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Introduction

Hate crimes committed against lesbians, gay men, bisexual, and transgendered people continue to rise throughout the United States despite reported decreases in crime generally. This report analyzes incidents of anti-lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgendered violence (anti-LGBT)¹ reported to community-based anti-violence organizations in fourteen areas across the country, including El Paso, known as the “national tracking programs” of the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs (NCAVP).² The analysis contained in this report includes available information on victims of anti-LGBT crime, offenders and the response of local police departments for 1996.

LAMBDA GLBT Community Services (LAMBDA) is a non-profit organization that combats homophobia and discrimination through education, advocacy, and support. LAMBDA’s Anti-Violence Project (AVP) is a member of NCAVP is a coalition of lesbian and gay victim assistance, advocacy and documentation programs located throughout the nation. Although NCAVP was officially created only in 1995, the members of the coalition have worked closely together for years to strengthen the national anti-violence movement. At its fourth annual round table in Chicago (September 6-8), the members of NCAVP formalized its membership process and adopted a mission statement. Part of NCAVP’s mission is to educate the public at large about the extent and brutality of anti-LGBT violence including through the distribution of this annual report. This is the 12th annual national report on anti-LGBT violence based on documentation provided by local anti-violence programs across the country.

This report does not purport to document the actual number of anti-LGBT incidents that occurred in the United States in 1996. Extensive empirical evidence shows that anti-LGBT violence is vastly under-reported. NCAVP knows from dozens of prevalence surveys, academic studies and government-funded reports conducted over the last two decades that gay men and lesbians are disproportionately the victims of hate-motivated violence. In addition, a very large percentage of anti-LGBT violence remains undocumented since most areas of the country do not have a local victim assistance or documentation program. This report, therefore, is only able to show trends in violence against gay men and lesbians.

Each of the programs participating in this report use the same intake forms, definitions and criteria for documenting anti-LGBT incidents.³ The participating programs define an anti-LGBT incident as one in which there are sufficient objective facts to lead a reasonable person to conclude that the offender's actions were motivated in whole or in part by the offender's bias against gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgendered persons. In addition, this report documents violence against people with HIV/AIDS and those perceived as such.

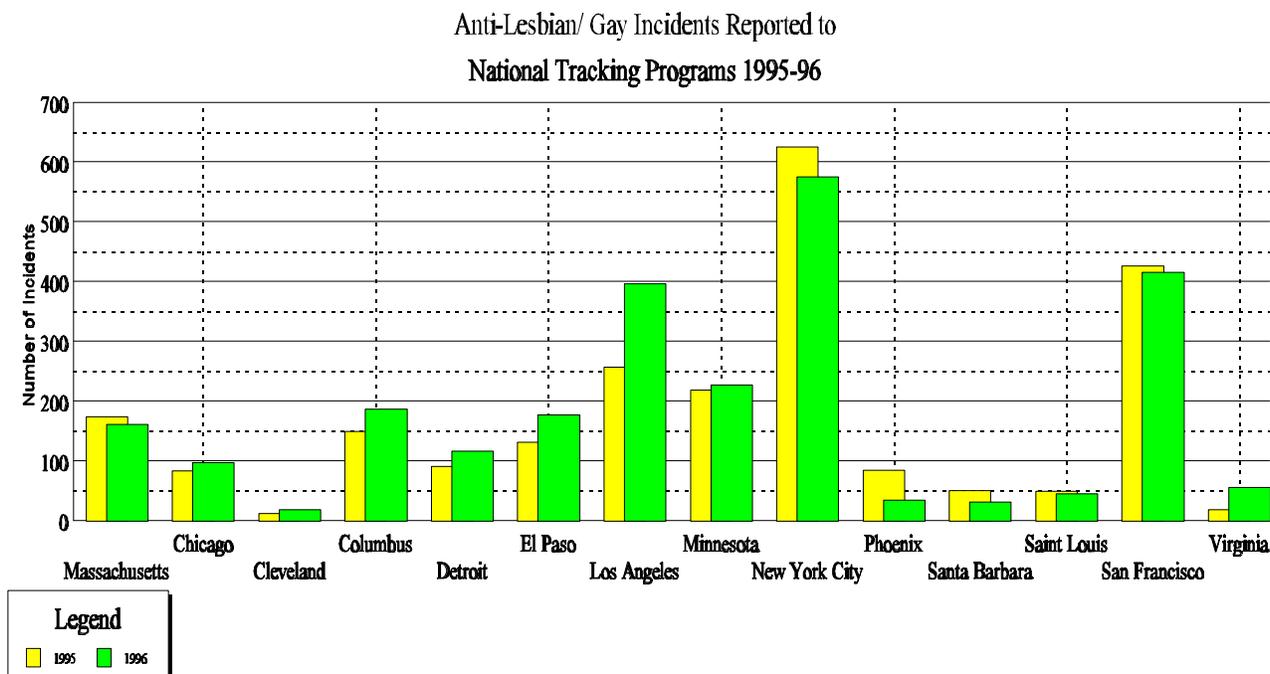
¹ For the purpose of this report anti-LGBT violence will serve as an abbreviation for anti-lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered violence.

² See Appendix A for a complete list of participating programs. See Appendix B for summaries of selected incidents included in this report.

³ The standardization of statistic gathering was one of the first accomplishments of NCAVP. The incident documentation form is attached as Appendix C and the 21-page instruction manual on completing the form is available upon request.

The definition and the criteria⁴ used to determine bias motivation parallel the definition and criteria used by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to track bias motivation generally.⁵ To ensure the integrity of this report, no incidents where the anti-LGBT motivation was questionable were included.

In addition, the various reporting programs use consistent definitions for terms used in the report such as “offense” and “incident”. These definitions closely follow the definitions used by the FBI. It should be noted, however, that one offense - harassment (verbal/sexual) - is not a crime in most states. This offense includes an offender directing anti-LGBT slurs at an individual. NCAVP programs do document these offenses because of the pain and fear they cause to victims. In addition, evidence has shown that many persons who engage in verbal harassment often escalate their behavior to more violent acts over time. Only 6% of the incidents



documented in this report involve the single offense of harassment (verbal/sexual).

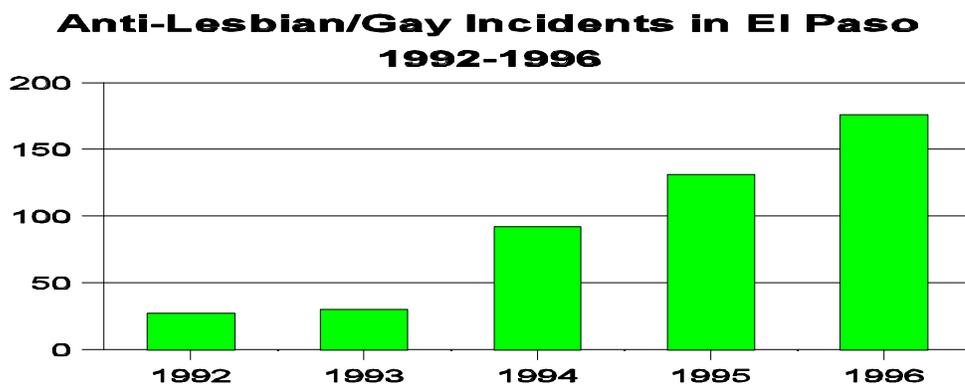
⁴ Criteria include: a) the offender’s use of anti-LGBT or AIDS-related language, b) a history of anti-LGBT incidents in the same area, c) a perception by a substantial portion of the LGBT community where the crime occurred that the incident was motivated by bias, d) a coincidence with a lesbian/gay event, such as Lesbian/Gay Pride Day or National Coming Out Day, e) some indication that the victim was selected for victimization because of his/her appearance, clothing (e.g., gay pride T-shirt), or behavior (e.g., couple holding hands), f) offender’s membership in an identifiable hate group with a history of committing anti-LGBT violence, or g) victim’s participation in activities promoting LGBT rights, or activities in response to AIDS.

⁵ U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation (1992). *Uniform Crime Reporting Handbook*, p.38. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. See Appendix D for other definitions.

Summary of Findings

INCIDENTS OF ANTI-LGBT VIOLENCE INCREASES

In the 1995 National Report, the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs (NCAVP) predicted an increase in anti-LGBT violence for 1996 based on the expectation of escalating anti-LGBT rhetoric during the Presidential and Congressional, the fervor surrounding the possibility of the legalization of same-sex marriages in the United States and the possibility of the Supreme Court rendering a decision on Colorado's amendment 2. This prediction was based on the experience of NCAVP members that anti-LGBT violence increases when the community is used as a wedge in political arenas and the media (such as the controversy over gays in the military following the 1992 Presidential elections). Tragically, **anti-LGBT violence rose nationally by 6% in 1996**. A total of 2,529 anti-LGBT incidents were documented by NCAVP's fourteen national tracking programs. This increase in the total number of reported incidents sharply contrasts with the touted decreases



in all forms of violent crime in most localities (in excess of 20% in some metropolitan areas). **In El Paso, there were 176 incidents, 34% increase from 1995.**

Contrary to the conventional belief that most bias crimes are directed at property (such as graffiti and vandalism), a great majority of the violence against lesbian and gay men continues to be directed at individuals. Of the incidents reported, 86% were directed at individuals, while only 14% targeted property.

Across the nation, eight of the fourteen national tracking programs reported increases in incidents of anti-LGBT

violence and six reported decreases. Documented incidents increased in Chicago (+ 16%), Cleveland (+ 64%), Columbus (+ 3%), Detroit (+ 29%), El Paso (+ 34%), Los Angeles (+ 55%), Minnesota (+ 4%), and Virginia (+ 206%). Documented incidents decreased in Massachusetts (-7%), New York City (-8%), Phoenix (-60%), Santa Barbara/Ventura (-40%), St. Louis (-10%), and San Francisco (-3%).

INTENSITY OF VIOLENCE INCREASES

Not only did the number of incidents of violence increase, but the intensity and viciousness of the violence increased as well. This is clearly seen in the rise of the number of incidents that included assaultive offenses⁶ and the increasing severity of the resulting injuries from these offenses. The number of incidents which included at least one assaultive offense rose from 39% in 1995 to 41% in 1996. These assaultive incidents resulted in injury or death to 867 victims in 1996. In El Paso, assaultive incidents resulted in injury of 39 victims.

The level of injury inflicted was often severe. Of the persons injured, 35% suffered serious physical injury (such as broken bones and permanent physical injury) or death. Another 58% of those injured required some type of medical attention, including 29% who received medical treatment in an emergency room or on an out-patient basis, 9% who were hospitalized, and 20% who needed, but did not receive, medical attention.

In El Paso, 74% of the persons injured suffered serious physical injury. 86% of those required medical attention, including 10% who received medical treatment in an emergency room or as an out patient. 30% were hospitalized and 19% needed treatment but received no medical attention.

The severe level of injury is corroborated by the change in the most common weapons used: from primarily thrown objects in 1995 (such as bricks, bottles and rocks) to hand-held club-like objects in 1996 (such as bats, clubs, lead pipes and other blunt objects). In El Paso, bottles, bricks, and rocks were the weapons most often used followed by bats, clubs, and other blunt objects.

Another factor that confirms the escalating level of violence is the six year trend of increasing numbers of offenses per incident. An important measure of the overall severity of an anti-LGBT incident, offenses per incident indicates the number of individual crimes/offenses perpetrated in a given attack. Between 1995 and 1996 the national tracking programs reported a 1% increase in offenses per incident, from 2.17 in 1995 to 2.20 in 1996. This may only reflect a modest increase nationally, but since 1991 the number of offenses per incident has increased nearly 50%. Still under the national average, El Paso's offenses per incident increased only slightly to 1.54 in 1996 up from 1.5 in 1995.

Further pointing to the increase in intensity of the violence, was the steep decrease in the number of incidents which involved *only* harassment, which is considered non-criminal behavior in most states. In 1995, 15% of the incidents reported involved only verbal/sexual harassment, while in 1996, merely 6% of the incidents involved only verbal/sexual harassment. In other words, 94% of the reported incidents were acts which constituted criminal behavior in most states.

OFFENDERS

As the number of incidents increased, so did the number of offenders, with a 6% increase in the number of offenders from 4,211 in 1995 to 4,450 in 1996. More significantly, the ratio of offenders to victims increased

⁶ Assaultive offenses include Assault with a Weapon, Assault without a Weapon, Attempted Assault with a Weapon (including objects thrown), Sexual Assault/Rape and Murder.

7% from 1.34 to 1.43 offenders to victims, indicating that the victims of anti-LGBT violence are usually outnumbered by the attackers. In El Paso, there were 161 offenders, a 19% decrease from 1995. The ratio of offenders to victims also decreased from 1.4 in 1995, to 1.18 in 1996.

Offenders were complete strangers in 41% of the incidents and clearly known in 37% of the incidents (including neighbors, landlords, family members, acquaintances and roommates) indicating that bias crimes are committed by a known person at nearly the same rate as by a total stranger. Offenders in El Paso were strangers to their victims % of the time and were known by their victims % of the time.

The primary offenders continue to be teenagers and young adults, with 67% of the known offenders under 30 years of age, compared to 68% in 1995. The national proportion of offenders under 18, however, increased significantly from 18% of known offenders in 1995 to 21% in 1996 while decreasing to 9% locally from 15% in 1995. .

The number of female offenders is increasing from 418, or 12% of known offenders in 1995 to 596 or 15% of known offenders in 1996. In addition, the number of female victims increased nearly 6% from 853 in 1995 to 901 in 1996. El Paso did not follow this trend. Female offenders increased from 5% in 1995 to 26 % in 1996. Additionally, the number of female victims reported from all fourteen programs increased nearly 6% from 853 in 1995 to 901 in 1996. In El Paso, however, increased from 29% in 1995 to 36% in 1996.

ANTI-HIV BIAS & VIOLENCE INCREASES

A total of 413 incidents were classified as motivated by fear and loathing of persons with (or perceived to have) HIV/AIDS, a 32% increase over 1995. Forty-five percent (45%) of these incidents involved both anti-gay and anti-HIV/AIDS bias, clearly demonstrating the continuing nexus between these two hatreds. El Paso reported 19% incidents -- a 1000% increase from 1995. 86% of those included both anti-gay and anti-HIV/AIDS bias.

1996 SHOWS FEW SAFE SPACES FOR LESBIANS & GAY MEN

Neither home nor places of employment were safe spaces for gay men and lesbians. In 1996, 25% of all bias-related incidents occurred on a street or a public place, followed by 22% occurring in or around a victims private residence, and 13% occurring in the workplace. The most common site in El Paso for anti-LGBT incidents in 1996 was a school/college (23%) followed closely by incidents occurring on city streets (21%).

While the larger percentage of offenders were strangers to their victims (41%), landlords, neighbors and tenants (16%) and employers and co-workers (10%) together constituted over one-quarter of the bias-related incidents.

Nationally, the highest number of incidents occurred during Gay/Lesbian Pride Month in June (301) and May (228); the least in November (182) and January (174). In El Paso, June led with 32 incidents followed by July with twenty-six. May was the least with twenty incidents. June is the month with the most incidents, possibly resulting from hotter months and school vacations that increase queer visibility. The media attention from Pride celebrations and other activities often spur a backlash of hatred and violence.

PROBLEMS WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSIST IN 1996

Although the national rate of reporting incidents to the police increased to 40% in 1996 (compared to 36% in 1995), it was significantly less than the estimated reporting rate of 48% for all crime.⁷ El Paso's rate of

⁷ U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics. (1985) *Reporting Crimes to the Police*. (Ref. No. NCJ-99432). Washington, DC: Department of Justice. Crimes of violence include rape, robbery, aggravated assault and simple assault.

reporting to law enforcement accounts for a total of only 26% of incidents reported to LAMBDA's Anti-Violence Project. This low reporting rate is attributed largely to mistrust and fear of secondary victimization by the police. This mistrust appears to be well placed: nearly half (49%) of the victims who sought police assistance said the police response was indifferent (37%) or verbally or physically abusive (12%). Half of the victims who reported to police said that officers were indifferent and 4% of victims said the police were verbally or physically abusive.

In sum, 1996 was a year where not only was more violence perpetrated against lesbians and gay men, it was committed by more people, in a much more intense and violent manner. Furthermore, it permeated practically all facets of peoples lives, reaching into their homes and their places of employment. This stark reality paints a frightening picture of what it is like to be lesbian or gay in this country.

**Anti-Lesbian/Gay Incidents Reported to
National Tracking Programs 1995-1996**

Tracking Program Location	1995	1996	%Change
Chicago	83	96	+ 16
Cleveland	11	18	+ 64
Columbus	181	186	+ 3
Detroit	90	116	+ 29
El Paso	131	176	+ 34
Los Angeles	256	396	+ 55
Massachusetts	173	161	-7
Minnesota	218	227	+ 4
New York City	625	575	-8
Phoenix	84	34	-60
Santa Barbara/Ventura	50	30	-40
San Francisco	426	415	-3
St. Louis	49	44	-10
Virginia	18	55	+ 206
Totals	2395	2529	+ 6

Assaults, Injuries, and Weapons

Assaultive Offenses

1996 saw an increase in the percentage of reported incidents *which included at least one assaultive offense* -- 41% in 1996 up from 39% in 1995.⁸ This statistic demonstrates the physical terror involved in many anti-LGBT incidents. Nationally, the overall percentage of assaultive offenses was down slightly from 1995. Twenty-four percent of the documented *offenses* in 1996, as opposed to 25% in 1995. An assaultive offense includes Assault without a Weapon, Assault with a Weapon, Attempted Assault with a Weapon, Sexual Assault/Rape and Murder.

Comparing the number of assaultive offenses which occurred in a City or State to the overall number of offenses gives a picture of the level of physical violence which is occurring across the country. Chicago, Massachusetts, El Paso and Los Angeles reported that 32% of total offenses were assaultive, followed by Cleveland at 31% and Detroit at 29%. New York had the highest raw number of actual assaultive offenses (319), followed by San Francisco (268) and Los Angeles (253).

Assaultive Offenses - 1996

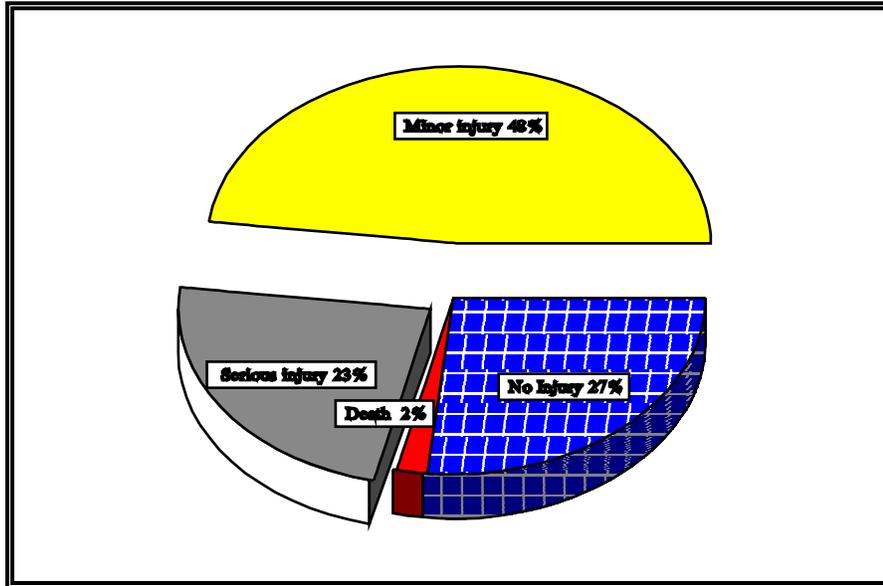
	El Paso				National
	1995	% of Total Offenses	1996	% of Total Offenses	1996 % of Total Offenses
Assault without a Weapon	25	15%	37	14%	12%
Assault with a Weapon	9	5%	14	5%	5%
Attempted Assault with a Weapon	17	10%	25	9%	4%
Sexual Assault/Rape	2	1%	11	4%	2%
Murder	1	.5%	0	0%	.5%
Total Assaultive Incidents	54	31%	87	32%	24%

Injury Levels & Seriousness of Injuries

The likelihood of a victim being injured in an assaultive incident in 1996 was very high: 73% of assaultive offenses resulted in injury to the victim. Overall, 28% of all reported bias-crime victims were injured.⁹ Of the injured victims, 35% suffered serious injury or death. Detroit had the highest injury rate, with 53% of all victims suffering physical injury or death. Detroit was followed by Los Angeles (47%), Phoenix and El Paso (36%), and Chicago (34%).

⁸Based on raw incident data provided by fourteen programs.

⁹ Unknowns were counted as "no injury".



Medical Attention

This year, for the second year, information was collected on the medical attention received by victims who were injured in a bias-related incident. The data in this respect also underscores the high level of injury: 33% needed medical attention but did not receive it; 51% were treated in an emergency room or on an out-patient basis, and 15% were hospitalized as in-patients. In El Paso, 57% of the injured victims needed medical attention but did not receive any, while 10% were treated in an emergency room or a similar setting, and 20% had to be hospitalized.

Person vs. Property Crimes

Anti-LGBT offenses in 1996 were overwhelmingly directed at persons, not property. 95% of the offenses were directed at individuals; only 5% involved property-oriented crimes such as vandalism and larceny/burglary/theft.

In this regard, anti-LGBT offenses are significantly different from hate crimes in general, as reported to the FBI, where 28% of all hate offenses are property crimes.¹⁰ Similarly, the Anti-Defamation League reported in 1995 that 48% of the 1,843 documented anti-Semitic offenses in 1995 were directed at property.¹¹

	National	El Paso	ADL	FBI
Offenses Against Persons	95%	93%	61%	72%
Offenses Against Property	5%	7%	39%	28%
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%

Weapon Use

The type of weapon used by offenders against victims was known in 520 incidents. Bats, clubs and blunt objects were the most frequently used weapons (24% of incidents involving weapons), followed by bottles, bricks and rocks (21% of incidents involving weapons). Knives and other sharp objects were third (17% of incidents involving weapons). The rate of the use of firearms in anti-LGBT incidents is alarmingly high (14% of incidents involving weapons).

This year's data indicates an increase in the level of premeditation in the commission of anti-LGBT crimes from last year. The use of bottles, bricks and rocks indicates a spur-of-the-moment decision to attack because these objects are most likely to have been found on the street. The use of bats, clubs and blunt objects, however, indicates a planned attack where the offenders thought in advance to bring these particular weapons. This planning denotes a certain level of purpose not before seen at such high levels in anti-LGBT crime. In addition, the greater use of bats, clubs and blunt objects demonstrates that attacks are now more confrontational and direct. Swinging a bat at someone requires a proximity and contact not necessary when throwing objects such as bottles. In the forty El Paso incidents where the specific weapon type was reported, 72% were bottles, bricks, and rocks; 10% were bats, clubs and other blunt objects; 7% were knives; and 5% were firearms.

Weapons Used	EL PASO	NATIONAL	
	Number of Incidents	Number of Incidents	% of Total
Bats, Clubs, Blunt Objects	4	120	24
Bottles, Bricks, Rocks	29	110	21
Firearms	2	71	14
Knives, Sharp Objects	3	86	17
Rope, Restraints, etc.	1	28	5
Vehicles	0	18	3
Others	1	87	16
Total	40	520	100

Offenses and Serial Incidents

Continuing a six-year trend, the number of offenses committed during each anti-LGBT incident rose in 1996. The number and type of separate offenses occurring within a single incident is a key measure of the overall severity of the incident and the trauma experienced by the victim. Total offenses were up 9% in 1996 than in 1995. Additionally the number of assaultive offenses increased 5% in 1996. This data points to a higher level of more vicious violence in 1996.

Types of Offenses

The six most common offenses nationally were Harassment,¹² Intimidation, Assault without a Weapon, Assault with a Weapon, Vandalism, and Attempted Assault with a Weapon. Attempted Assault with a Weapon and Intimidation increased most significantly (+ 24% each), followed by Vandalism (+ 12%), Harassment (+ 3%), and Assault without a Weapon (+ 2%). The only top offense category that decreased was Assault with a Weapon (-9%).

Other types of offenses showing significant increases nationwide were sexual assault/rape (+ 11%), and abduction/kidnaping (+ 50%). These offense data refute the popular belief that the vast majority of anti-LGBT incidents are “mere” acts of verbal harassment. In fact, in only 6% of the incidents was harassment the only offense; all other reported incidents involved additional or more serious offenses. These additional offenses, including Intimidation,¹³ are classified as crimes in almost all states.

Offenses Per Incident

Nationally, during 1996 there were 2.2 offenses per incident compared to 2.17 offenses per incident in 1995 and 1.83 offenses per incident in 1994. The rate in El Paso increased slightly in 1996 yet is still lower per incident than the national average (1.54 in 1996 and 1.5 in 1995). This shows an ever increasing level of criminal behavior in connection with each anti-LGBT incident.

Offenses Per Incident - By Program

Tracking Program	1996		1995
	Total Incidents	Total Offenses	Offenses Per Incident
Chicago	96	222	2.31
Cleveland	18	23	1.27
Columbus	186	235	1.26
Detroit	116	146	1.25
El Paso	176	272	1.54
Los Angeles	396	799	2.01
Massachusetts	161	332	2.06
Minnesota	227	491	2.16
New York City	575	1,743	3.03
Phoenix	34	78	2.29
St. Louis	44	84	1.90
San Francisco	415	1,070	2.58
Santa Barbara	30	30	1.00
Virginia	55	63	1.14
Totals/Averages	2,529	5,587	2.20

¹² Harassment offenses include verbal harassment, telephone harassment, mail harassment and sexual harassment.

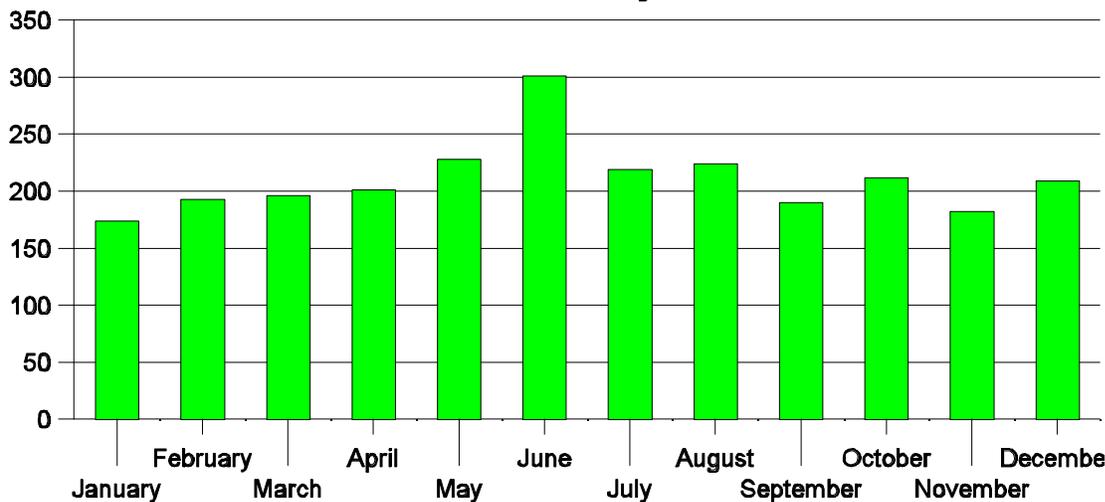
¹³ The offense of Intimidation is defined as: To unlawfully place another person in reasonable fear of bodily harm or property destruction through the use of threatening words and/or behavior (including stalking, menacing, threatening to use a weapon), but without displaying a weapon or subjecting the victim to actual physical attack.

Five national tracking programs showed increases in the number of offenses per incident, six programs showed that the percentage remained the same and three programs reported a decrease in the number of offenses per incident. New York City reported the highest number of offenses per incident -- 3.03 -- followed by San Francisco with 2.58 and Chicago with 2.31.

Incidents by Month

Nationally, the highest number of anti-LGBT incidents, both nationally and in El Paso, occurred in June, which is Lesbian & Gay Pride Month (301 incidents nationally, 32 incidents in El Paso). Nationally, May (229 incidents) and August (224)

LGBT Incidents By Month



ranked second and third while July had the second largest number of incidents in El Paso (26 incidents) and May had the fewest (20).. The lowest number of incidents

nationally occurred in January (174) and November (182).

This data indicates a connection between increased visibility and violence. June is, of course, the month when most

communities have their gay/lesbian pride celebrations. These events usually receive significant (and sometimes slanted) media attention. Data reported to NCAVP has consistently shown that when gay/lesbian issues are featured prominently in the media, there is almost invariably an increase in violence. It should be noted, however, that violent incidents at lesbian/gay events and marches are relatively rare, as offenders appear to be afraid to attack when they are outnumbered.

NCAVP believes a possible reason for increased anti-LGBT incidents in warm weather in general is that anti-LGBT offenders often act spontaneously when they see persons they perceive to be gay or lesbian. Because more people are out-of-doors during the warmer months, there are more visible targets. The decline in occurrences of anti-LGBT incidents between warmer and colder months is much more significant than the decline the FBI sees in overall crime between those same months.

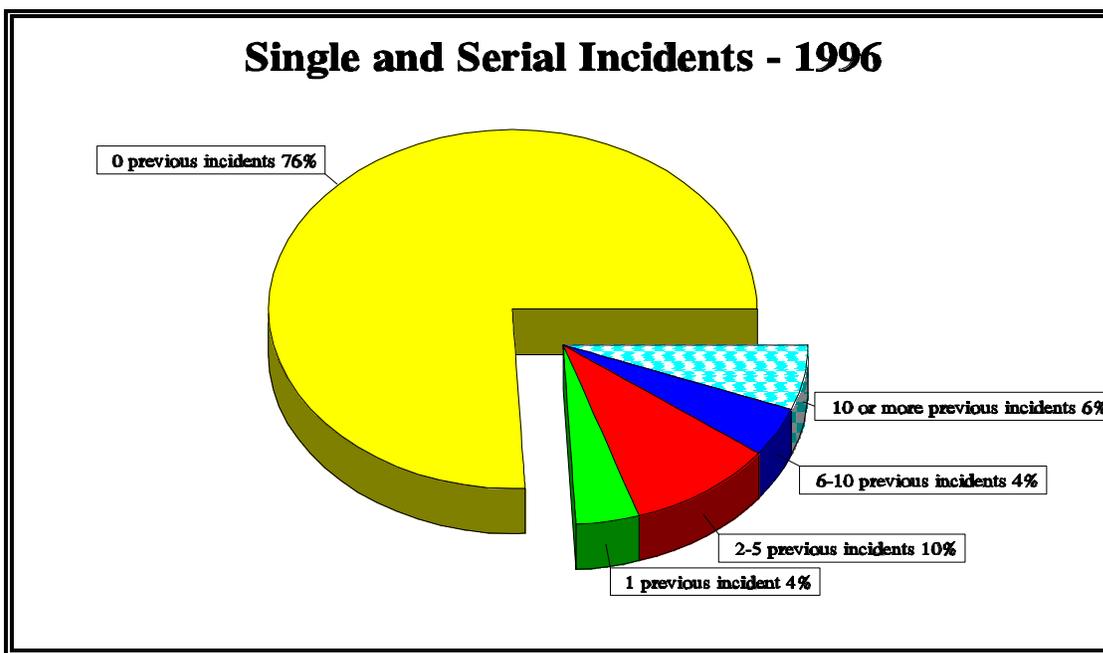
Serial Incidents

Nationally, just under one quarter (24%) of the anti-LGBT incidents counted represented serial incidents, while in El Paso, 13% of incidents reported were serial. Serial incidents are considered reports of on-going violence and harassment perpetrated by one offender against a single victim. As in 1995, these were counted as only one incident to avoid skewing victim/offender/incident data.

These serial incidents often involve offenders who live in a victim's building or neighborhood and tend to begin with acts of harassment and intimidation that, while illegal, do not result in any significant response from the criminal justice system.¹⁴ According to NCAVP members police officers often treat these crimes as "neighbor disputes," ignoring the bias

¹⁴ For example, in New York State, the offense of harassment in the second degree, which includes striking, shoving or kicking another person without causing physical injury, is a "violation", and not technically a "crime". New York Penal Law Sec. 240.26. Police officers are not authorized to make arrests in these cases unless they personally witness the offense.

element of the crime. Victims of these types of serial crimes describe their lives as being "und



er siege" by the offender and often feel hopeless for any resolution other than moving to a new home. Victim advocates across the country state that serial incidents tend to escalate over time, becoming increasingly violent. This escalation is abetted by inadequate initial police response, which serves to encourage the offender's behavior.

T he Victims of Anti-LGBT Violence

A total of 3,105 victims reported anti-LGBT incidents to NCAVP tracking programs in 1996, a 2% increase over 1995. Ninety-six percent (96%) of the incidents targeted individuals and 4% were directed at gay/lesbian organizations/businesses. Total victims in 1996 included a greater number of women, people of color, people under 18 years of age, and people over 65 years of age than in 1995. Reported incidents also showed that people were victimized in practically every location possible -- the street, their homes and their place of work. In El Paso, there were 190 victims, a 30% increase over 1995.

Victim Age, Race, Sexual Orientation and Gender

Anti-LGBT violence cuts across all age groups. In 1996 close to half (48%) of the victims that reported to NCAVP were 30 years of age or older. Individuals between 23 to 29 years of age comprised 20% of the victims. While people who were 18 to 22 years of age comprised 9% and people under 18 comprised 5%. During 1996 the percentage of older and younger victims increased from 1995. Nationally, victims under 18 went up 24% and victims over 65 increased 50%. In El Paso, 38% of the victims were 30 years of age or older, 30% were between 23 to 29; 21% were 18 to 22, and 11% were under 18 years of age.

Although there was a significant increase in the number of victims under 18, NCAVP believes that violence against gay and lesbian youth continues to be severely under-reported. Studies have found that at least one-third of all victims of hate crime

are under 21.¹⁵ Beyond that, all available data indicates that gay and lesbian youth are at extreme risk for bias-motivated violence.¹⁶

Although, the majority of victims continued to be white, the percentage who are persons of color grew slightly in 1996, continuing an on-going trend. For example, in 1996, 66% of the victims nationwide were white, compared to 67% in 1995. 33% of the victims were persons of color, up from 32% in 1995. 36% of the victims in El Paso were white in 1996, a 392% increase from 1995. Latino/a victims composed 53% of El Paso victims (15% nationally) and African-Americans constituted 2% (11% nationally) of all victims whose race was known.

While the services provided by NCAVP members are available regardless of sexual orientation, the majority of victims who reported to NCAVP during 1996 continued to be lesbians and gay men. 66% of El Paso victims were lesbian or gay. It is important to note, though, that heterosexuals who are perceived to be gay or lesbian are the victims of anti-LGBT violence. Specifically, 87% of victims identified as gay or lesbian, 8% identified as bisexual, 3% as heterosexual, and 2% as questioning/unsure or unknown.

Nationally in 1996, 61% of all victims were male, 29% female, 4% transgendered, and 6% were either lesbian/gay institutions or unknown. (Incidents against institutions included bomb threats, arson, and vandalism with anti-LGBT graffiti.) In el Paso, 61% of victims were male and 38% were female. Nationally, the proportion of victims who were female increased 5% from 1995, while male victims decreased by 1% and institutional targets increased by 3%.

The percentage of lesbians reporting to NCAVP increased in 1996 by 5%. Although lesbians make up a significantly higher proportion of incidents reported to NCAVP than in sexual orientation hate crimes reported to the FBI, victim advocates believe that these numbers still under-represent the actual amount of anti-lesbian crime. During 1996, 27% of all incidents reported by NCAVP involved only female victims. In contrast, 15% of the victims of anti-LGBT bias reported to the FBI were anti-lesbian specific.¹⁷

A number of components, beyond those which suppress reporting by both gay men and lesbians, exacerbate the under-reporting of bias crime against lesbians. Women are subjected to excessive sexist harassment -- "a continuous stream of harassment on the streets because of their gender."¹⁸ This frequently leads women to become conditioned to harassment and to suffer it in silence. Not seeing an incident as "serious enough" is the primary reason given by lesbians to NCAVP for not

¹⁵ Southern Poverty Law Center, *The Dynamics of Youth, Hate and Violence*, Klanwatch Intelligence Report, October, 1995, p. 11.

¹⁶ At least 20% of a sample of more than 500 young people seeking services from the Hetrick-Martin Institute in New York City had been the victims of violence because of their sexual orientation. Much of the violence had been inflicted by family members. Hunter, J. (1992). Violence against lesbian and gay youth. In, Herek, G.M. and Berrill, K.T. (Eds.), *Hate Crimes: Confronting Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men*, pp. 76-79.

¹⁷ The latest FBI report (for 1994) showed a total of 792 individual victims of bias crimes based on sexual orientation: 567 were the victims of "Anti-Male Homosexual" incidents; 119 of "Anti-Female Homosexual" incidents; 82 of "Anti-Homosexual" incidents; 15 of "Anti-Heterosexual" incidents; and 9 of "Anti-Bisexual" incidents. U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Criminal Justice Information Services Division. (1995). *Hate Crimes - 1994, Preliminary Figures*. Washington DC.

¹⁸ von Schulthess, B. (1992). Violence in the Streets: Anti-Lesbian Assault and Harassment in San Francisco. In, Herek, G.M. and Berrill, K.T. (Eds.), *Hate Crimes: Confronting Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men*, p. 70.

reporting a sexist or anti-lesbian incident to local organizations or to the police.¹⁹ Moreover, it is frequently difficult for lesbians to discern if an incident was motivated by anti-woman bias, anti-lesbian bias, or both. Many victims mistakenly believe it is only appropriate to seek assistance from and document incidents with lesbian/gay anti-violence organizations when the offense is clearly only anti-lesbian. 1996 data again demonstrates that the majority of anti-lesbian incidents are perpetrated by men.

Violence Against Transgendered Persons

For the second year in a row data on violence against transgendered persons was collected. This was added because the NCAVP believes that violence against transgendered persons is pervasive and grossly under-reported. Transgendered is an umbrella term encompassing the diversity of gender expression including drag queens and kings, bigenders, cross dressers, transgenderists and transsexuals.²⁰

During 1996, incidents involving 117 transgendered persons were documented, representing 3% of all victims. 105 of the 117 victims were living as females and 12 as males. The small number of transgendered victims makes it difficult to draw any conclusions about the levels of violence and national trends.

The NCAVP is presently working with GenderPAC, a national advocacy and action group for transgendered communities, on the distribution of a survey specifically focusing on violence against transgendered individuals. Hopefully, the information that is collected will provide more detail about the extent of violence against transgendered people.

Site of Incident

One of the scariest facts to emerge from the data reported to NCAVP is that the threat of homophobic violence exists everywhere -- on the streets, in peoples homes and at their place of work. This means that lesbians and gay men are being attacked by people they know and see on a regular basis, as well as complete strangers (see offenders section for more detail.) This reality robs lesbians and gay men of any safe spaces - even their homes - where they can feel free of the threat of violence.

Specifically, the most common site of anti-LGBT violence -- 25% of all incidents -- was on the street or a public place. The second most common site of incidents was a victims residence (21%), followed by the workplace (13%). FBI hate crime data reinforces NCAVP data and reflects a high proportion -- 31% -- of all anti-LGBT incidents occurring in or around private residences.²¹ In El Paso, 24% occurred in school/college and 21% occurred in the street.

Site of Incident
National - NCAVP

Site

¹⁹ *Id.* As another example, raw incident data (N= 1,559) revealed that only 49% of the 110 lesbians who suffered serious physical injury filed a complaint with the police.

²⁰ The Gender Identity Project of the NYC Lesbian & Gay Community Services Center. *Wherever you are on the Transgendered Spectrum: ... Drag, Cross dresser, Crossgender, Bigender, TV, Transsexual, FTM, MTF, New Woman, New Man,... You Are Not Alone!*

²¹U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation. (1994). *Characteristics of Hate Crimes in 1993, Summary of Hate Crimes Data Collection.* Washington DC: General Printing Office.

Site of Incident		
	Number of Incidents*	Percent of Incidents
Police precinct/jail/car	35	1
Private residence	530	21
Public transportation	89	4
Street/public area	611	25
Workplace	317	13
Public accommodation	197	8
Cruising area	125	5
School/college	157	6
GLBT Institution	106	4
In/around GLBT bar, etc.	262	11
GLBT event/parade/rally	20	1
Other	20	1
Total	2, 469	100

*Total does not reflect incidents with unknown site.

Site of Incident in Relation to Age of Victim

The reality that home is not a safe place for lesbians and gay men is reinforced by the data on the site of incident in relation to a victim's age. While the data for 1994 and 1995 showed that people under 18 years of age were most likely to be victimized at their school, the 1996 data shows a change. This year people under 18 are more likely to encounter violence in or around their home -- 29% of all incidents. This was also the case for people between the ages of 18 to 22 (31.5%), 30 to 44 (32%), and 45 to 64 (38%).

The only age group which was safer at home than on the street were people 23 to 29.²² Incidents perpetrated against that age group occurred most often on the street or in a public area (29%).

The Offenders of Anti-LGBT Violence

A number of trends regarding the offenders of anti-LGBT incidents emerge from the reports provided by the NCAVP tracking programs during 1996. The largest number of reported incidents involve attacks by a group of young people. These attacks are often against a victim not known to the offenders. The second largest number of incidents involve an attack against a gay or lesbian person in their home or office. Most often these attacks are committed by a neighbor/landlord or employer/coworker. In addition, the overwhelming majority of perpetrators are not affiliated with any identifiable hate group. The youth and size of the groups perpetrating the attacks has a disturbing affect on the likelihood that a victim will be seriously injured in an attack.

²² There was not enough raw data on victims 65+ to draw conclusions about the location of offenses perpetrated against them.

Offenders Per Incident

Attacks on lesbians and gay men by groups of 2 or more individuals continue to be a large percentage of incidents nationally. Thirty-nine percent (39%) of the incidents involved two or more offenders with 29% involving two to three offenders, and 10% involving four or more offenders. 37% of the incidents in El Paso were committed by one person, 45% were committed by two to three people, and 62% were committed by two or more people.

On average, there were 1.76 offenders per anti-LGBT incident and 1.43 offenders for every victim. This represents a 7 % increase from last year's average of 1.34 offenders for each victim. The ratio of offenders-to-victims is likely to be even higher because programs record only one offender for certain incidents where the number of offenders is unknown, such as vandalism, graffiti and mail threats. FBI data from previous years indicates that anti-LGBT offenses involve a higher number of offenders per incident than other forms of hate crime. Hate crime information reported to the FBI indicates that the offender-to-victim ratio for all forms of hate crime is 1.12 to 1.²³ This high ratio of offenders to victims in anti-LGBT offenses, together with the youth of the perpetrators, is likely to be a contributing factor in the high level of injury occurring in these attacks.

Number of Offenders Per Incidents			
	1996- National		1995
Offenders involved in incident	Number of Incidents	% of total Incidents	% of total Incidents
1	1,432	61	63
2-3	694	29	27
4-9	214	9	8
10 & over	33	1	2
Total*	2,373	100	100

***Does not include 166 incidents which the number of offenders were unknown.**

Offender Age, Race and Gender

Most perpetrators of anti-LGBT violence continue to be young people in their teens and twenties. In 1996, 67% of all known offenders were under the age of 30 and 44% were 22 or younger. These statistics remain relatively consistent with findings from previous years. The proportion of offenders under 18, however, increased this year from 17% to 21%. Surprisingly, offenders in the over 65 age range showed the most significant increase, up by 11 offenders (+ 42%). Because of the low actual number of offenders in the over 65 age group, we do not believe this represents a national trend. In El Paso, the number of offenders increased 36%.

Despite the youth of the offenders, the victims of anti-LGBT violence are significantly older than the offenders. Nationally, 59% of the victims were over the age of 30, but only 33% of the known offenders were over 30. In El Paso, 38% of the victims were over the age of 30 and 33% of the known offenders were over 30.

²³ *Hate Crimes Statistics 1993, supra* note 21.

Comparison of Victim Age to Offender Age				
AGE	Percent of Total Victims		Percent of Total Offenders	
	1995	1996	1995	1996
Under 18	5	6	17	21
18-22	14	11	25	23
23-29	26	24	25	23
30-44	43	44	24	23
45-64	10.5	14	7.5	9
65 and over	.5	1	.5	1

* Calculations do not include incidents in which the age of the victim/offender was unknown.

White offenders made up the largest group of anti-LGBT offenders (1,511 or 47%) followed by Latino/as (693 or 22%) and African Americans (673 or 21%). Anecdotal evidence from the participating programs suggests that the majority of incidents involve offenders attacking gay men and lesbians of their own race. Presumably offenders feel particular animosity toward gay men and lesbians of their own race and use violence to enforce heterosexual identity and conduct within their racial group.

Findings regarding gender breakdown of offenders is not surprising. Eighty-five percent (85%) of known offenders were male as compared to 65% of the victims. This does, however, indicate an increase in the percentage of female offenders. In 1995, approximately 90% of offenders were male. In El Paso, more offenders were female in 1996. 73% of offenders were male and 61% of the victims were male in 1996. In 1995, 95% of the offenders in El Paso were male.

Relationship of Offender to Victim

In 1996, the relationship of the assailant to the victim was tracked on a national basis for the second year in a row. The highest percentage of offenders (41%) were complete strangers to their victims. This is consistent with reports indicating a large percentage of attacks are committed by groups of young people who seek out gay men and lesbians as victims. The second largest group of offenders were familiar to their victims, either a landlord, neighbor or tenant (16%) or an employer or co-workers (10%). 4% of the offenders in El Paso were either landlords, a neighbor, or a tenant, while 23% of the offenders were employers or co-workers. The findings show that gay men and lesbians face the threat of homophobic violence from virtually all sides. Gay men and lesbians are not safe on the streets, at home or at the office. In addition, enforcement and security personnel accounted for eight percent (8%) of offenders nationally.

Hate Group Offenders

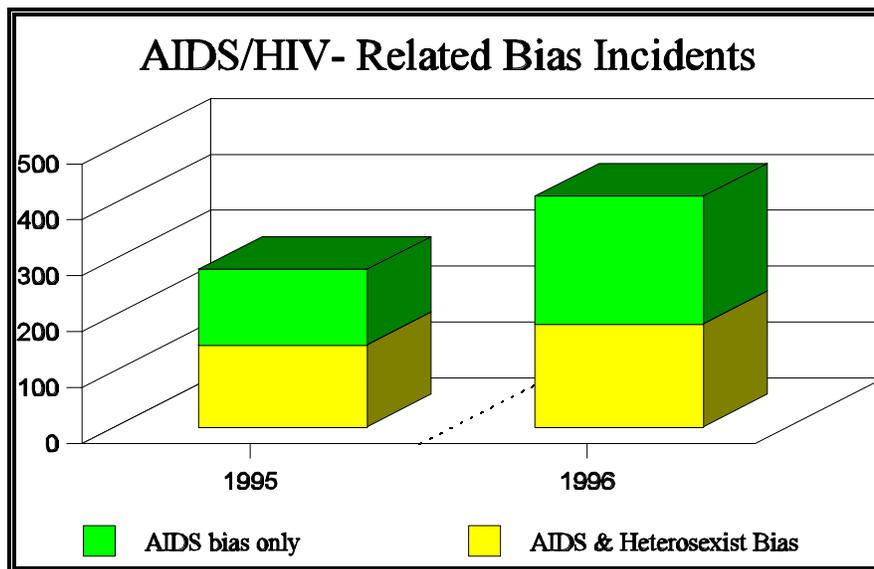
A total of 22 incidents reported during 1996 were perpetrated by clearly identifiable hate groups, such as organized skinhead gangs or neo-Nazis. This represents slightly less than 1% of all incidents nationally, though no such incidents were reported to LAMBDA's AVP during 1996.

Minnesota/St. Paul had the highest number of hate group incidents (9), followed by New York (5). Eight of 14 tracking programs reported no hate group incidents during 1996. This data underscores the point that violence against gay men and lesbians is widespread and can not be blamed on fringe groups.

HIV-Related Violence

In 1996, NCAVP's national tracking programs documented 413 incidents in which hatred, fear and ignorance about HIV/AIDS and persons perceived to have HIV/AIDS was a motivating factor in the incident, a 32% increase over 1995.²⁴ This increase was due in large part to an expanding awareness of HIV-related violence among service providers and within the lesbian and gay communities.

Anti-HIV/AIDS bias was the only motivating factor in 228 of the incidents (55%), while 185 of these incidents (45%) were motivated by both anti-HIV/AIDS and anti-LGBT bias (e.g., the offender says "AIDS faggot" or a similar epithet during the incident). Three of El Paso's incidents were attributed to only HIV/AIDS bias. Despite the fact that gay men and lesbians account for less than half of new AIDS cases, these statistics underscore a continued link between anti-LGBT and anti-AIDS/HIV prejudice and hate.



While the number of reported AIDS/HIV-related bias incidents has increased every year since we began compiling statistics, these data do not begin to convey the pervasive nature of violence against persons with HIV and AIDS. In a 1992 national survey by the National Association of People with AIDS²⁵, 21.4% of respondents said that they had been victimized in their communities because of their HIV status and 12.3% reported experiencing such violence in their homes from family members or partners. The authors cited this as the most startling finding of the study.

²⁴ This reflects data from eleven of the fourteen national tracking programs (Chicago, Detroit, El Paso, Los Angeles, Massachusetts, Minnesota/St. Paul, New York City, Phoenix, Santa Barbara, St. Louis, and San Francisco).

²⁵ National Association of People With AIDS. (1992). *HIV in America: A Profile of the Challenges Facing Americans Living With HIV*. National Association of People Living With AIDS: 1413 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

In the vast majority of cases, the targets were individual persons with HIV/AIDS (or persons perceived to have HIV/AIDS) as opposed to AIDS service organizations. The incidents ranged from harassment by neighbors and landlords, to anti-gay assaults in which the victims were called "AIDS faggots" to murders. Not surprisingly, anecdotal evidence from programs across the country indicates that people with HIV/AIDS who are victims of bias incidents see their health worsen in the aftermath. This is particularly true of people who are symptomatic.

Reporting to Law Enforcement / Law Enforcement Response

Information reported to the NCAVP national tracking programs includes the number of incidents reported to the police, police response and police attitude. In addition, statistics were collected from local law enforcement agencies on crimes they classified as motivated by anti-LGBT bias. Taken together, this information indicates a widespread reluctance on the part of victims to report anti-LGBT crimes to the police, an alarming increase in police indifference or hostility to those victims who do seek assistance, and continuing problems in police classification of bias crimes.

Forty percent of all anti-LGBT incidents reported to the national tracking programs during 1996 were also reported to the local police, an increase over the 1995 reporting rate of 36%. This increase is due in part to the criminal justice system advocacy and assistance NCAVP programs provide victims in reporting to law enforcement. Nonetheless, this is still less than the 48% reporting rate for all violent crime, estimated by the Department of Justice.²⁶

Much of this disparity can be attributed to the lesbian and gay community's long history of distrust of the police. The most common reason cited by victims for not reporting an anti-LGBT incident to the police is fear of mistreatment, such as an insensitive or hostile response, or physical abuse by police, or public disclosure of their sexual orientation.²⁷ Such public disclosure often leads to loss of family, support systems or employment. The 1996 data make it clear that victims still have solid reasons for these fears.

Just over half of the victims who sought police assistance found the response courteous, which is up from last year. Nonetheless 37% said the police were "indifferent," and 12% said the police response was verbally or physically abusive -- up from 10% in 1995. In El Paso, 44% of the victims who sought police assistance found the response to be courteous, while 4% said the police were verbally or physically abusive.

In Chicago, of the victims who did report to the police (29 out of 131), 88% of the victims reported a courteous response. Chicago was followed by San Francisco, Cleveland, and Columbus (all reporting a 66% courteous response.) Los Angeles and Santa Barbara reported the worst police response, with each reporting that only 14% of victims who reported to the police received courteous treatment from police. This is the second year in a row that Los Angeles was one of the top two cities for poor police response.

²⁶ U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics. (1985). *Reporting Crimes to the Police*. (Ref. No. NCJ-99432). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice. Crimes of violence include rape, robbery, aggravated assault and simple assault.

²⁷ Herek, G. M. and Berrill, K. T. (Eds.). (1992). *Hate Crimes: Confronting Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men*, p. 294. Newbury Park, CA: Sage. Citing: Comstock, G.D. (1989). *Victims of anti-LGBT violence*. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 4, 101-106.

Another reason for the low levels of police reporting is that some incidents reported to local organizations do not fit the technical definition of a "crime," and therefore are not recorded by law enforcement. No more than six percent of the incidents, however, fall into this category. Taking this proportion of incidents out of the total raises the reporting rate to 38%, still well below the average for all other victims of violent crime.

The highest proportion of incidents reported to the police was in Phoenix (91%), followed by Los Angeles (50%), San Francisco (48%), and Massachusetts (46%). The relationship between a local police department and the lesbian/gay community appears to have a direct impact on the level of victim willingness to report incidents.

For example, the high rate of reporting in Phoenix comes on the heels of a 1995 initiative in which the local Anti-Violence Project and the Phoenix Police Department launched a highly-publicized joint effort encouraging gay and lesbian victims of hate crime to report their victimization to the police. In a cooperative effort in Los Angeles this past year, the police department has stationed an officer inside the City's Lesbian and Gay Community Center to take reports of anti-LGBT incidents. In Massachusetts and San Francisco, meanwhile, the gay and lesbian communities have over the years established a positive connection with their police departments.

Reporting to Police

Program Location	% Incidents Reported to Police
Massachusetts	46
Chicago	30
Cleveland	17
Columbus	28
Detroit	26
El Paso	26
LA	50
Minnesota	26
New York City	37
Phoenix	91
Santa Barbara	23
St. Louis	35
San Francisco	48
Virginia	20
National Average	36

Participating programs tracked whether the police classified an incident as bias-motivated after a victim reported the incident to the police as a bias incident. Of the 745 incidents reported to the police, bias classification was known in 81%.²⁸ Victims did not report the case as bias in 24% of incidents, primarily because they feared secondary victimization. On the other hand, victims in 71% of the incidents did report the incident to the police as bias. Of those reported as bias to the police, a bias classification was promptly made in only 55% of the incidents, while being refused outright in 24% of the incidents. The victim or the local program was still advocating for a bias classification in 20% of the incidents.

²⁸No police bias classification was available in 17 incidents; bias classification information was unknown in 203 incidents.

Victim advocates say that less than half of the incidents which they attempt to have classified as bias after the fact ever receive such a designation. In sum, even in places where a bias classification system is available to victims, and the victim has the courage to seek such a designation, police fail to classify these crimes as anti-LGBT in almost half of the cases.

Sexual Orientation Bias Crimes Reported to FBI by Local Police 1990-1996								
City	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	'95-'96 % +/-
Massachusetts	39	31	32	29	29	18	27	33%
Chicago	10	28	52	37	31	31	16	-94%
Columbus						11	26	57%
El Paso			1	2	NA	NA	1	NA
Minnesota			30	19	38	37	46	20%
New York City	102	88	86	79	68	73	64	-14%
Phoenix					17	42	21	-100%
San Francisco	97	193	164	134	99	144	102*	-41%
Virginia							10	N/A
Total	248	340	364	337	348	392	312	-25%

**Does not reflect December*

There are several likely explanations for this poor response. Most local police officers have never received specific training in identifying bias crimes, nor the additional skills and knowledge required to respond appropriately to anti-LGBT crime.²⁹ Some local personnel are reluctant to classify crimes as bias because they wish to avoid the additional work, negative community sentiment and poor public relations that often accompany bias crime. Finally, several local law enforcement agencies apply unrealistic and excessively rigid criteria to the classification of anti-LGBT crimes.³⁰ U.S. Department of Justice, Federal

²⁹When Congress enacted the Hate Crimes Statistics Act, it did not appropriate any additional funds to train local law enforcement agencies to implement the act. As a result, the FBI was unable to conduct training programs for local patrol and line-of-duty law enforcement officers. Showing significant leadership and dedication to the HCSA, the FBI did conduct 46 training conferences for 3,300 representatives of 1,100 local law enforcement agencies (using personnel from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program). In turn, these representatives were expected to conduct training for their own agencies. U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Characteristics of Hate Crimes in 1992*, p. 2.

³⁰ While the FBI's definition of a bias crime, for example, includes all offenses that are motivated "*in whole or in part, by the offender's bias,*" in practice, incidents that are not solely motivated by bias (e.g., victims who are targeted for robbery and excessive violence because they are lesbian/gay) are almost never classified as *bias-motivated*. Bureau of Investigation, *Training Guide for Hate Crime Data Collection*, p. 14 (Emphasis supplied).

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, & Transgendered-Related Murders

Gay-related murders are those in which the victim's sexual orientation was a significant motivating factor. This term does not include homicides of gay men, bisexuals, transgendered, and lesbians that appeared to be drug-related, the result of domestic violence, and disputes between acquaintances.³¹

In 1996, the fourteen national tracking programs reported 21 gay-related murders³², down from 29 murders reported for 1995. In addition, another 10 gay-related murders were reported by other programs.

Although the number of reported anti-gay/lesbian murders decreased from 1995 to 1996, the level of brutality increased with 12 or 57% of the murders marked by an extraordinary level of violence involving "overkill."³³ This is a significant increase over 1995, where only 33% of the reported murders involved overkill. The overwhelming level of violence is consistent with a motivation based on hatred.

Knives (and other sharp instruments) were the most frequently used weapon, involved in 38% of the murders reported. While firearms accounted for 68% of all homicides nationwide,³⁴ they were used in only 33% of the gay/lesbian-related cases. Nineteen percent (19%) of the murders involved strangulation, 10% involved the use of blunt objects, and 10% involved the use of arson.

At least 62% (13) of the murders appear to have occurred in a pick-up scenario where the perpetrator and victim met and mutually agreed to go somewhere for sex (usually the victim's home). In most cases where the pick-up location was known, the perpetrator found his victim in a gay bar or gay "cruising" area (such as a park, public bathroom, or other area frequented by men looking for sex with other men): 38% (3) of the victims were picked-up from a gay bar, 38% (3) from a gay cruising area, 13% (1) from

³¹*The following criteria were used to categorize murders as gay-related: specific anti-lesbian/gay statements made by the perpetrator; evidence of rage/hate-fueled extraordinary violence, known as "overkill" in law enforcement (see definition of "overkill" in footnote 34 below; location of the murder in an area with a history of anti-LGBT violence, or a known gay "cruising" area; absence of signs of forced entry where the homicides occurred in a victim's home or hotel room; or statements and insights offered by witnesses, friends of the victim or community leaders.*

³² This number includes two murders from 1995 that were reported to local programs and determined to be gay-related in 1996. See Appendix "E" for narratives on each murder as well as some of the murders from other areas.

³³ *Murders classified as "overkill" involved at least one of the following: 1) four or more gunshot or stab wounds; 2) repeated use of a blunt object(s) (such as a baseball bat, brick, or lead pipe); or 3) use of more than one method of murder, any one of which would have independently killed the victim, such as strangulation followed by multiple stabbings.*

³⁴ Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Crime in the United States, 1992," page 18, Washington, D.C., 1992.

a non-gay bar, and 13% (1) from an Internet “chat” room.

Three of the murder victims were women (14%), 17 of the victims were men (81%), and one of the victims was transgendered (5%). The murders of the three women all seemed to involve the hatred of a man finding out the lesbian identity of the victims: in one case, involved an ex-husband who killed his ex-wife’s lover and attempted to kill his ex-wife; the other case involved a man who killed two women, apparently finding out that they were lesbians, after one of the women had repeatedly refused to go out with him on a date. The transgendered murder was similar in that the perpetrator seemed motivated by finding out the gender of the victim.

The age of the murder victims was significantly older than that of the offenders. Where ages of victims were known, only 18% [3] were between 23-29 years of age, while 47% [8] were between 30-44 years of age, 24% [4] were between 45-64 years of age, and 12% [2] age 65 and older. The ages of the known offenders were significantly younger, with 30% [3] between 18-22 years of age, 40% [4] between 23-29 years of age, and 30% [3] between 30-44 years of age. ***This age discrepancy between victims and offenders is relatively consistent with other forms of anti-LGBT violence.***