#### **Statement of Professor Brian Levin**

Director, Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism

**Department of Criminal Justice** 

California State University – San Bernardino

#### DOMESTIC TERRORISM AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM: EXAMINING THE THREAT OF RACIALLY, ETHNICALLY, RELIGIOUSLY, AND POLITICALLY MOTIVATED ATTACKS, PART II

**Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs** 

**United States Senate** 

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Chairman Peters, Ranking Member Portman, Members of the Committee, the heroes of the U.S. Capitol and D.C. Metropolitan Police Departments, thank each of you for your service to our nation and for another special opportunity to present some of my latest analysis and findings on hate and extremism, which Congress has used since 1987.

I am Prof. Brian Levin from the Department of Criminal Justice and the National Security Studies program at California State University, San Bernardino (CSUSB). I am here, however, on behalf of CSUSB's over two-decade strong non-partisan independent research and policy institution, the *Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism* ("CSHE"). Our quantitative and qualitative trend analysis on violent manifestations of political conflict and prejudice across both borders and the ideological spectrum, has been used by scholars, journalists, government, and policymakers around the world.

My testimony today will address material trends related to the threat posed by racially, religiously, and politically motivated extremism. The extremist threat both domestically and internationally is in a state of significant realignment across several fronts. As I have noted for several years, white supremacist/far right extremists continue to pose the most prominent lethal domestic terror threat facing the United States, they do so in an increasingly diversifying landscape that impacts not only these malefactors, but various emerging actors, across the entirety of the extremism spectrum.

Recent headlines across North America illustrate this: a 189% spike in Anti-Asian crime in major U.S. cities in the first quarter of 2021, a diverse group of over 550 defendants in the Capitol Siege, violent confrontations at the local level around hot button political issues, increasing activity of militias of various stripes, bomb plots and hoaxes by incel misogynists, an anti-Semitic attack in Times Square, and the emergence of a years-old Ku Klux Klan murder plot against a black man by Florida corrections officers, just to name a few. In Canada, anti-Asian hate crime also rose, amidst another mass homicide against a Muslim family and a spate of church arsons.

#### **Most Recent CSHE and FBI Data**

Our latest hate crime data from various states point to likely increases in hate crime for 2020 amidst a rotation to racial attacks as California, Texas, and New Jersey report double-digit percentage increases, although some spikes were particularly pronounced in certain places. Our extremist homicide totals for last year, led again by far-right/white supremacist killers, however, declined to under 20. The tally, though, also diversified with the first far left homicides in many years. Comprehensive gathering restrictions and the absence of a mass attack, however, appear to be an anomaly, rather than a trend.

The emerging 2021 trend is also distressing as New York City and Los Angeles are on track for possible record years with increases of 135% and 53% respectively, as hate crimes against Asians and Jews soared. In New York City, for example, there were almost as many anti-Semitic hate crimes during three weeks in May when there was deadly conflict in the Holy Land than in the whole first quarter of the year – a phenomenon we've seen in previous decades. There were

also more anti-Asian hate crimes in the city in the first half of the year, than the last seven years combined. Los Angeles and other cities had similar though less dramatic spikes.

#### FBI Latest National Full Year Hate Crime Data

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) annual hate crime totals for 2020 are not yet available, but both our data and theirs point to another increase. During June testimony FBI director Wray stated: "We in fact had, from fiscal year 2019 to fiscal year 2020, a 63% increase in FBI hate crimes investigations opened. This year, fiscal year 21, we have had the highest number of hate crime investigations initiated in the past five years. It is about 370 or so [federal] hate crime investigations pending. And they cover the waterfront."

In 2019, the last available year for FBI curated data, hate crimes hit their highest level in over a decade on a small overall increase of almost three percent. The 7,314 hate crime "incidents" or events tabulated from voluntarily collected complaint reports submitted by 15,588 agencies across the country represent the third consecutive year of an elevated plateau of over 7,100, increasingly violent, criminal incidents.

The 2019 increases in hate crime were far more precipitous among the most violent offenses – homicides and assaults; those directed toward certain target groups, like Jews and Latinos; and in some of the nation's largest cities. These 2019 overall hate crime totals represent an increase of 194 incidents, or 2.72%, over the prior year and the most since 2008 when there were 7,783.

Of person-directed crimes, FBI hate homicides rose most sharply to a record 51, more than double 2018 levels, as single assailant mass domestic terror attacks by white supremacists became increasingly more lethal. 2019 was the third consecutive annual rise in a series of sharp increases in hate homicides enumerated by the FBI. However, there have been noteworthy omissions to the annual FBI hate homicide tallies in recent decades including the 2016 Pulse Nightclub attack, with 49 killed; the 9/11 terror attacks; the 60 killed during the 1992 Los Angeles civil disorder; and the death of protester Heather Heyer at Charlottesville in August 2017.

The worst single mass homicide event of the year, the August 2019 anti-Latino El Paso massacre, which left 23 dead (22 in 2019) was the most lethal single hate homicide event since FBI tallies commenced three decades ago. The total was double 2018's most lethal event, the Tree of Life synagogue attack that October with eleven homicides. While the most recent biasmotivated mass killers have increasingly been young adults, like the 21-year-old El Paso assailant; a recent multi-decade longitudinal University of Maryland study found that these offenders relative to other violent hate offenders are older with a median age of 36

#### **Overlap Between Hate & Terrorism**

Hate crimes by their very nature are terroristic and the two categories overlap significantly, not only definitionally, but also with respect to offender categories:

The FBI hate crime definition is "a committed criminal offense motivated in whole or in part by the offenders' bias(es) against a race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, ethnicity, gender and gender identity" (FBI/UCR: Hate Crime Data Collection Guidelines, 2015).

"[T]he term 'domestic terrorism' means activities that. . . involve acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State; appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping; and...occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States. . . ."

#### **Violence Often Increases Around Conflictual Political Events**

We are in the midst of a vast transformational era of national realignment that profoundly impacts intergroup relations, and in particular, emergent multilayered extremism that is increasingly amorphous, decentralized, and more home region directed. As Department of Homeland Security Secretary Mayorkis noted just this week, "the American public should know—that these are not really well-organized groups that are hierarchical in nature as one might think of a terrorist organization in the foreign terrorist traditional sense. "These are often loosely affiliated, individuals or sole actors, really motivated by false narratives and ideologies of hate and the like. And that's what makes it challenging as well for law enforcement."

For decades, I've consistently observed that extremism is often a "carnival mirror reflection of debates and conflicts that go unresolved within the mainstream." However, as evidenced by an array of social surveys the mainstream is under stress too, as Americans are more polarized, pessimistic, and fearful, as well as dramatically less trusting in the communal institutions that bond us together, including government.

Indeed, there has been a significant correlation between conflictual catalytic events, the online invective around these events and politics. While the January 6 insurrection is a noteworthy example, this is hardly the first time we've seen an increase in violence around politics or elections. The highest volume day (the FBI counted the El Paso massacre as a single event) for all hate crime in 2019 was in early December when news outlets announced impeachment hearings would go forward and tied for the second-worst day was when President Trump maligned Congressperson Omar and other house members.

Disturbingly, our 2018 data showed the majority of white supremacist homicides for the year clustered roughly before election time with anti-Jewish and anti-Black attacks, when polls indicated a possible party shift in a highly contested mid-term election. We also saw an increase in hate crime reports from major U.S. cities during that time as well and later the FBI confirmed that October 2018 was the second-worst month of the decade for hate crime.

Similarly, the month of the fatal Charlottesville "Unite the Right" rally, and the associated political controversy around it, was tied for the third-worst month this decade for FBI-reported hate crime. Except for election month 2016, the last months with higher totals than August 2017, were around the election of Barack Obama, when escalating anti-Black hate crime hit levels not seen since.

Election month, November 2016, was the worst month in 14 years with 758 FBI-reported hate crimes. Interestingly, other data showed a corresponding increase in the volume of both bigoted

speech on 4chan, as well as an increase in manipulative racially divisive ad buys by the Russians on Facebook around that time. The <u>Report On The Investigation Into Russian Interference In The</u> <u>2016 Presidential Election</u> (Mueller Report), March 2019 concluded:

"Collectively, the IRA's social media accounts reached tens of millions of U.S. persons. Individual IRA social media accounts attracted hundreds of thousands of followers.... According to Facebook, in total the IRA-controlled accounts made over 80,000 posts before their deactivation in August 2017, and these posts reached at least 29 million U.S. persons and 'may have reached an estimated 126 million people."

The day after the elections – November 9, 2016 - with over 50 reported hate crimes, was the worst day in 13 years. It was also the day three interdicted militia extremists planned to truck bomb a Garden City, Kansas apartment complex populated by Somali-American Muslims. This pattern of bursts in hate crime, vile internet chatter, and terror around conflictual political events has been repeated elsewhere, as in the United Kingdom. There, hate crimes not only rose around the Brexit vote, but a sitting member of parliament was assassinated around that time as well. More recently, we have seen an increase in threats against American public officials, including at the state and local level, as well an escalation in precursor extremist activity or violent plotting by other ideological movements as we embark on yet another highly conflicted mid-term election season.

Like hate crimes, activity on online platforms spikes around catalytic events. Anti-Semitic and anti-Black virtual hate speech had the most sustained digital increase, even as white supremacist and neo-Nazi presence at large rallies plummeted, amidst a post- Charlottesville-breakdown of more organized extremist groups and their leaders, and the closing of an election cycle. The Internet has enabled not only newly hobbled extremist associations to maintain a public presence, but it also provides the increasingly organizationally unaffiliated extremists and loners with a tool to congregate, radicalize, and broadcast not only bigotry but disturbingly, lone acts of mass violence that reference prior attacks. Social media has also been weaponized, not only by domestic and foreign extremists but also by state actors like Russia seeking to "sow discord" and launch conspiracy theories amongst the electorate to advance prejudice and political division.

#### Today's Terrorists Less Ideologically & Organizationally Rigid

Today's extremist actors are not as structurally or ideologically rigid, with many adhering to an idiosyncratic blend derived from broad elastic subcultures of grievance that in turn, identify appropriate targets of violence, not only within an overall sub-culture but through various tributaries that include violence-prone cells or loners. This confluence of demonization, conspiracies, and stereotyping in various feedback loops across different strata of social media, is tilting toward encrypted and affinity-based platforms, as mainstream platforms become more restrictive, though many extremists still maintain multiple accounts.

The spread of white nationalist and, to a lesser extent, other extremist viewpoints into an increasingly fragmented and sometimes violent mainstream socio-political landscape provides an overflowing elastic reservoir for intergroup conflict not only domestically, but around the globe, where offenders are also co-influenced by a variety of factors ranging from conspiracy theories

to misogyny. At its most jagged and unstable digital edges, it has resulted in political violence, intimidation, and threats with transnational aspects.

Those who commit mass casualty targeted violence come in three general types:

#### • Ideologically Motivated

- Religious
- Political
- Hybrid
- Psychological Issues
  - Cognitively Impaired **OR**
  - Sociopath
- Personal Benefit or Revenge

(Most can be "mixed and matched," but one is dominant.)

Similarly, Northeastern University professors Jack McDevitt and Jack Levin were the first to put hate crime offenders into three categories in the early 1990s, and contend they are motivated by different goals, with differing depths of prejudice. They found that while all hate crimes involve bias, there seemed to be three distinct primary reasons for offenders deciding to go on the attack: psychological thrill and group bonding (thrill-seeking offenders), fear and anger triggered by a perceived attack (defensive offenders<sup>1</sup>), and to rid the world of those groups deemed evil (mission offenders). I believe there are other categories as well including those with psychological conditions, among others.

Various lethal multi-casualty events like the attacks at an El Paso Walmart in 2019, the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh in 2018, a Sikh Gurdwara in Wisconsin in 2012, a Kansas Jewish Community Center in 2014, and the historic Mother Emanuel African-American church were all carried out by mission offenders.

### El Paso Terror Attack: Another Link in Transnational Chain of Violence

On July 30, 2019, just days before the El Paso Terror attack, we released our *Report to the Nation*, when another link in this transnational horrific "chain of violence" that I've warned about was forged. On the morning of August 3<sup>rd</sup>, a 21-year-old white male from Allen, Texas posted a methodical four-page diatribe on 8chan after driving across the state. It opened with praise for both the Christchurch terrorist who killed 49 at two mosques, and his lengthy manifesto entitled "The Great Replacement," which was itself lifted off a 2012 French book by Renaud Camus, with the same title, about European "white genocide." The New Zealand terrorist, in turn was also inspired by, yet another manifesto writing white supremacist terrorist who murdered 77 in Norway in 2011.

The young Texan further explained the influence that the French book had on him:

"This attack is a response to the Hispanic invasion of Texas.... I am simply defending my country from cultural and ethnic replacement brought on by an invasion.... Actually, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The defensive offender was initially referred to as a reactive offender. This was changed by McDevitt, Levin, and Bennett (2002).

Hispanic community was not my target before I read the Great Replacement." *Le grand remplacement* is a 2012 dystopian book lamenting the coming extinction of white Europeans on the continent by Muslim immigrants and other people of color that has become a recent staple in an international chain. The killer concluded by warning, "This is just the beginning of the fight for America *and* Europe." [Italics added].

Less than twenty minutes after uploading his hateful exhortation, its author opened fire on mostly older shoppers in a crowded El Paso Walmart with a legally purchased semi-automatic military-style rifle killing twenty-two, resulting in the worst white supremacist/far right terrorist attack since 168 perished in the Oklahoma City Murrah Federal Building bombing of April 19, 1995.

#### Leaderless Resistance and Propaganda of the Deed

That same year, Stormfront, the first white Supremacist website was launched by Don Black, a neo-Nazi white supremacist felon, whose vision of an international racist network was succinctly stated in its moniker "White Pride World Wide." In 1995, I testified before another congressional committee about the central role that the "Leaderless Resistance" tactic plays regarding scripted violence by autonomous loners or small cells against those perceived as enemies of whites. News reports of random "propaganda of the deed" violent attacks against minorities alone were supposed to inspire other extremists. In today's fragmented social media landscape, the white supremacist embrace of leaderless resistance has produced a "propaganda of the deed 2.0" effect. While numerous racist terrorists visited Stormfront, today many also inhabit a variety of other smaller curated virtual spaces.

The violence is not only inspired by racist folklore, but through an accompanying text, meme or video, the terrorist seeks to write the next chapter of it. Most of these young terrorists have no direct operational connection to or affiliation with terror groups. However, the Internet has also enabled newer small violent groups, with short half-lives, like the recent Michigan militia cell, the 2016 Kansas Facebook anti-Muslim bomb plotters, Atomwaffen Division, the Rise Above Movement and the Base to not only recruit individually but to also assemble, across borders, when necessary, for violent activities or training.

The spread of white nationalist and, to a lesser extent, other extremist viewpoints into an increasingly fragmented and sometimes violent mainstream socio-political landscape provides an overflowing elastic reservoir for intergroup conflict not only domestically, but around the globe, where offenders are also co-influenced by a variety of factors ranging from conspiracy theories to misogyny. At its most jagged and unstable digital edges, it has resulted in political violence, intimidation, and threats with transnational aspects. The deplatforming that has occurred of various types of extremists has served to hasten the growth of various sub-cultures, but it has also resulted in a cat and mouse enforcement scheme. Moreover, conspiracy theories, Like QAnon continue to mutate with a range that now includes scapegoating of Asians, Jews, and public health initiatives around Covid.

#### Recommendations

With at least fifty statutes on the federal books and no case of an instance where a domestic violent attack occurred because of a statutory gap, the most optimal changes should be adopted

respecting bureaucratic issues, personnel, resource allocation, data availability and transparency, as well as increased coordination with state and local authorities and commissions in an increasingly regional threat matrix. Please note there is a vast array of data supplied in the appendix to this statement.

Here are some of our recommendations that would enhance our response to address these mutating threats:

Enact legislation to improve the availability and production of timely government data on terrorism and hate crime incidents and prosecutions;

Require more transparency and clarity from social media companies respecting their policies and data relating to extremism,

Require law enforcement agencies to have model hate crime policies, bona fide data collection, outreach and coordination, enhanced background investigations, and the adoption of national standards as a requirement for federal funding.

Reinstitute the economical "train the trainer" hate and extremism program from the 1990s;

*Reinvigorate the Community Relations Service through the methodical hiring of those with mediation skills;* 

Enhance both statutory and administrative provisions to counter the growing threat against civil servants, public officials, and elected office holders at all levels;

Amend 18 USC §231 to punish not only trainers, but trainees in violent methods designed to foment civil disorder;

Improve background checks and closing loopholes on firearms purchases, as well as the placement of restrictions on semi-automatic rifles, and extended magazines inter alia;

Enact the George Floyd Justice in Policing Act;

Provide greater funding and resources to enhance interagency coordination at the state and local level to combat the threat that white supremacist /far right and other emerging extremism poses to the homeland.

Thank you for the opportunity to address this Committee and I am happy to answer any questions you may have.

#### Appendix

#### Recent Hate Crime Data (Preliminary) from State and Local Agencies

US City Population	Total Hate Crimes 2020	Hate Crimes 1/1/21-6/30/21
New York City, NY 8,336,817	266	317
Los Angeles, CA 3,979,537	355	297
Houston, TX 2,316,797	47	22
Phoenix, AZ 1,680,988	204	79*
San Jose, CA 1,021,786	89	48
Boston, MA 694,295	146	77
Sacramento, CA 513,620	57	23
*Data collected 1/1/21-		

States that do not require hate crime data collection, according to the Department of Justice: Alabama, Alaska, Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Kansas, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

Police data tables: Analisa Venolia/CSHE Research Fellow

Special thanks to Andrew Thompson, James Nolan, Kevin Grisham, John Reitzel, Stephen al-Khattab, Masood Farivar, Lisa Nakashima, William Lambdin, Gabriel Levin and research fellow Analisa Venolia for contributing to the research featured in this appendix.

US City Population	Hate Crimes 1/1/20-6/30/20	Hate Crimes 1/1/21-6/30/21	% Change
New York City, NY 8,336,817	135	317	135%
Los Angeles, CA 3,979,537	194	297	53%
Houston, TX 2,316,797	28	22	-21%
Boston, MA 694,295	70	77	10%
Total	427	713	67%

US State Population	Total Hate Crimes 2019	Total Hate Crimes 2020	% Change
California 39,512,223	1015	1330	31%
Texas 28,995,881	389	462	19%
Washington St. 7,170,351	559	468	-16%
Virginia 8,535,519	168	190	13%
New Jersey* 8,944,970 *Prelim-Not FBI	994	1441	45%
Oregon 3,831,074	272	377	38%
Total:	3397	4268	+ 29.5%

US City Population	Total Hate Crimes 2019	Total Hate Crimes 2020	% Change for Total Hate Crimes 2019-2020	% of Population - AAPI	Change Anti-Asian Hate Crimes	2019 Anti-Asian	2020 Anti-Asiar
New York City, NY 8,336,817	428	265	-38%	14.5%	833%	3	28
Los Angeles, CA 3,979,537	326	355	9%	11.6%	114%	7	15
Chicago, IL 2,693,959	100	81	-19%	6.9%	Unchanged	2	2
Houston, TX 2,316,797	25	47	88%	6.5%	-	0	3
Phoenix, AZ 1,680,988	156	204	31%	4.2%	50%	2	3
Philadelphia, PA 1,584,064	35	17	-51%	7.5%	200%	2	6
San Antonio, TX 1,508,083	9	38	322%	2.8%	Unchanged	0	0
San Diego, CA 1,423,852	30	25	-17%	17.2%	-	0	1
Dallas, TX 1,343,565	31	62	100%	3.4%	-	0	6
San Jose, CA 1,021,786	34	89	162%	38.0%	150%	4	10
Columbus, OH 902,073	93	110	18%	5.8%	Unchanged	1	1
San Francisco, CA 881,549	64	52	-19%	35.0%	50%	6	9
Seattle, WA 753,655	114	139	22%	16.9%	56%	9	14
Denver, CO 727,211	88	71	-19%	3.7%	-	0	3
Washington, DC 705,749	203	132	-35%	4%	-83%	6	1
Boston, MA 694,295	170	146	-14%	9.7%	133%	6	14
Portland, OR 653,467	35	49	40%	8.4%	-67%	3	1
Louisville, KY 617,630	9	48	433%	2.7%	Unchanged	0	0
Sacramento, CA 513,620	11	57	418%	20.1%	700%	1	8
Long Beach, CA 462,645	23	18	-22%	12.3%	Unchanged	0	0
Cleveland, OH 380,989	116*	NA	-	2.4%	200%	2	6
Saint Paul, MN 308,096	11	38	245%	19.4%	100%	1	2
Cincinatti, OH 303,954	41	45	10%	2.3%	-	0	1
Bloomington, IN 86,630	2	7	250%	10.0%	-	0	1
US County Population	Total Hate Crimes 2019	Total Hate Crimes 2020	% Change for Total Hate Crimes 2019-2020	% of Population - AAPI	Percent of Change Anti-Asian Hate Crimes	2019 Anti-Asian	2020 Anti-Asiar
Harris County, TX 4,713,325	19	10	-47%	7.0%	Unchanged	0	0
Miami-Dade County, FL 2,716,940	10	5	-50%	1.5%	Unchanged	о	0
US City/County TOTALS	2067	2110	2%	N/A	146%	55	135
Canada City, Population	Total Hate Crimes 2019	Total Hate Crimes 2020	% Change for Total Hate Crimes 2019-2020	% of Asian Canadians	Percent of Change Anti-Asian Hate Crimes	2019 Anti-Asian	2020 Anti-Asiar
Toronto 2,731,571	139	210	51%	32.5% 280%		5	19
Vancouver 631,486	142	280	97%	44.0%	717%	12	98
Montreal 1,704,694	3	22	633%	20.3%	167%	3	8
Ottawa 934,243	116	182	57%	21.6%	600%	2	14
Canada City TOTALS	400	694	74%	N/A	532%	22	139

Anti-AAPI Hate Crime Data for Select U.S. Cities/U.S. Counties and Major Cities in Canada (2020-2019)

Note: Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) Population makes up 6.5% of the U.S. population.

Source: CSHE Curated Data Set from U.S. Policing Agencies and Canadian Government

#### FBI Hate Crime: ALL BIAS MOTIVATION TYPES (1992-2018) Month by Month Hate Crime Occurrences Worst Month for Each Year is Highlighted

					All	Bias Moti	vation Typ	es 1992-2	018				
	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
1992	495	514	615	608	829	546	492	559	478	569	524	433	6,662
1993	634	596	568	686	689	651	718	680	623	662	617	479	7,603
1994	406	455	612	541	502	461	509	533	552	585	418	379	5,953
1995	584	573	709	671	564	715	719	691	757	855	586	522	7,946
1996	686	679	756	783	757	790	812	760	776	761	651	548	8,759
1997	561	598	740	715	788	712	712	673	695	758	584	512	8,048
1998	595	597	651	662	707	688	736	655	663	763	549	485	7,751
1999	566	642	636	777	738	638	704	711	684	710	581	488	7,875
2000	561	629	751	743	702	653	663	685	740	879	596	461	8,063
2001	624	552	735	809	741	762	684	711	1,942	1,043	616	511	9,730
2002	544	519	701	708	673	666	651	633	767	643	537	420	7,462
2003	528	488	683	673	697	649	641	678	681	681	615	475	7,489
2004	523	630	685	701	741	654	670	633	646	718	585	463	7,649
2005	542	541	622	678	680	600	612	625	612	677	548	426	7,163
2006	559	535	637	735	700	690	742	641	682	695	611	499	7,726
2007	553	479	632	675	717	686	688	658	744	743	574	475	7,624
2008	561	591	674	683	721	669	684	673	680	722	667	458	7,783
2009	478	491	565	549	615	591	557	639	594	628	500	405	6,612
2010	474	437	600	663	613	538	558	619	657	634	473	362	6,628
2011	440	387	516	539	589	553	548	572	552	571	470	485	6,222
2012	560	544	589	577	629	571	611	568	590	518	465	371	6,593
2013	395	394	476	524	566	561	594	560	510	507	440	387	5,914
2014	324	383	434	483	512	504	505	550	490	548	366	380	5,479
2015	412	364	437	512	558	562	592	544	481	469	462	457	5,850
2016	382	385	496	489	492	538	612	521	536	568	758	491	6,268
2017	544	576	632	560	648	641	580	663	631	642	579	479	7,175
2018	475	502	550	539	652	634	662	645	639	702	589	593	7,120

Data for the graph obtained from the FBI Uniform Crime Reports: Hate Crime in the United States 1992-2018.

Bolded, outlined cells indicate the worse month in the relevant year.

Color distribution of cells conditioned on the tenth, fiftieth, and ninetieth percentiles.

### CSHE: Extremist Homicides by Year





Confidence in Key Institutions Decline (Gallup) By Gabriel Levin





#### APPENDIX: Hate Speech on 4chan (Andrew Thompson) and U.S. Hate Crime & 4chan Hate Speech Hate Term Frequency on 4chan: 2015-2018



A.Thompson/J. Nolan

#### **Terror Trends**

#### Domestic Terror Structure More Loose Than Traditional Foreign Terrorist, DHS Sec'y Mayorkas, Andrea Mitchell Reports, MSNBC via Newsweek

"I think ... a very important thing, that the American public should know—that these are not really well-organized groups that are hierarchical in nature as one might think of a terrorist organization in the foreign terrorist traditional sense. "These are often loosely affiliated, individuals or sole actors, really motivated by false narratives and ideologies of hate and the like. And that's what makes it challenging as well for law enforcement."

8/02/21 <u>https://www.newsweek.com/domestic-extremism-greatest-terror-threat-facing-us-says-dhs-secretary-mayorkas-1615455</u>

### FBI Director Wray reconfirms the threat posed by racist extremists, Washington Post, Bump

"In terms of domestic violent extremism, domestic terrorism, that number is now — has grown steadily on my watch," said Wray....So we've increased the number of domestic terrorism investigations from around a 1,000 or so when I got here to up to about 1,400 at the end of last year to about 2,000 now. That's domestic terrorism overall."

"When it comes to racially motivated violent extremism, that number — again, number of investigations and number of arrests — has grown significantly on my watch," he continued. "And the number of arrests, for example, of racially motivated violent extremists who are what you would categorize as white supremacists, last year was almost triple the number it was in my first year as director....

He added that the threat from "anarchist violent extremists" had similarly grown...."I would certainly say...that racially motivated violent extremism, specifically of the sort that advocates for the superiority of the white race, is a persistent, evolving threat," he said. "It's the biggest chunk of our racially motivated violent extremism cases for sure. And racially motivated violent extremism is the biggest chunk of our domestic terrorism portfolio, if you will, overall." 3/2/21 https/politics/2021/03/02/fbi-director-wray-reconfirms-threat-posed-by-racist-extremists/

### FBI Director Wray's Testimony Before Congress: Hate Investigations Up 63% C-SPAN

"We in fact had, from fiscal year 2019 to fiscal year 2020, a 63% increase in FBI hate crimes investigations opened. This year, fiscal year 21, we have had the highest number of hate crime investigations initiated in the past five years. It is about 370 or so hate crime investigations pending. And they cover the waterfront." 6/10/21

https://www.c-span.org/video/?512336-1/fbi-director-wray-testifies-oversight-bureau

#### **Despite Surge in US Hate Crimes, Feds Prosecute 38% Fewer Cases, Voice of America,** Farivar

Since the enactment of a landmark federal hate crimes law 10 years ago, federal prosecutors have charged more than 330 people with hate crime offenses, including more than 70 people during the past three years, the Justice Department said Wednesday.

Although the department said it has "strengthened its hate crimes prosecution program" in recent years, the figures show a decline of nearly 38% in the number of people charged with hate crimes annually over the past three years when compared with prosecutions during the last seven years of the previous administration. This comes as bias-motivated crimes against Blacks, Jews, Muslims, LGBTQ people and other protected classes have continued to rise in recent years.

The Justice Department did not respond to repeated requests for an explanation for the decrease. 10/19/2-19

https://www.voanews.com/usa/despite-surge-us-hate-crimes-feds-prosecute-fewer-cases

# Past Four Years Terror Attacks Up With Far Right "Largest Share" U of Maryland Start/Via Wall Street Journal, Frosch and Levy

Over the past four years, there were more than 60 terrorist attacks annually in the U.S., which include shootings, assaults and bombs, a trend not seen since the early 1980s, according to the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) at the University of Maryland. People with far-right ideology were responsible for the largest share of these attacks, START said. 9/15/20 https://www.wsj.com/articles/cities-were-filled-with-mass-protests-in-the-summer-of-2020-they-are-different-now-11600171200

#### Homeland Threat Assessment, October 2020 Department of Homeland Security Violent Extremism in the United States

The primary terrorist threat inside the United States will stem from lone offenders and small cells of individuals, including Domestic Violent Extremists (DVEs) and foreign terrorist-inspired Homegrown Violent Extremists (HVEs). Some U.S.-based violent extremists have capitalized on increased social and political tensions in 2020, which will drive an elevated threat environment at least through early 2021. Violent extremists will continue to target individuals or institutions that represent symbols of their grievances, as well as grievances based on political affiliation or perceived policy positions.

https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/2020\_10\_06\_homeland-threat-assessment.pdf

### *White nationalism/far right extremism continue to be most ascendant*: 2019 Report to the Nation, Center for the Study of Hate & Extremism

"A broad range of ideologies still exist, capable of inspiring mass violence, infrastructure attacks, targeted assassinations, or plots from geographically disparate and often autonomous loners and small cells, who often operate in their home regions, sometimes combining a mix of idiosyncratic motivations...White nationalism/far right extremism continue to be most ascendant, despite the incapacity of many of their most prominent groups and leaders. The overwhelming majority of declining extremist domestic homicides in 2018 were by white nationalist/far right sole assailants who attacked around the mid-term elections."

https://www.csusb.edu/sites/default/files/CSHE%202019%20Report%20to%20the%20Nation%2 0FINAL%207.29.19%2011%20PM 0 0.pdf

# The Escalating Terrorism Problem in the United States: Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS): Jones/Doxsee

"Between 1994 and 2020, there were 893 terrorist attacks and plots in the United States. Overall, right-wing terrorists perpetrated the majority—57 percent—of all attacks and plots during this period, compared to 25 percent committed by left-wing terrorists, 15 percent by religious terrorists, 3 percent by ethnonationalists, and 0.7 percent by terrorists with other motives....the most significant threat likely comes from white supremacists, though anarchists and religious extremists inspired by the Islamic State and al-Qaeda could present a potential threat as well. Over the rest of 2020, the terrorist threat in the United States will likely rise based on several factors, including the November 2020 presidential election." 6/17/20 <a href="https://www.csis.org/analysis/escalating-terrorism-problem-united-states">https://www.csis.org/analysis/escalating-terrorism-problem-united-states</a>

#### National Intelligence Council: Global Trends 2040 report: March 2021

"[T]he difficulty of addressing these transnational challenges is compounded in part by increasing fragmentation within communities, states, and the international system. Paradoxically, as the world has grown more connected through communications technology, trade, and the movement of people, that very connectivity has divided and fragmented people and countries." https://www.dni.gov/files/ODNI/documents/assessments/GlobalTrends 2040.pdf

### What Terrorism Will Look Like in the Near Future. Newline Institute Colin Clarke &

Rasha Al Aqueedi

[A]n increase in terrorism and extremist violence around the world, as tribalism becomes entrenched and narratives begin to frame "out-groups," however defined, in terms of existential threats to security and survival of "in-groups." Despite the vast troves of money and resources allocated to counterterrorism, states and governments remain largely unprepared for what could come next.

6/29/21 https://newlinesinstitute.org/nonstate-actors/what-terrorism-will-look-like-in-the-near-future/

#### Data

#### Gallup: 2020 Sets Records for Negative Emotions, Ray

"[C]ollectively, the world was feeling the worst it had in 15 years. The index score reached a new high of 32 in 2020." – 7/20/21

https://news.gallup.com/poll/352205/2020-sets-records-negative-emotions.aspx

## Americans' optimism about country's direction drops nearly 20 points since May: ABC POLL

"As the overall mood in the country grows more pessimistic, Americans are split on how Biden is doing keeping his campaign promises.

• Currently, 45% are optimistic about where the country is headed over the next year, while 55% are pessimistic.

- This marks a nearly 20-point decline in optimism from late April, the last time this question was asked. At that time, 64% were optimistic about the year ahead.
- This growing pessimism is happening across all age groups." 7/25/21

https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/americans-optimism-countrys-direction-year-drops-20-points/story?id=79036435&cid=social\_fb\_abcn

#### Gallup: Americans' Confidence in Major U.S. Institutions Dips, Brenan

- 33% average confidence in 14 major institutions, down from 36% in 2020
- Public schools, medical system down after double-digit increases in 2020
- Small business, military elicit the most confidence; Congress, the least

#### 7/14/21

https://news.gallup.com/poll/352316/americans-confidence-major-institutions-dips.aspx

## 556 Federal Prosecutions So Far in Jan. 6 Capitol Hill Siege: GW Univ. Program on Extremism

"The number of federal cases against individuals involved in the Capitol Hill Siege stands at 556. According to our latest analysis of the cases:

- The average age of individuals was **39-years-old**.
- Individuals came from 44 states and the District of Columbia.
- Cases have been brought against **486 men (88%)** and **70 women (12%)**.
- The largest numbers came from Florida (63), Texas (54), and Pennsylvania (48).
- The majority (>85%) were charged in part using evidence from their personal social media accounts, others' accounts, or both
- **60 (11%)** have military experience (55 Veterans, 2 National Guard, 2 Reserve, 1 Active Duty)" 7/30/2021 https://extremism.gwu.edu/Capitol-Hill-Cases

#### US Capitol Police: 107% Increase in Threats Against Congress Members

[T]he number of threats made against Congress has increased significantly. This year alone, there has been a 107% increase in threats against Members compared to 2020. Provided the unique threat environment we currently live in, the Department is confident the number of cases will continue to increase. May 7, 2021

https://www.uscp.gov/media-center/press-releases/uscp-response-oig-report-3

#### **Election Officials Under Attack - Brennan Center**

[O]ne in three election officials feel unsafe because of their job. And nearly one in five listed threats to their lives as a job-related concern." – 4/17/2021 <u>https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/2021-06/BCJ-</u> 130 Election%200fficials fact%20sheet.pdf

#### Online

## QAnon is not Dead- Global Network on Extremism and Technology (GNET): Wildon/Argentino

"QAnon adherents migrated to various alt-tech platforms, yet two of them (Telegram and Gab) in the past seven months have turned into <u>central hubs</u>....Therefore, though we are far from the numbers that were seen when QAnon was on mainstream social media platforms, the community that remains is still active and cross-pollinating with more extreme movements..." 7/28/21

https://gnet-research.org/2021/07/28/qanon-is-not-dead-new-research-into-telegram-shows-the-movement-is-alive-and-well/

# QAnon's hallmark catchphrases evaporating from the mainstream internet (DFR Lab) Holt/Rizzuto

"[T]he language of the QAnon conspiracy theory movement as it has historically appeared online has all but evaporated from the *mainstream internet* [emphasis added]. In its wake lies a kind of neo-QAnon: a cluster of loosely connected conspiracy theory-driven movements that advocate many of the same false claims without the [previous] hallmark linguistic stylings..." 5/7/2021 <u>https://medium.com/dfrlab/qanons-hallmark-catchphrases-evaporating-from-themainstream-internet-ce90b6dc2c55</u>

### Deplatforming works, but it's not enough to fix Facebook and Twitter – Wired

"Amarnath Amarasingam, a senior research fellow at the Institute for Strategic Dialogue, collated multiple studies showing that suspensions did have an impact on replies, retweets and overall dissemination. Isis was removed from mainstream platforms like Facebook and Twitter in late 2015... which forced them to move to Telegram, where they continued to attract loyalists and plot attacks. 'Then, in November 2019, Europol and Telegram collaborated on a sustained campaign, and it was hugely effective,' he says. "'Several disseminators were arrested in real life as well, and the network suffered a major blow.'"

The bottom line is that deplatforming reduces reach. 1/15/21

https://www.wired.co.uk/article/deplatforming-parler-bans-qanon

### A Game Livestreaming Site Has Become an Extremist Haven - Wired

"One streamer who received donations as he stormed the Capitol on Wednesday was Tim Gionet, also known as BakedAlaska.... Elon University professor Megan Squire, an expert on online extremism, estimates that fans donated thousands of dollars to him yesterday through lemons." 1/7/21 https://www.wired.com/story/dlive-livestreaming-site-extremist-haven/

#### A CONTAGION OF INSTITUTIONAL DISTRUST: National Contagion Research Institute/Rutgers

"After conspiracy groups such as QAnon were banned from mainstream social media platforms, new memes began to appear that incorporate many of their themes but seem designed to have wider popular appeal and escape censorship on mainstream platforms. Memes such as "COVID1984," for example, steer legitimate concerns about contradictory information, public health restrictions, vaccine efficacy, and censorship of unpopular ideas toward a belief in an ominous totalitarian enemy with tentacles in "big tech," media, and government. Spring 2020

https://networkcontagion.us/wp-content/uploads/NCRI-AntiVaccinationV6.pdf

#### Social Justice Protest Data

## The BLM movement has remained overwhelmingly non-violent. The Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED)

- Approximately 94% of all pro-BLM demonstrations have been peaceful, with 6% involving reports of violence, clashes with police, vandalism, looting, or other destructive activity.
  - In the remaining 6%, it is not clear who instigated the violent or destructive activity. While some cases of violence or looting have been provoked by demonstrators, other events have escalated as a result of aggressive government action, intervention from right-wing groups or individual assailants, and carramming attacks.
- In contrast, demonstrations involving right-wing militias or militant social movements have turned violent or destructive over twice as often, or nearly 14% of the time. 9/3/2020

https://acleddata.com/2021/05/25/a-year-of-racial-justice-protests-key-trends-in-demonstrations-supporting-the-blm-movement/

## Cars have hit demonstrators 104 times since George Floyd protests began: U. of Chicago – USA Today / Hauck

"There have been at least 104 incidents of people driving vehicles into protests from May 27 through Sept. 5, including 96 by civilians and eight by police, according to Ari Weil, a terrorism researcher at the University of Chicago's Project on Security and Threats..." 7/9/20

https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2020/07/08/vehicle-ramming-attacks-66-us-since-may-27/5397700002/

### Civil Unrest Losses Exceed 1 Billion Dollars in 2020, Axios, Kingson

The vandalism and looting following the death of George Floyd at the hands of the Minneapolis police will cost the insurance industry more than any other violent demonstrations in recent history, Axios has learned. 9/16/2020

https://www.axios.com/riots-cost-property-damage-276c9bcc-a455-4067-b06a-66f9db4cea9c.html

### 14 Days Of Protests, 19 Dead, Forbes, McEvoy

"T]he death toll from two weeks of demonstrations over the death of George Floyd continues to creep upward, with at least 19 people—a majority of whom are black—now dead. 6/8/2020 <u>https://www.forbes.com/sites/jemimamcevoy/2020/06/08/14-days-of-protests-19-dead/?sh=38d742a84de4</u>

#### The Increasing Violence of Hate Crime In Recent Years



Hate Crime Homicides by Year (1992 to 2019) Source: 2019 Hate Crime Statistics, FBI



Aggravated Assaults Offenses Total and Breakdown by Bias Type (1996-2019) Source: 2000 to 2019 Hate Crime Statistics, FBI

\*\*Note: There can be more than one offense in a given recorded incident.



#### U.S. Population By Race: 2018



#### FBI Hate Crime Multi-Year Trends By Bias Motivation

Bias Category	Years	Number of Hate Crimes	Change in	Percent Change
	<u>Compared</u> (1 yr/5 yr)	for Each Year	Number	
All Hate Crime	2019 to 2018	7,314 from 7,120	+194	+2.72%
	2019 to 2014	7,314 from 5,479	+1835	+33.49%
Anti-White	2019 to 2018	666 from 762	-96	-12.60%
	2019 to 2014	666 from 593	+73	+12.31%
Anti-Black	2019 to 2018	1,930 from 1,943	-13	-0.67%
	2019 to 2014	1,930 from 1,621	+309	+19.06%
Anti-Arab	2019 to 2018	95 from 82	+13	+15.85%
	2019 to 2014	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anti-Latino/Hispanic	2019 to 2018	527 from 485	+42	+8.66%
	2019 to 2014	527 from 299	+228	+76.25%
Anti-Jewish	2019 to 2018	953 from 835	+118	+14.13%
	2019 to 2014	953 from 609	+344	+56.49%
Anti-Muslim	2019 to 2018	176 from 188	-12	-6.38%
	2019 to 2014	176 from 154	+22	+14.29%
Anti-Gay Male	2019 to 2018	746 from 726	+20	+2.75%
	2019 to 2014	746 from 599	+147	+24.54%
Anti-Disability	2019 to 2018	157 from 159	-2	-1.26%
	2019 to 2014	157 from 84	+73	+86.90%
Anti-Transgender	2019 to 2018	151 from 142	+9	+6.34%
	2019 to 2014	151 from 58	+93	+160.34%
Anti-Sikh	2019 to 2018	49 from 60	-11	-18.33%
	2019 to 2014	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anti-Asian	2019 to 2018	158 from 148	+10	+6.76%
	2019 to 2014	158 from 140	+18	+12.86%







Many groups experienced a spike in FBI hate crime data during the 2016 election period with the official data mirroring that of advocacy organizations like the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), which collected mostly non-criminal unofficial incident reports from an unvetted online submission platform. FBI anti-Latino hate crime spiked the most around election time, but did not rise in June 2015 when the President launched his campaign with a derisive discussion of Mexicans, amid a crowded field.

#### FBI Hate Crimes By Individual Bias Motive & Month

Jan   Feb   Mar   Apr   May   Jun   Jun   Aug   Sep   Oct   Nov   Dec   T     1992   197   201   210   186   253   185   171   207   190   197   168   147   2     1993   245   222   212   253   275   215   257   282   206   253   214   187   139   139   132   132   219   133   132   219   219   133   133   21   131   21   136   219   133   133   21   255   289   311   348   219   175   22   133   133   313   311   317   324   286   303   205
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2012   159   171   206   188   211   159   200   206   162   164   124   110   2
2013   133   124   158   171   176   178   201   184   151   149   135   93   1
2014   112   123   120   139   155   140   145   166   139   161   111   119   1
2015 127 112 130 157 166 171 181 176 153 142 141 104 1
2016   103   102   152   133   153   152   172   176   173   204   131   1
<b>2017 1</b> 21 <b>1</b> 43 <b>1</b> 54 <b>1</b> 71 <b>1</b> 91 <b>2</b> 02 <b>1</b> 79 <b>2</b> 01 <b>1</b> 86 <b>2</b> 12 <b>1</b> 67 <b>1</b> 18 <b>2</b>
2018   126   137   148   171   169   176   193   177   158   178   155   162   1

#### Anti-Black Bias Motivated Incidents 1992-2018

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
1992	57	79	117	115	93	71	61	80	56	100	109	82	1,020
1993	83	89	72	102	88	103	88	93	97	126	107	93	1,141
1994	59	79	147	109	53	61	62	70	67	82	60	70	919
1995	86	63	101	111	68	84	94	65	89	110	92	95	1,058
1996	84	82	95	120	93	84	75	81	93	108	84	110	1,109
1997	80	97	109	102	114	91	84	71	89	110	75	66	1,088
1998	86	79	62	105	100	82	81	93	87	127	78	100	1,080
1999	72	83	80	114	102	68	95	114	122	71	104	84	1,109
2000	87	78	92	93	91	71	80	73	81	202	88	74	1,110
2001	94	81	74	105	92	87	75	84	122	112	62	56	1,044
2002	48	50	96	133	89	96	75	56	89	64	72	63	931
2003	67	58	65	76	98	78	69	56	81	88	107	84	927
2004	68	102	77	123	88	75	59	65	78	80	82	57	954
2005	73	71	97	106	95	58	40	44	58	80	55	72	849
2006	74	64	92	91	68	89	77	88	75	89	75	86	968
2007	77	41	77	73	88	64	59	91	112	116	99	73	970
2008	63	82	113	103	106	86	72	85	68	87	89	59	1,013
2009	76	53	85	93	90	73	56	79	80	87	92	68	932
2010	70	60	85	114	91	59	53	89	83	54	78	51	887
2011	44	61	58	65	78	69	55	49	52	77	77	87	772
2012	104	59	66	89	70	76	84	66	72	71	58	53	868
2013	49	37	51	77	45	59	39	47	50	59	64	48	625
2014	26	32	60	48	52	44	63	84	51	72	45	32	609
2015	50	43	52	73	60	48	46	66	52	55	54	67	666
2016	34	37	56	62	58	53	41	54	43	71	107	79	695
2017	79	117	113	70	83	68	57	83	81	69	60	60	940
2018	65	56	63	55	76	58	47	54	62	110	139	71	856

#### Anti-Jewish Bias Motivated Incidents 1992-2018

#### Anti-Hispanic or Latino Bias Motivated Incidents 1992-2018

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
1992	27	35	37	32	30	33	30	31	33	31	28	24	371
1993	35	37	29	33	35	37	65	35	33	29	28	21	417
1994	21	15	39	31	37	25	29	27	46	32	22	16	340
1995	37	33	50	37	34	46	41	49	51	60	35	43	516
1996	48	42	57	44	48	63	50	61	48	40	32	31	564
1997	38	31	48	39	52	37	50	42	41	37	40	36	491
1998	32	23	50	40	37	44	50	57	44	46	36	23	482
1999	30	47	28	47	44	30	42	49	53	39	34	23	466
2000	31	47	46	54	49	49	51	55	63	49	36	27	557
2001	40	44	52	55	55	56	52	51	77	42	40	33	597
2002	44	32	49	36	48	43	38	44	46	38	39	24	481
2003	43	22	35	33	44	36	32	46	34	41	30	30	426
2004	30	28	41	46	45	39	40	49	44	33	44	36	475
2005	34	44	32	53	57	40	49	43	56	58	28	28	522
2006	40	29	33	74	75	65	46	45	49	51	47	22	576
2007	53	39	53	39	64	65	82	36	59	39	37	29	595
2008	45	44	42	49	69	56	50	41	48	33	49	35	561
2009	31	31	54	42	43	52	46	44	39	47	32	25	486
2010	31	31	43	55	58	43	54	61	48	60	31	19	534
2011	31	20	28	26	40	38	33	36	51	41	19	42	405
2012	32	39	38	39	41	41	39	33	44	34	26	23	429
2013	24	24	24	30	28	31	35	27	28	27	24	26	328
2014	18	15	23	26	35	27	37	30	26	30	17	21	305
2015	17	20	29	26	36	24	28	29	23	26	23	18	299
2016	22	17	21	21	32	30	42	27	31	30	47	31	351
2017	31	38	49	30	35	38	40	40	37	43	30	19	430
2018	31	28	28	40	52	49	72	45	42	42	30	32	491

Data for the graph obtained from the FBI Uniform Crime Reports: Hate Crime in the United States 1992-2018. Bolded cells indicate five worst months and years for Anti-Hispanic or Latino hate crimes. Color distribution of cells conditioned on the tenth, fiftieth, and ninetieth percentiles.

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
1992	0	2	1	0	1	2	1	2	4	1	0	1	15
1993	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	2	2	2	1	2	13
1994	2	1	2	0	2	0	2	0	2	1	2	3	17
1995	3	2	1	10	0	2	0	6	1	2	1	1	29
1996	0	2	4	3	14	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	27
1997	0	1	5	6	1	4	2	1	2	4	0	2	28
1998	4	2	1	4	3	2	0	1	2	1	0	1	21
1999	4	6	1	0	2	2	1	5	4	3	1	3	32
2000	2	2	3	1	1	1	3	1	4	8	2	0	28
2001	1	1	2	2	5	2	4	3	314	93	25	29	481
2002	13	9	14	10	16	12	17	11	26	8	11	8	155
2003	12	7	23	21	16	12	8	14	19	6	7	5	150
2004	8	12	9	12	29	15	10	7	18	20	7	9	156
2005	10	3	9	12	13	14	15	11	13	7	13	8	128
2006	7	6	13	14	11	11	18	19	17	15	13	12	156
2007	12	13	7	16	12	7	11	6	13	10	2	6	115
2008	7	11	8	10	11	8	13	6	6	10	10	5	105
2009	9	9	6	6	8	4	12	14	9	9	14	7	107
2010	9	10	14	14	17	11	12	14	18	21	10	10	160
2011	10	6	11	18	14	14	13	21	19	8	13	10	157
2012	17	8	10	7	12	18	10	15	20	6	17	8	148
2013	3	8	12	17	18	4	15	15	16	9	9	10	136
2014	6	7	14	13	6	12	14	16	28	18	13	7	154
2015	17	16	12	18	21	18	16	8	13	20	30	69	258
2016	23	14	30	23	20	32	28	25	19	25	40	29	308
2017	27	30	28	25	22	19	28	17	15	22	29	13	275
2018	14	17	22	22	17	19	14	13	13	18	7	14	190

#### Anti-Muslim Bias Motivated Incidents 1992-2018

Data for the graph obtained from the FBI Uniform Crime Reports: Hate Crime in the United States 1992-2018. Bolded cells indicate five worst months and years for Anti-Muslim hate crimes. Color distribution of cells conditioned on the tenth, fiftieth, and ninetieth percentiles.

#### Anti-Asian Hate Crimes by Month and Year

														Years													
1	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Total	222	260	211	355	356	347	294	298	281	280	217	231	218	199	183	188	137	128	151	138	144	135	140	114	114	131	149
January	17	21	15	25	39	26	25	24	17	28	17	12	15	21	12	14	12	12	17	6	13	13	13	7	7	6	8
February	15	17	7	29	32	34	18	26	17	22	16	16	11	14	10	9	7	11	6	11	18	10	32	12	8	13	10
March	20	19	18	25	27	32	21	25	33	24	24	28	21	22	14	18	13	8	18	19	12	7	10	10	5	12	9
April	22	19	23	25	28	32	29	30	23	17	17	25	25	16	14	26	14	8	13	15	13	13	9	12	7	8	10
May	31	25	23	29	26	36	33	34	27	28	10	14	18	22	20	17	13	11	7	13	17	16	12	13	10	13	10
June June	10	23	13	32	36	36	16	20	18	21	19	25	17	14	13	21	14	14	15	14	17	17	8	15	15	9	13
July	21	22	19	31	19	43	31	23	23	18	21	27	27	15	18	10	15	14	17	3	7	12	10	8	9	6	20
August	13	22	19	30	32	17	25	22	28	24	14	18	16	12	22	21	10	14	15	9	5	10	8	9	10	18	10
September	12	31	16	35	31	22	22	32	19	39	28	20	13	13	17	12	8	9	14	10	14	8	10	8	8	6	16
October	19	23	26	34	40	23	34	24	34	25	19	19	23	27	13	14	14	12	10	9	7	12	10	5	7	13	12
November	27	17	17	25	22	22	19	24	22	21	15	15	22	12	14	18	12	9	11	19	10	8	11	7	16	11	14
December	15	21	15	35	24	24	21	14	20	13	17	12	10	11	16	8	5	6	8	10	11	9	7	8	12	16	17

#### Anti-Asian Hate Crimes

30 10 20

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Data for the graph obtained from the FBI Uniform Crime Reports: Hate Crime in the United States, 1992 - 2018. Boxes indicate 3 highest months of hate crimes per decade.

### Appendix: Terrorism in Federal Law

Term	<u>Statute</u> Number	Statute Text	FBI Working Definition
International Terrorism	<u>18 U.S. Code</u> §2331(1)	"The term "international terrorism" means activities that involve violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State, or that would be a criminal violation if committed within the jurisdiction of the United States or of any State appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping; and occur primarily outside the territorial jurisdiction of the United States, or transcend national boundaries in terms of the means by which they are accomplished, the persons they appear intended to intimidate or coerce, or the locale in which their perpetrators operate or seek asylum."	According to the FBI, <i>International</i> <u>Terrorism</u> constitutes terrorism perpetrated by individuals and/or groups inspired by or associated with designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTOS), a list of groups maintained by the U.S. Department of State, or nations, i.e. state- sponsored terrorism.
International Terrorism Charging Statute	<u>18 U.S.C. §</u> 2332b – Acts of Terrorism Transcending National Boundaries	"Whoever, involving conduct transcending national boundaries and in a circumstance described in subsection (b) kills, kidnaps, maims, commits an assault resulting in serious bodily injury, or assaults with a dangerous weapon any person within the United States; or creates a substantial risk of serious bodily injury to any other person by destroying or damaging any structure, conveyance, or other real or personal property within the United States or by attempting or conspiring to destroy or damage any structure, conveyance, or other real or personal property within the United States; in violation of the laws of any State, or the United States, shall be punished as prescribed in subsection (c)."	
Domestic Terrorism	<u>18 U.S. Code</u> §2331(5)	"[T]he term "domestic terrorism" means activities that involve acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State; appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping; and occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States"	<b>Domestic Terrorism</b> constitutes terrorism perpetrated by individuals and/or groups inspired by or associated with primarily U.Sbased groups or movements, espousing extremist ideologies of a political, religious, social, racial, or environmental nature.

Source: FBI

Number of racially or religiously aggravated offences recorded by the police by month, April 2013 to March 2018



Source: <u>Hate Crime, England and Wales, 2017/18</u>

#### **Appendix: Reuters Poll**

► The Percent of Americans who say white people are under attack in the U.S. has risen to 43 percent in 2018, up from 39 percent in 2017. The number who say racial minorities are under attack in the U.S. has

also risen, to 57 percent in 2018, up from 54 percent in 2017. While 23 percent said they didn't know whether they supported the alt-right in 2017, a greater number (28 percent) in 2018 said the same. The number of people who said they strongly or somewhat support neo-Nazism went up by one percentage point in 2018, to 5 percent, while the number who strongly or somewhat support white nationalism has also



gone up one percentage point in 2018, to 8 percent.

\*Data for graph come from Reuters/Ipsos/UVA Center for Politics Race Poll, August 8, 2018 Source: UVA Center for Politics