

Anti-LGBTQ Hate Crimes: An Annotated Bibliography

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This bibliography includes books – both scholarly and popular – and academic articles about violent hate crimes against LGBTQ people in Canada and the United States. This document also includes a selective list of organizations that work to address homophobic and transphobic violence in Canada and the United States. Newspaper and magazine articles are too numerous to include in the current bibliography, as are Web sites that document and discuss these acts.

This bibliography is limited to works that primarily address hate-motivated crimes perpetrated against people who identify or are perceived to identify as LGBTQ. However, it is difficult and limiting to examine homophobic and transphobic violence in isolation from hate violence more broadly. Violence against LGBTQ people can be motivated by a number of social forces – including racism, ablism, classism, and xenophobia – along with homophobia and transphobia.

This resource was approved by the Resources Committee of the GLBT Round Table of the American Library Association. To suggest an edit or a new resource, please contact the Resources Committee.

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1 Overview

Violence against LGBTQ people has had profound effects on our community. Though homophobic and transphobic crimes are hardly new, little was published on them until the 1980s. Early research focused on documenting specific incidents, providing psychological support to survivors, and examining the social issues that led to these incidents. More recent scholarship examines bias crimes in a more intersectional framework, showing us that anti-LGBTQ hate crimes differ based on the victim's race and class. Many authors who write about hate crimes act as activists, seeking to draw attention to these attacks on our community and underlying problems including homophobia, transphobia, misogyny, racism, classism, and ableism.

Bell, M. D. & Vila, R. I. (1996). Homicide in homosexual victims: a study of 67 cases from the Broward County, Florida, medical examiner's office (1982-1992), with special emphasis on "overkill". *The American journal of forensic medicine and pathology*, 17(1), 65-69.

A quantitative study observes that homicides against gay men tend to be significantly more violent than homicides against straight men.

Comstock, G. D. (1991). *Violence against lesbians and gay men*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Comstock, a religious scholar, offers the results of a 1986 survey of hate crime victims. The book also includes a historical overview of gay and lesbian communities, a discussion of sociological reasons for anti-gay violence, and an essay on Leviticus and its influence on this violence.

Gruenewald, J. & Kelley, K. (n.d.). Exploring anti-lgbt homicide by mode of victim selection. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 41(9), 1130-1152.

The authors propose a new way of classifying homophobic and transphobic homicides based on the perpetrator's intent and how they selected their victim.

Herek, G. M. & Berrill, K. T. (1992). *Hate crimes: confronting violence against lesbians and gay men*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

This collection of essays and studies documents trends and motivations for anti-gay hate crimes, and offers suggestions for addressing the mental health needs of survivors. Personal stories from survivors of hate crimes are interspersed throughout the scholarly text. Though none of the pieces investigate race or class dimensions of anti-gay hate crimes, this book is still valuable because it represents a valuable summary of early hate crimes research.

Hill, D. B. (2002). Genderism, transphobia, and gender bashing: a framework for interpreting anti-transgender violence. *Understanding and dealing with violence: A multicultural approach*, 113–136.

The author offers a way of understanding various types of anti-trans hate crimes. Much of the article is outdated, but it includes very poignant and illuminating selections from 18 interviews with trans individuals.

Janoff, D. V. (2005). *Pink blood: homophobic violence in Canada*. University of Toronto Press.

Pink Blood is the first scholarly monograph to explore the issue of anti-LGBT hate crimes in Canada. Janoff's research examines incidents from across Canada, and offers both community- and policy-based solutions to the problem.

Lombardi, E. L., Wilchins, R. A., Priesing, D., & Malouf, D. (2002). Gender violence: transgender experiences with violence and discrimination. *Journal of homosexuality*, 42(1), 89–101. doi:10.1300/j082v42n01_05

A study of trans people that found a strong correlation between experiencing economic discrimination and experiencing violence.

Miller, B. & Humphreys, L. (1980). Lifestyles and violence: homosexual victims of assault and murder. *Qualitative Sociology*, 3, 169–185.

This early exploratory study questioned contemporary misconceptions of which gay men were more likely to be murdered in bias crimes. In their sample, the authors noticed that gay men who were more covert about their identities and less connected to the wider gay community

were victimized more often than men who were more open about their identities.

Moore, D. & Rennie, A. M. (2006). Hated identities: queers and Canadian anti-hate legislation. *Canadian journal of criminology and criminal justice*, 48(5), 823–836. doi:10.1353/ccj.2006.0054

A critique of the legal assumption that hate crime victim’s identities are fixed and knowable. The authors explore how perpetrators, communities, legal actors, and the media play a role in establishing the supposed identity of hate crime victims.

Namaste, K. (1996). Genderbashing: sexuality, gender, and the regulation of public space. *Environment and planning D*, 14, 221–240. doi:10.1068/d140221

Not yet reviewed

Stacey, M. (2011). Distinctive characteristics of sexual orientation bias crimes. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, 26(15), 3013–3032.

A comparison of racist and homophobic crimes of all types “from minor cases of intimidation to homicide.” The analysis uses the FBI’s NIBRS data, which limits its ability to examine incidents that are motivated by both racism and homophobia.

2 Statistics

The federal governments of Canada and the United States both maintain statistics of bias-motivated crimes. Government-kept statistics provide a limited representation of hate crimes because both victims and law enforcement agencies underreport bias crimes.

Allen, M. & Boyce, J. (2013, September). *Police-reported hate crime in Canada, 2011*. Catalogue number 85-002-X201300111822. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2013001/article/11822-eng.htm>

Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2013). 2012 hate crime statistics. In *Uniform crime reports*. Retrieved from <http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/hate-crime/2012>

The FBI compiles statistics on hate crimes reported to law enforcement agencies in the United States.

Herek, G. M. (2009). Hate crimes and stigma-related experiences among sexual minority adults in the United States: prevalence estimates from a national probability sample. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, 24(1), 54–74.

An influential national study that identified prevalence rates of person and property crimes against gay, lesbian, and bisexual people in the United States.

National Coalition of Anti-Violence Projects. (2013). *Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and HIV-affected hate violence in 2012*. New York: New York City Gay & Lesbian Anti-Violence Project, Inc. Retrieved from <http://avp.org/resources/avp-resources/248>

Statistics compiled by 15 organizations throughout the United States that serve victims of anti-LGBT violence.

Hate incidents. (n.d.). Southern Poverty Law Center. Retrieved from <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/hate-incidents>

The Southern Poverty Law Center compiles a list of apparent hate crimes from media reports. The center notes that this list represents only a small portion of incidents, but it can be useful for researching specific cases.

Wilson, M. M. (2014, February). *Hate crime victimization, 2004 – 2012 statistical tables*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved from <http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=4883>

In addition to the FBI, the Department of Justice also maintains hate crime statistics within the United States. Its statistics also include crimes that were not reported to police, and allow victims – rather

than law enforcement agencies – to identify their own experiences as hate crimes.

3 Motivations

Many authors and are interested in the motivations and predisposing factors of hate crime perpetrators, particularly with an interest to design interventions.

Franklin, K. (1998). Psychosocial motivations of hate crimes perpetrators: implications for educational intervention. In *Annual convention of the American Psychological Association*. Retrieved from <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED423939.pdf>

The paper examines four categories of motivation among young adult perpetrators of hate crimes: self-defense, ideological aversion to gay men, thrill seeking, and peer pressure. The paper also examines reasons that non-perpetrators reported for not committing hate crimes.

Kelley, K. & Gruenewald, J. (2014). Accomplishing masculinity through anti-lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender homicide: a comparative case study approach. *Men and Masculinities*, 1–27. doi:10.1177/1097184X14551204

A set of 5 case studies illuminates how men perpetrate anti-LGBT hate crimes to express masculinity and reify a dichotomous view of gender.

Tomsen, S. (2009). *Violence, prejudice and sexuality*. New York: Routledge.

This book describes how essentialist categories of sexuality and gender are enforced by harassment and violence, and examines the motivations and societal acceptance of hate violence against gay men.

4 Experiences of victims and their communities

Several studies have examined how victims of hate crimes make sense of their experiences, and the psychological consequences of these incidents.

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

This study compared Boston neighborhoods with varying levels of anti-LGBT violence and found that queer youth in more homophobically violent neighborhoods report significantly higher rates of suicidal ideation and suicide attempts.

Hein, L. C. & Scharer, K. M. (2013). Who cares if it is a hate crime? Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender hate crimes: mental health implications and interventions. *Perspectives in psychiatric care, 49*(2), 84–93. doi:10.1111/j.1744-6163.2012.00354.x

An overview of the mental health issues that affect survivors of anti-LGBT hate crimes. The authors provide some implications for mental health practice, particularly for psychiatric nurses.

Herek, G. M., Cogan, J. C., & Gillis, J. R. (2002). Victim experiences in hate crimes based on sexual orientation. *Journal of Social Issues, 58*(2), 319–339.

This piece examines how gay and lesbian people experience violence based on their sexual orientation, and how they make the decision to report incidents to the police.

Meyer, D. (2008). Interpreting and experiencing anti-queer violence: race, class, and gender differences among LGBT hate crime victims. *Race, Gender & Class, 15*(4), 262–282.

Meyer expands Herek's research on hate crime victims' experiences. Meyer finds that it is more difficult for queer people of color to deter-

mine that they've experienced an anti-gay hate crime, because multiple parts of their identities are often attacked simultaneously in these incidents.

Rose, S. M. & Mechanic, M. B. (2002). Psychological distress, crime features, and help-seeking behaviors related to homophobic bias incidents. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *46*(1), 14–26. doi:10.1177/0002764202046001003

This study identifies the differing psychological consequences of several types of homophobic incidents.

Willis, D. G. (2008). Meanings in adult male victims' experiences of hate crime and its aftermath. *Issues In Mental Health Nursing*, *29*(6), 567–584. doi:10.1080/01612840802048733

A study of how gay men assign meaning to their experiences with homophobic violence, with implications for the healing process.

5 Representing hate crimes

Hate crimes and their contexts are represented in very particular ways. These pieces explore questions of which hate crimes are presented to the public and the specific ways in which they are presented.

Dunn, T. R. (2010). Remembering Matthew Shepard: violence, identity, and queer counterpublic memories. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, *13*(4), 611–652.

An analysis of how the LGBT community remembers Matthew Shepard.

Husselbee, L. P. & Elliott, L. (2002). Looking beyond hate: how national and regional newspapers framed hate crimes in Jasper, Texas, and Laramie, Wyoming. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *79*(4), 833–852.

This analysis shows that most newspapers wrote about the towns of Jasper and Laramie in favorable ways in the wake of brutal hate crimes, contrary to the fears of residents of those communities.

Lamble, S. (2008). Retelling racialized violence, remaking White innocence: the politics of interlocking oppressions in Transgender Day of Remembrance. *Sexuality Research & Social Policy*, 5(1), 24–42. doi:10.1525/srsp.2008.5.1.24

This piece critiques narrative techniques that represent anti-trans violence as solely a gender issue without acknowledging intersecting axes of oppression, particularly race. While it uses the *Remembering our dead* website as a case study, Lamble’s warning against single-issue activism is valuable for anybody studying or working to address anti-gay hate crimes.

Ott, B. L. & Aoki, E. (2002). The politics of negotiating public tragedy: media framing of the Matthew Shepard murder. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, 5(3), 483–505. doi:10.1353/rap.2002.0060

This article analyzes how newspapers and magazines framed the murder of Matthew Shepard, assuaged the guilt of the American public, and reinforced the stigmatization of LGBT people.

Speidenner, A. & Glenn, C. (2014). Scripting hate crimes: victim, space and perpetrator defining hate. *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*, 28(1), 123–135. doi:10.1080/10304312.2013.854873

This paper examines the roles police statements and the media play in forming community understanding of hate crime acts. The paper argues that race, gender, sexuality, and the concept of “neighborhood” play a large role in how media and police shape this understanding.

6 Responding to hate crimes

Some LGBTQ activists have advocated for the inclusion of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and sometimes transgender people in hate crimes statutes. Supporters

believe that sentencing enhancements included in these statutes can deter potential perpetrators from committing violent crimes against our community.

Other LGBTQ activists note that there is little evidence that these sentencing enhancements actually deter hate crimes. Many, particularly in communities of color, see them as harmful statutes that are applied disproportionately against poor people and people of color. Others feel that these statutes pose a threat to free speech. Opponents of enhanced sentencing propose alternatives such as education programs designed to reduce anti-LGBTQ stigma and community-based restorative justice projects.

Whether they are tried under hate crime statutes or not, perpetrators of anti-LGBTQ violence often appeal to homophobic and transphobic stereotypes, hoping that judges and juries will be more lenient. This strategy often takes the form of the gay panic defense or the trans panic defense.

Bradley, L. & Berrill, D. (1986). *Dealing with violence: a guide for gay and lesbian people*. Washington, D.C.: National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.

This early pamphlet discusses self-defense techniques, advice for getting help and dealing with police, and tips for organizing against hate crimes.

Bronski, M., Pellegrini, A., Michael, & Amico. (2013, October). Hate crime laws don't prevent violence against LGBT people. *The Nation*. Retrieved from <http://www.thenation.com/article/176437/hate-crime-laws-dont-prevent-violence-against-lgbt-people>

The authors present an excellent, highly readable summary of arguments within the LGBT community against enhanced sentencing for hate crimes.

Hanhardt, C. (2008). Butterflies, whistles, and fists: gay safe streets patrols and the new gay ghetto, 1976-1981. *Radical History Review*, (100), 61–85. doi:10.1215/01636545-2007-022

An impeccably researched history of gay street patrols in the late 1970s. Hanhardt discusses how these patrols served to define certain urban areas as “gay” and others as “not gay”.

Jenness, V. (1995). Social movement growth, domain expansion, and framing processes: the gay/lesbian movement and violence against gays and lesbians as a social problem. *Social problems*, 42, 145–170.

An analysis of 32 anti-violence organizations sponsored by gay and lesbian people.

Lamble, S. (2013). Queer necropolitics and the expanding carceral state: interrogating sexual investments in punishment. *Law & Critique*, 24(3), 229–253. doi:10.1007/s10978-013-9125-1

An examination of the growing investment of LGBT activists in hate crimes legislation, police work, and prisons.

Lee, C. (2008, December). The gay panic defense. *U.C. Davis Law Review*, 42(2), 471–566. Retrieved from <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1141875>

The author discusses the gay panic defense, in which the perpetrator of a violent anti-gay crime argues for a more lenient sentence because they felt threatened by the victim’s homosexuality. Lee also mentions the trans panic defense, in which a perpetrator argues for leniency because they felt deceived by their victim’s choice not to disclose their trans status. The article discusses the history of these defenses, and the stereotypes that inform them. While other legal scholars have suggested that this defense be prohibited from courtrooms, Lee argues against such a prohibition, feeling that it would be ineffective and dangerous, because it would allow defense attorneys to use more dangerous, subconscious appeals to anti-gay stereotypes held by the jury.

Meyer, D. (2013). Resisting hate crime discourse: queer and intersectional challenges to neoliberal hate crime laws. *Critical Criminology*, 5(1), 1–13. doi:10.1007/s10612-013-9228-x

An analysis of how discourse about hate crime discourse advances feelings of “stranger danger” and reinforces racist and classist assumptions.

National Center for Transgender Equality. (2009). *Responding to hate crimes: a community resource manual*. Retrieved from <http://transequality>.

org/issues/resources/responding-hate-crimes-community-resource-manual

This manual offers advice on interacting with victims, perpetrators, law enforcement, media, and the greater transgender community about hate crime incidents.

Spade, D. & Willse, C. (2000). Confronting the limits of gay hate crimes activism: a radical critique. *Chicano-Latino Law Review*, 21, 38–53. Retrieved from <http://cwillse.net/wp-content/uploads/2007/12/hate-crimes.pdf>

Two scholars acknowledge the positive impacts of hate crime activism while critiquing its shortcomings and some of its troubling consequences.

7 Anti-LGBTQ hate crimes in specific regions

These pieces explore hate crimes within specific geographical area.

Dominguez-Ruvalcaba, H. & Corona, I. (Eds.). (2010). *Gender violence at the U.S.–Mexico border: media representation and public response*. Tucson, Ariz.: University of Arizona Press.

A number of scholars write about violence against women and transgender people along the U.S.–Mexico border. Chapters contrast government inaction with grassroots organizing, explore connections between gender violence and its depictions in films and newspapers, and discuss how international law fails to protect women and transgender people along the border.

Stotzer, R. L. (2008). Gender identity and hate crimes: violence against transgender people in Los Angeles County. *Sexuality Research & Social Policy*, 5, 43–52. doi:10.1525/srsp.2008.5.1.43

An analysis of data collected by the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations showing that from 2002-2006. The 49 crimes studied in this paper reveal that trans women, particularly Black trans women, experience much higher rates of violence than other trans individu-

als. The paper also investigates quotes from the perpetrators to better understand their motivations.

Wolff, K. & Cokely, C. (2007). “To protect and to serve?”: an exploration of police conduct in relation to the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender community. *Sexuality & Culture*, 11(2), 1–23. doi:10.1007/s12119-007-9000-z

This study analyzes 1,896 incidents documented by a Minnesota organization to examine law enforcement’s (usually inadequate) response to anti-LGBT hate crimes. This study was the first to examine police violence against LGBT people in quantitative ways.

8 Specific hate incidents

Statistics and analyses can only tell part of the story of hate crimes. Biographies, memoirs, case studies, and dramatizations can help to put a human face on this issue.

Cox, L. (director). (2016). *FREE CeCe!* [Documentary]. United States.

CeCe McDonald survived a violent racist and transphobic attack in 2011, and served time in a men’s prison in Minnesota for defending herself against this attack. This forthcoming documentary includes interviews with CeCe both during and after her incarceration.

Fulford, R. (1999). *Faggot! steel kiss and gulag*. Winnipeg: Blizzard.

Two gritty plays that follow follow four young men after they murder a gay man. Loosely based on the 1985 murder of librarian Kenneth Zeller.

Heidenreich, L. (2006). Learning from the death of Gwen Araujo?: transphobic racial subordination and queer Latina survival in the twenty-first century. *Chicana/Latina Studies*, 50–86.

This piece shows how transphobia and racism allowed Gwen Araujo's death to be ignored by mainstream media and queer culture and how White masculinity leads to violence against queer people of color. The author also documents the Araujo family's insistence that Gwen's life be valued.

Jimenez, S. (2013). *The book of Matt: hidden truths about the murder of Matthew Shepard*. Hanover, New Hampshire: Steerforth.

A recent book that presents a different version of what happened in the Matthew Shepard case.

Kaufman, M. (director). (2002). *The Laramie project [Motion Picture]*. Santa Monica, CA: HBO Films.

A film adaptation of Moisés Kaufman's 2000 play, dealing with the aftermath of Matthew Shepard's murder.

Kaufman, M. (2014). *The Laramie project and the Laramie project: ten years later*. New York: Vintage Books.

Two plays based on interviews with residents of Laramie, Wyoming. The first play was written in the wake of the 1998 murder of Matthew Shepard in Laramie; its companion piece was written after a second trip to Laramie to collect follow-up interviews.

Nibley, L. (director). (2009). *Two spirits [Documentary]*. United States.

A touching documentary about Fred Martinez, who was murdered in 2001 for being nádleehí.

Assault on Gay America: The Life and Death of Billy Jack [Documentary]. (2000). Alexandria, Va.: PBS Video.

A Frontline documentary that examines the causes of homophobia in the context of the 1999 murder of Billy Jack Gaither.

Patterson, R. & Hinds, P. (2005). *The whole world was watching: living in the light of Matthew Shepard*. New York: Advocate Books.

A close friend of Matthew Shepard describes her growing activism in the wake of her friend's murder.

Shepard, J. & Barrett, J. (2009). *The meaning of Matthew: my son's murder in Laramie, and a world transformed*. New York: Hudson Street Press.

An account of Matthew Shepard's life, murder, and legacy, written by his mother.

Smith, G. A. (2005). Remembering our dead. Retrieved from <http://www.gender.org/remember>

This memorial for trans victims of hate violence has been online since 1999.

Sprinkle, S. (2011). *Unfinished lives: reviving the memories of LGBTQ hate crimes victims*. Eugene, OR: Resource Publications.

This book commemorates 14 victims of homophobic and transphobic violence with short biographies, dignified sketched portraits, and helpful bibliographies. Sprinkle, a theology professor, analyses several of the cases through Bible quotations and a Christian framework. Sprinkle's memorial is commendable, though the inclusion of more people of color and transgender people would have painted a richer portrait of the victims of hate violence.

Wikipedia. (2015). List of unlawfully killed transgender people. Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_unlawfully_killed_transgender_people

A list of notable events in which transgender people have died at the hands of others.

9 Organizations

Many organizations work to respond to and prevent hate crimes; some of the most notable are listed here.

AVP: The Anti-Violence Project

<http://avp.org>

(212) 714-1184 / (212) 714-1141 (Hotline)

FORGE

<http://forge-forward.org>

(414) 559-2123

Matthew Shepard foundation

<http://www.matthewshepard.org/>

(303) 830-7400

National Gay and Lesbian Task Force

<http://www.thetaskforce.org/>

(202) 393-5177

Sylvia Rivera Law Project

<http://www.srlp.org/>

(212) 337-8550