

About South Asian Americans Leading Together (SAALT)

South Asian Americans Leading Together (SAALT) is a national nonpartisan non-profit organization that fights for racial justice and advocates for the civil rights of all South Asians in the United States. Our ultimate vision is dignity and full inclusion for all. SAALT fulfills its mission through advocating for just and equitable public policies at the national and local level; strengthening grassroots South Asian organizations as catalysts for community change; and informing and influencing the national dialogue on trends impacting our communities. SAALT is the coordinating entity for the National Coalition of South Asian Organizations (NCSO).

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Confronting Hate Violence and Xenophobic Political Rhetoric



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

he 2016 United States presidential election cycle and ultimately the inauguration of President Donald Trump amplified a wave of hate violence against South Asian,

Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, and Arab communities to heights not seen since the year after the attacks of September 11, 2001. While Islamophobia and hate violence in the United States pre-date the September 11th era and have continued to escalate since, the dramatic surge in rhetoric rooted in anti-Black, anti-Muslim, and anti-immigrant sentiment in 2016 and 2017 has fueled a palpable and unparalleled atmosphere of hate and suspicion.

The first year of President Trump's administration has only built upon the already disturbing surge in hate violence documented in SAALT's 2017 report, *Power, Pain, Potential*.¹ That 2016 analysis documented 207 incidents of hate violence and xenophobic political rhetoric aimed at South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, and Arab communities during the 2016 election cycle, which we define as November 1, 2015 to Election Day on November 8, 2016.

This report, which covers November 9, 2016 to November 7, 2017—the first year after the presidential election—documents 302 incidents of hate violence and xenophobic political rhetoric aimed at our communities, an over 45% increase from our previous analysis in just one year. This breaks down further into 213 incidents of hate violence and 89 instances of xenophobic political rhetoric—of which 248, or an astounding 82%, were motivated by anti-Muslim sentiment. One in five perpetrators of hate violence incidents referenced President Trump, a Trump policy, or a Trump campaign slogan, underlining a strong link between President Trump's anti-Muslim agenda and hate violence post-election.

The connection between xenophobic political rhetoric, anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim policies, and actual violence is one that has appeared to grow stronger over the last decade. Indeed our 2017 *Power, Pain, Potential*² analysis saw a parallel proportion where one in five documented instances of xenophobic political rhetoric originated with presidential nominee Trump. The most recent 2017 "The Year in Hate and Extremism" report from the Southern Poverty Law Center shows that the greatest growth in organized hate groups between 2015-2016 was concentrated among anti-Muslim groups.³

Despite the recent surge in divisive anti-Muslim political rhetoric and the devastating hate violence targeting South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, and Arab communities over the past two years, both are products of a decades-long history of political rhetoric and policies steeped in racism, xenophobia, and Islamophobia.

Our cover page juxtaposes the Statue of Liberty with the tiki torch, which became synonymous with the white supremacist violence in Charlottesville, Virginia in August 2017. These opposing images represent the growing divergence between the reality of deep, systemic racism in the United States today and our core aspirational values as a nation of hope, peace, and justice. This is the same dissonance that built this nation on values of freedom while enslaving Africans and committing genocide against the Native American population.

Today's violence, racism, and xenophobia against our communities is informed by the stated and implicit goals of the current administration, and is also the product of the longstanding and systemic injustice that underpins many of our nation's systems and institutions. This premise allows us

to make clear connections between policies of racial profiling and spikes in hate violence over time while employing a longitudinal and historical analysis to contextualize the current moment.

The latest Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) hate crimes data released in November 2017 confirmed an overall 5% increase in reported hate crimes from 2015 to 2016. While that increase might seem small, 2015 saw a record number of reported hate crimes—the highest since the year immediately after September 11th. The FBI report noted that 2016 saw a total of 6,063 reported hate crime incidents involving 7,509 victims. Nearly 60% percent of victims were targeted based upon their perceived race/ethnicity/ancestry and 21.1% of victims were targeted based upon their perceived religion4. This list reveals a chilling and tragically consistent story when we dig further into the numbers: anti-Muslim hate crimes increased by 19% from 2015, already a 67% increase from 2014. As we noted in our last report⁵, it is enough simply to be perceived as Muslim to be a target of hate violence. Anti-Arab hate crimes increased by 38%; anti-Sikh hate crimes increased by 17%; and anti-Hindu hate crimes increased by 100% in the last year. Notably, 2015 was the first year in which these three new categories were included in the FBI hate crimes reporting form: a crucial reason why hate crimes reported in those categories continue to be very low. SAALT's own database found over seven incidents of hate violence aimed directly against Sikhs. While these incidents did not all meet the legal threshold of a hate crime, the disconnect between these numbers and SAALT's community-reported and publicly-sourced data still underline that the magnitude of violence is far greater than what is reported to the FBI.

In a telling demonstration of an increasingly toxic political debate, xenophobic political rhetoric continues to originate from those who hold the highest elected and appointed positions of influence in government. This report defines xenophobic political rhetoric as biased language by those in positions of power or influence such as elected officials, public figures, law enforcement personnel, hate groups, and mass media intended to target and scapegoat our communities for political gain. The analysis in this report is based

upon information collected in SAALT's online database, which documented 89 instances of xenophobic political rhetoric from news sources aimed at South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, and Arab communities during the year after the 2016 presidential election. This points to an over 32% increase in xenophobic political rhetoric compared to the previous year leading up to the 2016 election. This reality underlines a multiyear escalation in anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant violence and rhetoric in the wake of the September 11th attacks. The four major sources of xenophobic political rhetoric documented in this report are: white supremacist groups at 41%, followed by President Trump or Trump administration officials at 33%, other elected or public officials at 22%, and mainstream media at 4%.

Racial profiling of South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, and Arab communities by law enforcement further entrenches anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant sentiment, and sets a foundation for institutionalized discrimination against our communities. Tracking incidents of racial profiling by law enforcement and other authorities is extremely challenging because there is no requirement for law enforcement authorities to document encounters with civilians, compounded by the profound lack of trust that exists between our communities and law enforcement. Rather than examining the news for stories, we found we get a more accurate picture of the type of racial profiling our community members face when they report incidents to us by completing an online intake form that accompanies SAALT's online database of incidents. This report includes some of these reported incidents to illustrate the impact of racial profiling and its relationship to the spike in hate violence and xenophobic political rhetoric aimed at South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, and Arab communities. Skin color often also leads to the perception of being Muslim and in other cases compounds Black and immigrant identities, both of which were often associated with the most violent hate incidents we documented.

Unfortunately, the scope of racial profiling by law enforcement and chronic underreporting of hate crimes by law enforcement have a

symbiotic relationship. As we found in Power, Pain, Potential⁶, our communities become more vulnerable to hate violence when they are the repeated targets of policies that profile and surveil, as evidenced by the litany of federal policies developed after the September 11th attacks. Consequently, our communities simultaneously have less trust in law enforcement after experiencing hate violence. While underreporting by local law enforcement is well known, the lack of compliance from federal agencies with law enforcement functions to report hate crimes, which we explore later in this report, is deeply problematic. Intersectionality, which we define as the relationship between various components or aspects of one's identity, plays a key role to animate hate violence against South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, and Arab communities. Women wearing hijab or head scarves were the most vulnerable to hate violence in our analysis due to the intersections of gender, skin color, religious presentation, and immigrant background they represent. Youth were also susceptible to hate violence due to their age intersecting with other parts of their identity. They are often exposed to bullying at school and threats from individuals, including strangers, on the street.

We conclude the report with recommendations on ways our communities can resist hate violence and xenophobic political rhetoric and ways our government can be more responsive to the reality our communities face.

DEFINITIONS, METHODOLOGY, AND LIMITATIONS

AALT tracks incidents of hate violence, xenophobic political rhetoric, and racial profiling described in this report through a public, online database on our website populated by a variety of methods, including internet news searches, action alerts and announcements by ally organizations, community members, and media watchdog entities. Members of the public can submit and view descriptions of incidents on this crowd-sourced database. SAALT's simple, user-friendly, and transparent portal for community input lays a foundation for innovative models to address underreporting of hate crimes. Additionally, the collection of information can be viewed in real-time by community members, government officials, media, and other stakeholders, which allows for ongoing analysis of emerging trends.

SAALT has been documenting incidents of hate violence, xenophobic political rhetoric, and the proliferation of racial profiling and surveillance aimed at South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, and Arab communities since 2010. In 2015, in anticipation of a severe backlash following the attacks in Paris and San Bernardino, SAALT established its public online database to track this information and allow members of the public to confidentially report incidents of violence or discrimination they experienced or witnessed.

Throughout this report, "our communities" refers to South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, and Arab communities and individuals living in the United States. In addition, while hate violence and xenophobic political rhetoric, particularly animated by anti-Muslim sentiment, are tragically and increasingly becoming a global phenomenon, this analysis solely focuses on incidents and analysis in the U.S.

The period covered in this report is from November 8, 2016 to November 7, 2017, also referred to as the "post-election" period after the election of President Trump. To illustrate statistical trends for this time period, we compare the number of post-election incidents with those documented pre-election. "Pre-election" refers to the time period from November 1, 2015 to November 7, 2016.

This analysis highlights trends and issues related to incidents of hate violence, xenophobic political rhetoric, and racial profiling. The broader terms of "hate violence" and "hate incidents" refer to harassment, assaults, threats, murder, and property damage that include bias or animus against individuals or organizations in our communities. We use the terms "hate violence" or "hate incidents" in this analysis to include attacks that appear to involve hate or malice toward our communities, instill fear, or threaten safety and

freedom despite not qualifying as hate crimes according to state or federal laws or where law enforcement agencies did not pursue hate crime charges even when the legal elements were met. This report organizes incidents of hate violence into three major categories: physical assaults, verbal or written assaults, and property damage. Physical assaults are incidents that include beatings, violent removal of religious attire, and the use of a weapon. Verbal or written assaults are incidents that do not include physical harm but are threats based on racial and religious presentation of individuals. Property damage includes vandalism, arson, and other forms of property destruction aimed at our communities.

The term "xenophobic political rhetoric" represents biased language by those in positions of power or influence such as elected officials, public figures, law enforcement agents, hate groups, and mass media. Biased language includes any racist, anti-immigrant, and anti-Muslim rhetoric.

The last term, "racial profiling," identifies the practice of law enforcement agents, customs and border officials, and immigration agencies targeting and suspecting members of our communities of a criminal offense based on their actual or perceived race, ethnicity, or national origin.

We use the U.S. Census definition for the South, West, Northeast, and Midwest regions of the U.S. in our analysis.7 The South includes the fifteen states of Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas as well as the District of Columbia. The West includes: Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, New Mexico, Montana, Utah, Nevada, Wyoming, Alaska, California, Hawaii, Oregon, Washington. The Northeast includes: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. Lastly, the Midwest includes: Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota.

While our research represents a sample of hate violence, xenophobic political rhetoric, and racial profiling throughout the country, we recognize that it is impossible to list all the incidents targeting our communities. Factors include chronic underreporting of incidents, the normalization of anti-Muslim rhetoric by political leaders, and limited resources to bridge the gap between the core functions of government and its actual commitment and capacity to obtain accurate information from communities. SAALT also recognizes its own limited capacity to capture the impact of xenophobic political rhetoric from elected and appointed officials at the state and local levels, including in regions where SAALT has more nascent relationships with local organizations and community leaders. Strong relationships with local, community-based organizations generate better and more accurate data, but the eroding trust between communities and law enforcement. which we discuss later in the report, makes this increasingly challenging. Further, incidents of hate violence do not always make it to the news cycle in real time, and our sources only learn about some incidents weeks or even months later. While community organizations often take on the task of documentation where government agencies fail, this time lag means that developing a current snapshot of the violence can be a moving target.

Considering these multiple complexities and challenges, the number of hate incidents against those who identify or are perceived as South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, or Arab are not static. We recently discovered a few pre-election incidents not originally documented in our database. These incidents, which were not previously reported in news sources, have now been catalogued in an effort to bring our communities the most current and accurate numbers in the dynamic landscape of documenting hate. As a result, pre-election hate incidents and xenophobic political rhetoric totals for the pre-election period are slightly different in this analysis than the totals from the same period in Power, Pain, Potential.8 Regardless of this slight divergence, the general trends across our analyses remain the same: a consistent escalation in overwhelmingly anti-Muslim violence and rhetoric targeting our communities; increased

xenophobic political rhetoric that translates into policy; and increased racial profiling policies that target and reinforce hate against our communities. The examples of hate incidents in this analysis should not be viewed as a comprehensive account of all hate violence targeting our communities in the specified time period, but rather as a sample.

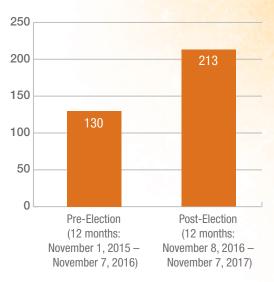
Finally, there is a significant lack of federal and disaggregated data on South Asian Americans aside from Indian-Americans, which makes realistic and comprehensive demographic analysis of the totality of our communities extremely difficult. It is our hope that this analysis provides a snapshot of the very real impact and consequences of a uniquely vitriolic administration and set of attendant policies that have fanned the flames of hate.

UPSWING IN HATE VIOLENCE

ince the election of President Trump, SAALT has documented a precipitous rise in hate violence across our communities. A total of 213 unique hate incidents occurred against those who identify or are perceived as South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, and Arab between November 8, 2016 and November 7, 2017. In comparison, 130 hate incidents took place the previous year, between November 1, 2015 and November 7, 2016 as noted in Figure 1. The additional 83 incidents amount to a 64% increase in hate violence during the first year of President Trump's administration from the previous year. This increase is part of a multi-year escalation in anti-Muslim and antiimmigrant violence and rhetoric in the wake of the September 11th attacks. This report continues to reinforce our conclusion in Power, Pain, Potential: political rhetoric informs government and public policies, which can in turn incite violence. The campaign rhetoric aimed at Muslim and immigrant communities has now been codified into policies such as the Muslim Ban, increased immigration enforcement along the U.S.-Mexico border, a steep reduction in refugee and asylee quotas, and massive deportations. Simultaneously, we see an associated spike in hate violence against the very communities targeted by these policies.

Of the 213 post-election incidents of hate violence documented from November 2016-November 2017, 181 or 85% were motivated by anti-Muslim sentiment. Similarly, in *Power, Pain, Potential*⁹ we found that 96% of the documented incidents of hate violence were motivated by anti-Muslim sentiment during the 2016 election cycle. The consistently high percentage of anti-Muslim

Figure 1: Hate Incidents
Pre-Election and Post-Election



violence points to three notable factors and trends. First, Islamophobia continues to be the main driver of hate incidents across our communities: it is enough to simply be perceived as Muslim to be the target of violence. Even though the post-election percentage of hate incidents targeting Muslims is lower than the pre-election percentage, the actual number of incidents increased post-election (122 and 181 respectively). Second, the rise in Islamophobia is accompanied by an increase in hate violence driven by xenophobia and racism (typified by the deadly white supremacist rally in Charlottesville, VA in August 2017), which make up a greater portion of the hate incidents we catalogued post-election. As referenced in Power, Pain, Potential, 10 the growth in organized white supremacist groups and their shared agenda to

SAALT documented 213 incidents of hate violence aimed at South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, and Arab communities in the year following the 2016 presidential election. This is a 64% increase from last year as reported in *Power, Pain, Potential.*

criminalize immigrant and Muslim communities has contributed to this disturbing convergence. This was illustrated by Act for America's virtual "Day of Action" to mark the September 11th anniversary last year. Act for America, the largest anti-Muslim hate group in the nation, called for border militarization, rejection of refugees, and the Muslim Ban. Third, anti-Muslim hate violence has a long history in the U.S., with record numbers documented since the September 11th attacks.11 The current climate of Islamophobia is both a product of the steady growth in white supremacist organizations and movements as well as the Trump administration's rhetoric and policies, which have provided a vehicle to operationalize white supremacist priorities on a national scale.

There is undoubtedly a strong connection between hate incidents and President Trump's xenophobic political rhetoric. Of the 213 documented incidents of hate violence post-election, perpetrators in approximately 1 out of every 5 incidents (21%) referenced President Trump, a Trump policy, or a Trump campaign slogan. Demonstrating a disturbing level of synergy between hate violence and xenophobic political rhetoric, this mirrors the percentage of xenophobic political references from then-candidate Trump we documented in *Power*, Pain, Potential. 12 Specific Trump administration policies referenced during the attacks documented in the current analysis included the Muslim Bans and the building of a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border. Slogans referenced included "Make America Great Again." The snapshot of incidents below demonstrates the role of President Trump and his rhetoric in fanning the flames of hate violence. Please see the map at the end of this report for a complete geographic illustration of SAALT's database of hate incidents.

- February 1, 2017, Chicago, Illinois: A patron at the Muslim-owned restaurant 4 Sisters left a tip of a dollar bill that read "NO MUSLIM IMMIGRANTS IN THE USA" in bright red ink.¹³
- May 2, 2017, South Padre Island, Texas:
 Alexander Downing verbally assaulted a
 Muslim family on the beach with comments such as "Donald Trump will stop you. Donald

Whether or not the Muslim Ban was in effect remained immaterial to stopping the hate violence against our communities.

Trump will stop you! Donald Trump got you motherf***ers. Watch... watch. My country is the greatest country in the world."¹⁴

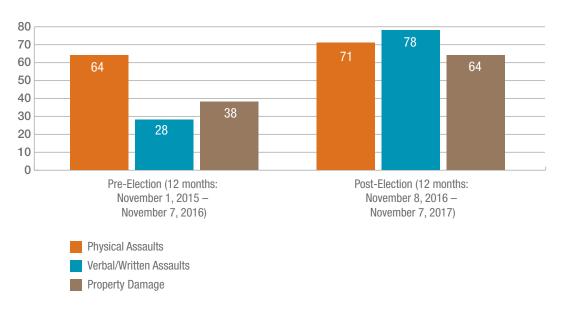
October 24, 2017, Kent, Washington: Threatening anti-Muslim vandalism and slurs were found on the Kent-Meridian High School campus. Photos of the graffiti show threats that include "All Muslims dead on 10/30 #MAGA," "towel heads at KM are gonna DIE," and a Nazi swastika sign, in addition to other slurs.

As outlined above, direct threats and violence began to emerge nearly *immediately* after the announcement of the first Muslim Ban – the first incident occurred just five days after the first iteration of the Ban, Executive Order 13769, was issued on January 27, 2017. Incidents of violence and threats targeting Muslims and those perceived as Muslim continued to occur

during the remainder of the year even as all three iterations of the Muslim Ban were in and out of the courts. In fact, whether or not the Muslim Ban was in effect remained immaterial to stopping the hate violence against our communities.

The first incident outlined previously directly refers to and echoes the Trump administration's Muslim Ban by stating "No Muslim Immigrants in the USA." The second example illustrates how perpetrators were inspired by President Trump and his policies in the course of their threats and attacks. The last example incorporates #MAGA, a shortened version of candidate Trump's campaign slogan "Make America Great Again," which has become shorthand for white supremacist movements, racism, and antiimmigrant sentiment in the pre-election and post-election periods. The xenophobic political rhetoric and policies emanating from the Trump administration racially profile our communities on a systemic level and embolden individual perpetrators to harm immigrants, Muslims, and communities of color. This underlines a historical moment in which our nation finds itself-where the rhetoric and policies of a sitting President and his administration are actively spurring acts of hate violence and threats against specific racial, religious, and demographic groups.

Figure 2: Types of Hate Incidents



Perpetrators referenced
President Trump, a Trump
administration policy,
or a Trump campaign
slogan in
1 out of every 5
hate incidents.

Incidents of hate violence include three major categories: physical assaults, verbal or written assaults, and property damage. Figure 2, comparing 2016 and 2017 totals, illustrates the dramatic rise in all three types of hate incidents post-2016 presidential election.

Physical assaults are incidents that include beatings, violent removal of religious attire, and the use of a weapon. Post-election totals of physical assaults have surpassed pre-election totals (71 and 64 respectively); needless to say, these incidents left victims traumatized and fearful for their safety.

- September 21, 2017, Houston, Texas:
 Matthew Dunn verbally and physically assaulted his Lyft driver after concluding he was Pakistani and Muslim.¹⁶
- February 1, 2017, Nashville, Tennessee: Christopher Beckham harassed two Muslim girls wearing hijabs coming off of a school bus and threatened their father with a knife. He told them to "go back to their country" and that he would kill them when he got out of prison.¹⁷

Verbal or written assaults are incidents that do not include physical harm but are threats based on racial and religious presentation. While verbal or written assaults do not always involve physical violence, they are equally traumatic for victims. Our post-election analysis finds such incidents and threats are becoming more commonplace. In fact, physical assaults and property damage incidents

often include verbal or written harassment. The total number of 78 verbal and written threats since the election is roughly three times greater than the number of incidents documented in the preelection year. This escalation of verbal and written threats is deeply disturbing, as it appears to mirror the increasingly xenophobic tenor of the national political discourse and the proliferation of hate speech in the U.S.

- July 19, 2017, Augusta, Georgia: An unidentified man called a local mosque at least eight times, leaving more than 20 minutes of voicemail messages threatening to shoot, bomb and attack mosques and attack Muslims in America.¹⁸
- July 26, 2017, Fargo, North Dakota: Amber Elizabeth Hensley yelled "We're going to kill all of ya" and "We're going to kill every single one of you (expletive) Muslims," looking directly at a cellphone camera held by Sarah Hassan, a 21-year-old Somali-American woman.¹⁹

The last major category of hate incidents is property damage, which includes vandalism, arson, and other forms of property destruction. Property damage-related hate incidents have increased by 60% over the past year, with 64 attacks compared to 38 in the pre-election year. Incidents have affected places of worship, homes, schools, and businesses, with vandalism being the most common type of property damage.

The total number of 78 verbal and written threats since the election is approximately three times greater than the number of incidents we documented in the pre-election year.

March 13, 2017, Charlotte, North Carolina:

A suspect lit an object on fire and used it to shatter the window of Central Market, a Bhutanese-owned grocery store. A note at the scene included a warning to refugees and immigrants that read "go back to where you came from." 20

 September 17, 2017, Los Angeles,
 California: A Sikh temple was vandalized and hate messages scrawled on its walls, included "nuke the Sikhs."²¹

While property damage can include physical harm to individuals, the symbolic nature of these incidents embodies the spirit of hate crimes, which are intended to send a message of exclusion and question a community's sense of belonging. The chilling impact of these hate crimes cannot be underestimated, especially when compounded by a profound lack of trust between our communities and law enforcement. As a result, the decision to report and seek recourse in the wake of these incidents becomes even more challenging.

Underreporting by local law enforcement agencies to the FBI remains a major factor, illustrating the challenges experienced by the nation's foremost law enforcement agency to collect information that reflects our communities' lived experiences on the ground. According to ProPublica's "Documenting Hate" project, thousands of local law enforcement agencies choose not to report hate crime statistics to the FBI at all; of those that do participate, 88% reported zero hate crimes in 2016, a suspiciously high percentage. ProPublica also cited estimates from the National Crime Victimization Survey, conducted by the federal government, which pin the number of potential hate crimes at almost 250,000 a year.22 This indicates that underreporting of hate crimes may be occurring by a factor of over 40 to 1.

Under-reporting of hate crimes may be occurring by a factor of over 40 to 1.

Source: National Crime Victimization Survey

120 federal agencies have not complied with mandates to submit hate crime data to the FBI.

Source: ProPublica

A separate ProPublica investigation revealed 120 federal agencies have not complied with mandates to submit hate crime data to the FBI. They go on to say that the FBI's hate crimes statistics do not include any offenses handled by federal law enforcement. In fact, the FBI itself isn't submitting the hate crimes it investigates to its own database.²³

While underreporting by local law enforcement is well-known in communities, the lack of compliance from federal agencies with law enforcement and reporting functions is deeply problematic. The current administration has shifted its focus away from holding law enforcement agencies accountable for documenting and addressing the hate violence our communities are facing. Some of the earliest executive orders from this administration labeled "tough on crime" came on the heels of Muslim Ban 1.0 and directed federal agencies to develop an executive branch strategy to prevent violence against Federal, State, tribal, and local law enforcement officers. Another component of these executive orders was the creation of a "Task Force on Crime Reduction and Public Safety," which simultaneously conflates and inflates "illegal" immigration and drug trafficking. The very same task force purportedly focuses on addressing "hate crimes," all while emboldening local police departments to use the full force of the law to continue criminalizing communities of color by virtue of implementing the administration's openly discriminatory policies. These executive orders have quietly undermined efforts to build trust between law enforcement and communities of color, a crucial component of accurately reporting, addressing, and preventing hate crimes.

THE ROLE OF INTERSECTIONALITY

Women in our communities are the most common target of hate incidents, which is consistent with our previous analyses. Twenty-eight percent of the 213 documented hate incidents post-election are against women who identify or are perceived as South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, or Arab. Women who wear hijab or head scarves are particularly vulnerable, accounting for 63% of the hate incidents targeting women that we documented.

63% of targeted women wore hijab or a head scarf

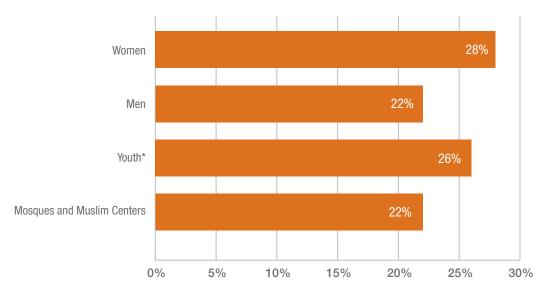


By virtue of their visibility, women who wear hijab or another form of religious head covering are increasingly the explicit targets of hate violence and assaults. Hate violence toward women underscores the critical need to understand and identify how multiple identities or intersectionality informs hate. The combination of gender, religious

attire, skin color, accent, age and other factors all play a part in how women are perceived and subsequently targeted in daily life in the United States. For instance, Noor Tagouri, a Muslim American journalist who wears hijab, was told to "kill herself" by a fellow passenger as she boarded a domestic flight.24 This form of routine dehumanization is not only rooted in Islamophobia but misogyny, xenophobia, and racism as well. While this may not seem like a particularly violent interaction, it is these types of statements that are often not documented in the news, and even normalized. SAALT has documented at least six incidents of racial discrimination against Muslim or Arab airline passengers on Southwest Airlines since 2015. All of the incidents involved passengers reporting to airline personnel that they felt unsafe given the presence of Muslim or Arab individuals on their plane. Instead of addressing the discrimination, Southwest Airlines personnel removed, sometimes forcibly, all of the Muslim or Arab passengers from the flight and cited "safety concerns" as their justification.

While men may appear less vulnerable, they were also targeted post-election: an illustration of how the intersections of multiple identities contribute to the ways men are viewed and treated by perpetrators. Twenty-two percent of

Figure 3: Most Common Targets of Hate Incidents Post-Election



^{*} The category of "youth" is not mutually exclusive from the categories of "women" or "men." Youth are represented in these other categories as well.

hate incidents we documented targeted men who identify or are perceived as South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, or Arab. Similar to the concentrated targeting of Muslim women wearing hijab, perpetrators of hate crimes often use the religious presentation of turban-wearing Sikh men to target them. On August 8, 2017, Farid el-Baghdadi, a brown-skinned food truck vendor selling Middle Eastern sandwiches, was pelted with eggs multiple times in Queens, New York. One of the eggs had a note attached to it that read: "F**k Arabs and F**k Muslims." The suspects used el-Baghdadi's visible skin color, ethnicity, occupation, and name to profile and target him.

The third most frequent target of hate incidents are young people. Over one in four, or 26%, of hate incidents involved students and youth. Incidents not only occur on the streets at the hands of strangers, but also in schools where youth are bullied both by peers and teachers. On May 18, 2017, a 15-year-old white male student assaulted a fellow Muslim student at a Queens-based New York City public school by spitting on her, calling her a "Muslim bit*h," and attempting to pull her hijab off.²⁶ The combination of the victim's age, gender, and religious presentation all played a part in how the offender targeted and assaulted her, specifically by sensing her vulnerability due to her young age, using a gendered derogatory term, and grabbing her hijab. The perpetrator's intersectional identities of young, white, and male also are significant, as the combination of these identities are ascribed positions of privilege and dominance. In another incident on November 3, 2017, a 14-year-old Sikh boy in Kent, Washington wearing a turban was punched and knocked down by his classmate less than a block outside of the city's Kentridge High School.27 This happened just six months after another incident in Kent where a white gunman approached Deep Rai, a Sikh man wearing a turban who was washing his car in his driveway, and yelled "Go back to your own country" before shooting him in the arm.28 Kent, a suburb of Seattle, is home to a significant Sikh-American population. Consistent with our findings in Power, Pain, Potential29, more incidents of hate violence occur in regions where our communities are larger in number. In last year's analysis, we

"You brown or Indian shouldn't be here."

found a higher percentage of hate incidents in the American South, which has experienced tremendous South Asian population growth since 2000. This year, we found a slightly higher percentage of hate incidents in the Western United States.

Skin color plays a central role when analyzing incidents of hate violence—particularly the skin color of victims. Perpetrators often use skin color to target those who are non-white as foreigners, terrorists, and criminals. American racism centers on anti-Blackness, and this dynamic permeates incidents of hate violence targeting South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, and Arab victims of hate violence in our database. Hate incidents post-election not only signal a rise in Islamophobia but also reveal the ways Islamophobia intersects with anti-Blackness and xenophobia as illustrated in the incidents from our database detailed below.

On May 29, 2017, a middle-aged white man, Frederick Sorell, followed a Black Muslim couple for 20 blocks in Portland, Oregon and barraged them with racist verbal threats such as: "Take off the f--king burka, this is America; go back to your f--king country."30 He threatened to run them over with his car and made a gesture of pulling a trigger on a gun at them. Sorell indicated that he harassed the couple because he was fearful for his life: a common defense used to justify violence toward Black communities in the U.S. Sorell's order for the victims to "go back to your country" illustrates an anti-immigrant sentiment that also reinforces white supremacist notions of the U.S. as a white-only country. This ideology underpins the efforts of anti-immigrant organizations like the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and NumbersUSA, whose thought leadership directly influences the current administration's immigration policies.

Additionally, at least nine hate incidents we documented in the post-election period involved Somali-American victims. Somali-Americans are racialized in the U.S. as Black and are therefore subject to both anti-Black racism and xenophobia. More than half of the incidents targeting Somali-American victims involved severe physical violence, including death. Somali Americans, who must face the intersection of anti-immigrant, anti-Black, anti-Muslim, and white supremacist ideology, have experienced disproportionate violence and harassment, even as many of them have entered the United States as refugees and asylees seeking protection from violence in their country of origin.

- September 26, 2017, Blacklick, Ohio: A 15-year-old Somali-American Muslim boy, Mohamed Abdulkadir, was shot to death.³¹
- Muslim woman, Rahma Warsame, who intervened to protect another Muslim woman from harassment by a white male perpetrator was beaten unconscious, resulting in facial fractures and the loss of several teeth. The

- attacker screamed "You all will be shipped back to Africa" prior to beating her.³²
- October 1, 2017, Garden City, Kansas: In 2016, three men accused of conspiring to bomb a mosque and an apartment complex housing Somali refugees also discussed killing the refugees' white landlord because he rented to Muslims. While this happened outside the period of analysis for this report, details of the plot only emerged in late 2017 as the case went to trial.³³

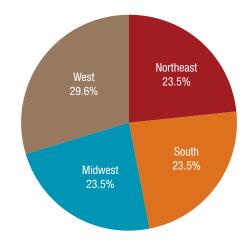
Additionally, as a result of their skin color, some non-Muslim South Asians are also targeted. On February 5, 2017, an Indian man found his house in southern Colorado had been egged, smeared with dog feces, and vandalized with over 50 hate messages and racial slurs. One of the messages read, "You brown or Indian shouldn't be here." In this example, skin color not only increased the visibility of the victim but also their exposure to targeted violence.

THE REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF HATE VIOLENCE

ower, Pain, Potential reported an uptick in hate violence in the U.S. South as a result of tremendous South Asian population growth in this region from 2000 – 2010.³⁵ In contrast, as noted in Figure 4, this report demonstrates an even distribution in incidents of hate violence across regions of the U.S. with the Western United States experiencing a slightly higher share: approximately 30% of the hate incidents documented occurred in that region.

While it appears to be spread evenly across the country, hate violence seems to occur more frequently where our communities have the highest populations. California had the highest incidence of hate violence followed by New York, Illinois, Ohio, Texas, and Washington. Conversely, we see a decrease in the numbers of hate incidents occurring in the South post-election, such as in Florida. This does not necessarily indicate that incidents of hate violence are occurring with less frequency in the South or in

Figure 4: Regional Distribution of Hate Incidents Post-Election



greater frequency in the Midwest and Western regions, but are likely attributed to challenges in reporting and/or documentation.

The rise in anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant hate violence in "progressive" states such as California and New York point to the normalization of hate across the U.S. post-election, and is also reflective of where South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, and Arab communities are more established and therefore more visible.

Despite national conversations on the "post-racial" Obama era, structural and institutionalized racism prevail across the country.36 Systemic inequality, police brutality against the Black community, targeted surveillance of Muslim communities, and immigration enforcement and deportation continue to impact our communities and people of color at record numbers. The election of President Trump legitimized his hateful rhetoric and normalized open displays of hate, exposing a solid foundation of white supremacy across the U.S. that long predates the current administration. For instance, a recent report by the Southern Poverty Law Center states that as of 2016, white supremacist groups are growing in number in California, as well as across the country.37 In a troubling demographic and political convergence, many states that have seen significant growth of white supremacist organizations are also home to significant South Asian American populations—notably California, Texas, and Florida. Texas and Florida are two states that had the greatest number of cities reporting zero hate crimes or not reporting hate crimes at all, according to 2016 hate crimes statistics from the FBI.38

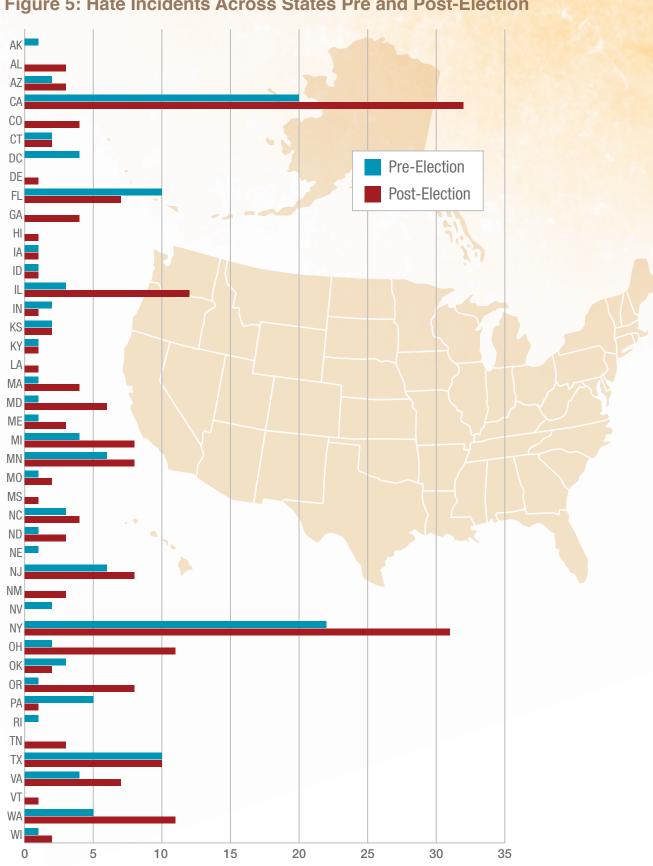


Figure 5: Hate Incidents Across States Pre and Post-Election

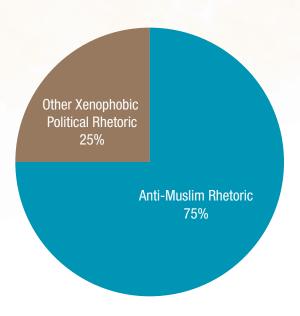
THE IMPACT OF XENOPHOBIC POLITICAL RHETORIC

he introduction and in some cases passage of anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant legislation is only serving to sanction and codify xenophobic political rhetoric from elected and appointed officials nationwide.

SAALT's documentation of this rhetoric points to a litany of hate amplified by those in positions of power and influence such as lawmakers, journalists, and media personalities. From November 2016 to November 2017, SAALT documented 89 instances of xenophobic political rhetoric. Seventy-five percent of these statements aimed at our communities illustrated anti-Muslim sentiment. The remaining 25% of xenophobic political rhetoric documented was categorized as anti-immigrant and generally racist.

Sources of xenophobic political rhetoric constitute four categories: white supremacist groups, President Trump or Trump administration officials, elected or public officials, and mainstream media. Forty-one percent of the xenophobic political rhetoric documented came from white supremacist hate groups or individuals, 33% came either directly from President Trump or his administration, and 22% was associated with public officials and law enforcement agents. This is consistent with our previous findings in Power, Pain, Potential.39 Evoking a troubling echo chamber, white supremacist groups, elected and appointed officials, and mainstream media frequently reinforce each other's divisive and xenophobic messages.

Figure 6: Type of Xenophobic Political Rhetoric



Hate groups were responsible for the largest share of xenophobic political rhetoric we documented toward South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, and Arab individuals and communities as illustrated in Figure 6b on the next page.

On August 12, 2017, white supremacists marched with tiki torches in Charlottesville, Virginia chanting racist and xenophobic messages, explicitly targeting Black, immigrant, and Muslim communities in the U.S. Several anti-racist

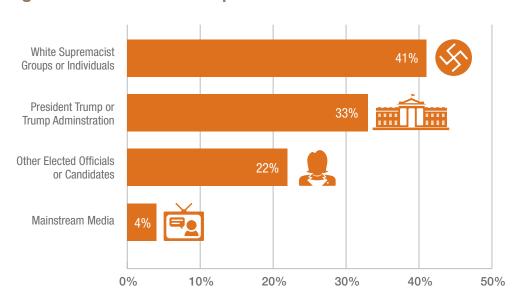


Figure 6b: Source of Xenophobic Political Rhetoric

protesters were injured and Heather Heyer was murdered.⁴⁰ In a dangerous normalization of white supremacy, President Trump and his administration are yet to call out the extremism of these white supremacist hate groups. Instead, their policy platforms calling for bans, raids, deportations, and even violence against Black, immigrant, and Muslim communities reinforce the racist and xenophobic messages of Charlottesville.

In a tragic illustration of the divisive power of the national bully pulpit and its ability to encourage bias after tragic events, the President frequently utilizes social media to encourage and reinforce xenophobic sentiment toward our communities. For instance, after Sayfullo Saipov struck and killed several pedestrians and bicyclists in New York City with his truck on October 31, 2017⁴¹, President Trump tweeted out alarmist messages that supported his policies targeting Muslims and immigrants as perpetrators of violence:

- "We must not allow ISIS to return, or enter, our country after defeating them in the Middle East and elsewhere. Enough!"⁴²
- "I have just ordered Homeland Security to step up our already Extreme Vetting Program.
 Being politically correct is fine, but not for this!"⁴³

 "CHAIN MIGRATION must end now! Some people come in, and they bring their whole family with them, who can be truly evil. NOT ACCEPTABLE!"

These tweets legitimize racist, xenophobic, and anti-immigrant sentiments and connect them to the administration's openly xenophobic policy proposals. Indeed, the administration seized upon the tragic incident perpetrated by a lone wolf to sanction its plan to decimate the diversity visa program and family-based immigration core components of the nation's longstanding immigration policy. Weeks after the incident, the Supreme Court allowed the full implementation of the Muslim Ban after months of silence following lower court injunctions that had kept full implementation at bay in 2017. These statements also occurred as the fight to replace the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program with a legislative solution called the DREAM Act was in full swing. The elimination of "chain migration" or family immigration policies were on the table as bargaining chips in exchange for a DREAM Act when this report went to print.

In stark contrast, incidents of extreme violence committed by white perpetrators received no such condemnation from this administration. This includes the events in Charlottesville as well as the October 1, 2017 Las Vegas shooting-the deadliest in modern U.S. history—where Stephen Paddock, a white gunman, took the lives of 58 individuals and injured hundreds of others. In a continuation of its refusal to acknowledge the violence and impact of white supremacy, the Trump administration decided to halt grant funding for the only government funded group working to combat white supremacy and hate. Life After Hate. just days after the events in Charlottesville.45 The funding was part of the embattled and nefarious Countering Violent Extremism program, an Obama administration initiative that sought to address domestic terrorism by disproportionately focusing on American Muslim communities. As the government fails to respond to hate violence against our communities and refuses to acknowledge or address white supremacy, South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, and Arab communities nationwide collectively brace for a wave of backlash in the wake of each act of violence allegedly perpetrated by a Muslim or someone perceived as Muslim.

President Trump's tweets not only undermine the importance of due process, they possibly encourage individuals to perpetrate acts of violence, and our data underlines this connection. As stated earlier, almost 20% of hate incidents we documented involved perpetrators who verbally referenced President Trump or his policies and campaign slogans. A report by the Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism at California State University-San Bernardino also found a link between President Trump's rhetoric and an increase in incidents of hate violence. In particular, after candidate Trump decried immigration from Muslim countries in December 2015, researchers documented an increase in Google searches for "kill all Muslims." 46

President Trump has not been alone in contributing to the elevated levels of xenophobic political rhetoric in the U.S. Public officials such as state representatives, city council members, and other candidates have also employed divisive rhetoric. Please see the appendices at the end of this report for a full list of incidents from SAALT's database.

- On December 10, 2016, a meme was posted on former Florida Congressman Allen West's (R-FL) Facebook page that declared, "General James Mattis will exterminate Muslims as Secretary of Defense under Donald Trump."⁴⁷
- On March 3, 2017, California's Otay Water District board member Hector Gastelum tweeted a string of anti-Muslim messages including, "Let's pressure our legislators to prevent #subhuman #scum from #USA to #MAGA," and "This is how the left learns #Muslim #Islam #Sharia aren't compatible with any form of #civilsociety #equality."⁴⁸
- On November 7, 2017, New York City Mayoral candidate Bo Dietl tweeted a picture showing Mayor de Blasio with activist Linda Sarsour, who wears hijab, and questioned whether de Blasio could be trusted to protect the city from terror.⁴⁹

RACIAL PROFILING AND DISCRIMINATION

acial profiling is a widespread institutionalized practice by law enforcement, which suspects a person or community of a criminal offense based on their actual or perceived race, ethnicity, or national origin. From programs like New York City's "Stop and Frisk" to "secondary screening" at airports, these policies and practices unjustly target, terrorize, and criminalize communities of color. Numerous law enforcement professionals and leaders widely acknowledge that racial and religious profiling does not result in useful information and decimates crucial trust between communities and law enforcement.50 lt is this trust that law enforcement professionals rely upon to ensure that community members feel safe serving as witnesses, reporting crimes, and interacting with police officers in general. In SAALT's report Power, Pain, Potential⁵¹, we discuss the history of racial profiling policies targeting South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, and Arab communities since the September 11th attacks. We concluded that in order to build trust with law enforcement, our communities need to know that our government is not using its own policies to criminalize us.

Airports in particular have been longstanding sites of racial and religious profiling—a dynamic that has accelerated significantly in the wake of the Trump administration's discriminatory policies. This past year, specifically since the introduction of the first Muslim Ban by President Trump, our communities have reported multiple incidents of racial profiling by U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) through SAALT's online intake form. With respect to all incidents of racial profiling, CBP used name and/or ancestry as the

primary indicators to determine if someone was Muslim. While racial profiling is based on race, ethnicity, and national origin, it spans immigration status, gender, age, and occupational background.

- On May 1, 2017, Mohammed Fairouz, an American composer, was detained at JFK airport in New York City, apparently without reason with the exception of his Muslim name. U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) subjected him to extensive additional screening that included intrusive questions relating to his finances, career, and personal life. During those hours, he did not have access to his phone or belongings.⁵²
- On September 13, 2017, U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) seized and searched the phones of the Alasaad family, U.S. citizens, without a warrant and held the family for hours at the U.S.-Canadian border.⁵³

The Trump administration's Muslim Bans have played a central role to codify and intensify the racial profiling aimed at Muslims or those perceived to be Muslim in addition to the hate incidents that occurred immediately after the announcement of the Muslim Bans as outlined earlier. Several days after the first Muslim Ban was introduced in January 2017, Jaya, an Indian American woman who does not identify as Muslim, contacted SAALT through our confidential online reporting form. Jaya was traveling with her baby and was barred by airline personnel from boarding her flight in Cairo, Egypt back to the U.S. after clearing security. Following directives based on the Muslim Ban, an airline representative denied

Jaya boarding due to her physical, religious, and/ or ethnic presentation as Muslim. The trauma from the ordeal caused Jaya to experience a heart attack, from which she is still recovering. The mental and physical costs of profiling on our communities are significant. Jaya's heart attack and anxiety related to the stress of profiling has a long-term impact on her life, from employment issues, access to quality healthcare, and the overall stability of her family.

In addition to profiling by federal airport security and personnel, local law enforcement engages in profiling tactics that disproportionately place our communities and other communities of color at harm and risk. Recently, a Muslim Iraqi man in Wichita, Kansas was arrested and detained by local police for three hours when he tried to deposit a check at his local bank. Bank officials called police after assuming he had forged a check⁵⁴. Again the impact of such incidents is substantial: the family is traumatized by the encounter and remains worried about their safety in their own community.

As the rise in hate violence on the streets and the targeting of Muslims by law enforcement is routinized, the systemic discrimination against those who identify or are perceived as Muslim impacts important life outcomes in education, employment, and housing.

- On September 18, 2017, the Facebook page of a private company that sells and rents homes in LaSalle, Illinois asked members interested in joining the Facebook group: "Are you Muslim or terrorist?"⁵⁵
- On October 3, 2017, Vibert White, a Black Muslim professor at University of Central Florida in Orlando, sued the university on the grounds of discrimination — and ultimately was forced to resign in 2015 — after he proposed recruiting more Black and Muslim students to the university.⁵⁶

The examples above illustrate being Muslim or being perceived as Muslim by law enforcement, employers, and even private institutions limits or excludes access, impacts long-term health and safety, and ultimately makes our communities more vulnerable to hate violence. Over time, institutionalized discrimination of this magnitude will impact generations.

CONCLUSION

ate violence and xenophobic political rhetoric not only shaped the 2016 presidential election cycle and laid the foundation for this administration, but have now escalated to new heights in the first year after the election. This consistent, daily level of threats from both individuals and institutions aimed at our communities is alarming and unacceptable. This dynamic is manifested in physical violence, verbal assaults, and property damage. Tragically, the breadth of policies issued by this administration also codify bias, discrimination, and possibly incite violence against our communities while South Asian Americans continue to be the most rapidly growing demographic group nationwide.

Hate violence against South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern and Arab communities in 2017 surpasses that of 2016 by a staggering 64%. Pointing to what appears to be a direct connection between the current administration's divisive and destructive rhetoric and a rising tide of hate violence, nearly 20% of hate incidents involved perpetrators who verbally referenced President Trump or his policies and campaign slogans.

Anti-Muslim discrimination is part of a long history of oppression perpetrated against Black, Native, and Latinx communities in the United States. While the campaign and election of President Trump is heralded as the primary factor associated with the growing violence and rhetoric nationally, anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant, and anti-Black sentiments are key elements of the foundation of the U.S. Our communities have experienced this most acutely over the last sixteen years since the September 11th attacks, from police brutality like the case of Sureshbhai Patel to consistent profiling by TSA agents at the airport to the notoriously excessive delays in processing immigration applications. The heightened hate violence and xenophobic political rhetoric targeting our communities, accompanied by an increase in surveillance and racial profiling by law enforcement in 2017, points to a new normal of fear and violence. Tragically, it appears

openly discriminatory government policies and practices enhance and underscore this impact.

While openly discriminatory and white supremacist policies have certainly accelerated and indeed been further entrenched under President Trump's administration, several policies and practices were proposed, tested, and unveiled under the Obama and Bush administrations. These testing grounds supported the Trump administration's and many others' efforts to advance and institutionalize a white supremacist agenda.

Throughout this analysis, we find that applying an intersectional lens that includes gender, skin color, religious presentation, and immigrant background is crucial to understanding the scope and impact of the violence. This dynamic consequently has made women wearing hijab, young people, and individuals with darker skin color the most vulnerable to hate.

Further, intersectionality not only applies to the identities of victims, but to the relationships between interlocking oppressive systems and structures. Hate violence often occurs at the intersection of anti-Muslim, xenophobic, racist, anti-women and femme, anti-Black, homophobic and transphobic, classist, and casteist systems. In response to these complexities, it is often Muslim, Dalit, Black, queer, and immigrant women and femmes who are leading efforts to fight the onslaught of hate. Centering these leaders. developing the next generation of young leaders in our communities, and working with other marginalized communities should be central to our strategies of resistance and transformation. We must look to solutions that build power in our communities over time. In the following section, we outline recommendations to combat hate violence and the underlying systems and structures that produce this violence. Our recommendations fall into two categories: government-level and community level.

RECONNENDATIONS

GOVERNMENT LEVEL:

Elected and appointed officials must support, propose, and enact bold policy solutions.

- Elected officials and candidates must remain vigilant against policies that sanction racial profiling and surveillance, like the Muslim Ban. Congress must pass legislation to rescind the Muslim Ban immediately, which would stop the back and forth between the courts.
- Congress must pass affirmative anti-racial profiling legislation. This includes passing legislation such as the End Racial and Religious Profiling Act and supporting Sanctuary City policies with increased funding so that our communities feel protected instead of targeted by our government and law enforcement.
- Congress must pass the NO HATE Act, the only comprehensive legislation proposed to establish incentives for state and local law enforcement to submit credible and complete hate crime reports, create grants for state-run hate crime hotlines, create a federal private right of action for victims of hate crimes, even those who live in states without hate crimes laws, and allow for judges to require community service or educational programming for individuals convicted under the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act.
- The Department of Justice must remain vigilant in addressing hate crimes by acknowledging the growing problem of white supremacy. Government programs dedicated to understanding violence perpetrated by white supremacists are necessary. Continuing to characterize white perpetrators of hate violence as lone actors ignores systemic racism.

- The Department of Justice must mandate the collection of hate crimes data by local law enforcement. Federal funding should be withheld from non-compliant local police departments. Federal agencies must also contribute to the FBI's hate crimes database and they too should face consequences for failing to do so.
- Example: At the end of 2017, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), in consultation with its Community Advisory Committee, passed a resolution: Increasing Law Enforcement Awareness of and Enhancing the Response to Hate Crimes and Crimes Motivated by Bias. The resolution, which is a cornerstone of IACP's policy development, encourages law enforcement to take reports of hate crimes and bias incidents seriously, forge meaningful partnerships with communities, and proactively address hate crimes and bias incidents.57 More law enforcement agencies and associations should make such commitments as well as introduce and mandate anti-racism trainings for law enforcement officers.

COMMUNITY LEVEL: Forge coalitions

Coalition building across communities of color is a critical component of building long-term power. As the convergence of anti-Black, anti-Muslim, and anti-immigrant policies grows stronger, collaboration among communities will be even more critical. This can include joint organizing campaigns and efforts, collaborating on press efforts, and other partnerships.

Example: On October 18, 2017, after months of planning, multiple communities came together across race, faith, national origin, and immigration status for the "No Muslim Ban Ever" national day of action in Washington, D.C.⁵⁸

Engage in grassroots trainings and campaigns

Grassroots trainings and campaigns for directly impacted communities and allies are an important tool for understanding the underlying causes of racism and Islamophobia.

Example: The Justice for Muslims Collective, formed only in 2016, mobilized over 1,000 individuals to protest the Muslim Ban, held self-defense trainings for Muslim women, and built a political education arm of their work on raising awareness of institutionalized Islamophobia.⁵⁹

Implement bystander trainings

Bystander trainings are a powerful tool for intervention that can help build safe spaces in potentially dangerous situations. Over time, they can help create community trust when paired with grassroots trainings for the public and anti-racism trainings for law enforcement.

In 2017, the city of Boston launched an anti-Islamophobia campaign by installing posters on public transportation that demonstrate step by step how a bystander can help a person being harassed and help de-escalate harassment:

- the technique is called "non-complimentary behavior" that "disempowers" the aggressor through non-engagement
- simultaneously, the bystander is encouraged to move closer to the victim and engage with the victim in light conversation that deflects away from the aggressor
- the goal is to ignore and isolate the aggressor and provide support and safe space for the victim⁶⁰

Several other cities including New York City are contemplating the implementation of similar bystander trainings.

Enhance and improve data collection on hate violence

Community data collection is crucial to understanding the magnitude of hate violence and xenophobic political rhetoric aimed at our communities. The deep and vast problem of underreporting as described in this report, underscores the urgency and frequency of this issue. Providing non-profit organizations and researchers the funding and support for this data collection is important.

Example: In 2017, SAALT joined national partner organizations in the Communities Against Hate initiative funded by the Open Society Foundation to jointly collect data and document the hate violence impacting all marginalized communities across race, national origin, ability, and immigration status.61 An outgrowth of this effort was the creation of a public hotline hosted by the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under the Law. SAALT directs South Asian victims of hate violence, bias, and discrimination to this hotline to receive legal support through our "Community Guide on Hate Crimes."62 More shared data collection and support efforts such as these are necessary as we continue to push the government to meet its responsibilities to document and address hate violence.

Support victims of violence with mental health services

Surviving or witnessing hate violence can be an isolating experience, especially when navigating the challenges of finding legal or mental health support. Community organizations should be funded to provide wraparound services to survivors of hate violence and build community defense models and other preventive measures over time.

Educate, engage, and organize the community

Engaging in political education continues to be a crucial part of contextualizing and understanding the violence against our communities. It is tempting to view incidents of hate violence as isolated episodes, but viewing them as part of a larger system of racism and xenophobia is critical to addressing the root causes. This starts with confronting Islamophobia, racism, and anti-Blackness in our own families and communities.

Example: Organizations like the Queer South Asian National Network have developed facilitation guides and even scripts on how to begin these conversations at home.⁶³

Lastly, "Know Your Rights" trainings are an integral part of building power in our communities.

Example: In 2017, SAALT initiated a series of regional townhalls across the country, anchored by our community partners in the National Coalition of South Asian Organizations. The townhalls helped community members deconstruct the litany of federal policies related to immigration and hate violence, build trust with law enforcement, and provide "know your rights" trainings on interactions with law enforcement.

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Incidents of Hate Violence Targeting South Asian, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Middle Eastern, and Arab Communities Nationwide 119. 4/10/2017 Milwaukee, WI **NOVEMBER 2016 - NOVEMBER 2017** A perpetrator beat a woman leaving norning prayers and pulled off her 140. 3/3/2017 Kent, WA nijab. She then pushed her to the round, repeatedly stomped on 86. 7/3/2017 Fargo, ND er head, and took out a knife and a Sikh man, Deep Rai, or Two white men approached three nis driveway and asked 96. 5/26/2017 Portland, OR Somali Muslim men who were Bellingham 27 car before the perpetrato moving into a local apartment leremy Joseph Christian, a 68. 8/5/2017 Minneapolis, MN old him to "go back to nown white supremacist, ssaulting one of the men. An explosive device detonated at the nis] country," and then hot Rai in the arm. Dar Al-Farooq Islamic Center. Witnesse at two women on the commut Seattle 23 168 197 Kings County 97 reported seeing something get thrown at train, and then fatally stabbed he Imam's office window from a vehicle two men and wounded a third Brunswick 43 ust before the blast. Kent 5 15 49 140 as the men tried to intervene. 74 Mapleton Spokane 52 82 Portland 121 173 98 Burlington 34 86 Fargo Troutdale 123 134 Salem Newburyport 72 Portland 26 42 90 95,96 127 St. Cloud 102 Eugene Boston 199 Farmington Hills 56 167 New Paltz 155 205 Ann Arbor 154. 2/5/2017 Peyton, CO Norwalk 50 91 107 175 Bronx Minneapolis 62 68 85 128 66 Willmar West Haven 178 Ypsilanti 135 Arunachalam, found dog feces Detroit 19 48 105 smeared across his garage, he remnants of nearly 40 eggs 18 Bloomington 119 Milwaukee Passaic Long Island 63 75 184 O Castle Rock 63 Beloit Park Ridge 153 Hoboken rown at the house, and over Syosset 53 10 Twin Falls Elizabeth 147. 2/23/2017 Olathe, KS Evanston 186 191 Pittsburgh Astoria 194 slurs. One of the messages read 35 55 60 93 100 Chicago 170 Bayonne Adam Purinton shot and killed Brooklyn 181 182 You brown or Indian shouldn't rinivas Kuchibhotla. He also 145 Harford 132 Des Moines 39 Cleveland Woodland 165 New York 38 40 41 51 shot two others who were left with Aspen Hill injuries. Purinton yelled "get out of my country" before shooting. Edison 9 131 143 172 47 94 142 148 201 Columbus 88 156 166 Davis Sacramento 54 79 89 206 Urbana-Champaign New Brunswick 13 152 110 Vacaville Springfield 61 126 139 Fort Collins Delaware City 17 Antelope 87 Denver 212 Baltimore 71 31 130 203 San Francisco Moraga 138 Edwardsville 196 Blacklick 29 College Park 37 Alameda 58 195 Milpitas Peyton 154 11 Cincinnati Olathe 147 Lexington 12 Alexandria 125 Modesto 104 60 Mason 93. 11/23/2016 Charlotte, NC 187 209 San Jose Prince William 16 30 Dulles 198 Town and Country Raleigh 24 A kindergarten teacher repeatedly 8 28 Wichita Fresno 77 213 144 McLean narassed and bullied a Muslim Farmville 22 25. 10/6/2017 Albuquerque, NM indergarten student in his class singling him out and repeatedly 1 14 Nashville Charlotte 101 118 193 A Muslim-owned Donut Mart alling him a "bad Muslim boy. The teacher approached the Murfreesboro 83 ohrase "kill 'em all." Simi Valley 176 Flagstaff 46 tudent, grabbed him by the neck Dunwoody 115 Atlanta 202 45 84 120 185 Los Angeles Albuquerque 25 211 69 Decatur 9 Lake Forest Irvine 73 Augusta 78 92. 6/18/2017 Sterling, VA Darwin Martinez Torres killed Savannah 188 111 208 San Diego McKinney 59 7-year-old Black Muslim girl, Nabra Mayhill 171 190 Plano assanen, after she and a group of friends encountered him in the Tyler 161 Jacksonville 124 45. 9/6/2017 Los Angeles, CA Tucson early morning hours. The group had been at a late-night event at the All A Sikh temple was vandalized 117 Dallas and hate messages scrawled on its walls included "nuke the Dulles Area Muslim Society and were eaded back to the mosque after a Orlando 141 rip to a fast-food restaurant. 210 Lafayette Port St Lucie 136 137 Oahu 33 122 150 Austin Stuart 113 21 64 Tampa 118. 4/11/2017 Charlotte, NC Victoria 162 A suspect lit an object on fire and used it to shatter the window of Central Market, a Bhutanese-owned grocery store. A note at the scene 32. 9/21/2017 Houston, TX 149 Miami ncluded a warning to refugees and latthew Dunn hurled obscenities at his mmigrants and read "go back to 137. 3/8/2017 Oahu, HI vft driver, based on his perception that 106 Pearl South Padre where you came from." he driver was Muslim and from Pakistan. Multiple hate-filled social media posts, emails, and voicemail messages were directed toward members of the Oahu Mosque in Hawaii after the unched and choked him announcement of a second Muslim Ban. One of 115. 4/18/2017 Dunwoody, GA he messages said "Now we have a president A man ripped off the hijab of a who knows that you guys are evil and we're going 4-year-old Muslim girl while yelling errorist" near the Maggiano's Little

aly at Perimeter Mall.

APPENDIX A

(*	1	11/6/2017	Nashville, TN	Video circulated on social media showing a student, hiding her face while someone removed her hijab, exposing her hair to the class. ¹
C	2	11/6/2017	DeKalb, IL	Michael Dickey began to make anti-Muslim comments toward a woman, and when the woman began to record Dickey's behavior on her cell phone, he pulled down her hijab. ²
C *	3	11/6/2017	Elizabeth, NJ	Union College math professor, Marsha Worrell berated Maryam Naziri, a Muslim student from Afghanistan, because of her religion and accused her of making terroristic threats. Worrell yelled at and humiliated Maryam and filed a complaint against her with local Police. ³
C *	4	11/4/2017	Hoboken, NJ	A campaign volunteer spotted a flyer on car windshields with the message "Don't let TERRORISM take over our town!" with the picture of Sikh mayoral candidate, Ravi Bhalla - the first Sikh elected in New Jersey history.4
	5	11/3/2017	Kent, WA	A 14-year-old Sikh boy wearing a turban was punched and knocked down by his classmate less than a block outside of the city's Kentridge High School. ⁵
C	6	11/3/2017	Passaic, NJ	The Islamic Center of Passaic County received at least eight threats, forcing them to increase security for their over 25,000 congregants. ⁶
C	7	11/3/2017	Paterson, NJ	Omar Mosque received telephone threats after word spread that the suspect in the TriBeCa attack, Sayfullo Habibullaevic Saipov, may have worshipped there since it was near his home. ⁷
	8	11/2/2017	Wichita, KS	An early morning fire destroyed Petra Mediterranean Restaurant with the message "Go Back" found on the back of the building.8
	9	11/2/2017	Edison, NJ	Racist campaign mailers that attacking a South Asian and Asian school board candidate were sent anonymously to some local residents.9
C	10	10/31/2017	Twin Falls, ID	A perpetrator draped a cross in butchered pig parts and left it at the Islamic Center of Twin Falls. ¹⁰
G	11	10/30/2017	Cincinnati, OH	A University of Cincinnati music professor made comments via social media on a Muslim student, Fay Alwattari's, assignment. The professor wrote: "The U.S. President's first sworn duty is to protect America from enemies, and the greatest threat to our freedom is not the President, it is radical Islam. Review this list of Islamic terrorist attacks and then tell me about your hurt feelings. ¹¹
	12	10/29/2017	Lexington, KY	A white male fired a gun at two worshippers who stepped outside of a gathering at the Bharatiya Temple & Cultural Center to get some air. ¹²
	13	10/25/2017	New Brunswick, NJ	White supremacist recruitment fliers were found widely spread across the Rutgers University campus, taped inside and outside buildings. They were left by the group Identity Evropa, a white supremacy group that leafletted Penn State and Stockton University with similar posters with the goal of recruiting members at college campuses. ¹³

= Denotes an incident motivated by anti-Muslim sentiment or if the victim is perceived to be Muslim.

C *	14	10/25/2017	Nashville, TN	Christopher Beckham harrassed two Muslim girls who wear hijab when they got off a school bus. Beckham told them to "go back to [their] country," that they were "not welcome in America," and said he was going to beat them up. When the girls' father arrived at the scene, Beckham pulled a knife on him. After Beckham was arrested, he continued to make racist comments about the victims and threatened to kill the entire family when he gets out of jail. ¹⁴
C	15	10/24/2017	Kent, WA	Threatening anti-Muslim vandalism and slurs were found on the Kent-Meridian High School campus. Photos of the graffiti show threats that include "All Muslims dead on 10/30 #MAGA," "towel heads at KM are gonna DIE," and a Nazi swastika sign in addition to other slurs. ¹⁵
	16	10/23/2017	Prince William, VA	Two outdoor signs for Prince William Academy were found defaced with swastikas and gang signs. ¹⁶
C	17	10/22/2017	Delaware City, DE	Gerard Medvec threatened a man and woman who live nearby because he thought one of them was Muslim. ¹⁷
C	18	10/20/2017	Bloomington, MN	Dar Al Farooq Islamic Center, which was bombed earlier in the year, was burglarized. The building had been entered by force and a perpetrator went through offices. ¹⁸
C	19	10/16/2017	Detroit, MI	Marine recruit, Raheel Siddiqui committed suicide after a drill instructor called him a terrorist and after repeated incidents of violent hazing at the hands of fellow recruits. Siddiqui requested medical attention but was told he had not asked for it in the proper manner, then was forced to run laps as a penalty until he collapsed. The drill instructor slapped Siddiqui to rouse him. Siddiqui then jumped up, ran and hurtled over the stairwell. 19
C	20	10/14/2017	Bronx, NY	"Arabs Keep Out" was scrawled on the window of a Muslimowned Bronx deli.20
G	21	10/11/2017	Tampa, FL	Wes Giuliano threatened Linda Sarsour, an Arab-American activist who was speaking at a University of South Florida campus event, over social media by posting: "Any idea which hotel she's staying at, the make/model/color of the car she's riding into campus in, which entrance/exits she will be using, and whether or not she will be wearing any body armor? Asking for a friend." ²¹
(*	22	10/9/2017	Farmville, VA	The words "F*** God & Allah" were found written on a mosque.22
C	23	10/7/2017	Seattle, WA	Jon Nereim was muttering things about not liking Muslims and Blacks when he entered the 7-Eleven store and went on an anti-Muslim tirade. He then pepper-sprayed three customers, including a woman wearing hijab. ²³
C *	24	10/7/2017	Raleigh, NC	A billboard for Muslim city council candidate, Zainab Baloch, had the words "SAND N***** and "TRUMP" scrawled on it with what also appeared to be an attempt at a swastika painted on one side. ²⁴
Œ	25	10/6/2017	Albuquerque, NM	A Muslim-owned Donut Mart location was vandalized with the phrase "kill 'em all"25
C	26	10/5/2017	Portland, OR	A sticker promoting violence against Muslims was found in the bathroom at a building where Multnomah County employees work. ²⁶
C	27	10/5/2017	Bellingham, WA	Anti-Muslim flyers and posters with grafitti were found posted in residence halls at Western Washington University. ²⁷

C *	28	10/1/2017	Wichita, KS	Three men accused of conspiring to bomb a mosque and an apartment complex housing Somali refugees also discussed killing the refugees' white landlord because he rented to Muslims. ²⁸
C	29	9/26/2017	Blacklick, OH	15-year-old Somali-American Muslim boy, Mohamed Abdulkadir, was shot to death. ²⁹
C	30	9/25/2017	Dulles, VA	The supervisor of a Muslim food service worker at Dulles International Airport pulled off her hijab while trying to get her to change her hairnet in the kitchen. ³⁰
C *	31	9/21/2017	San Francisco, CA	Palestinian rights activists at California universities were targeted with posters calling them terrorists. ³¹
C *	32	9/21/2017	Houston, TX	Matthew Dunn hurled obscenities at his Lyft driver, based on his perception that the driver was Muslim and from Pakistan. Dunn also grabbed the driver's hair and punched and choked him. ³²
C *	33	9/20/2017	Austin, TX	Perpetrators tagged curse words as well as "666" and other random drawings across pillars along the entryway and on signs displayed at an Islamic cemetery. ³³
C*	34	9/19/2017	Fargo, ND	A Somali-American Muslim man's car was vandalized with what appeared to be animal feces. ³⁴
C *	35	9/19/2017	Chicago, IL	Five football players at a private Christian college engaged in a hazing incident that included anti-Muslim taunts and left a student with injuries requiring surgeries. ³⁵
	36	9/18/2017	Indianapolis, IN	Perpetrators left hate messages all over a business owned and run by an Indian family. ³⁶
	37	9/17/2017	College Park, MD	A swastika accompanied by an offensive phrase were found in the plant sciences building at the University of Maryland. ³⁷
C *	38	9/15/2017	New York, NY	An unidentifed man walked into a train car and began berating a Muslim couple with insults. The man then kicked the woman who was on the way to the doctor for leg pain after he tried to remove her hijab. The man kicked her husband as well. ³⁸
C*	39	9/15/2017	Lake Forest, CA	Andrew Alan Carruthers, a man with visible white-supremacist tattoos, threatened to kill patrons at a local hookah lounge. ³⁹
C *	40	9/14/2017	New York, NY	A Jewish woman and her mother were beaten up at a Queens subway station by a man who mistook them for Muslims. ⁴⁰
C *	41	9/13/2017	New York, NY	A perpetrator attacked a stranger, calling him a "moron" and a "Muslim" who should "go back to [his] country" after the victim refused to change a \$20 bill.41
C *	42	9/10/2017	Portland, OR	A perpetrator spray painted the word "ISIS" on the side of Abu-Bakar Islamic Center. 42
	43	9/8/2017	Brunswick, ME	Homophobic and racist graffiti were found on a white board inside a campus building at Bowdoin College. ⁴³
			<u> </u>	

	44	9/7/2017	Fullerton, CA	A man with a swastika tattoo beat a man in a parking lot while yelling a racial slur at him.44
	45	9/6/2017	Los Angeles, CA	A Sikh temple was vandalized and hate messages scrawled on its walls, included "nuke the Sikhs." 45
C	46	9/5/2017	Flagstaff, AZ	Swastikas and "Get Out" graffiti were found on the wall of Maktoob Hookah lounge.46
(*	47	9/4/2017	Columbus, OH	A truck driver shot 13 times into a Muslim woman's car, striking her four times in the back, twice in the left hand and once in the elbow. ⁴⁷
C	48	9/3/2017	Detroit, MI	A thief vandalized Baitul Mukarram Masjid.48
(*	49	8/31/2017	Kent, WA	Muslim staffers at Kent schools received hate mail.49
(*	50	8/30/2017	Norwalk, CT	A perpetrator blanketed a parking lot with anti-Muslim flyers urging women and children to stay home at night because "The immigrants and their children have arrived." The writer goes on to claim that Muslims are rapists and called for a ban on all immigrants. 50
	51	8/29/2017	New York, NY	A suspect hit a woman at a Duane Reade pharmacy inside the Port Authority bus terminal causing her minor injuries. The suspect told the victim "you are a brown-skinned piece of st who needs to get the f out of my country."51
	52	8/29/2017	Spokane, WA	Jacob Coleman, a white male passenger in a cab attacked, stabbed, and killed his driver, Gagandeep Singh, a 22-year-old software engineering student, who picked up Coleman at Spokane International airport. ⁵²
	53	8/27/2017	Syosset, NY	Swastikas, profanities, and MS-13 tags were found spray-painted on the doors, walls, and windows of Syosset High School the day before freshman orientation. 53
C	54	8/27/2017	Sacramento, CA	Ali Khan, a Muslim man, suffered a mysterious death, which is being investigated as a hate crime. ⁵⁴
	55	8/26/2017	Chicago, IL	White supremacist graffitti was found sprayed in multiple locations in the Lincoln Square neighborhood. Messages sprayed included: "Diversity is White Genocide" and "Make Weimar Great Again SS."55
C	56	8/26/2017	Farmington Hills, MI	A Muslim woman, Haifa Moussa, and her family were subjected to verbal obscenities and called among other things a terrorist, and asked to go back to her country. Haifa was born in the U.S. ⁵⁶
	57	8/20/2017	Cleveland, OH	A perpetrator yelled "you don't belong, go back to your own country." He then punched the victim in the face, causing the victim to hit his head on the cement and lose consciousness. The victim suffered a broken jaw and lost several teeth. 57
C*	58	8/20/2017	Alameda, CA	Three swastika-adorned flyers were left in a residential neighborhood. The flyers show a swastika over a woman in a traditional Muslim hijab with the text, "Help me kill you, stupid." 58
(*	59	8/18/2017	McKinney, TX	A Muslim family was terrorized by men in a jeep. ⁵⁹

	60	8/17/2017	Chicago, IL	Ravin Gandhi, founder and CEO of a global supplier of coatings for cookware and bakeware, publicly shared the racist voicemail and e-mails he received. ⁶⁰
	61	8/17/2017	Springfield, IL	Joseph Carlisle made racist comments toward a woman and then threw a drink in her face. ⁶¹
C *	62	8/16/2017	Minneapolis, MN	Regina Mustafa, a candidate for Minnesota's 1st Congressional District, was threatened on a YouTube video. The comment stated (grammatical errors maintained): "tell regina she is lower then a jewishh wh**** used tampon she will be shot "62
C	63	8/15/2017	Long Island, NY	Firefighter Jerry O'Mara said on Facebook: "Let them put a fifth floor on the building and then take them up to the roof and throw them off it" in response to the Long Island Muslim Society's attempt to add a second floor to its East Meadow Mosque. ⁶³
C	64	8/14/2017	Tampa, FL	A Muslim store owner, Walid Aboroomi, received threatening calls saying "F' Muslims I will get you and I will get your kids" and the next day his store was burglarized. ⁶⁴
G	65	8/13/2017	Rockville, MD	As they were speaking to each other in Arabic, a couple walked past a man standing on the sidewalk. The suspect made derogatory remarks about Muslims to the couple before he threatened and assaulted the couple. The suspect placed the male victim into a headlock, which he was able to escape from. The suspect also kicked the male victim before running off toward Rockville Pike after the assault. ⁶⁵
C	66	8/12/2017	Willmar, MN	A man cursed Islam's Prophet Muhammad and threw a pig's foot at a group of Somali-Americans selling goods at a local farmer's market.66
C	67	8/7/2017	Queens, NY	A food vendor in Queens was pelted with eggs by an attacker. "Fk Arab. Fk Muslim," read a note affixed to one of the eggs. 67
C	68	8/5/2017	Minneapolis, MN	An explosive device detonated at the Dar Al-Farooq Islamic Center. Witnesses reported seeing something get thrown at the Imam's office window from a vehicle just before the blast. ⁶⁸
G	69	8/2/2017	Decatur, AL	Khaula Hadeed, head of the Alabama chapter of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), said that bacon was found in 14 McDonald's sandwiches ordered by the family. ⁶⁹
G	70	8/1/2017	Castle Rock, MN	Vandals went into buildings on the property of Muslim Cemetery Al Magfirah and spray-painted profanities, including Nazi swastikas and a statement that appeared to be "leave, you r dead." They also damaged walls, ceilings, furniture, and equipment on the property.
Œ	71	7/30/2017	Baltimore, MD	A man on Muslim journalist Noor Tagouri's flight whispered "kill yourself" as she walked past him to get to her seat. ⁷¹
C *	72	7/29/2017	Newburyport, MA	Dr. Hazem Mahmoud, a mayoral candidate, found a banner on his front lawn cut with a sharp blade. ⁷²
C	73	7/27/2017	Irvine, CA	A man hurled a religious slur at a woman wearing hijab at a Target and then threw coins at her and another woman's car after the pair had driven away.73

C *	74	7/26/2017	Mapleton, ND	Amber Elizabeth Hensley yelled "We're going to kill all of ya" and "We're going to kill every single one of you (expletive) Muslims." looking directly at a cell phone camera held by Sarah Hassan, a 21-year-old Somali-American woman.
Œ	75	7/25/2017	Long Island, NY	A Muslim family received threatening messages saying: "The KKK is coming for you," part of a series of incidents."
C	76	7/24/2017	Aspen Hill, MD	Jeffrey Frizzel pelted his Muslim neighbor's vehicle with eggs and tomatoes, left a handwritten note under the windshield mocking Mecca and later caused a traffic crash on Georgia Avenue all in effort to stop a fictitious web of terrorists. ⁷⁶
	77	7/23/2017	Fresno, CA	A 68-year-old Sikh man, Subag Singh, was found dead in a canal wearing a ramal, a bandana-style head covering often worn to the Gurdwara. Singh's body showed visible signs of trauma. ⁷⁷
C	78	7/19/2017	Augusta, GA	An unidentified man called a local mosque at least eight times, leaving more than 20 minutes of voicemail messages threatening to shoot, bomb, and attack mosques and attack Muslims in America. ⁷⁸
C	79	7/19/2017	Sacramento, CA	The Sacramento chapter of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) was sent a defiled copy of the Quran, immersed in a container of pork fat. ⁷⁹
Œ	80	7/18/2017	Scottsdale, AZ	Deedra Abboud, a candidate for Congress put up a short message praising the Founding Fathers. In response, Chris Simers wrote: "Sorry no room for Muslims in our government." And Brian Zappa wrote "Towel headed piece of [expletive]."
Œ	81	7/14/2017	Helena, AL	A Muslim family with Middle Eastern heritage found their van spray- painted with the "N-word." The family also discovered broken windows, flat tires and motor oil poured over three of their vehicles.81
G	82	7/12/2017	Spokane, WA	Shalisha Israel repeatedly called her Middle Eastern neighbors terrorists. The harassed neighbors called deputies and showed them cell phone footage of Israel's tirade against them. The video shows Israel repeatedly yelling, "Go back to where you belong." The neighbors say she had been harassing them for weeks. ⁸²
Œ	83	7/9/2017	Murfreesboro, TN	Spray painted messages on two walls and bacon draped over the door handles were found on the entrance to the Islamic Center of Murfreesboro. The messages read "We are vandal group," and "F*** Allah."
G	84	7/7/2017	Los Angeles, CA	The Los Angeles chapter of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) received a threatening, obscenity-laden email with the subject line "Muslim sewer rats."84
(*	85	7/6/2017	Minneapolis, MN	An e-mail with the subject line "Muslim sewer rats" threatening violence against Muslim people with "over 50 billion rounds of horrific, violent camel jockey piercing rounds of ammo." was sent to the Minnesota chapter of the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR). The same message was sent to CAIR offices in Southern California.85
C	86	7/3/2017	Fargo, ND	Two white men approached three Somali Muslim men who were moving into a local apartment and shouted racial slurs before assaulting one of the men.86

C *	87	7/1/2017	Antelope, CA	Surveillance video shows four young men vandalizing the home of a Sikh family who suspected they were perceived as Muslim. ⁸⁷
G	88	6/28/2017	Davis, CA	Tires were slashed on a bicycle parked at the Islamic Center of Davis.88
G	89	6/24/2017	Sacramento, CA	A burned Quran filled with bacon was found hanging by a handcuff from a fence at the Islamic Center of Sacramento.89
G	90	6/20/2017	Portland, OR	A letter sent to the Islamic Society of Portland threatened bloodshed in the near future.90
Œ	91	6/19/2017	Bronx, NY	A Muslim man, Monammad Munshi, dressed in traditional clothing, was followed out of a cell phone supply store, only to be attacked right outside the door. Munshi said one of the men called him a terrorist and told him to go back to his country while the entire group beat him. ⁹¹
G	92	6/18/2017	Sterling, VA	Darwin Martinez Torres killed 17-year-old Black Muslim girl, Nabra Hassanen, after she and a group of friends encountered him in the early morning hours. The group had been at a late-night event at the All Dulles Area Muslim Society and were headed back to the mosque after a trip to a fast-food restaurant. ⁹²
C	93	6/6/2017	Chicago, IL	A white man shouted obscenities at five Muslim teenagers wearing hijab as they walked by him: "If you don't like it in this country, leave." 93
G	94	6/4/2017	Columbus, OH	A Somali Muslim woman, Rahma Warsame, who intervened to protect another Muslim woman from harassment by a white male perpetrator was beaten unconscious, resulting in facial fractures and the loss of several teeth. The attacker screamed "You all will be shipped back to Africa" prior to beating.94
C	95	5/29/2017	Portland, OR	Frederick Nolan Sorell drove by a Muslim couple and shouted "Go back to your f—ing country" before making a hand gesture that mimicked him pulling the trigger on a handgun. ⁹⁵
C	96	5/26/2017	Portland, OR	Jeremy Joseph Christian, a known white supremacist, screamed anti- Muslim insults at two women on the subway, and then fatally stabbed two men and wounded a third as the men tried to intervene. ⁹⁶
C	97	5/23/2017	Kings County, WA	Kenneth Sjarpe yelled at three men of Syrian descent, "Go back to your country you," ending with a racial slur.97
C *	98	5/18/2017	Burlington, VT	Christopher Hayden sent electronic messages peppered with racial and religious epithets, and called Faisel Gill an "agent for creeping sharia law" who should "get out (of Vermont) or we will make you wish you did.""98
C	99	5/18/2017	Queens, NY	A 15-year old boy tried to pull the hijab off his classmate, a 16-year-old Muslim girl. He also spat on her.99
C	100	5/16/2017	Chicago, IL	Marvin Meyer left a voicemail for the Deputy Director of of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) Chicago chapter saying "We will kill you," and left his own phone number in the voicemail.100
G	101	5/11/2017	Charlotte, NC	An anti-Muslim flyer was found taped to a student's door at the University of North Carolina - Charlotte. 101

C	102	5/8/2017	Eugene, OR	Chad Russell confronted worshippers at the Eugene Islamic Center and threatened to kill them with a knife. 102
G	103	5/7/2017	Reston, VA	An unidentified white woman harassed a Muslim woman shopper at Trader Joe's by saying "I wish they did not let you into this country." The Muslim woman replied that she was born in the country. The perpetrator then responded with Islamophobic remarks relating to President Obama. 103
	104	5/5/2017	Modesto, CA	After Jagjeet Singh, a local grocery store owner refused to sell cigarettes to the perpetrator for failing to show proper identification, the perpetrator left the store shouting racist remarks before returning and killing Singh with a knife. ¹⁰⁴
	105	5/4/2017	Detroit, MI	An Indian male doctor was found shot dead in the passenger seat of his car. ¹⁰⁵
C	106	5/2/2017	Pearl South Padre, TX	Alexander Downing verbally assaulted a Muslim family on the beach with comments such as "Donald Trump will stop you. Donald Trump will stop you! Donald Trump got you motherf***ers. Watch watch. My country is the greatest country in the world."
C	107	5/2/2017	Bronx, NY	A substitute teacher pulled the hijab off 8-year-old Muslim student, Safa Alzockary, at PS 75. ¹⁰⁷
	108	5/1/2017	New York, NY	Steven Zatorski beat an immigrant man on the streets of Manhattan and shouted: "You are a fucking immigrant! Go back to your country! What are you doing here?" "Here in my country, we are white power!" 108
C	109	4/28/2017	New York, NY	A perpetrator screamed slurs at a Muslim woman wearing hijab and shouted: "I'll kill you Muslims." 109
	110	4/23/2017	Vacaville, CA	A local gas station owner's wife's car was engulfed in flames and destroyed by a fire. Prior to the fire, someone spray-painted KKK on the side of the car. ¹¹⁰
C	111	4/19/2017	San Diego, CA	A Muslim man found death threats toward Muslims spray-painted on the wall of a business in the North Park community. ¹¹¹
C	112	4/19/2017	Queens, NY	A perpetrator was caught on surveillance video spray painting the letter "X" on the door of a local Islamic center. 112
C	113	4/19/2017	Stuart, FL	Jeremiah Hendrix stabbed Shinoy Mailackel, an employee at a Dollar Store, because he looked Arab. 113
(*	114	4/18/2017	Hattiesburg, MS	The sign for the Islamic Center of Hattiesburg was knocked out of its frame. ¹¹⁴
C	115	4/18/2017	Dunwoody, GA	A man ripped off the hijab of a 14-year-old Muslim girl while yelling "terrorist" near the Maggiano's Little Italy at Perimeter Mall. 115
	116	4/16/2017	New York, NY	A suspect punched a 24-year-old Sikh taxi cab driver in the arm and stole his turban from his head while screaming ethnic slurs. ¹¹⁶
C	117	4/14/2017	Dallas, TX	Several editions of the Quran were found in the toilets of a bathroom in the student union at the University of Texas - Dallas. ¹¹⁷

	118	4/11/2017	Charlotte, NC	A suspect lit an object on fire and used it to shatter the window of Central Market, a Bhutanese-owned grocery store. A note at the scene included a warning to refugees and immigrants and read "go back to where you came from." 118
G	119	4/10/2017	Milwaukee, WI	A perpetrator beat a woman leaving morning prayers and pulled off her hijab. She then pushed her to the ground, repeatedly stomped on her head, and took out a knife and slashed her clothing. ¹¹⁹
G	120	4/8/2017	Los Angeles, CA	A Muslim woman wearing hijab was walking her dog when an unidentified man kicked her dog and shouted profanities at her. He told her "to back to your country" and made death threats. He also punched her multiple times on the back of her head which resulted in serious injuries. ¹²⁰
C *	121	4/5/2017	Portland, ME	A University of Southern Maine poster advising students what to do in case there's an "active shooter" on campus, was defaced with the words "Kill the muslin," misspelling the word Muslim ¹²¹
G	122	4/5/2017	Austin, TX	"Imagine a Muslim-free America" posters were found plastered across the University of Texas - Austin campus ¹²²
(*	123	4/3/2017	Troutdale, OR	Hasel Afshar, a refugee who came to the U.S. seven years ago, found his door smashed with an axe, his furniture slashed, and racist graffiti all over the walls. The word "terrorist" was spray-painted across his kitchen cabinets. 123
G	124	4/1/2017	Jacksonville, FL	Robert Anthony Ruetting pointed a handgun at a Muslim man and also pointed a rifle at the man's family while hurling racial epithets. 124
G	125	3/28/2017	Alexandria, VA	A Muslim family came home to find their apartment broken into with "fuck Muslims" written on their wall and Quran ripped apart. ¹²⁵
(*	126	3/26/2017	Fort Collins, CO	A perpetrator hurled rocks and a Bible through the glass doors of an Islamic center. 126
C	127	3/25/2017	St. Cloud, MN	Zachary Todd Degraw choked his Somali Muslim cab driver from the backseat of the cab. 127
C	128	3/24/2017	Minneapolis, MN	Kelvin Porter stabbed and bit a Somali-American Muslim man multiple times leaving him with serious injuries. He then told police officers, "I hate Muslims." 128
C	129	3/23/2017	Queens, NY	A perpetrator punched a Muslim woman after making anti-Muslim comments. 129
C	130	3/23/2017	San Francisco, CA	Joshua Ruano approached a Muslim woman and her toddler son and made anti-Muslim comments before threatening to shoot the woman. 130
C	131	3/22/2017	New York, NY	A Sikh woman was taking a train when a white man began shouting at her. "Do you even know what a Marine looks like? Do you know what they have to see? What they do for this country? Because of people like you." He then told the woman who was born in Indiana, that he hoped she was sent "back to Lebanon" and "You don't belong in this country." 131

C *	132	3/19/2017	Des Moines, IA	Dr. Samir Shams, the president of the Islamic Center of Des Moines, found a threatening letter at the center. It called Muslims "vile" and "filthy." The note made Holocaust references, saying Trump is "going to do to you Muslims what Hitler did to the Jews." It warned Muslims to "pack your bags and get out of Dodge."
C	133	3/13/2017	Tucson, AZ	A perpetrator broke into the Islamic Center of Tucson and ripped up copies of the Quran. 133
C *	134	3/11/2017	Salem, OR	Jason Kendall saw a woman with who he called a "Saddam looking guy" and assumed he was holding her hostage. He yelled at the man "Go back to your country!" He then left and came back with "a horn of Gabriel" and began beating the man. He told the woman she was free to leave and the man, "Go back to your country, terrorist. Get out of America." ¹³⁴
C	135	3/11/2017	Ypsilanti, MI	The Islamic Center of Ypsilanti was set on fire. 135
C *	136	3/10/2017	Port St Lucie, FL	Richard Leslie Lloyd rolled a dumpster in front of Indian-owned Met Mart and lit it on fire. He said he was angered by "what they are doing in the Middle East," and wanted to, "run Arabs out of the country." 136
C	137	3/8/2017	Oahu, HI	Multiple hate-filled social media posts, emails, and voicemail messages were directed toward members of the Oahu Mosque in Hawaii after the announcement of a second Muslim ban. One of the messages said "Now we have a president who knows that you guys are evil and we're going to exterminate you." 137
(*	138	3/6/2017	Moraga, CA	Anti-Muslim fliers at a local middle school depicted a still from the animated sitcom "Family Guy" that showed the cartoon character Porky Pig emerging from a drum with the words "Muslim Looney Tunes." 138
C	139	3/5/2017	Fort Collins, CO	Dozens of anti-Muslim fliers were left on cars of church-goers ¹³⁹
	140	3/3/2017	Kent, WA	A prepetrator approached a Sikh man, Deep Rai, on his driveway and asked why he was cleaning his car before the perpetrator told him to "go back to [his] country," and then shot the man in the arm. 140
G	141	2/28/2017	Orlando, FL	Trump supporters hurled anti-Muslim insults at a Muslim woman wearing hijab, Azmia Magane. Slurs included, "Take that shit off your head!" "Go the fuck back to Iraq," "If you don't like America, get the fuck out!" "She's gonna masturbate. Oh, they took your clit off—you don't have one anymore, do you?" "don't they take your clit off over in Muslim Land?" 141
(*	142	2/28/2017	Columbus, OH	Todd Williams vandalized the Ahlul-Bayt Society Islamic Center by writing comments on the doors that included "Allah is a fraud Dum Dums." 142
C*	143	2/28/2017	New York, NY	A perpetrator calling himself "Muslim slayer" sent a letter saying, "I fantasize about killing non-whites" to an employee at a Muslim cultural center in Brooklyn. ¹⁴³
C *	144	27-Feb	McLean, VA	Robin McGreer bit a stranger on his face after shouting anti-Muslim slurs at the man in a shopping mall parking lot. ¹⁴⁴

(*	145	2/27/2017	Harford, MD	After a near collision with the perpetrator, a young Muslim man, Dawar Aamir got out of his car to check if everything was okay. Charles Valle Jr. got out of the other car, hit Aamir in the face, knocking off his glasses and yelled "Get out of the country." ¹⁴⁵
G	146	2/27/2017	Silver Spring, MD	Notes were left at the Islamic Education Society of Maryland and the Muslim Community Center offering money to anyone who "slaughtered Muslims."
Œ	147	2/23/2017	Olathe, KS	Adam Purinton shot and killed Srinivas Kuchibhotla. He also shot two others who were left with injuries. Purinton yelled "get out of my country" before shooting. ¹⁴⁷
G	148	2/21/2017	Columbus, OH	A perpetrator made a hand gesture at a young Muslim boy and then yelled an expletive including a derogatory comment about Muslims. 148
(*	149	2/19/2017	Miami, FL	Gerald Wallace left a voicemail at the Miami Gardens Mosque " you Muslims, Mohammad, the Koran and Islam. I hate you Muslims, you Muslims are terrible. I hate you people. I'm gonna go down to your center, I'm gonna shoot all ya'll you, I hate your Allah, I hate your Koran, I hate everything about Islam. You people are worthless s Go to hell you."149
G	150	2/15/2017	Austin, TX	Anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant fliers were found around the University of Texas - Austin campus saying "Imagine a Muslim-free America" and "A notice to all citizens of the United States of America, it is your civic duty to report all illegal aliens to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)—they have broken the law." 150
C	151	2/13/2017	Shreveport- Bossier, LA	Two anti-Muslims signs that read, "Imagine a Muslim-free America" were found at the Bossier City Mosque. 151
G	152	2/13/2017	New Brunswick, NJ	An anti-Muslim poster that read "Imagine a Muslim-free America" was found at the Paul Robeson Cultural Center on the Rutgers University campus. The Center is often used by Muslim students for prayer. 152
	153	2/11/2017	Park Ridge, IL	A 14-year-old boy harrased an elderly Indian man working in the Summit of Park Ridge shopping center with racial slurs and profanity and when the man went to call the police, the boy continued to throw rocks and dirt at the windows of the store. ¹⁵³
	154	2/5/2017	Peyton, CO	An Indian man, Saravanan Arunachalam, found dog feces smeared across his garage, the remnants of nearly 40 eggs thrown at the house, and over 50 hate messages and racial slurs. One of the messages read, "You brown or Indian shouldn't be here." 154
C	155	2/5/2017	Ann Arbor, MI	A perpetrator urinated on a rug in the prayer room of the University of Mighican undergraduate library. 155
C	156	2/3/2017	Davis, CA	A package of pork tenderloins was left on the doorstep of Muslim residents. 156
C	157	2/1/2017	Oak Lawn, IL	A patron at the Muslim-owned restaruant 4 Sisters left a tip of a dollar bill that read "NO MUSLIM IMMIGRANTS IN USA," in bright red ink.157
G	158	1/31/2017	Roseville, CA	A perpetrator spray painted anti-Muslim graffiti on the walls of the Tarbiya Institute. 158

	159	1/30/2017	Macon, GA	A perpetrator wrote "Go Home Immigrant #Trump," on an Indian woman's white board outside her dorm room. 159
C *	160	1/29/2017	Mason, OH	A Muslim woman returned to her neighborhood after a weekend away to find her face plastered on flyers titled "neighborhood terrorist warning," which included a map with her house and address. ¹⁶⁰
C *	161	1/28/2017	Tyler, TX	An Identity Evropa flyer that read "Equality is a False God" was found pasted on the door of a Muslim dentist's office. 161
C	162	1/28/2017	Victoria, TX	A fire completely destroyed The Islamic Center of Victoria. 162
C	163	1/27/2017	Beloit, WI	An anti-Muslim message was spray painted on a residence hall on the Beloit College campus. 163
C *	164	1/26/2017	Queens, NY	Robin A. Rhodes approached Rabeeya Khan, a Muslim airport employee wearing hijab, and asked her if she was praying before punching her office door, threatening her, and kicking her right leg. He blocked her from leaving, mimicked a prayer pose, and shouted expletives about ISIS and Islam before saying "Trump is here now and he will get rid of all you." 164
C *	165	1/24/2017	Woodlands, CA	An unidentified man broke into a Sikh-owned Quizno's, stole money and the security system, tried to light the store on fire, and wrote "Terrorist," and the N-word on the wall. 165
G	166	1/22/2017	Davis, CA	A woman broke six windows at the Davis Islamic Center and left strips of bacon on the handle. ¹⁶⁶
G	167	1/22/2017	New Paltz, NY	Andrew Plachecki put a gun to his Muslim cab driver's head and called him, "a motherfuc**ing piece of Muslim sh*t." 167
Œ	168	1/14/2017	Seattle, WA	Isaac Wayne Wilson set the Islamic Center of Eastside on fire and even admitted to it when he was approached by police on the scene. 168
G	169	1/13/2017	Toledo, OH	Anti-Arab graffiti and a swastika were found spray painted on a Lebanese- American family's home. 169
G	170	1/10/2017	Bayonne, NJ	"F**k Islam" was spray painted directly under signs posted in the window that read "Save Bayonne," and "Stop the Mosque."
Œ	171	12/31/2016	Mayhill, NM	The Mayhill Convenience Store posted signs at their entrance saying, "Obama & other Muslims not welcome here," and "Kill Obama." 171
C *	172	12/21/2016	New York, NY	Nathan Gray walked into a Dunkin Donuts and after getting his coffee, he sat near a group of Muslim women, yelled "Terrorist!" and threw his hot coffee on one of the women. The woman then rushed out of the store and Gray put her in a headlock. ¹⁷²
(*	173	12/20/2016	Portland, ME	A perpetrator took a baseball bat and smashed 6 windows of the Ahram Halal Market. 173
G	174	12/15/2016	Sudbury, MA	An anti-Muslim sentiment was written on the wall of a bathroom stall at Lincoln-Sudbury High School. ¹⁷⁴

C	175	12/11/2016	Bronx, NY	A customer at a 7-Eleven went on an anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim rant and threatened to have his gang affiliated teen son stab one of the employees. He said, "Don't look at me, I can do whatever I want you f—cking immigrant piece of s—t! You Muslim. Go back to your country. That is why Donald Trump is president; I can kidnap you, I have a 15-year-old son who is a Blood [gang member] who can stab you. All you see in your life are goats." 175
G	176	12/10/2016	Simi Valley, CA	John Matteston and Marco De La Cruz started a fight with a worshipper at the entrance to a local mosque. Matteson and De La Cruz said "You guys need to leave the country; we're going to kill all you guys" before stabbing the worshipper. ¹⁷⁶
Œ	177	12/9/2016	Lawton, OK	A pig carcass was dumped at the doorstep of the Islamic Center of Lawton. ¹⁷⁷
G	178	12/8/2016	West Haven, CT	Hate filled, threatening anti-Muslim letters were sent to the Islamic Center of New Haven. They evoked Donald Trump's name and were signed "Americans for a better way." 178
C	179	12/7/2016	East Lansing, MI	The Spartan statue on the Michigan State University campus was vandalized with anti-Muslim flyers. The flyers contained phrases such as "Islamophobia is just common sense," and "Muslims please stop killing people."
C *	180	12/5/2016	New York, NY	A man shoved a Muslim New York City transit worker down a staircase at Grand Central Terminal screaming that she was a terrorist. He said, "You're a terrorist and shouldn't be working for the city!" The woman sustained injuries to her knee and ankle. 180
C *	181	12/4/2016	Brooklyn, NY	A Muslim police officer, Aml Elsokary, was off duty and parking her car when she saw her 16-year-old son being shoved and yelled at by Christopher Nelson. When she approached the scene, Nelson called her "ISIS [expletive]" and threatened to cut her throat. 181
G	182	12/4/2016	Brooklyn, NY	A group of men walked up to a young man and asked him, "Are you from Saudi Arabia? Are you Muslim?" Moments later, they punched him in the face and pushed him to the ground. 182
C *	183	12/1/2016	New York, NY	Three drunk white men repeatedly screamed "Donald Trump!" and hurled anti-Islam slurs at a Muslim Baruch College student, Yasmin Seweid, before trying to rip her hijab off on an East Side subway. 183
(*	184	11/30/2016	Long Island, NY	Grafitti that included swastikas, racial slurs, and the statement "Make America White Again" were found spray painted on the sidewalk. ¹⁸⁴
G	185	11/30/2016	Los Angeles, CA	Trump supporters sent a mass mailing of threatening letters to nearly 10 mosques across the country that read "To the children of Satan, you Muslims are vile and filthy people. There's a new sheriff in town, President Donald Trump. He's going to cleanse America. Pack your bags and get out of dodge." It went on to say, "You are evil. You worship the devil, " the letters state. "But, your day of reckoning has arrived." The letter ends with, "long live President Trump and God bless the USA." 185

C	186	11/28/2016	Evanston, IL	Several books about Islam and the Quran were found vandalized in the Evanston Public Library. Among other things, a swastika was drawn in one, and "bullshit cover to cover," was written in another. 186
Œ	187	11/27/2016	San Jose, CA	A hate-filled letter was sent to Evergreen Islamic Center directly addressing its members calling Muslims "vile and filthy people" and "children of Satan." ¹⁸⁷
C *	188	11/27/2016	Savannah, GA	A letter addressed to the Islamic Center of Savannah said Trump is "going to do to you Muslims what Hitler did to the Jews." 188
(*	189	11/26/2016	Cleveland, OH	Denzal Johnson got into an argument with a 16-year-old Muslim boy, made references to the Taliban, and called the boy a terrorist before shooting him in the arm. 189
C *	190	11/25/2016	Plano, TX	Racist letters were left on the doorsteps of residents of the McKinney neighborhood. Among other things, they read "Our President Donald Trump is god's gift to white nation. We want to get our country back on the right track. We need to get rid of Muslims, Indians, blacks and Jews." 190
C *	191	11/24/2016	Pittsburgh, PA	Jeffrey Burgess attacked an Indian patron, Ankur Mehta, in a Red Robin, yelling racial epithets used against people of Middle Eastern descent. He continued punching and hitting Mehta, saying, "things are different now," "I don't want you people sitting near me." 191
C	192	11/24/2016	Norman, OK	A student on her way out of class handed her Muslim professor an anti-Muslim pamphlet and said "you'll appreciate this." 192
C	193	11/23/2016	Charlotte, NC	A kindergarten teacher repeatedly harassed and bullied a Muslim kindergarten student in his class singling him out and repeatedly calling him a "bad Muslim boy." The teacher approached the student, grabbed him by the neck and began choking him. 193
Œ	194	11/17/2016	Astoria, NY	A man driving an SUV went on an anti-Muslim rant: "Trump is President, (expletive) so you can kiss your (expletive) visa goodbye," and "they'll deport you soon, don't worry, you (expletive) terrorist." 194
G	195	11/15/2016	Milpitas, CA	An Indian woman, Nicki Pancholy, who does not identify as Muslim, wore a bandana to protect her head prior to leaving her car for a hike. She returned to her car to find, "Hijab wearing b this is our nation now get the f out." 195
C	196	11/15/2016	Edwardsville, IL	Students at the Evergreen residence hall on the Southern Illinois University campus found racial slurs on Post-it notes taped to their doors on election night, saying "Go back to Africa" or "Build the wall." The posts also alleged that a Muslim student's hijab was pulled off her head by a passing student, and a Latina student was subjected to racial slurs by students driving by her as she walked to her car." 196
(*	197	11/15/2016	Seattle, WA	A man attacked Nasro Hassan, a Muslim student wearing hijab, as she left Mary Gates hall on the University of Washington campus. He hit her in the face with a bottle leaving her with a black eye, a bad concussion, and the left side of her face bruised. 197
	198	11/14/2016	Town and Country, MO	An Indian family found "TRUMP" scratched into their car. 198

	199	11/12/2016	Boston, MA	Three teenagers harassed an immigrant woman on a train and yelled at her to go back to her country. The woman attempted to leave her seat and the three girls blocked her path, one girl began punching the woman and repeatedly beat her with a cell phone. A witness pressed the emergency button for help and the three teens were seen celebrating as they exited the train. 199
	200	11/11/2016	Natick, MA	Racist graffiti, calling for the deportation of two teachers, was discovered at Natick High School. ²⁰⁰
G	201	11/11/2016	Columbus, OH	A man verbally assaulted a Muslim woman and her family, while stopped at a traffic light. The man approached the vehicle, banged on the windows, and took pictures of her family. He yelled, "C**t, you don't belong in this country," and "Go back to your f**king country."201
G	202	11/11/2016	Atlanta, GA	A Muslim high-school teacher was sent an anonymous note telling her that her headscarf was not allowed anymore and to hang herself with it, among other things. ²⁰²
Œ	203	11/10/2016	San Francisco, CA	While on her way home on the Bay Area transit, Ivet Lolham was overheard speaking Assyrian. Another passenger began accosting her, saying, "Trump might deport you. This woman is a stalker from the Middle East. She's a Middle Eastern terrorist, she's terrorizing citizens like me and she will probably get deported." ²⁰³
G	204	11/10/2016	Queens, NY	A white couple approached Fariha Nizam, a young Muslim student wearing hijab, on the bus they were riding and the white woman gestured at her hijab and told her to "take it off" and that she is "not allowed to wear that anymore." She then came toward the student and attempted to take it off herself. ²⁰⁴
C	205	11/10/2016	Ann Arbor, MI	A man approached a Muslim student and threatened to set her on fire with a lighter unless she removed her hijab. ²⁰⁵
C	206	11/9/2016	Urbana- Champaign, IL	A Trump supporter pulled a knife on a young Muslim woman while on the bus near the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign campus. ²⁰⁶
C	207	11/9/2016	New York, NY	Muslim students found their prayer room at New York University vandalized with "Trump" spray-painted on it. ²⁰⁷
C	208	11/9/2016	San Diego, CA	Two men confronted a San Diego State University student wearing hijab in a parking structure, made comments about President-elect Donald Trump and the Muslim community, and then took her purse and backpack. The men also took the student's car keys and ran off. ²⁰⁸
Œ	209	11/9/2016	San Jose, CA	A perpetrator grabbed the hijab of Esra Altun, a young Muslim woman, from behind and yanked it backward as she was walking back to her car at San Jose State University. Altun struggled to breathe as the man pulled hard at her hijab. ²⁰⁹
C	210	11/9/2016	Lafayette, LA	Two men knocked a young Muslim student wearing hijab to the ground with something metal and verbally assaulted her with obscenities before making off with her wallet and hijab. ²¹⁰
G	211	11/9/2016	Albuquerque, NM	An unknown male attempted to pull a young Muslim student's hijab off.211

G	212	11/8/2016	Denver, CO	The sign for Little India Restaurant was vandalized and spray painted to say "Hail Trump." 212
C	213	11/8/2016	Fresno, CA	Someone yelled "Muslim go back home" to a Muslim woman wearing hijab as she left the voting booth. ²¹³

APPENDIX A ENDNOTES

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APPENDIX B

Œ	i	11/7/2017	New York City Mayoral candidate Bo Dietl tweeted a picture of Mayor de Blasio with Muslim activist Linda Sarsour, co-chair of the Women's March, and Executive Director of the Arab American Association of New York, and questioned whether de Blasio could be trusted to protect the city from terror.
G	ii	11/5/2017	Upon arriving at the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) Arizona's annual banquet, the predominantly Muslim crowd was greeted by women in Trump T-shirts screaming into bullhorns. Armed men stood along the side of the road, waving oversize American flags and yelling. "TELL ME, SHOULD I HAVE MY HEAD CUT OFF?" said one of the men over and over again."
C	iii	11/1/2017	Fox News used the New York City truck attack by Sayfullo Saipov, an immigrant from Uzbekistan, to push for a radical nativist agenda.
G	iv	11/1/2017	President Trump tweeted: "We must not allow ISIS to return, or enter, our country after defeating them in the Middle East and elsewhere. Enough!" He then announced he was consdering sending Sayfullo Saipov, an immigrant from Uzbekistan who was suspected of killing eight people with his truck in New York City, to Guantanamo Bay.
C	v	11/1/2017	President Trump said "I have just ordered Homeland Security to step up our already Extreme Vetting Program. Being politically correct is fine, but not for this!"
G	vi	11/1/2017	John Guandolo, an anti-Muslim conspiracy theorist and founder of the for-profit law enforcement training company, Understanding the Threat (UTT), posted a tweet claiming the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) "is a terrorist group," and ominously declared, "They should be treated as such." Included at the bottom of the post was what appears to be a manipulated picture of missile strike footage with the words "CAIR HQ" at the center of the photo's crosshairs.
G	vii	11/1/2017	Laura Loomer — a conservative political activist and former operative at right-wing Project Veritas — commented that she was late to a New York Police Department press conference and was unable to find an Uber that was not driven by someone who did not look like they were Muslim. Her comments then escalated to asking for the creation of a "non Islamic form of @uber or @lyft because I never want to support another Islamic immigrant driver."
C*	viii	10/30/2017	Stanford College Republicans invited controversial Islam critic Robert Spencer to campus.
	ix	10/29/2017	White nationalists, white supremacists, and Nazis emblazoned with swastikas, SS insignia, and Ku Klux Klan emblems held back-to-back rallies in two small Tennessee cities.
G	x	10/29/2017	Christians and Jews United for Israel (CJUI), a Massachusetts-based pro-Israel advocacy non-profit, invited the national President of ACT for America, Brigitte Gabriel, the nation's largest anti-Muslim hate group, to deliver its keynote address for its annual Genesis Awards event.

(*	хi	10/18/2017	Usama Dakdok, an Egyptian Coptic Christian and staunchly anti-Islamic speaker, whose "The Straight Way Ministry" is designated by the Southern Poverty Law Center as an anti-Muslim hate group, spoke at Solid Rock Ministries.
G	xii	10/17/2017	Anti-Muslim Boston Herald columnist, Michael Graham, spoke at Amherst College. Islamophobic comments Graham has made in the past include, "Islam is a terrorist organization," "Moderate Muslims are those who only want to kill Jews" and "The problem is not extremism. The problem is Islam."
(*	xiii	10/13/2017	Trump signed Muslim 3.0 Ban, which included nationals from the countries of Iran, Libya, Syria, Yemen, Somalia, Chad, North Korea, and Venezuela
C	xiv	10/13/2017	Usama Dakdok, an Egyptian Coptic Christian and staunchly anti-Islamic speaker, placed anti-Islamic fliers on local porches and doors, promising to expose the "deception of Islam" and reveal the threat it poses "to our way of life."
C	xv	10/10/2017	A presentation titled "Muslims Not Welcome: The Political Ramifications of Islamophobia," at Scripps College grew tense when students and professors were confronted by protesters associated with "We the People Rising," an anti-undocumented-immigration group. Three protesters, who were recording the hour-long presentation with their cell phones, frequently interrupted speaker Hussam Ayloush, accusing him of lying about Islam and the Quran.
	xvi	9/27/2017	White supremacists scrawled racist graffiti across a local elementary school, threw eggs at the building, and burned a portable toilet near the school's soccer field to the ground.
C	xvii	9/27/2017	Roy Moore, Alabama Republican candidate for U.S. Senate, urged Congress not to seat Congressman Keith Ellison in 2006 because he is Muslim.
	xviii	9/26/2017	Hamtramck City Councilman, Ian Perrotta, made disparaging remarks about recent immigrant arrivals to the city insinuating that, as a group, they lacked basic knowledge of and adherence to community norms related to sanitation and property maintenance.
	xix	9/21/2017	"True Cascadia," a white supremacist group that bills itself as the "foremost alt-right group" in the Pacific Northwest plastered posters in downtown Portland that said "White, Proud, Unapologetic" along with grafitti of swastikas.
	xx	9/19/2017	Representative Lynne DiSanto, the Republican majority whip in the South Dakota House of Representatives, put up a meme on Facebook that read: "All lives splatter." The representative stated that this was a movement we can all get behind. The meme portrays an image of a car hitting a protester.
(*	xxi	9/19/2017	Trevor Loudon, a writer and filmmaker from New Zealand who spoke at an event organized by Minnehaha County Republicans, alleged that Congress has been infiltrated by traitors and urged South Dakota to crack down on immigration, refugee placement, and Muslim groups.
C	xxii	9/16/2017	Members of a Christian group called "Street Preachers" gathered outside Masjid Omar Ibn El-Khattab to rebuke Islam.
(*	xxiii	9/15/2017	President Trump tweeted "The travel ban into the United States should be far larger, tougher and more specific-but stupidly, that would not be politically correct!"

G	xxiv	9/15/2017	President Trump tweeted "Another attack in London by a loser terrorist. These are sick and demented people who were in the sights of Scotland Yard. Must be proactive!"
G	xxv	9/10/2017	A new report on Islamophobia from University of California, Berkeley highlighted the role of David Yerushalmi, an anti-Muslim activist pushing to turn anti-Muslim hate into law.
(*	xxvi	9/9/2017	ACT for America, which is designated as the nation's largest anti-Muslim hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center, hosted an online "Day of Action" which encouraged racist, xenophobic clicktivism, and catered to alt right groups and individuals.
G	xxvii	9/8/2017	Congressman Ron DeSantis introduced a bill to defund an international Islamic charity, claiming that it had terrorist ties.
G	xxviii	9/7/2017	Hate literature left on doorsteps and sent as emails to residents, contained white supremacist signage, and encouraged white Americans to "rise up against community members who are Latino, Black, and/or Muslim."
	xxix	9/6/2017	Alt-right members collected personal data of individuals to target online, particularly protestors at recent anti-hate rallies.
	xxx	9/6/2017	White supremacist literature that read "it's not illegal to be white, yet" was left on doorstops and in mailboxes along with swastikas and a noose.
	xxxi	9/6/2017	White supremacist youth were pictured in KKK robes burning a cross.
	xxxii	9/6/2017	The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), which is designated as an anti-immigrant hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center said, "Dreamers are ungrateful and have no right to call America home."
	xxxiii	9/5/2017	President Trump ended the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, which protected immigrant youth from deportation.
	xxxiv	9/5/2017	Fox New host, Tucker Carlson, promoted an alt-right/neo-Nazi hate website called "Gab" on Fox News primetime.
	xxxv	9/4/2017	Neo-Nazi fliers were posted hours before a white supremacist march.
	xxxvi	8/17/2017	Florida Governor, Rick Scott, supported President Trump's view that both sides were to blame for the white supremacist violence in Charlottesville, VA.
C	xxxvii	8/17/2017	Oklahoma state representative, John Bennett, posted on his Facebook account "If we're removing confederate monuments after the Civil War, I think we should also be removing mosques after 9/11."
	xxxviii	8/16/2017	President Trump continued his support for white supremacists and criticized the anti-racist protesters in Charlottesville, VA.
	xxxix	8/11/2017	White supremacists marched in Charlottesville, VA.
C	xl	8/8/2017	Days after a Minnesota mosque bombing, President Trump made no comments condemning the attack.

	xli	8/2/2017	The Trump administration supported The RAISE Act, introduced by Republican Senator Tom Cotton, which would eliminate preferences for extended family members similar to the Muslim Ban, eliminate the diversity visa lottery, limit refugees offered permanent residency, and institute a skills-based points merit system.
G	xlii	7/29/2017	Funded with money from American white supremacists and the "alt-right" movement, a group called "Generation Identity" chartered a ship it planned to use to snatch Muslim migrants out of Mediterranean waters and deliver them back to the Middle East.
C	xliii	7/29/2017	Four white supremacists were arrested in connection with an anti-Sharia law in New Orleans, LA.
G	xliv	7/28/2017	President Trump nominated Sam Brownback, the Republican governor of Kansas, as his ambassador at large for international religious freedom. Brownback has a history of rushing to sign anti-Islam legislation designed to vilify Muslims.
	xiv	7/25/2017	The Trump administration warned cities that they risk losing millions in grant funds if federal immigration authorities are not provided access to all local detention centers to determine the status of suspected undocumented immigrants. This was part of the Department of Justice's directive aimed at "sanctuary cities," which refused to fully comply with federal immigration enforcement efforts.
C	xlvi	7/12/2017	Palos township trustee, Susan Brannigan, posted anti-Muslim remarks on Facebook.
C *	xlvii	7/8/2017	Donald Trump Jr. continued targeting activist Linda Sarsour, co-chair of the Women's March, and Executive Director of the Arab American Association of New York, and her use of the word "jihad" in a tweet: "I think her words were clear, report them don't massage them to fit your narrative. Also where is the outrage for basically #Mansplaining?"
C	xlviii	7/6/2017	Erielle Davidson targeted activist Linda Sarsour, co-chair of the Women's March, and Executive Director of the Arab American Association of New York, on twitter: "Media: Trump delivered a speech on G-d, country, and family. Nazi! Also media: Linda Sarsour called for jihad, but it's no big deal."
C *	xlix	7/6/2017	President Trump gave a speech in Poland about the safety of the West that alluded to threats inciting Islamophobia: "This continent no longer confronts the specter of communism. But today we're in the West, and we have to say there are dire threats to our security and to our way of life. You see what's happening out there. They are threats. We will confront them. We will win. But they are threats. We are confronted by another oppressive ideology one that seeks to export terrorism and extremism all around the globe. America and Europe have suffered one terror attack after another. We're going to get it to stop."
G	1	7/6/2017	Donald Trump Jr. continued targeting activist Linda Sarsour, co-chair of the Women's March, and Executive Director of the Arab American Association of New York, and her use of the word "jihad" in a tweet: "Who in the @DNC will denounce this activist and democrat leader calling for Jihad [against] trump?"
C *	li	7/6/2017	Fox news misrepresented the words of activist Linda Sarsour, co-chair of the Women's March, and Executive Director of the Arab American Association of New York, by saying: "Activist Linda Sarsour Calls for 'Jihad' Against Trump administration."

(*	lii	6/26/2017	President Trump celebrated the Supreme Court's decision to hear the Muslim Ban case, which resulted in reinstating parts of the ban, on Twitter: "Great day for America's future Security and Safety, courtesy of the U.S. Supreme Court. I will keep fighting for the American people, & WIN!"
C	liii	6/26/2017	President Trump celebrated the Supreme Court's decision to hear the Muslim Ban case, which resulted in reinstating parts of the ban, on Twitter: "EXTREME VETTING people coming into the U.S. in order to help keep our country safe. The courts are slow and political!"
C	liv	6/26/2017	President Trump celebrated the Supreme Court's decision to hear the Muslim Ban case, which resulted in reinstating parts of the ban, on Twitter: "Very grateful for the 9-0 decision from the U. S. Supreme Court. We must keep America SAFE!"
	lv	6/22/2017	President Trump tweeted: "Mexico was just ranked the second deadliest country in the world, after only Syria. Drug trade is largely the cause. We will BUILD THE WALL!"
(*	lvi	6/10/2017	ACT for America, the nation's largest anti-Muslim hate group, held a series of Islamophobic rallies in 30 cities across the country. The primary purpose of these divisive events was to instill fear and encourage hate of Muslim American communities in the U.S.
G	lvii	6/5/2017	An anti-Muslim billboard disparaging the Prophet Muhammad on an Indianapolis highway had the headline: "The Perfect Man." Underneath the headline were six bullet points to describe that man, which included "married a 6-year-old," "slave owner & dealer" and "13 wives, 11 at one time."
C	lviii	6/5/2017	After the London attack, President Trump pushed for the Muslim Ban on Twitter: "The Justice Dept. should ask for an expedited hearing of the watered down Travel Ban before the Supreme Court - & seek much tougher version!"
G	lix	6/5/2017	After the London attack, President Trump pushed for a Muslim Ban again and tweeted: "That's right, we need a TRAVEL BAN for certain DANGEROUS countries, not some politically correct term that won't help us protect our people!"
C	lx	6/5/2017	After the London attack, President Trump tweeted: "In any event we are EXTREME VETTING people coming into the U.S. in order to help keep our country safe. The courts are slow and political!"
C	lxi	6/4/2017	After the London attack, President Trump pushed for a Muslim Ban again on Twitter: "We need to be smart, vigilant and tough. We need the courts to give us back our rights. We need the Travel Ban as an extra level of safety!"
C	lxii	6/4/2017	After the London attack, President Trump pushed for a Muslim Ban again on Twitter: "We must stop being politically correct and get down to the business of security for our people. If we don't get smart it will only get worse."
(*	lxiii	5/16/2017	John Guandolo, an anti-Muslim conspiracy theorist and founder of the for-profit law enforcement training company, Understanding the Threat (UTT), was paid thousands of dollars in public funds to train Arizona law enforcement officers about the "jihadi" threat in the U.S., despite calls for the training to be canceled.
	lxiv	4/26/2017	The Trump administration launched the VOICE (Victims of Immigration Crime Engagement Office) hotline to report alleged crimes committed by immigrants.

(*	lxv	3/14/2017	During a CNN interview, Congressman Steve King was challenged by CNN's Chris Cuomo over whether or not he believed Muslim-Americans were equal to others, using Italian-Americans as an example. King paused, unable to give a straight answer, leaving Cuomo to ask, "Why do you have to pause!?" King additionally said, Blacks and Latinos "will be fighting each other before overtaking whites in population."
C *	lxvi	3/11/2017	Sid Bowdidge, previously a massage therapist in New Hampshire, was appointed by President Trump to the Department of Energy. After many of his racist tweets targeting Muslims surfaced, he was fired. Among other things, he called Muslims "Scum suckling maggots of the world," and said to, "exterminate them all."
C *	lxvii	3/11/2017	Congressman Steve King posted a racist tweet in support of far-right Dutch politician Geert Wilders. Representative King re-tweeted a cartoon by the anti-immigrant group "Voice of Europe" depicting Wilders with a finger plugging a leak in a dike, labeled "Western Civilization," holding back a toxic wave of Islam. The cartoon also depicted Muslim men with swords and suicide bomb vests. King's retweet of the cartoon read, "Wilders understands that culture and demographics are our destiny. We can't restore our civilization with somebody else's babies." The tweet drew praise from former Ku Klux Klan leader and Louisiana politician David Duke, who tweeted, "God Bless Steve King!"
(*	lxviii	3/7/2017	Shahram Hadian, a former Muslim who converted to Christianity, spoke to a group at Covenant Church about the "dangers" of Islam. This was the second speaking engagement in a series he planned to speak about Islam. He said Muslims in the United States "do not want to coexist, they want to take us over." He also sells anti-Islam DVDs, books, and pamphlets.
C *	lxix	3/6/2017	During an annual Muslim Day event, which connects Muslim students to their representatives, three students were given anti-Islamic questionnaires before they were allowed to meet with Oklahoma State Representative John Bennett. Questions included, "The Koran says that the husband can beat his wife. Do you beat your wife?" After the students answered the questions by proving them wrong, they were told they could only meet with Bennett if they were from his hometown.
G	lxx	3/6/2017	President Trump signed a new Executive Order termed Muslim Ban 2.0. It banned immigrants from 6 of the 7 previously listed countries in Muslim Ban 1.0.
C *	lxxi	3/4/2017	John Guandolo, an anti-Muslim conspiracy theorist and founder of the for-profit law enforcement training company, Understanding the Threat (UTT), hosted a law enforcement seminar billed as "Understanding and Investigating the Jihad movement." The three-day program was sponsored by the Rapides Parish district attorney's office.
G	lxxii	3/3/2017	Plymouth, MI City Clerk, Linda Langmesser, tweeted: "Muslims don't tell the whole truth."
G	lxxiii	3/1/2017	Otay Water District board member, Hector Gastelum, tweeted a string of anti-Muslim messages including: "Let's pressure our legislators to prevent #subhuman #scum from #USA to #MAGA," and "This is how the left learns #Muslim #Islam #Sharia aren't compatible with any form of #civilsociety #equality."

lxxiv	2/22/2017	When asked about the rise of anti-Semitism since the election of President Donald Trump, Former Senator Rick Santorum said Palestinian and Muslim people are to blame. He said, "If you look at the fact of the people who are responsible for a lot of the anti-Semitism that we're seeinga lot of it is coming from the pro-Palestinian or Muslim community, so let's lay out that fact"
lxxv	2/18/2017	A local conservative activist said, "my only recommendation is to start killing the hell out of them" at a meeting that included a presentation on a supposed Muslim plot to conquer the United States. "Shed some blood, too," the same activist said in response to the presenter's call to "shed some light" on the issue.
lxxvi	2/15/2017	Ken Lien, Owner of the Mr. Basketball Award tweeted: "Run their asses outta there!" regarding Muslim high school students in New Jersey. He also tweeted "Absolutely we should!" in response to a tweet asking whether Americans should be afraid of Muslim women, children, and refugees.
lxxvii	2/14/2017	The Florida House of Representatives Subcommittee on Children, Families & Seniors voted on HB 427 which would end the Florida state government's participation in the refugee resettlement program.
lxxviii	2/13/2017	Dozens of anti-Muslim posters that read "Imagine a Muslim-free America" were found all over the University of Texas - Dallas and Austin campuses.
lxxix	1/27/2017	Muslim Ban 1.0 went into effect resulting in many Muslims traveling to the U.S. from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen being denied entry into the U.S., including green card holders.
lxxx	1/22/2017	After activist Linda Sarsour, co-chair of the Women's March, and Executive Director of the Arab American Association of New York, gave an impassioned speech at the Women's March, several news organizations such as The Daily Caller, FrontPageMag, The American Thinker, and The Gateway Pundit among other anti-Muslim websites posted racist and Islamophobic comments about Sarsour. This included attempts to associate Sarsour with terrorist groups.
lxxxi	1/9/2017	Oregon State Senator, Brian Boquist, introduced SB 479 — a bill that "Prohibits courts from applying Sharia law." Boquist said the bill's primary purpose stemmed from his constituents' fear of Sharia law "being used as a legal standard in our courts."
lxxxii	12/22/2016	Following the deadly truck attack on a Christmas market in Germany, President Trump said he planned to go forward on his campaign promise to temporarily ban Muslim immigrants.
lxxxiii	12/18/2016	Bernards township and planning board officials John Carpenter, John Malay and Carolyn Gaziano, the incoming mayor, used their private email accounts to discuss how to exclude the Islamic Society's president ("a fool") from a 9/11 memorial ceremony - "We owe that to our dead residents," Carpenter wrote. Another official said Muslims "are allowed to lie for the sake of their religion."
lxxxiv	12/17/2016	Michael Duke Lowrie, the lone candidate for Louisiana House of Representatives District 8, stood by his Facebook post in which he said he believes Islam does not deserve "the peace of our culture," and called on friends to follow his lead in "boycotting any business that was owned or ran by islamists." He also said, "I will challenge every islamist I see to denounce their false god and religion." He separately said, "We are a Christian nation. The threat of Islamic terrorism is real."
	lxxvi lxxvii lxxviii lxxix lxxxi lxxxi lxxxii	lxxv 2/18/2017

G	lxxxv	12/16/2016	The city of Sterling Heights, MI shot down a plan to build a mosque and catered to the fears and views of anti-Muslim residents who showed up at public meetings and expressed anti-Muslim views opposing the mosque.
C	lxxxvi	12/10/2016	Former Congressman, Allen West, posted a meme on his Facebook account that said, "General James Mattis will exterminate Muslims as Secretary of Defense under Donald Trump."
	lxxxvii	11/15/2016	University of California-Los Angeles' "White Students Group" disseminated posters all over campus calling for white supremacy and xenophobia.
	lxxxviii	11/10/2016	"Make America White Again" was spray painted above a softball dugout.
G	lxxxix	11/10/2016	Neo-Nazi Andrew Anglin wrote "I am of course against any violence against these people," in a blog post. "However, I do think you should yell at them in people [sic], tell them to go home I encourage you to do that with any foreigners you see, especially those wearing Islamic clothing." He added, "We want these people to feel unwanted. We want them to feel that everything around them is against them. And we want them to be afraid."

APPENDIX B ENDNOTES

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