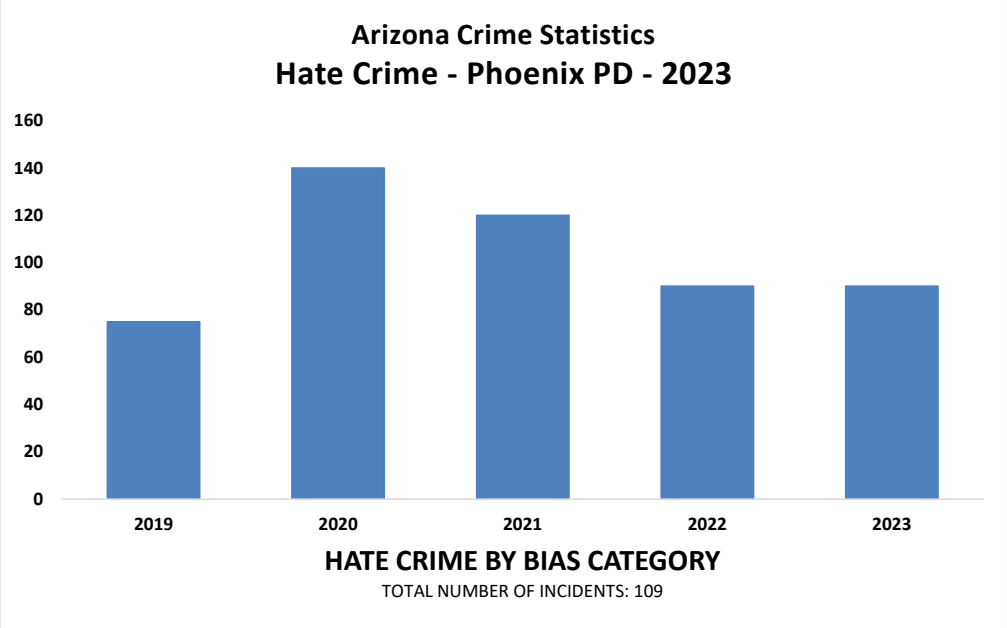

Table 2 (Phoenix Police Department Uniform Crime Reporting Bias Crimes, 2022) presents a slightly different view of the hate crimes than what was shown in Table 1 (FBI CDE Comparison: United States, Arizona, Phoenix). The FBI data in the CDE was reported to the FBI by the Phoenix Police Department under the Uniform Crime Reporting system.

Table 2: Phoenix Police Department Uniform Crime Reporting Bias Crimes, 2022

Phoenix Police Department
Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Bias Crimes
1/1/2022 through 12/31/2022

Count by Type of Motivation*	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Anti-Female	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Anti-Gay (Male)	2	1	3	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	12
Anti-Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, or Transgender (Mixed Group)	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	6
Anti-Transgender	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	4
Anti-Gender Non-Conforming	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	3
Anti-Lesbian	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Anti-Black or African American	2	4	2	5	2	1	4	4	3	4	3	3	37
Anti-Hispanic or Latino	1	2	3	1	1	0	2	2	0	2	3	4	21
Anti-White	2	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	2	0	1	0	9
Anti-Multiple Races, Group	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
Anti-American Indian or Alaska Native	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Anti-Jewish	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	6
Anti-Other Religion	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
Anti-Islamic (Muslim)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	**8**	**9**	**9**	**9**	**5**	**7**	**11**	**11**	**9**	**9**	**10**	**9**	**106**

6. Data drawn from Phoenix Police Department Uniform Crime Reporting Bias Crimes, 2022

Economic Costs of Hate Crimes—Case Study Model

Approach to Developing the Model

The FBI's Crime Data Explorer's "Hate Crimes" tab (see Table 1: FBI CDE Comparison: United States, Arizona, Phoenix) reveals that, in 2022, there were:

1. 11,613 hate crimes across the United States;
2. 204 hate crimes in Arizona;
3. 106 hate crimes in Phoenix; and
4. Phoenix's percentage of the total hate crimes in Arizona is 52.0 percent.

Details of the categories of hate crime in the United States, Arizona, and Phoenix are contained in Table 1. Inspection of the comparison shows that the percentages of each category of hate crime are reasonably consistent across the three geographical entities. This consistency provides confidence that the approach to calculating the costs of hate crimes in Arizona and Phoenix is applicable using Professor Michael E. Martell's seminal work, *The Economic Costs of Hate Crimes.*

Using the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis' calculator, the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers (CPI-U) increase from 2019 to 2022 is 1.14 percent.

Calculations:

- The proportion of hate crimes in Arizona and Phoenix compared to the total as estimated by the FBI are:
  a. Arizona: 1.76 percent
  b. Phoenix: 0.91 percent
- Martell's total costs of hate crimes as adjusted for National Incident-Based Reporting (NIBRS) against persons and against property is $3,714,211,133.
  a. Therefore, the lower bound estimated cost of hate crimes in 2022 in Arizona is 0.0176 x $3,714,211,133 x 1.14 = $75 million, and the upper bound is $300 million (the "hate tax"). Similarly, the lower bound estimated costs of hate crimes (the "hate tax") in 2022 in Phoenix is $39 million and the upper bound is $160 million. The "hate tax" is somewhere between these two figures.

Analysis of Interview Information

Approach

Two objectives were central to the primary research. The first objective was to obtain the perceptions of community leaders on the impact of bias, discrimination, and hate crimes in their community. Capturing cost-related data on specific incidents and the costs related to protecting people and property was the second objective.

Four cohorts were created—education, government, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and religious and ethnocultural organizations—for the purpose of obtaining a 360-degree view of bigotry incidents in Phoenix. Using personal relationships and contacts provided by others, the team reached out to individuals in each cohort using email and/or voice and, as appropriate, text messages. The purpose of the initial contact was to make the potential participant aware of the collaborative project, answer their questions, provide a list of the questions that would be asked, and the type of cost information desired at the to-be-scheduled subsequent virtual meeting.

There were two categories of subjective questions. One category asked for perceptions of the interviewee related to bias, discrimination, and hate crimes. The second category was meant to elicit information about what, if any, actions the interviewee would take to thwart bias, discrimination, and hate crimes if they (their organization) had all the resources necessary to do so.

The second virtual meeting (an interview) was to take place a few weeks after the initial call in order to provide the potential participant with time to think about the questions and gather the cost-related data. Nearly all of the interviews in the second virtual meeting were conducted by two members of the team.

Where appropriate, the team tried to resolve any lack of clarity from the transcribed interview notes. Emails were used to clarify such points.

The 14 interviews were initially analyzed at the cohort level, at which point themes developed. These themes were then compiled and used as the basis for the ensuing findings and recommendations.

Themes and Recommendations

The themes identified are not unexpected. However, there are several takeaways that are of significant value. First, the team had interest and participation from the government, NGO, and religious and ethnocultural cohorts. Despite personal calls and emails to known superintendents of school districts and principals in the educational cohort, not one individual was willing to speak with the team or participate in this project. The team was surprised by this outcome and is assessing the reason for the lack of participation.

There was significant commonality of concern from participants in the three participating cohorts. Leaders from these three cohorts had the same perceptions of the consequences of bias, discrimination, and hate crimes affecting their constituencies, albeit with a focus on their constituents. This is an important finding given that recognition of a common problem could become the foundation for discussion.

The following material captures the common views expressed by members of the three participating cohorts.

Increasing Costs for Security Place a Strain on Resources

- **NGO cohort**: Significant increases in security costs have diverted resources from community programs (i.e., education, outreach, infrastructure).
- **Religious and ethnocultural cohort**: Security expenses have risen for many organizations, including costs for armed guards, security systems, and robust access protocols.
- **Government cohort**: Budget cuts and resource shortages, especially in law enforcement, have impacted the ability to address hate crimes effectively.
- **Recommendations:** Increase funding for security and training, and reallocate resources to balance community safety with other essential services.

Resources Have Been Diverted from Essential Community Programs

- **NGO cohort**: Costs for security have diverted funding from critical community services such as school programs, senior support, and infrastructure improvements and/or maintenance.
- **Religious and ethnocultural cohort**: Organizations are unable to invest in community-building initiatives like scholarships and educational programs due to increased spending on security.
- **Government cohort**: Limited staffing and budget cuts have impacted the ability to investigate hate crimes, thereby reducing support for other community-enhancing initiatives.

When we met, I declined to estimate the cost of prosecution because there are just so many factors that go into prosecution. A few that come to mind: prosecutors' salaries, support staff (paralegals, legal assistants,

docketing techs) salaries, and investigators' salaries (the assigned agent ["case agent"] often must complete follow-up items during prosecution and must be present at witness trial prep sessions, in court, etc.). Additionally, there is an opportunity cost that seems impossible to measure—we give hate crimes cases the highest priority, but what else might we do with our time if we didn't have to spend time prosecuting? I think it would be hard to put a dollar amount on the cost.

—Rachel C. Hernandez, First Assistant United States Attorney, United States Attorney's Office, District of Arizona

- **Recommendations:** Advocate for legislative support to ensure adequate funding for security, but not only for security. Making people are safe isn't only a matter of better locks and bollards and cameras; it's also a matter of supporting research and initiatives to improve data collection, and supporting community services that can reduce hate. Focus on reallocating resources to educational outreach, scholarships, and interfaith and intergroup programs that promote open dialogue and unity. Hopefully, a strategic increase in funding for security as well as such essential community services will lead to a reduction in costs currently required to deal with incidents of bigotry.

Incidents of Bias, Discrimination and Hate Have Taken a Psychological Toll

- **NGO cohort**: The emotional toll of living under constant threat, including hesitation to participate in community activities, exacerbates the strain on vulnerable populations.
- **Religious and ethnocultural cohort**: Fear, anxiety, and frustration caused by the rise in hate crimes are affecting community cohesion and morale.
- **Government cohort**: Community distrust in law enforcement and fear of retaliation further contribute to emotional distress and underreporting.
- **Recommendations:** Provide mental health support to help communities cope with the emotional and psychological strain caused by hate incidents. Expand therapy and counseling services to reduce the long-term impact on vulnerable populations.

There are Challenges to Prosecuting and Helping the Community Understand Hate Crimes[7]

- **NGO cohort**: Lack of media attention and/or biased coverage affects how hate crimes are portrayed, making it harder to address the full scope of the problem.
- **Government cohort**: There is confusion about how to report a hate crime, and which agency to call. Furthermore, hate crimes seem more likely in an environment in which other types of threats—including politically-based ones—are also rising. A comprehensive clearinghouse on hate crimes in AZ would be useful.
- **Recommendations:** Advocate for more resources for government, NGO, and religious and ethnocultural institutions to provide support and information for victims of hate crimes (including simplifying and making means to report a crime more available, if one desires to do so). Additionally, improve relationships with the media to upgrade the accuracy and balanced coverage of such crimes.

Incidents of Bias, Discrimination, and Hate Crimes are Significantly Underreported

- **NGO cohort**: Many hate-related incidents and hate crimes go unreported and/or undocumented. This affects the community's ability to respond effectively.
- **Religious and ethnocultural cohort:** Underreporting is a common issue, often due to a lack of knowledge on how to report hate crimes and/or fear of retaliation.
- **Government cohort**: Only about 25 percent of hate crimes are reported, particularly among marginalized and immigrant communities, exacerbating the problem of tracking and addressing hate crimes.

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7 Only the NGO and government cohorts had input here.

Recommendations:

- (1) Better integrate and improve database and reporting systems, and allow public access to those systems;
- (2) Create centralized system(s) and/or operationally limited integration among systems so that a more comprehensive and current picture of bias, discrimination, and hate crimes can be analyzed;
- (3) Educate local community(ies) on the importance of reporting hate crimes;
- (4) Where there's a reluctance to report, ensure victims are supported;
- (5) Improve policies and training so that incidents, whether hate crimes or other acts of hate that don't rise to the level of a crime but about which the community should be aware, can consistently and accurately be reported and logged; and
- (6) Advocate for legislation that will include funding for law enforcement agencies to log and report all hate crimes and other appropriate acts of discrimination. For example, consider the "CA vs Hate" statewide non-emergency reporting system, which also provides needed support to those targeted by hate crimes and those suffering from incidents of hate that don't rise to the level of a violation of the law (see Appendix C).

Fear of Attending Community Events Continues to Increase

- **NGO cohort**: Fear of attending community events is growing, requiring enhanced security measures that strain resources. This impacts community participation and unity.
- **Religious and ethnocultural cohort**: Constant fear and anxiety due to bias-related incidents have led to emotional and social strain on communities, thereby reducing engagement.
- **Government cohort**: Distrust between law enforcement and marginalized communities further discourages reporting and engagement.
- **Recommendations:** Build trust between law enforcement and communities by improving communication, advocating for law enforcement and community open forums, and creating confidential, easily accessible, and convenient tools for reporting incidents and enhancing community-building efforts.

Funding to Further Improve Community Relationships and Collaboration with Law Enforcement Agencies is Lacking

- **NGO cohort**: There is a need for law enforcement to be better trained in dealing with hate crimes, with stronger partnerships among community organizations and agencies such as the US Department of Justice (DOJ), FBI, Phoenix Police Department, ADL, Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), and the many local NGOs.
- **Religious and ethnocultural cohort**: Close collaboration with law enforcement is essential, but there's also a need for better outreach from law enforcement to communities.
- **Government cohort**: Limited resources and understaffing in law enforcement, such as only two detectives and one sergeant in the Phoenix Police Department's Bias Crime Unit, hinders proper investigation and response.
- **Recommendations:** Increase resources for law enforcement, provide training for handling hate crimes, and foster collaboration with advocacy and faith-based organizations to address bias and discrimination on a larger scale.

Legislative Advocacy and Action to Reduce and Stop Bias, Discrimination, and Hate Crimes are Lacking

- **NGO cohort**: There is a call for increased legislative support to help address rising security costs and create more comprehensive hate crime and other hate-related incident tracking systems.
- **Religious and ethnocultural cohort**: Advocacy for state-level legislation to thwart hate crimes and improve reporting systems is critical, though political resistance is expected.

- **Government cohort**: Passing legislation to track and address hate crimes is essential, though political divisions, particularly those resulting from fear of police and/or related factors, create significant barriers.
- **Recommendations:**
  - (1) Advocate for legislative reforms to improve the ability to track incidents of discrimination and hate crimes, improve reporting mechanisms, and support marginalized communities; and
  - (2) Advocate for hate crime laws and bipartisan support for inclusive policy initiatives.

Cost Data from the Interviews

Capturing the direct financial costs of hate crimes is a fraught task that has very significant difficulties. Since numerous public agencies are often involved in responding to, identifying, investigating, indicting, prosecuting, sentencing, and carrying out the sentence, those costs are not captured, logged, and stored in any database of any organization much less in one database managed and made accessible to other organizations. Each agency has its own procedures for logging the time of those involved in dealing with the crime, and each agency also has its own fiscal year. Very often, the resources expended are not logged at the level of detail that allow cost estimates to be made. Additionally, while the financial impact of the hate crime upon the target entity often can be estimated, it is nearly impossible to capture the financial costs of dealing with, for example, the resulting psychological trauma to the subject(s).

Table 3 (Increased Costs of Security in Sample Jewish Institutions) shows the increasing costs to provide security for facilities and people inside them; these costs are staggering. These increased costs in turn raise the question: What could be done with this money if the funds were available to better serve the social and humanitarian needs of the community?

Table 3: Increased Costs of Security in Sample Jewish Institutions

Institution	Cost 2020	Cost 2021	Cost 2022	Cost 2023	Cost 2024
Temple 1	$26,044	$18,035	$22,388	$53,107	$176,262
Temple 2				>$45,000	$145,000
Temple 3			$23,574	$28,574	$50,858
Temple 4			$24,807	$53,674	$80,000
Temple 5			$27,975		$150,000
Community Center	$343,113	$329,104	$507,693	$510,311	~$550,000

The Phoenix Police Department was able to provide an example of hate crimes and to estimate the monetary costs for a series of incidents against the Black community. The example incident involves swastikas, and the word "N***r" spray-painted on multiple vehicles at multiple addresses. It required 15 officers, one sergeant, one police assistant, one dispatcher, and one 911 operator. The estimated cost borne by the Phoenix Police Department was approximately $3,200.

It should be noted that this was an incident that occurred with no suspects. Consequently, officers responded after the fact and simply took a report. If a suspect had been arrested, the financial burden to the city would have been quite a bit higher.

An Approach to Implementing the Recommendations

Arizona's populace, like people elsewhere, are concerned about taxes and unnecessarily paying for public services. In August of 2023, ADL-Arizona's GRACE Committee initiated a project that captured costs associated with a bomb threat hoax in Flagstaff, Arizona, and the increase in costs of security from several Jewish houses of worship in the Phoenix metro area. That information was presented to legislators from both parties during the 2024 Arizona legislative session. By the end of the legislative session, a bipartisan bill was passed and signed by Governor Hobbs that made swatting (false reporting to first responders) and bomb threat hoaxes a Class 6 felony. Furthermore, the majority of legislators with whom ADL-Arizona spoke asked for other cost-related and factual information. This case study and ensuing report are a direct consequence and response to the requests of those legislators.

The previous subsection of this report (Themes and Recommendations) contains a richness of tactical actions, many of which are practical. All community leaders with whom the team spoke are aware of the bias, discrimination, and hate crime problems our society faces and the complexity and difficulty in negotiating satisfying solutions. There is, however, a dearth of information on the economic costs of such bigotry to Arizona and, in particular, its largest city—Phoenix.

Looking at this report's recommendations from an overarching level, there are five elements that are common. These elements, which can also be called "levers of change," are:

1. Data
2. Education
3. Collaboration
4. Resources
5. Legislation

Accurate and meaningful data is the foundation for effecting change. Educating community leaders and their constituents may take many forms and pathways, including social media engagement, physically distributing material, and formally or informally making the leaders and constituents aware of the data. That education should lead to collaboration, whereby there is an open and honest exchange of ideas. Resources may take many forms but should include, for example, funding, facilities where community meetings can take place, and the enthusiasm and active support of community leaders and members who want to take action against all types of bigotry. If appropriate, legislation will be proposed and passed that will encourage people and their institutions to confront bigotry more effectively, including hate at its most destructive—hate crimes.

It is fitting that, with the relationships and credibility that the team has established in Phoenix, Phoenix was selected as the pilot city to determine the effectiveness of this data-driven approach to reducing bigotry. We're gratified that those who agreed to be interviewed also expressed their desire to meet again after the publication of this report to: (1) prioritize which of the recommendations have the highest probability of being implemented in the short term, (2) draft a practicable plan; and (3) lay the groundwork for implementing the plan.

Conclusion

As we suspected, this study documented the tremendous societal costs of hate crimes in Phoenix over a short time frame. Our ability to calculate the costs was dependent upon the participation of community leaders in Phoenix who recognized the utility of putting a dollar figure on what hate crimes cost.

We hope that this model will be useful for other communities across the country that want to think about a data-driven approach to understanding and addressing hate crimes.

If we can be of help as you think through how to document the societal costs of hate crime in your community, we invite you to contact the Bard Center for the Study of Hate (https://bcsh.bard.edu/contact-us/) and/or ADL-Arizona (https://arizona.adl.org/about/).

APPENDIX A

List of Participating Community Leaders

The below list of participating Phoenix community leaders is incomplete as several of them were not permitted to include their names or the names of the organizations they represent.

Wendy Cohen, Executive Director, Temple Chai

Rachel Hernandez, First Assistant United States Attorney, United States Attorney's Office, District of Arizona

Angela Hughey, President, ONE Community and ONE Community Foundation

Richard Kasper, Chief Executive Officer, Center for Jewish Philanthropy of Greater Phoenix

Christine Marsh, Arizona State Senator

Alicia Moskowitz, Executive Director, Temple Beth El

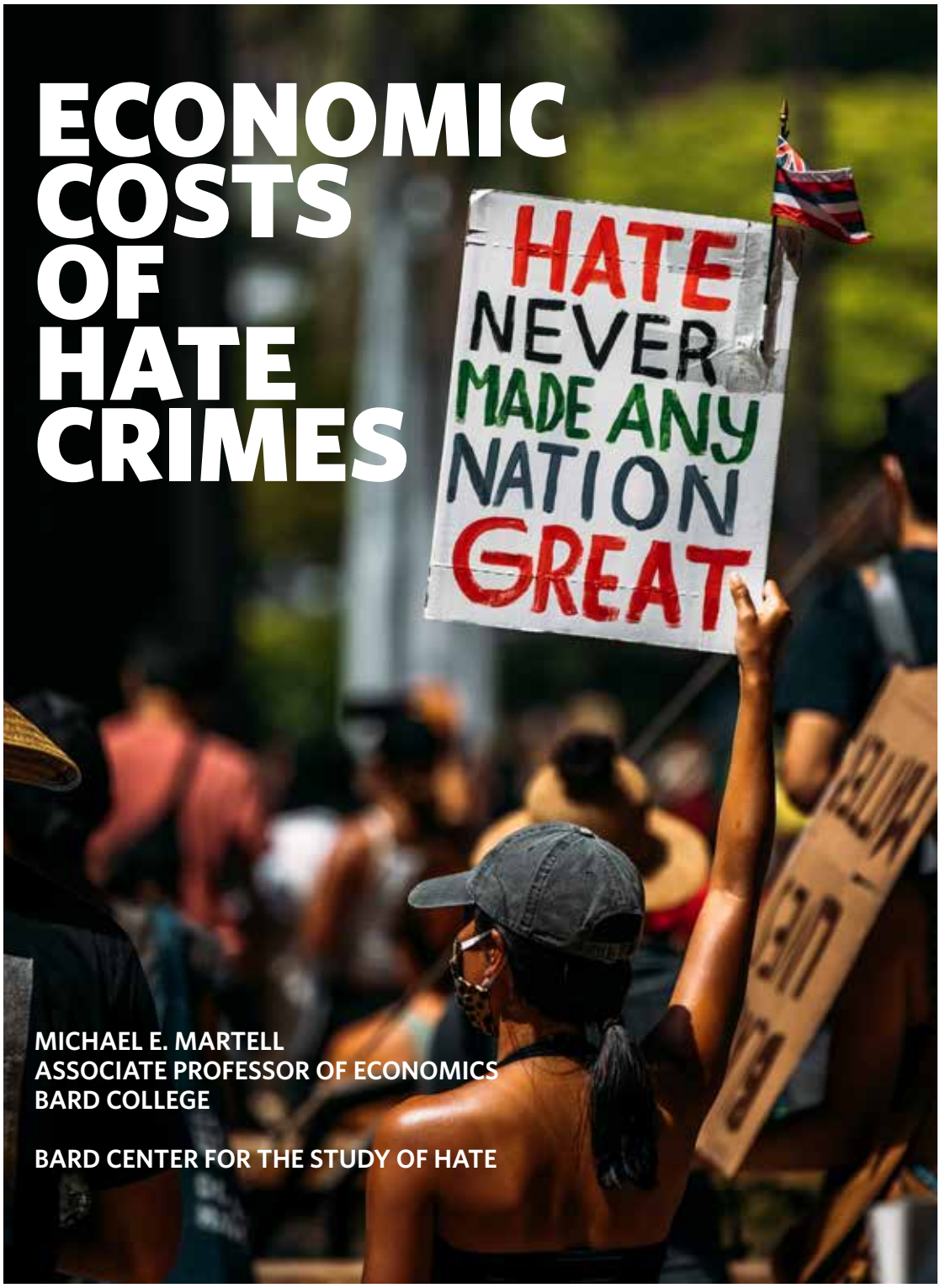
Kevin Robinson, Phoenix Councilman

Alan Zeichick, Board Chair, Jewish Community Relations Council

Cover: iStock/pixelfit; inside front cover: Shutterstock/Photointoto; page 5: Shutterstock/Thomas Eddy; page 6: "Sometimes it crawls out from beneath the bridge." Patrick Feller, CC BY 2.0..; back cover: Mike Gifford, CC BY-NC 2.0

APPENDIX B

The Economic costs of Hate Crimes



Bullet hole in Sikh temple door jamb, a reminder of the mass murder in the building

Cover: Protesters in masks march with signs against police shootings and racism. Adobe stock photo by Nikita

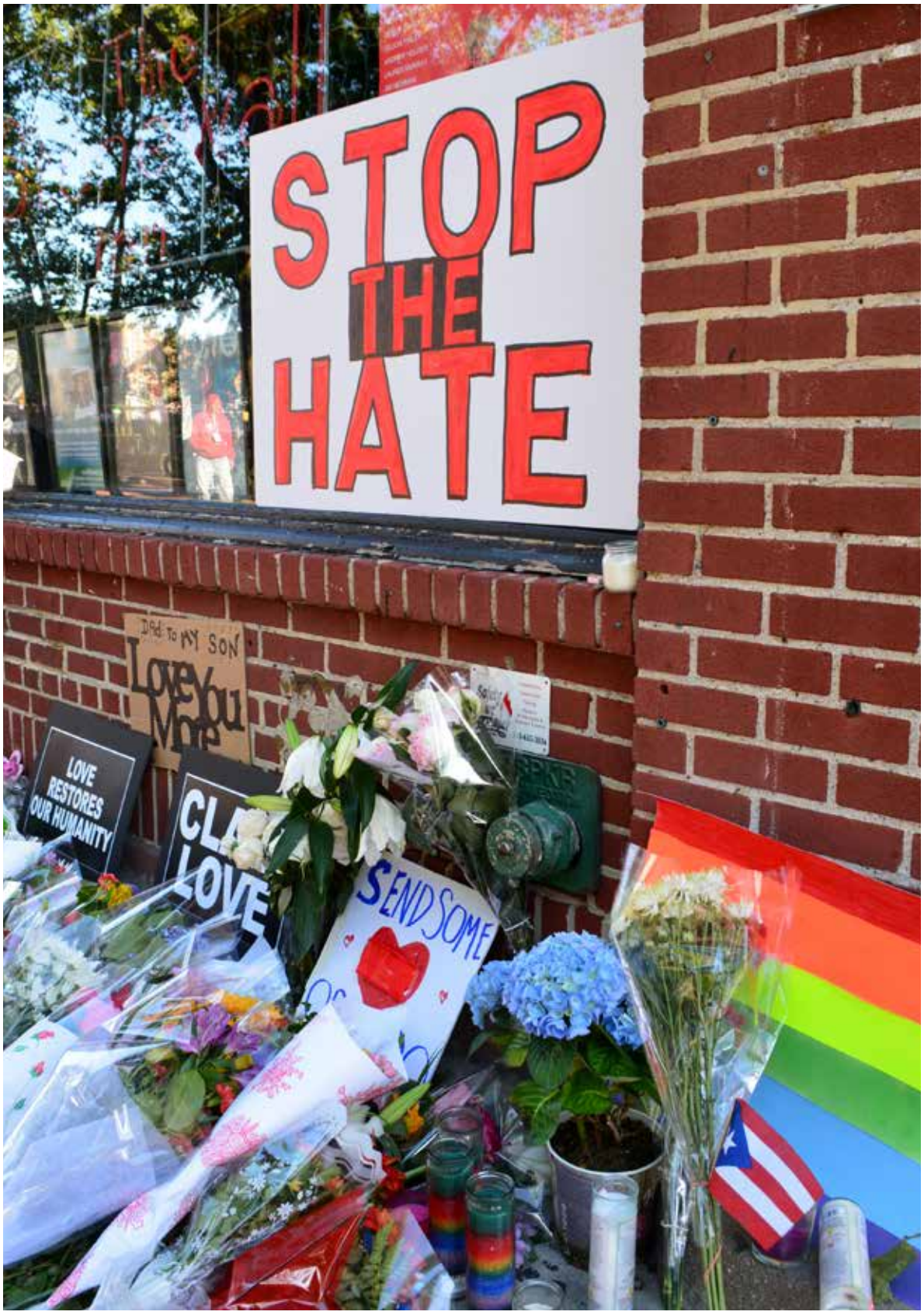
PREFACE

Kenneth S. Stern
Director, Bard Center for the Study of Hate

The Bard Center for the Study of Hate is pleased to publish Michael E. Martell's groundbreaking *Economic Costs of Hate Crimes*.

Like other Center publications—Robert Tyne's State of Hate Index and A Community Guide for Opposing Hate—Martell's analysis is designed to harness knowledge from the academy and employ it to help all of us think more clearly about hatred and what to do about it. As Martell underscores, what hate costs us—starting with the costs of hate crimes—is an important calculation. If we don't quantify the cost of a societal problem, it's less likely that we'll do something to address it.

We would like to thank GS Humane Corporation for understanding the importance of this project and underwriting it, and we are thankful for the team that advised us throughout the process of preparing this report. First, there was the international group of economists and other experts that helped define the project and its parameters. These included Cathy Buerger, William Dickens, Nata Duvvry, Ryan Herzog, Alec Hoover, Jack McDevitt, Floyd Norris, Srinivas Raghav, and Stephanie Savell. Then we reached out to members of the Sikh community and law-enforcement officials who graciously guided us through the details of the horrid mass murder in Wisconsin in 2012. We're particularly grateful to Pardeep Kaleka, Brian Murphy, Mark Reading-Smith, and James Santille for their guidance, patience, grace, and inspiration.[1] It can't be easy to revisit such an appalling event and its aftermath, but the information they provided underscored, in human detail, why this report is so important.



ıorial outside the landmark Stonewall
ı New York City for the victims of
ıass shooting in Orlando in 2016.
terstock photo by Christopher Penler

ECONOMIC COSTS OF HATE CRIMES

Michael E. Martell
Associate Professor of Economics, Bard College

We calculate the cost of just about everything: global warming, potholes not repaired, soda consumption, sleep deprivation, owning a dog, cost of living. Hate has a cost—likely a huge one. But what is the figure? How should it be computed?

This paper isn't the definitive answer, but rather is a first step toward that ultimate goal—creating an index of measurable data that allows us to identify and think about the economic costs of hate. Having some idea of what hate costs us every year (or at least some subset of the costs), we hope, will encourage more thought about what could reduce hate, and point to the economic benefits from such efforts.

This project is an economic analysis under the framework of hate studies, defined as "[i]nquiries into the human capacity to define, and then dehumanize or demonize, an 'other,' and the processes which inform and give expression to, or can curtail, control, or combat, that capacity."[2] But when we look at the totality of hate from an economic perspective, the calculations become more complicated. Hate, for example, can lead to discrimination, and discrimination has societal costs. Yet some discrimination may not be motivated by demonization or dehumanization.

One can conceive of the cost of hate viewed through a wide lens because we see hate in so many dimensions: on social media, in the mainstream media, in politics, in government, in the number of hate groups, and in the messages of leaders and others encouraging dangerous "us/them" thinking.[3] Then there are systemic aspects of hate, such as the long-term effects of slavery that reveal themselves in present-day socioeconomic disparities in Black communities.[4]

The goal of this paper isn't to answer all these questions, but rather to identify a methodology and to take a first step toward documenting one important cornerstone of hatred's cost—hate crimes. Hate crimes—attacks on people (shooting, assaults, bombings, etc.) or property (arson, graffiti, etc.) motivated by hate and/or where the actor intends to select a victim of a crime based on the victim's perceived membership in an ethnic, religious, racial, or other protected group—are a good window to begin this examination. They are the proverbial "tip of the iceberg." Not all hate produces violence, and not all violence, of course, comes from hate. Yet, clearly, violence from hate has an economic cost, from property damage to medical costs to policing to psychological damage to the cost of fear rippling through a community. The costs of hate crimes will also tell us something about the structure of our economy, from direct costs to lost opportunities.

While each hate crime is different, we want to illustrate the possible costs on people and property from a real-world example. Unfortunately, there are too many to choose from, but one that deftly illustrates the economic costs happened on August 5, 2012. That day, a 40-year-old white supremacist walked into the Sikh temple in Oak Creek, Wisconsin. Armed with a 9-mm automatic pistol, he initially killed six people—five men and one woman—ranging in age from 39 to 84. After the shooter wounded a police officer, he himself was wounded, and he then committed suicide at the scene. A seventh victim succumbed in 2020.

While the methodology we use to estimate the costs of hate crimes is based on aggregate available data (and not on the cataloging of the costs of particular incidents), let's consider the types of costs that were incurred at the Oak Creek shooting.[5]

Property damage: The terrorist shot up wildly around the temple. Bullets not only killed and wounded people, but they also destroyed property and left holes in walls. A huge amount of human blood was spilled. It had to be cleaned from the floors and just about everywhere else. Walls had to be plastered and repainted. Bricks had to be repaired. Carpet had to be replaced. Furniture, including items in the kitchen, had to be replaced or restored. There was an added cost because this all had to be done quickly. The temple leadership needed to get back into the building as soon as it was no longer cordoned off as a crime scene. They needed to make sure that their members could pray together and otherwise meet their communal religious needs. And they wanted to make the statement that hatred was not going to win. They were back in the temple in about 10 days.

Security costs and victim services: Law enforcement advised the temple about upgrading its security, both to prevent a future incident and to make the congregants feel more secure walking into their building again. So, factor in the costs of the salaries of FBI agents and others who advised the temple, and then add in the costs to the temple, which included hardware and software, and the hiring of security guards (both to control who gets into the temple and to act as first responders in case of an incident). These costs remain ongoing, now more than a decade after the attack. And when a religious institution like the Sikh temple is attacked by a white supremacist, it isn't only that temple that feels a need for increased security; the Jewish and Hindu and Muslim and other religious communities in the region become worried about attacks, too. In the wake of the shooting at the Sikh temple, many of those other religious institutions upgraded their security by adding camera systems and buzzers; reinforcing door jambs; purchasing and installing bullet-resistant glass; redesigning how parking access worked; addressing different needs for downstairs areas, upstairs areas, places where worship takes place, and places where children may congregate; making sure there weren't too many ways to enter while also considering religious needs (Sikh temples need to have four doors, for example); and so much more.

Police and Fire Services: Local, state, and federal law enforcement worked on this hate crime. Without knowing how many people did this work and what their salaries were, we're not going to be able to put a dollar figure to this cost, but there were, of course, the responders on the day of the massacre and additional responders on the days and in the weeks afterwards. For the first 10 days, they also provided security to ensure people were not contaminating an active crime scene. And on the day of the shooting, officers—both on and off duty, from Wisconsin but also Northern Illinois—drove to Oak Creek to help in huge numbers. Even though the shooter killed himself, consider the costs of

the investigation. Law enforcement not only had to determine how and why the shooter did what he did, but also had to rule out that anyone else might have been involved. There were rumors running wild, including of a white van and that there were three or four shooters. All of that information had to be tracked down and ruled out. The shooter had a girlfriend who was still in the area, and she had to be investigated. The shooter had also been involved with a white supremacist group called the Hammerskins. Did he act alone, or were others involved in a conspiracy? When and how did he leave the Hammerskins? (Apparently, the Hammerskins found out the shooter once had a Native American girlfriend and kicked him out.) Was the shooter told or ordered to undertake the attack? What was the structure of the white supremacist organization and its leadership? These questions had to be addressed to see if there were, in fact, any ties. The FBI also had to send agents to investigate in other parts of the country because the shooter had family in Colorado, for instance. Agents had to find and interview those family members, write reports, and analyze the information. The shooter had been in the military. Who did he talk with then, and did he exhibit psychiatric problems or racist rantings? What about his use of drugs and alcohol? What about his work history? He had just been fired by his employer. How many agent hours were involved? And then, when the investigation wrapped up months later, law enforcement not only had to announce its findings publicly, but also had to meet and explain what they knew to the families of the victims to demonstrate that there was no one alive to prosecute. And consider, in this case, that there was no prosecution because the shooter was dead. In many other cases, there are additional costs of a trial, such as further investigation, lawyers for the government and defense counsel, court costs, expert witnesses, etc.

Quality of Life, or the Human Cost: First, there are those who died—six people right away, and one person years later. And then there were many injured—some physically, some emotionally, some both. So, first you have expenses related to the bodies: medical attention, then funeral services. But one victim suffered for years, meaning that his costs must have been astronomical. He suffered huge cognitive issues. He couldn't speak. He was able to communicate a bit, however, by blinking his eyes. And then consider the other injured people and their costs. Suffering itself has a subjective cost, but there are also the economic costs of continuing medical and psychological care. Some of those latter costs were reportedly huge—not only emergency medical and surgical costs, as well as long-term care costs, but also costs associated with serious health-related issues to this day. Then there's pharmaceutical care and the pain of suffering bullet wounds. Then there is psychiatric care. Add the mental anguish and mental care for the families, including children. The children in the temple, although none died, recall being ushered into the basement, and they know adults around them died. At least one child whose parent was killed (and likely more of the children who lost parents) continues to experience the difficulties of navigating life in the aftermath of such trauma.

The costs attributable to the mass murder at the Sikh temple must have been massive, many millions of dollars. Then think of the other cases where people were killed and wounded where the shooter may have been prosecuted: The Tree of Life in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; the Tops store in Buffalo, New York; Pulse nightclub in Orlando, Florida; Mother Emanuel Church in Charleston, South Carolina; the Chabad of Poway synagogue in Poway, California; the Walmart in El Paso, Texas; Club Q in Colorado Springs, Colorado; and so many more. Next, add to that list the attacks that also shatter communities, bring fear, and require law enforcement and other responses but don't grab our attention because less blood is spilled. There were over 8,000 reported hate crimes in 2020.[6] Not all hate crimes are reported and classified as such. As we discuss below, this reported number represents a smaller subset of the much larger population of hate crimes perpetrated that year. Without having receipts from each crime, how do we approximate the aggregate cost to society?[7]

Methodology

To calculate a measure of the total cost of hate crimes, we follow the cost benefit analysis (CBA) methodology that is widely used in the literatures investigating crime, incarceration, and criminal-justice reforms.[8] We update Miller, Cohen, and Wiersema's (1996) widely cited per-victimization costs-of-crime estimates.[9] We then apply those estimates to our approximate calculations of the annual number and type of hate crimes in the US, and then make adjustments based on our knowledge of the limitations of existing hate crime data.

Even after adjusting the data, there are nevertheless shortcomings of this analysis that should be kept in mind. First, many of the estimates in Miller, Cohen, and Wiersema (1996) are based on assumptions and imputations, particularly for missing data. For example, long-term productivity losses associated with crime are imputed, and imputations decrease precision. The decreased precision is also compounded by the small sample sizes in some of the data we utilize. Therefore, the confidence intervals for our estimates are large. Some of the victimization costs similarly come from small samples. For example, the calculation of pain and suffering costs (physical pain, but also things like lifelong anguish) come from a small sample of jury settlements (containing 1,061 assaults, 309 sexual assaults, and 606 burn victims). Mental-health costs are based on a small survey of therapists. Victim services (including but not limited to medical and mental-health support) are very conservative and based on federal grants, not provider costs.[10] Most of these limitations would lead us to underestimate the costs of hate crimes.

Table 1 shows the two broad classes of costs we consider.

Tangible costs are those that are relatively easy to identify and measure. These include costs to victims such as lost earnings, medical bills, and the value of destroyed property. They also include micro and macro social costs. Micro costs imposed on society include the opportunity cost associated with a perpetrator's actions (i.e., the productive activities perpetrators could have engaged in had they not committed hate crimes). Macro costs imposed on society include the monetary value of resources allocated to policing, hate-crime prevention, and incarceration.

Table 1: Taxonomy of the Costs of Crime

Tangible Costs	
Victim Costs	Direct economic losses suffered by victims: medical care, lost earnings, property loss/damage.
Society Costs, Macro	Local, state, and federal government funds spent on policing/prevention; legal and adjudication; correction programs; incarceration; investigations; and additional justice-system costs.
Society Costs, Micro	Opportunity costs associated with perpetrator's actions, or lost productivity of individuals.
Intangible Costs	
Victim Costs	Indirect losses suffered by crime victims: pain and suffering, decreased quality of life, psychological distress.
Victim Adjacent	Indirect costs to victims by association (such as family members).

Intangible costs include those with less obvious mechanisms to assign monetary costs. These costs are generally conceptualized as indirect and subjective losses suffered by victims and those who are victim adjacent. These costs include pain and suffering, decreased quality of life, and psychological distress. These estimates are largely based on jury-determined monetary awards to victims.[11]

Miller, Cohen, and Wiersema (1996) leverage the breadth of information contained in the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) to estimate the tangible and intangible victim costs of different types of crimes. As Table 2 shows, the tangible costs are largely calculated directly from victim responses contained within the NCVS.[12] These tangible costs are broken down into six categories. We match these crime-specific per-victimization cost estimates to our estimates of the number of hate crimes in the US in order to develop an approximate calculation of the annual economic cost of hate crimes.

Table 2: Types of Costs and Data Used for Calculations

Tangible Cost	**Definition**	**Data Source**
Property Damage	Property damaged or taken and not recovered plus administrative costs (i.e., insurance claims) associated with victim compensation.	Victim information provided to NCVS.
Medical Care	Payments for inpatient and outpatient medical care, expenses related to premature death, administrative costs (i.e., insurance claims), legal expenses associated with victims recovering medical expenses.	Non-Hospitalizations: Victim information provided to NCVS multiplied by ratio of long-term to short-term cost ratio for injury plus administrative costs. Hospitalizations: Victim information provided to NCVS for short-term expenses plus estimates of costs associated with longer term care associated with each hospitalized hate-crime victim of assault or rape.
Mental-Health Care	Payments for mental-health care to psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, and pastoral counselors plus administrative expenses.	Estimates derived from opinions solicited in a survey of mental-health-care professionals.
Police and Fire Services	Costs of initial police response, follow-up investigations, and fire-service costs (traffic incidents/arson).	Estimates derived from various sources and surveys. Costs typically small. See also: Cohen, Miller, and Rossman (1994).
Victim Services	Costs of victim-service agencies.	Derived from dollar value of grants to victim-service agencies. Excludes value of volunteer time and privately funded organizations.
Productivity	Cost of decreased paid- and unpaid-worker productivity.	Paid work: Victim information (time missed at work and wages) provided to NCVS for paid-labor productivity. Includes lost paid time for members of victims' families. Unpaid work: Interpolated value of lost unpaid labor (housework) based on averages for victim employment status and age. Lost school days: average educational expenditures per child, per day.
Intangible Cost	**Definition**	**Data Source**
Quality of Life	Pain, suffering, fear, and costs associated with reduced quality of life.	Fatal injuries: Value of statistical life applied to victims of fatal hate crimes as estimated in the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS). An obvious underestimate. Nonfatal injuries: Deducted via an analysis of jury awards to crime victims. The difference between total *compensatory* (not punitive) damages awarded to victims and the total estimated tangible costs (outlined in previous rows).

Data

An accurate and centralized database that records hate crimes and their characteristics does not exist. We utilize two data sources to estimate the frequency and characteristics of nonfatal and fatal hate crimes against individuals.

National Crime Victimization Survey

We utilize the NCVS to estimate the number and type of nonfatal hate crimes in the US. The NCVS is an annual survey implemented by the US Census Bureau for the Bureau of Justice Statistics. The survey consists of a nationally representative sample of approximately 240,000 incidents of criminal victimization. This sample includes approximately 160,000 individuals from 95,000 households. The NCVS serves as the primary source of information regarding criminal victimization in the US.[13] We utilize the 2019 survey, the incident-file database in particular, and incident-level weights in all tabulations.

The NCVS collects data on nonfatal personal and household property crimes.[14] These crimes are recorded in the NCVS whether or not they were reported to the police. However, not all crimes are included in the survey (such as intimate partner violence, for example). The survey collects characteristics of the crime, some of which are used to classify crimes according to their crime typology. The characteristics also include respondent reports of "suspect[ing that the] incident just discussed was a hate crime or crime of prejudice or bigotry."[15] As is standard (see McDevitt and Iwama 2016), we classify incidents as hate crimes if respondents report them as such with corroborating evidence that indicates that the offender used abusive language or hate symbols, or that the police confirmed the victim(s) were targeted for their actual or perceived characteristics or religious beliefs.[16] We utilize incident-level weights to estimate the number of hate crimes in the US based on the NCVS sample. However, this estimate is based on a sample that excludes several categories of people, including young children (those under 12), the elderly, immigrants, and the institutionalized. It also excludes crimes whose targets were not individuals—crimes against organizations, institutions, schools, churches, and businesses—and fatal crimes. Thus, the sample design will lead to an underestimate of the true prevalence of hate crimes.

National Incident-Based Reporting System, FBI

We utilize the NIBRS of the Unified Crime Reporting Program (a subset of the Summary Reporting System) to estimate the number of fatal hate crimes. The primary purpose of the NIBRS is not to track hate crimes; its purpose is to improve overall quality of crime-related data collected by law enforcement. The program does this by collecting information on the context of crimes reported. This contextual information contains the classification of crimes as hate crimes. Hate crimes in the NIBRS are defined as those that were reported to the FBI as being motivated by biases based on race, ethnicity, ancestry, religion, sexual orientation, disability, gender, or gender identity. The NIBRS also, unlike the NCVS, captures crimes against property. Crimes against property are those where the primary target is not a person (but rather a building, for example).[17]

The NIBRS, like the NCVS, likely undercounts the number of fatal hate crimes in the US due to the underreporting of crimes as hate motivated as well as misclassification. Underreporting is likely to arise when people close to victims distrust the police or fear negative ramifications for reporting a hate crime. Such underreporting may be substantial. As recently as 2012, approximately 60 percent of hate crimes went unreported to police (McDevitt and Iwama 2016). Misclassification may compound underreporting. Misclassification may occur unintentionally due to poor police training, or intentionally as a result of an effort to promote positive public images of jurisdictions.

Baseline Cost Estimates

Because the data are from 2019, and the estimated crime-specific cost estimates are from 1996, we adjust for inflation and report costs in current dollars. On the one hand, since the cost-benefit methodologies used to determine the costs of nonfatal crimes are relatively unchanged (Miller, Cohen, and Hendrie 2017), we adjust for inflation by applying Consumer Price Index (CPI) adjustment factors to costs for nonfatal crimes (specifically, we apply the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers, or CPI-U). On the other hand, varying approaches to estimating the Value of a Statistical Life (VSL) have flourished (see, for example, Kneiser and Viscusi 2019). All VSL estimates are based on what individuals are "willing to pay" to reduce their risk of dying.[18] Extrapolating from the price of small risk reductions to large risk reductions (i.e., not dying) yields an estimate of the VSL. More recent VSL estimates are based on improved data on risk and earnings, as well as more sophisticated empirical techniques. As such, we utilize a VSL of $10,000,000 to reflect the state of the art instead of simply adjusting the original VSL estimates implemented by Miller, Cohen, and Wiersema (1996). We note, however, that this measure is an average. It is not adjusted to take into account individual characteristics, such as race, ethnicity, gender, sex, sexual orientation, or age, for example. Further, it does not measure quality of life, pain and suffering, or the wide variety of costs that victims of hate crimes experience prior to their death. These broad costs include decreased public and social services, and barriers that often prevent members of marginalized groups from full economic and social inclusion. Perhaps most importantly, the statistic does not measure how much individuals value their lives. It is a measure of the cost of risk alone.

Table 3 presents baseline estimates of the number of fatal and nonfatal hate crimes against individuals, along with their costs. The per-victimization costs vary substantially across crime types. The variation is often driven by intangible costs. Excluding intangible costs would, for example, lead to rape and sexual assault (crimes with immense intangible costs) having approximately the same total cost as robberies with injuries (crimes with fewer intangible costs). Obviously, intangible costs are important.

In 2019, there were 236,163 nonfatal hate crimes.[19] Not surprisingly, the costs of crime are substantial. The total cost of nonfatal hate crimes is $2,878,194,288.[20] Even though the per-incident cost of fatal hate crimes is much higher than that of nonfatal crimes, the sum of the VSL for fatal hate crimes is lower because fatal crimes are less common. In 2019, there were 51 fatal hate-crime victims. The cost of fatal hate crimes is therefore $510,000,000. Together, the annual cost of hate crimes against persons is $3,388,194,288.

Table 4 presents the number and type of crimes against property. We approach these crime estimates similarly to crimes against persons. To calculate the costs, we apply the corresponding per-victim cost estimate from Miller, Cohen, and Wiersema (1996) for the corresponding crime when it is targeted at a person. Because we lack an estimate of the economic cost of property destruction/damage/vandalism, we apply the same cost, a likely undercount, for larceny. We also do not account for the 57 incidents of "other" crimes. The total cost of hate crimes against property is $7,698,783.

A baseline estimate of the total cost of hate crimes is $3,395,893,071. Even though this cost is high, there are several reasons why it underestimates the true costs of hate crimes. It is, at best, a lower bound.

Table 3: Costs of Crimes Against Persons

Type of Crime	Victimizations	Cost per Victimization	Annual Cost
Rape and Sexual Assault (including child abuse)	6,657	$146,546.91	$975,571,328
Robbery or Attempt with Injury	11,918	$32,189.49	$383,639,424
Robbery or Attempt No Injury	5,651	$15,840.62	$89,513,504
Other Assault or Attempt with Injury	20,868	$40,829.83	$852,057,088
Other Assault or Attempt No Injury	155,258	$3,218.95	$499,767,712
Larceny or Attempt	4,180	$626.85	$2,620,152
Burglary or Attempt	31,631	$2,371.86	$75,025,080
All Fatal Crimes	51	$10,000,000.00	$510,000,000
Total Costs			**$3,388,194,288**

Table 4: Costs of Crimes Against Property

Type of Crime Against Property	Victimizations	Cost per Victimization	Annual Cost
Robbery	125	$15,841	$1,980,078
Burglary	114	$2,372	$270,392
Larceny-theft	284	$627	$178,025
Motor vehicle theft	19	$6,253	$118,807
Arson	60	$63,375	$3,802,500
Destruction/damage/vandalism	2,152	$627	$1,348,981
Other	57	N/A	N/A
Total Costs			**$7,698,783**

Adjusted Estimates

The actual costs of hate crimes are likely higher than those estimated above due to limitations of the underlying data. The NCVS and NIBRS both fail to capture the prevalence of hate crimes in the US. This is due to the construction of the sample in the NCVS (for example, it excludes many migrants, the young, and the elderly, as discussed above). Moreover, following standard practice, we only classify crimes as hate crimes if the victim substantiates their claim with evidence. These victimizations comprise only 46.64 percent (236,163 of 506,310) of the total number of victimizations for which the victim believed they experienced a hate crime. If we counted all crimes that victims believed were hate crimes, the cost of nonfatal hate crimes would likely nearly double, thereby increasing the total cost of hate crimes to $6,774,642,887.

In the NIBRS, not all individuals report hate crimes as such to the police, and police do not record all hate crimes as such in the NIBRS. It is therefore likely that hate crimes are actually 60 percent (McDevitt and Iwama 2016) higher than the numbers presented in Table 4. Adjusting our costs for this underestimate increases costs of fatal hate crimes and hate crimes against property to $828,318,062, leading to an estimated total cost of hate crimes of $3,714,211,133.

It may well be the case that hate crimes are costlier than typical crimes motivated by other factors. The small underlying sample of hate crimes in the NCVS makes a comparison based on costs alone difficult. While we observe no statistically significant differences, we cannot rule out that the costs of hate crimes are higher.

What is Missing?

We also note that the intended targets of hate crimes are populations, not individuals. The crime-costing methodology here does not incorporate the notion that, in the aftermath of a hate crime (such as the increased assaults on Muslims and Sikhs after the 9/11 attacks, or the more recent assaults on Asian Americans and Jews), the psychological and moral costs of this crime were felt by the targeted groups (and their allies) everywhere. These costs include people being nervous about enjoying the services associated with the venue that was attacked, or people being fearful of going to similar venues elsewhere. The intangible costs of hate crimes—the pain, fear, suffering, and decreased quality of life—should be determined for communities and not just individuals.

It is also important to note that these costs determine the economic costs at the margin—for example, the costs fire departments bear when they investigate one incidence of arson. However, the fixed cost of victim services (such as those related to infrastructure) should also be accounted for, as the existence of these services is predicated on the existence of hate. Hate crimes comprise 1.88 percent of all victimizations (the total of which is 12,548,607).

Moreover, these costs exclude the considerable resources expended to alleviate hate and to prevent its effects. These costs are represented by the budgets of charitable organizations, resources dedicated to educational programs, upgrades to security infrastructure, and security guards at high-profile events or even day-to-day worship services (such as those at Tree of Life Synagogue following the mass shooting there in 2019, and at the Sikh temple massacre of 2012, described above).

Finally, the costs of hate are not static. Hate crimes lead to changes in behavior. For example, countless LGBTQ+ individuals across the country were afraid to be in public in the aftermath of the Pulse nightclub shooting and the Club Q shooting in Colorado Springs. These individuals may not have gone to work or to school, met their friends at gay bars, or continued to express their authentic selves. We cannot measure the costs that reflect the ways that hate and hate crimes fundamentally change the structure of our economy and the capabilities of those who comprise it. We also continue to experience the ramifications of hate crimes of the past. Hate continues to constrain opportunities and to discourage the full development of our capacities as individuals and productive members of society. Hate seems so pervasive that it is difficult to measure the impact of this constraint; we have no counterfactual. Consider the related concept of homophobia, which has been estimated to exert a cost of 2 percent of the GDP in India (Badgett 2020). Extrapolating that percentage to the US yields a cost of $42,800,000,000—an amount that is larger than existing estimates of the total cost of burglaries, larceny, and robberies combined (Chalfin 2015) and is approximately half the cost of the devastating forest fires that engulfed California in 2018 (Wang et al. 2018). We can easily imagine the cost of hate more specifically directed towards any community to be orders of magnitude higher.

Conclusion

By considering the direct and indirect costs of hate crimes in any particular year, we calculate a significant burden. Further, as noted, past hate crimes continue to have costs (not computed in this framework) going forward. But it is also clear that hate crimes are just one small but important cost linked to behaviors associated with the human tendency to identify, demonize, and/or dehumanize a "them." The costs of war, of course, come to mind as an immediate complementary example.[21]

Hate is usually a destructive force, and those working for human rights and against bigotry justify their work, correctly, on moral grounds. What we have shown here is that there is also a clear economic case for reducing hate.

As noted, hate crimes are just a small part of this equation. We encourage others to pick up the study of the economic costs of hate so that, collectively, we can come as close as possible to an accurate and complete accounting.

NOTES

1. We also want to thank the Bard Publications Office for the design and production of this study, the Bard Department of Public Relations and Communications for helping bring notice to it, and to the GS Humane Corporation for underwriting it.
2. See https://blogs.bard.edu/bcsh/files/2018/12/Need-for-Interdisciplinary-Field-of-Hate-Studies.pdf, p. 11.
3. This type of "us/them" thinking can be understood to mean the binary of "us" versus "them," and seeing people who might otherwise be considered part of "us" instead being seen as part of a dangerous "them."
4. See, for example, Mullen and Darity (2020).
5. It is beyond the scope of this paper to quantify the exact cost of this hate crime, as we don't have access to all the bills for repairs, salaries of law enforcement, costs of medical treatment for those wounded, etc.
6. See https://www.fbi.gov/news/press-releases/fbi-releases-updated-2020-hate-crime-statistics.
7. It would be useful if the Department of Justice included costs associated with hate crimes in its annual hate crime statistics reports. See suggestion of the Bard Center for the Study of Hate before the House Homeland Security Committee, October 3, 2022: Written Testimony of Kenneth Stern before US House Homeland Security Committee.
8. See Miller, Cohen, and Wiersema (1996) and Miller, Cohen, and Hendrie (2017).
9. These estimates were later published in peer-reviewed literature as Miller, Cohen, and Hendrie (2017).
10. The original estimate of the cost of victim services for a rape victimization is $27, for example, which is an obvious undercount. Moreover, since the 1990s, reduced stigma surrounding mental health has likely led to a large increase in demand (and associated costs) for therapy following victimizations.
11. See Miller, Cohen, and Hendrie (2017).
12. For a full accounting, see Miller, Cohen, and Wiersema (1996).
13. United States Bureau of Justice Statistics, National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), ICPSR 37645, Version V1, 2019. Available at: https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/web/NACJD/studies/37645.
14. These data exclude crimes against institutions and entities, such as Pulse night club, churches, etc.
15. United States Bureau of Justice Statistics, National Crime Victimization Survey, 2019. The variable V4526AA is used by the NCVS to indicate whether a respondent identifies a discussed incident as a suspected hate crime.
16. As discussed below, 46.64 percent (236,163 of 506,310) of crimes that victims believed were hate crimes were accompanied by sufficient evidence to be classified as such.
17. The NIBRS also includes crimes against society. However, we do not consider those here as, according to the FBI, they "are typically victimless crimes." See https://ucr.fbi.gov/nibrs/2018/resource-pages/crimes_against_persons_property_and_society-2018.pdf.
18. "Willing to pay" is assumed. Researchers observe, for example, the risk of fatality and earnings across different occupations. Researchers assume that individuals choose the characteristics of their jobs, sometimes choosing more dangerous occupations because they pay more.
19. This number is only a bit higher than reports in the previous years, and it is consistent with existing estimates and the unfortunate uptick in recent years. Hate crimes comprise 1.88 percent of all estimated crimes (12,548,607) in the NCVS.
20. The cost of nonfatal crimes is $4,230,945,603 if we adjust for inflation using the CPI for medical expenses.
21. See the Cost of War project housed at Brown University. Available at: https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/.

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Back cover: Women Hugging After a Protest. Adobe stock photo by Sabrina

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APPENDIX C

California versus Hate

California vs Hate is a non-emergency reporting system designed to support individuals and communities targeted for hate. Together with organizations across the state, we can make California a more inclusive and safer place for all.

PROGRAM GOALS

- Help individuals and communities targeted for hate
- Identify options for next steps after an act of hate
- Connect people targeted for hate with culturally competent resources and care coordination services
- Improve hate incident and crime reporting data to enhance prevention and response

PARTNER WITH CALIFORNIA VS HATE

Your voice matters in the fight to reduce hate. We need your help to make all Californians aware of this critical resource in the effort to support people and stop hate.

- Visit our website for free, shareable graphics and posters
- Drive awareness by promoting California vs Hate as a resource that you share with your community
- Reach out to **info@cavshate.org** to get in touch with our team for more opportunities

FAQ

How do I report hate?

Any victim of or witness to a hate incident or crime in California can report it and receive support any time at CAvsHate.org. You can also call **833-8-NO-HATE**; (833) 866-4283 Monday - Friday from 9:00 am – 6:00 pm. If outside of those hours, you can leave a voicemail, or you can call 211 to report hate and seek support.

You can currently submit reports online in 15 languages and, when calling the hotline, you can get access to support in over 200 languages.

If you want to report a hate crime to law enforcement immediately or you are in present danger, please call 911.

What happens after you report?

Callers will be connected with a professional trained in culturally competent communication and trauma-informed practices.

Whether you report online or by phone, you will be contacted by a care coordinator who will follow up with you to ensure you are able to access resources and support, including legal, financial, mental health, and mediation services.

Can I remain anonymous?

All reports are confidential and can be made anonymously. Whether or not you report anonymously, your identity will not be disclosed without your consent unless required by law.

Is law enforcement involved?

California vs Hate is not run by the police. Your report will not be shared with law enforcement without your consent. We will only connect you with law enforcement if you request it. Our team can share information about how to report to police or local prosecutors if needed.

California vs Hate will also identify civil legal options that don't involve the criminal legal system, both through the Civil Rights Department and other agencies.

What if I am undocumented?

You do not need to disclose your immigration status when you report with California vs Hate. Hotline services are provided for free, regardless of immigration status.

Why is it important to report?

Reporting will stop the normalization of hate in our communities, and ensure impacted individuals get the help they need.

DEFINING ACTS OF HATE

What is a hate incident?

A hostile expression or action that may be motivated by bias against another person's actual or perceived identity(ies) and/or because that person is a part of a protected group. Perpetrators may be motivated by different discriminatory biases, including, but not limited to, bias on the basis of race, color, disability, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, gender, or gender identity. 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 but still cause significant harm in a community.

What is a hate crime?

Under California law, a hate crime is a criminal act committed, in whole or in part, because of one or more of the following actual or perceived characteristics of the victim: disability, gender, gender identity, nationality, race or ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation; or because of the person's association with a person or group with one or more of these actual or perceived characteristics.

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ADL DESERT