11-2-2017

Surveilling Hate/Obscuring Racism?: Hate Group Surveillance and the Southern Poverty Law Center's "Hate Map"

Mary McKelvie
University of South Florida, mmckelvie@mail.usf.edu

Surveilling Hate/Obscuring Racism?:

Hate Group Surveillance and the Southern Poverty Law Center's "Hate Map"

by

Mary McKelvie

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
Department of Women's and Gender Studies
College of Arts and Sciences
University of South Florida

Major Professor: David Rubin, Ph.D
Michelle Hughes Miller, Ph.D.
Kim Golombisky, Ph.D.

Date of Approval:
October 26, 2017

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

iii

ABSTRACT

In what ways does the legal and political monitoring of "hate groups" and "hate group activities" benefit the American left? Possible victims of crimes? Law enforcement? The state? Specifically, in what ways does the Southern Poverty Law Center's "hate map" challenge and/or reiterate relations of power and knowledge? This thesis offers a feminist critical analysis of hate group surveillance and the Southern Poverty Law Center's mapping of hate. The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) is a progressive legal advocacy group that aids in the surveillance of "hate groups" and legislation against "hate crimes." I investigate the assumptions grounding the SPLC's rhetorical use of the term "hate" and analyze their surveillance and mapping in order to add to the growing body of literature that that seeks to rethink the institution of whiteness and the relationship between progressive groups and law enforcement. The SPLC's "Hate Map" offers a visualization of "hate" while simultaneously ignoring and obscuring racism. This thesis is meant to produce an alternative reading of this map and the SPLC's hate group surveillance. Using a critical feminist framework that is intimately linked to critical race theory and anarchist criminology, I interrogate the SPLC's methods of mapping and surveillance as well as their connection to law enforcement and governmentality. In analyzing SPLC's "Hate Map" and their "Law Enforcement Resources" page, I contend that the SPLC's use of "hate" in lieu of racism is a reflection of their uncritical analysis of systematic racism and state violence associated with whiteness. While I recognize SPLC's important role in combating crimes against marginalized groups through advocacy and legal aid, I contend that their rhetoric around "hate" and use of mapping and surveillance may potentially collude with governmentality and state violence against historically disenfranchised populations.

I. INTRODUCTION

In what ways does the legal and political monitoring of "hate groups" benefit the American left? Possible victims of crimes? Law enforcement? The state? Specifically, in what ways does the Southern Poverty Law Center's "hate map" challenge and/or reiterate relations of power and knowledge? Does this monitoring and surveillance affect victims of crimes and marginalized groups? And if so, how? Additionally, in what ways does the rhetorical use of "hate" frame the Southern Poverty Law Center's mission statement(s)? What groups and ideas are viewed by the Southern Poverty Law Center as hateful? And who is responsible for "fighting hate" (splcenter.org)?

This thesis offers a feminist critical analysis of hate group surveillance and the Southern Poverty Law Center's mapping of hate. The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) is a progressive legal advocacy group that aids in the surveillance of hate *groups* and civil litigation against hate *crimes* committed by individuals with connections to specific hate groups. I investigate the assumptions grounding the SPLC's rhetorical use of the term "hate" and analyze their surveillance methods in order to contribute to the growing body of literature that seeks to rethink the relationships between local/national law enforcement and progressive groups. Additionally, I offer a critique of the ways in which the SPLC perpetuates political dualities and obscures the ways in which many bodies and groups are complicit with governmentality and state violence. Following Michel Foucault, I use the term governmentality to refer to the state's use of control strategies to govern the body of the populace (Burchell, Gordon, and Miller, 1991). In using a critical feminist discourse analysis that is intimately linked to critical race

theory, intersectionality, and anarchist criminology, I seek to interrogate the links between state violence and surveillance, crime, and white power (within the state and outside of the state). Foregrounding the persistence of anti-queer, racist police brutality, I problematize SPLC's methods of mapping and surveillance as well as their connection to law enforcement. In analyzing SPLC's "Hate Map" and their "Law Enforcement Resources" page, I have found that the SPLC frames hate groups mainly as a threat to law enforcement. I contend that by ignoring the racism deeply entrenched in the police force (not to mention the criminal legal system) this framing does a disservice to historically disenfranchised and vulnerable populations in the United States. I additionally problematize the data presented by SPLC using scholarly critiques of their collection methods, non-transparency of data, and availability to the public. While I recognize SPLC's importance in combating crimes against marginalized groups and individuals through advocacy and legal aid, their use of mapping and surveillance seems to be predominantly beneficial to law enforcement rather than the disenfranchised populations that they advocate for, and thus, effectively colludes with governmentality. Further, I contend that their rhetoric around "hate" does not interrogate whiteness as an institution.

Legal aid and monetary reimbursement, while individually important, do not sufficiently challenge systemic racism and sexism, which are deeply embedded within the United States' history and current political economy. When queer bodies and Black bodies are rendered simultaneously invisible and hypervisible on the streets, by civilians and law enforcement officers alike, a radical reshaping of society is essential to "fighting hate" (splcenter.org). While the SPLC's public website openly challenges the ways in which marginalized groups are rendered hypervisible and criminalized at an alarming rate, they do not sufficiently challenge the state's techniques of population management or state sanctioned violence (splcenter.org). Legal

aid, while vital for certain people, is not a banner of justice or a radical notion of equity or equality. Drawing on anarchist criminology, I argue that legality is produced through state sanctioned power and governmentality and is an arm of hegemonic nationalist patriarchal control; it primarily benefits those in power (Tifft and Sullivan, 1980). While there is still a possible glimmer of altruism within the SPLC, they still actively work within the criminal legal system; a system that relies on state-based hierarchy, control, and violence. As Michelle Alexander (2010), Dean Spade (2015), and Carrie L. Buist and Emily Lenning (2016) suggest, the criminal legal system covertly commits violences against queer people, people of color generally, and Black folks more specifically, through their use of control and surveillance. In what ways does this surveillance naturalize structural violence based on homophobia, heteronormativity, and racism? In what ways does the criminal legal system reproduce the very violence the SPLC claims to combat? In making a "Hate Map" easily accessible to any internet user, but not making the data behind that map easily accessible; in suggesting that we "Teach Tolerance" rather than radically alter the state's criminalization of people of color and queer folks; in offering "Law Enforcement Resources" but not community and civilian resources—this thesis will investigate whether the SPLC paradoxically perpetuates hegemonic state authority and state sanctioned violence. I contend that SPLC's "Hate Map" and "Law Enforcement Resources" page are positioned as visual and phenomenological representations of liberal progress while remaining relatively silent about systematic racism within the state, including but not limited to law enforcement and the legal system. The SPLC's "Hate Map" offers a visualization of "hate" while simultaneously ignoring and obscuring racism. This thesis is meant to produce an alternative reading of this map and the SPLC's hate group surveillance.

Rationale / Contribution

While my research is not focused specifically on hate *crimes*, there are still important moments in history that have led to the current surveillance of hate groups, the proposed correlation of hate crimes and growing hate group populations, and the left's use of anti-hate rhetoric more broadly (Streissguth, 2003; Adamczyk et al., 2014; Yancey, 2014; Jacobs and Henry, 1996). I hope to build on this research by offering a queer feminist and anarchist critique to the existing literature on hate crimes and scholarly work on the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). By merging critical race theory, anarchist criminology, and critical trans politics, this thesis builds on the existing analysis of the state and the criminal legal system while offering a radical and interdisciplinary framework that can be used in future critical work.

In analyzing the ways in which hate groups are monitored by the Southern Poverty Law Center, I suggest that the close relationship between this particular advocacy group and law enforcement contributes to the creation of a culture of fear and surveillance but does not effectively counteract racist and homophobic ideologies or keep vulnerable groups safe from said groups (Buist and Lenning, 2016; Garland and Simi, 2011). While I understand "safety" as an essential tenet of "justice," I also understand the nature of the world—particularly a world steeped in settler colonial and capitalist formations—to be overwhelmingly violent, often in ways that are not always immediately visible to hegemonic perspectives. What sense can we make of terms like "safety" and "justice" in a culture that naturalizes state violence? In what ways are the terms "safety" and "justice" juxtaposed against "hate" and used as terms of progressive liberation for marginalized groups? Additionally, what does hate group surveillance do for the marginalized groups who are typically and historically victimized by these groups?

4

I argue that the act of surveilling hate groups and offering support to law enforcement is not necessarily a means of combatting structural racism. If the progressive left seeks to combat "hate," we must first define the term, understand the history of "hate crimes," and further analyze the ways in which hate is monitored, understood, and portrayed. We must pay close attention to the ways in which hate is used as an umbrella term that obscures the roles of racism and heteropatriarchy in structural violence. In the case of the SPLC, I contend that this rhetoric tends to demonize the right, linking right-wing ideology to white supremacy, while simultaneously obscuring the everyday racism evident in the criminal legal system. White people, regardless of political orientation, benefit from systematic racism. By not referencing the forms of privilege reproduced by structural racism, the SPLC marginalizes experiences of people of color while failing to self-reflexively interrogate the organization's privilege and profit (Dyer, 1997; hooks, 1996).

Positionality

This thesis is intimately grounded in my identity as queer anarchist, feminist, and anti-fascist[1]. My research interests have always been rooted in my passion for crossing lines and challenging norms—especially when those norms control the life and death of populations in order to maintain power (Foucault, 2010). As a masculine white person and also as a queer female-bodied person I exist in a space where my privilege and safety varies depending on my environment. In analyzing police involvement with legal advocacy groups and policing/surveillance strategies in general, it is important to note here the privileges I have in

---

[1] In the wake of the media's interest in anarchist and anti-fascist groups responding to nazi and white supremacist organizing in the streets of Charlottesville, VA, I choose to explicitly and proudly claim these identities in order to actively challenge the violent movements working towards a white ethno-state. Anarchism and anti-fascism are both misunderstood terms and political movements that I hope to shed light upon and give voice to in this thesis.

dealing with law enforcement. Because I am white and perceived to be female, I do not pose a threat to police. Therefore, every time I have engaged with them in one way or another, I have left the situation safely without being arrested or assaulted. The worst thing a cop has ever done to me individually was to call me an "asshole" for filming him while he and 10 other officers violently arrested a homeless man for stealing beef jerky while calling him a "faggot."

My body is a visual marker of privilege. Because I am coded as white and female, I experience a level of privileged invisibility, but because I am masculine-presenting and openly queer, I also experience a level of visibility that is paradoxically a privilege and a disprivilege. I recognize that my identity and my political and ethical views are deeply rooted in my interest in the topics I address in this thesis.

Because all perspectives are partial, I recognize the limitations my positionality may impose on my research. As Donna Haraway argues, "vision is *always* a questions of the power to see—and perhaps of the violence implicit in our visualizing practices" (2013, 416). In an effort to work as an academic ally to marginalized communities, I focus on the state as a mechanism of structural violence and analyze the connection between the left's anti-hate rhetoric and law enforcement. As a developing scholar, I am interested in challenging hegemonic whiteness, systematic racism, and state violence.

This thesis offers a self-reflexive critique of a left-leaning progressive organization. As a scholar and activist, I am committed to the values of anti-racisism and anti-fascism. The arguments I make seek to contribute to the undoing of racist heteropatriarchy and to create a radical alternative to the state and criminal legal system in their current form. The arguments I forward are explicitly *not* intended to support the causes or ideologies of the far-right, alt-right, neo-nazis, white supremacists, or nazi-apologists. The analysis I offer, instead, seeks to empower

people of color, trans and queer folks, Jewish, Muslim and other non-Christian believers, women, people with disabilities, and other folks who have been historically dispossessed by heteropatriarchy and white supremacy.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Southern Poverty Law Center History / Current Issues

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) is a legal advocacy group "dedicated to fighting hate and bigotry and to seeking justice for the most vulnerable members of our society" (splcenter.org). The group started officially in 1971 with founders Morris Dees and Joseph Levin, focusing specifically on civil rights violations and biased crimes. Currently, the SPLC is staffed with 75 lawyers who focus on "impact litigation" specifically in the areas of: "Children's Rights, Economic Justice, Immigrant Justice, LGBT Rights, and Criminal Justice Reform" (splcenter.org/seeking-justice). With an impressive history of challenging the most visible forms of white supremacy from the start, the SPLC has been an openly leftist organization since its inception. Focused mainly on civil court cases, the SPLC works pro bono and relies on support from various patrons nationwide (splcenter.org). According to Katie Day, the SPLC "increased its donor base to 500,000 individuals" by 1997 and the group is further "endorsed by such organizations as American Bar Association, National Education Association, American Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith" (2001, 50). Day goes on to reference *Harper's*[2], stating that the SPLC is considered "one of the most profitable charities in the country" (50). Day's research and references to the organization's profits add an alternative perspective to the SPLC's mission and the ways in which they advocate for justice for the marginalized groups they represent. Financial settlements are important, however, some critics, such as Joe Feagin, et al., note that "justice is not well served when the primary way a

---

[2] See http://www.americanpatrol.com/SPLC/ChurchofMorrisDees001100.html

racist campaign of violence can be punished is through a civil case with, at most, monetary penalties" (2001, 103).

According to the SPLC and many academics, hate crimes are at an all-time high (splcenter.org; Adamczyk et al., 2014; Levin and McDevitt, 1993). The FBI defines a hate crime as a "criminal offense against a person or property motivated in whole or in part by an offender's bias against a race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, ethnicity, gender, or gender identity" (fbi.gov/hate-crimes). In response to the rise of hate crimes, the SPLC uses surveillance methods to expose hate group activities. Their website analyzes and critiques far right ideology and openly challenges the most visible forms of white supremacy. The SPLC focuses predominantly on organized hate groups, and offers elaborated information about powerful political and religious leaders. They do not, however, offer a critical analysis to systematic racism, sexism, or heteronormativity. Their main focuses are "Fighting Hate," "Teaching Tolerance," and "Seeking Justice." Their main goals are legal and legislative. This is the major limitation of the SPLC's advocacy work. As Dean Spade (2015) argues, legal reform alone is incapable of systematically transforming deeply rooted forms of structural violence, including institutional racism, heteronormativity, and transphobia.

Hate Crime Legislation

The history of hate crime legislation in the United States emerged from efforts to combat racism and violence enacted against different "out groups" and marginalized communities (Streissguth, 2003). Tom Streissguth suggests that although "hate crime" is a recently developed term, the prevalence of bias-motivated crimes has a long and complicated history in the United States (2003, 3). Starting with colonial genocide against Indigenous peoples, European colonists

eventually evolved into groups of people who worked to uphold their own racial superiority (Streissguth, 2003; McWhorter, 2009). The roots of white supremacy extend far deeper than the inception of the Ku Klux Klan and other radical extremist groups (Jacobs and Henry, 1996). I contend that white supremacist ideology is intimately linked with present day policy in the United States and thus with multiple arms of the state, including but not limited to local and national politicians, judges, and police, not to mention schools, hospitals, and prisons (Foucault, 2010).

There is a rich interdisciplinary literature on the history of "hate" in the United States (Jacobs and Henry, 1996; Streissguth, 2003; Feagin et al., 2001; Perry and Blazak, 2009). According to the FBI, before the Civil Rights Act of 1964, hate crimes were considered the responsibility of local jurisdictions and were not a focus of the Federal Government (FBI.gov). However, after the Civil Rights Act, and again more recently in 2009 after the Hate Crime Prevention Act, the FBI adopted a much more active role in seeking justice for victims of biased crimes. According to the FBI's "Hate Crimes" page a hate crime [is] a "criminal offense against a person or property motivated in whole or in part by an offender's bias against a race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, ethnicity, gender, or gender identity."

Crucially, the FBI defines what constitutes a "hate crime" as a criminal offense based on specific categories of identity, but they are careful to emphasize that "hate" itself is not illegal. This rhetorical distinction makes it possible for the FBI to surveil specific groups based on their apparent hate rhetoric and/or actions. In this thesis I plan to analyze this use of language in greater detail and to think critically about how the distinction between hate crimes and hate more generally may obscure forms of structural racism that are deeply embedded in the political structure of the United States.

The Hate Crime Statistics Act, according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, suggests that hate crimes are "crimes that manifest evidence of prejudice based on race, gender or gender identity, religion, disability, sexual orientation, or ethnicity" (www.bjs.gov). When a victim of a crime is filling out the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), which adds to the data about hate crimes collected by the government, the only way for said crime to be considered "biased" or "hateful" is when the appropriate steps are taken with law enforcement. While the NCVS is not an official document and is based on self-reporting rather than official reports, it is still important to note how hate is reported and understood through the criminal legal system. Additionally, a hate crime is not merely determined or categorized as such based upon the identities of the victim/perpetrator, but rather is determined by actions, beliefs, or words used by the perpetrator and must be proven via legal and state appointed officials.

Jacobs and Henry understand a hate crime to "generally [mean] a crime against persons or property motivated in whole or in part by racial, ethnic, religious, gender, sexual orientation, and other prejudices" (366). They also note that the "federal government and most states do not include gender bias in their definition of hate crimes," which is interesting considering the systematic violence against women enacted by intimate partners (1996, 366).[3] Jacobs and Henry go on to explain the "epidemic metaphor" that is used by the media and politicians as a means to frame hate crimes as a growing and seemingly incurable problem. Their main argument is that hate has been an American value for some time now —but that it has not been broadly recognized as such. They problematize the use of the epidemic metaphor in advocacy groups like the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and SPLC, suggesting that their rhetoric and data, regardless

---

[3] A National Coalition Against Domestic Violence report states that "nearly 20 people per minute are physically abused by an intimate partner in the United States." Future research should investigate how the exclusion of gender based violence within the rhetoric of hate crimes enables the SPLC to overlook violence against women/intimate partner violence.

of the actual numbers, helps encourage political and legal support of their organizations, not to mention "symbolic and material support for their constituents" (368).

Jacobs and Henry challenge leading scholars in the field of hate crime studies, Jack Levin and Jack McDevitt, who suggest that hate crimes are growing statistically because of "economic decline," "social-psychological malaise," and "resentment" (372). Jacobs and Henry also note that the basis of their research comes from reports from the ADL and SPLC. Levin and McDevitt explicitly cite a case in Oregon where three racist skinheads attacked three Ethiopian men, ultimately ending in the death of one man, Mulugeta Seraw (99). Kenneth Mieske pleaded guilty to murdering Seraw with racist motivation, was given a life sentence, and Steven Strasser and Kyle Brewster were convicted of first-degree manslaughter (100). According to Levin and McDevitt, Morris Dees (founder of the SPLC), the ADL, and attorney Elden M. Rosenthal filed a wrongful death lawsuit on behalf of the Seraw family not only against two of the skinheads that attacked Seraw and his companions, but also against "Tom and John Metzger and their White Aryan Resistance (WAR) organization" (100). Although WAR was based out of California, and the skinheads involved in the crime were associated with East Side White Pride in Oregon, the "suit claimed that, in their roles as heads of WAR, the two men had encouraged and instigated the skinheads" (102). Apparently in 1988 WAR had been recruiting out of Portland and sending racist propaganda and newspapers to small local groups. According to the SPLC's history page, in 1990, "the SPLC [won] a $12.5 million judgment against Tom and John Metzger and their hate group, White Aryan Resistance, for their role in the murder of Ethiopian student Mulugeta Seraw by racist skinheads in Portland, Ore."

Levin and McDevitt use this case and cases like it to avow that hate crimes are at an all-time high. They reference the ADL's report that "the number of cable television programs

devoted to preaching hate is on the rise" and SPLC's Klanswatch report that suggests that "there has been a 27 percent increase in white supremacist groups" in the last few years (108). They ultimately suggest that "our relative tolerance for diversity" has inadvertently led to a rise in hate crimes. Certain policies have "created challenges and threats to traditionally advantaged positions of white males" and have "unwittingly provided a breeding ground for resentment" (232).

Jacobs and Henry disagree slightly. They suggest that, by examining the violent and racist history of the United States, we can see that "violence motivated by racism, xenophobia, anti-semitism and other biases is not new" (391). In fact, in challenging Levin and McDevitt's analysis, as well as other hate crime analysts and progressive advocacy groups, Jacobs and Henry suggest that "what is new is [the] greater intolerance of prejudice. The conclusion that hate crime has reached epidemic proportions today simply evinces the fact that bias crime is now much less acceptable and that victimized groups have a special social and political status" (391). As Žižek suggests, this kind of "intolerance of prejudice," of political correctness relies on "the frightening rallying of frightened people" (41). I understand this fear and "intolerance of prejudice" as a leading cause/effect of covert racism enacted by the state and various microaggressions enacted by individuals and communities (Sue, 2010).

While Levin and McDevitt suggest that less than 15 percent of hate crimes are perpetrated by organized hate groups, they still hold that their presence serves as inspiration to perpetrators of said crimes (1993, 104). Similarly in "The Relationship Between Hate Groups and Far-Right Ideological Violence" Amy Adamczyk et al. argue that the very "presence of hate groups increases the likelihood of serious ideologically motivated violence" (310). They also refer to Susan Olzak's 1990 study that shows that "racial and ethnic conflict increased when the

status quo of white political power was challenged" at the turn of the 20th century (314). Adamcyzk et al. analyze data collected from SPLC's Annual Hate Crime Listing Report and the U.S Extremist Crime Database (ECDB) "which tracks violent and financial crimes committed by political extremists in the United States" to show the ways in which violent biased crime is prevalent in areas where hate groups exist (317).

Jacobs and Henry and Levin and McDevitt provide a foundation for understanding the major scholarly arguments within the study of hate crimes. They also offer us a more historic account of the ways in which hate crimes have come to be criminalized and understood in American society and academia. In understanding hate crimes not necessarily as a growing epidemic, but rather as a historically and culturally specific reaction to shifting power dynamics in a constantly changing society, we can better ground current research on SPLC's mapping of hate and legislative interests.

SPLC Critiques and Analysis

Scholarly critiques of the SPLC focus mainly on their data collection methods, their one-sided portrayal of hate groups and hate crimes, and the flaws in focusing only on defunding hate groups (Freilich and Pridemore, 2006; Yancey, 2011; Garland and Simi, 2011). George Yancey suggests that SPLC is biased in their research and that only "hatred by conservatives warrants [their] attention" (69). Although he makes a valid argument that SPLC uses language that is explicitly leftist and in many ways demonizes the right, he also challenges SPLC's definition of violence and "hate." He suggests that SPLC refuses to "consider conservative political, cultural, or religious groups as potential victims of hatred" (73). This brings up the questions of privilege, freedom of speech, and hate as an emotion and as an act. Yancey further suggests that, like

homosexuality and race, religion should be considered an "immutable characteristic" and should be protected. However, Yancey also argues that conservative Christianity needs stronger legal protections. He even suggests that SPLC's focus on Islamophobia is leftist and anti-Christian (73). His argument is based on the notion that conservative Christians, like white men, are experiencing prejudices at the same rate, or at higher rates, than historically marginalized groups. While I agree with Yancey's assertion that the left and progressive groups deserve critical scholarly analysis and that SPLC is a politically-interested organization, I am deeply skeptical of his claim that Christians face prejudice in the same way that people of color, non-Christians, and queer people do.

Brett Garland and Pete Simi critique the SPLC's use of civil litigation against white supremacist groups, stating that this "strategy assumes that without a financial base of support and tangible resources, white supremacist groups will be prevented from promoting their agenda" (499). The SPLC "advocates putting white supremacists 'out of business' through financial devastation brought by their lawsuits," Garland and Simi argue (502). However, they importantly emphasize that white supremacy is not a business—rather it is an ideology. The authors further outline the importance of the internet in the maintenance and popularity of white supremacist ideology. The popular negative view of overt racism coupled with the relative anonymity of the internet has given white supremacist ideology an opportunity to thrive, regardless of funding, lawsuits, or civil litigation (Garland and Simi, 2011; Feagin et al., 2001). Additionally, referencing Levin and McDevitt, Garland and Simi recognize that because "most hate crimes are not committed by members of hate groups," the assumption that "without white supremacist organizations and their leaders to inspire hate violence, such violence must decrease" is problematic (Levin and McDevitt, 1993; 503). The authors suggest that "instead of

SPLC lawsuits achieving deterrent goals, they may be intensifying perceptions of victimization, which, in turn, can lead to increased violence and a stronger sense of collective supremacist identity" (505).

Joshua D. Freilich and William Alex Pridemore argue that data published by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and the SPLC are based on "inconsistent findings" that rely on a "measurement error," which makes it difficult to "assess the validity of the conclusions drawn (148). They suggest that "relying upon the counts of the number of militia groups may say little to nothing about the actual number of activities, active members, and/or supporters of the group" (150). Although Freilich and Pridemore focus on militia and patriot groups, their analysis of both the ADL and SPLCs' methods of collecting data about different "far right" extremist groups suggests that a more precise and transparent methodology is necessary.

Whiteness and Power / White Power

In their book *White Racism* (2001) Joe R. Feagin et al. discuss racialized police brutality extensively. They discuss the brutal beating of Rodney Glen King and the history of racism within the LAPD. Their historical analysis is especially relevant to the era of the Black Lives Matter Movement and the killings of Michael Brown, Trayvon Martin, Philandro Castile, and other Black men and women and people of color at the hands of law enforcement. Similar to Gene Grabiner's argument about the historical roots of racism in the founding of the United States law enforcement system, the authors problematize the violent and fatal brutality enacted by police against different marginalized communities. Additionally, echoing Grabiner and Feagin et al., Buist and Lenning's book *Queer Criminology* (2016) outlines the ways in which police distrust the communities that they are policing, while those same communities distrust the

16

officers that police them (45). This distrust, the authors suggest, is due to "the potential dangers of the job and the fear of working in a profession where many of the individuals you encounter are presumed criminals" (Buist and Lenning, 45). Law enforcement and police departments typically frame the communities in which they patrol as enemies rather than groups of people they should be serving and protecting (Buist and Lenning, 2016; Mogul et al., 2011). This strategic othering is especially problematic when coupled with the surveillance and mapping of hate groups, when said mapping is meant to benefit law enforcement, but not necessarily marginalized groups.

Apart from racism within law enforcement, Feagin et al. further challenge covert and everyday white racism. They suggest that although there is a "generally negative view of overt racism in public discussions" there is still an "inability or unwillingness [within the white population] to take responsibility for their racist actions" (89,90). bell hooks expands this argument when she states that "while it has become "cool" for white folks to hang out with black people and express pleasure in black culture, most white people do not feel that this pleasure should be linked to unlearning racism" (6). In refusing to acknowledge white racial privilege (or racial identity in general) white people *maintain* their privilege by refusing to unlearn racism. This kind of covert racism is necessary to unpack. "Overt racist discrimination is not as fashionable as it once was and that is why everyone can pretend that racism does not exist, so we need to talk about the vernacular discourse of neo-colonial white supremacy" (hooks, 5). hooks is calling for a radical reimagining of history and present-day racial relations. In order to more effectively combat racism, she suggests that we must confront everyday racism and rethink the ways in which racism benefits white people. And while, as Richard Dyer suggests, often the refusal to recognize white power and white privilege is not explicitly malicious, it still damages

and continues to perpetuate violence against people of color (9). The naturalization of whiteness as an American norm and value reproduces white power. "White power none the less reproduces itself regardless of intention, power differences and goodwill, and overwhelmingly because it is not seen as whiteness, but as normal. White people need to learn to see themselves as white, to see their particularity. In other words, whiteness needs to be made strange" (10). Whiteness needs to be "[dislodged from] its centrality and authority" (10).[4]

Relatedly, another problem within whiteness studies, according to Dyer, is white people's inability to "see themselves as having a race" and their failure to see white standpoints as situated rather than universal (Delgado and Stefancic, 80). And it is "by [that] same token [that] many whites will strenuously deny that they have benefited from white privilege" (Delgado and Stefancic, 80). In order to critically analyze white supremacist movements in the United States it is essential to also radically rethink the nature and normativity of whiteness, white power, and white privilege in the United States.

Michael Omi and Howard Winant argue that "the United States has always been a very race conscious nation" (8). This consciousness however is not the same as actively engaging in discussions about racial inequalities or systematic racism; the consciousness Omi and Winant refer to is a historic recognition of ethnicity and corporeal markers used to define and determine social and political status. If "race has been a profound determinant of one's political insights, one's location in the labor market, and indeed one's sense of identity," so too has racism been essential to understanding the history of the United States. And while overt forms of racism and white supremacy "have been officially discredited," racial inequality is still rampant in the United States (Omi and Winant, 2014; Gilmore, 2007; Crenshaw, 1991). Omi and Winant's main

---

[4] While it is possible to be critical of whiteness as a white person, I find it interesting that the leadership positions within the SPLC are all filled predominantly by white men.

argument is that, following World War II, racial *hegemony* has replaced racial *domination*

through the notion of colorblindness (15, 212). Omi and Winant use colorblindness to frame their

understanding of racist policy in the United States presently. If race does not "exist," or at least

goes on existing without being analyzed and understood with a historical context, racism and

white supremacy will continue to control the United States and oppress people of color.

III. THEORECTICAL FRAMEWORKS

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory (CRT) is a movement and form of analysis that stems from activists and legal scholars interested in dissecting, "studying, and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power" (Delgado and Stefancic, 2). Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (2001) suggest that rather than focusing on specific moments of violence and racism, CRT "questions the very foundations of the liberal order" (3). The authors go on to suggest that "in the early years of critical race theory...scholars questioned whether the much-vaunted system of civil rights remedies ended up doing people of color much good" (18). They reference Derrick Bell's classic piece where he "argued that civil rights advances for blacks always coincided with changing economic conditions and the self-interest of elite whites" (18). Bell's notion of white self-interest, his interest-convergence theory, helps me to further problematize the SPLC's use of legal advocacy and reform as a ground of social transformation (1978). In what ways does mapping hate benefit the left? Additionally, how does hate mapping shape discourses and practices of hate speech, free speech, and hate crimes more generally? As Delgado and Stefancic argue, "hate speech, which targets mainly minorities, gays, lesbians, and other outsiders, is almost always tolerated, while speech that offends the interests of empowered groups finds a ready exception in First Amendment law (Delgado and Stefancic, 24).[5] Not only does this suggest that hate speech is harmful to marginalized groups, but also that people in power have greater freedom to speak and to regulate freedom of speech. "Skinheads and other white extremists...are related in some significant ways to mainstream white opinion and actions on

[5] This goes back to the FBI's assertion that "hate itself is not a crime—and the FBI is mindful of protecting freedom of speech and other civil liberties."

racial matters. Clearly, many mainstream whites share some portions of the white supremacist movement's racist stereotypes and ideology" (Delgado and Stefancic, 112).

Intersectionality, the theory that forms of oppression intersect in complex ways that always include race, class, and gender, also grounds my theoretical approach (Crenshaw, 1995). In their discussion on intersectionality, Delgado and Stefancic suggest that "when movements for racial justice prioritize broad concerns over those of particular subgroups, many needs [may] end up going unaddressed" (54).

Intersectionality

By recognizing the ways in which individuals experience different levels of privilege/disprivilege based on their identities, we can further problematize the left's rhetoric around hate as well as the SPLC's focus on far right hate groups and ideology. Crenshaw suggests that in order to refocus our understandings of privilege we should explore "the various ways in which race and gender intersect in shaping structural, political, and representational aspects of violence" (357). Although Crenshaw focuses on the intersections of race and gender and the ways that women of color experience violence, we can use the concept of intersectionality to better critique the SPLC's "Hate Map" and their connection to state violence and control. Specifically, intersectionality can offer us an explanation of the ways in which various identities and life experiences impact individual and group social vulnerability, visibility, and the relationship between marginalized communities and state violence. Specifically, one's raced, sexed, and classed identities cannot be separated from one another. To add to the critique of the SPLC's "Hate Map" and "Law Enforcement Resources Page," I contend that we need to analyze the lack of data collected about women of color, women in general, and people of color's

experiences with hate groups. In what ways can a progressive advocacy group who claims to "fight hate" accurately collect data with no reference to the groups who are most likely to be victimized and violated by hate groups and hate crimes?

Crenshaw suggests that intersectional identities and vulnerabilities are not necessarily intentionally produced. Instead, the vulnerabilities imposed on certain identities "interact with preexisting vulnerabilities to create yet another dimension of disempowerment" (364). Additionally, the state tends to only politicize problems "within the dominant community" (364). In looking at the SPLC we can see the ways in which certain bodies are protected and considered. Because of Black women's hypervisibility and vulnerability within state, they run the risk of criminalization, violence, and assault at a higher rate than men and a higher rate than white women (Crenshaw,1993; Buist and Lenning, 2016). This marks the importance of an intersectional analysis in regards to the SPLC. Their focus on law enforcement safety and legal aid for victims of hate crimes gives the illusion of progressive and radical assistance. But because there is *not* a focus on everyday interactions, possible racist violence against marginalized groups, and the complicated levels of privilege/oppression as outlined by Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality, the SPLC misses an important opportunity to complicate the terms of analysis. In using intersectionality to analyze the SPLC, I argue that in order to challenge a system of violence and oppression, there needs to be explicit engagement with the experiences and claims of women, people of color, queer people, and other marginalized groups that have been victim to hate groups, hate speech, hate crimes, and state violence. I contend that the SPLC's focus on broad concerns[6] inadvertently ignores specific and individual needs and silences people of color, queer folks, and women.

---

[6] Fighting Hate, Teaching Tolerance, Seeking Justice

Anarchist Criminology

Anarchism has been contested and challenged since its inception; in fact the very history of the movement is contested. Robert Graham suggests that anarchism gained momentum and recognition during the First International (the first international labor union populated by anarchists, socialists, and other left-leaning radicals) in 1864-1880. Eventually, the separation of anarchism and Marxism, or really, the disagreements of Michele Bakunin and Karl Marx, satiated the organization. Because of his focus on theoretical understandings of class struggle, Marx and his followers were able to achieve a stronghold within academia. Today, "criminology, the movement for a new society and the development of critical social theory, readily [allies] itself with Marxism" (Tifft and Sullivan, 32). Overtime, anarchism has taken up space on the streets, in the home, in the workplace, and even in state institutions. From the First International and the European Industrial Revolution, anarchists organized labor unions and adamantly wrote about ethical individual resistance. With this history in mind, we can move toward an understanding of anarchist criminology and the ways in which this theoretical framework grounds my research and offers a unique critical perspective on the SPLC as well as the state.

The *Encyclopedia of Criminological Theory* (2010) frames anarchist criminology as a radical argument against laws, suggesting that "law encodes and reproduces the various privileges of the powerful, restricts and stagnates what should be an emergent process of human engagement, and thus exacerbates problems of crime and violence" (43). Early anarchist philosophers and activists "outlined the possibilities of solving social problems through responsive social interaction rather than through the punitive application of legal statutes" (44). Emma Goldman and Peter Kropotkin both saw prisons as a way to guarantee the reproduction of the "problems caused by the systems of law and inequality that fill [them] in the first place" (43).

Like Goldman and Kropotkin, anarchist criminologists today agree that "systems of law and punishment spawn more problems than they prevent, accelerate the damage done by crime, choke the possibilities for harmonious human communities, and so operate to perpetuate their own reasons for existence" (46). Larry Tifft and Dennis Sullivan suggest that "lawful" violence (that which is approved by the state) is perhaps the "greatest misery in the world" (8). These crimes are those that are unpunishable and justified by "the law, the state, [and] the ruling elites" (9). "The state, then, which invents crime, exempts itself...No matter the form, the state seeks to monopolize consciousness and social life in the interests of the ruling few, to maintain hegemony, hierarchy, and authority. The state thereby incriminates ideas, institutions, and social acts and actors which pose an institutional threat of disclosure or reprisal against the state" (Tifft and Sullivan, 83). I use this understanding of anarchist criminology to problematize the use of state power by the left and to rethink SPLC's close ties to local and national law enforcement. Since "criminalization processes are but one way of designating deviance," we can understand the framing of organized hate groups as deviant and problematic to liberty and justice (Tifft and Sullivan, 87). However, without specific analysis of systematic racism and white supremacy prevalent within the criminal legal system, the SPLC's focus specifically on hate groups diminishes the importance and violence associated with things like white invisibility, colorblindness, white privilege, and the disproportionate use of violence by agents of the state against people of color and queer people. This covert racism and systematic violence is deeply rooted in individual identities and group understandings of race and community, whether consciously or unconsciously.

Feminist Surveillance Studies

The SPLC's "Hate Map" is not the kind of map developed by geographers and GIS specialists. The "Hate Map" exists as a visual marker of progressive advocacy made possible through hate group surveillance and monitoring (splcenter.org). Rather than focusing on crime mapping, geography, or statistics, feminist surveillance studies offers a critical approach to understanding hate group surveillance as practiced by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

That being said, surveillance is not necessarily always beneficial to the populous. It is, however, beneficial to the maintenance of norms. John Fiske asserts that surveillance is a "way of imposing norms" where those who have been othered into the abnormal have [surveillance] focused more closely upon them" (qtd. in Browne, 72). Simone Browne uses Fiske's assertion to understand the construction of race and the surveillance of certain groups. While people of color are monitored at an alarmingly higher rate than white people, I use both Fiske and Browne's analysis to better understand the monitoring of white extremist and hate groups and the general silence about systematic racism and whiteness in general.

Andrea Smith suggests that "reliance on state surveillance prevents us from seeing other possibilities for ending violence, such as through communal organization that might be able to address violence more effectively. Essentially, the apparatus of state surveillance, which allows the state to see violence, absolves us from the responsibility of having to see it" (36).

Not only does the SPLC's hate group surveillance mirror the state surveillance apparatus, but as Smith suggests, the SPLC's "Hate Map" assumes that mapping serves as a sufficient response to violence. By framing white supremacists as the only violent and racist white people in the United States, the SPLC misses a critical entry point to critiquing and challenging systematic racism and white silence. The visualization of hate groups is paradoxical. While the

SPLC's "Hate Map" gives historically marginalized groups the option of "looking," they also seem to perpetuate the authority given to them by their close relationship with law enforcement. On one hand, the SPLC's hate group surveillance offers a radical alternative to a racist history of surveillance and domination. On the other hand, since the SPLC is intimately linked to the state and disciplinary power, their hate group surveillance is an extension of their authority. As Nicholas Mirzoeff suggests, looking can be both an act of autonomy and authority (2011). In this regard, Mirzoeff asks, who has the right to look? And to what degree is looking, visualizing, a privilege? I use these questions to frame the SPLC's "Hate Map" as a paradoxical visual marker of progress. Yes it is visible. But to whom is it visible and to what effect does it have on them?

Critical Trans Politics

Legal scholar, lawyer, and trans rights activist Dean Spade has defined critical trans politics as a challenge to state systems and law in general. In order to practice this politics, Spade suggests that "we have to tackle some big questions about what law is, what power is, how legal systems are part of the distribution of life chances, and what role changing laws can and cannot have in changing the arrangements that cause such harm to trans people (2). While Spade's analysis and critique of the criminal legal system is largely focused around trans people's right to life based on the legal system and healthcare discrepancies, I apply his critical trans politics to my own analysis of the SPLC's surveillance of hate groups and non-critical approach to the criminal legal system.

Similar to Tifft and Sullivan's argument, Spade suggests that "US law has been structured from its inception to create a racialized- gendered distribution of life chances that perpetuates

violence, genocide, land theft, and exploitation, we will not resolve those issues solely by appealing to law" (7). The answer to the systematic normalization of racism and sexism is not creating more laws nor is it relying on state institutions. Spade further suggests that "hate crime laws do nothing to prevent violence against transgender people but instead focus on mobilizing resources for criminal punishment systems' response to such violence" (14).

Another main argument of Spade's is that the focus on individual actions and individual institutions is both problematic and limited. Following Foucault, Bell, and Crenshaw, Spade suggests that power, knowledge, norms, and social control cannot be understood or analyzed by simply looking at one facet of society. Rather than looking to one specific "thing" we should instead look to the complex intertwining of state systems and how they affect each other as well as individual and group lives. "Those law reforms do nothing to prevent violences like criminalization and immigration enforcement. Legal systems that have official rules of nondiscrimination still operate in ways that disadvantage whole populations— and this is not due solely, or even primarily, to individual bias (Spade, 9).

IV. METHODOLOGY

Feminist Discourse Analysis

To offer a thorough critical analysis of the intertwined relationships between power, oppression, and violence, I employ a feminist discourse analysis to further conceptualize the SPLC's "Hate Map" and rhetorical use of the term "hate." My method of analysis is multidimensional and nontraditional; I use radical theories to frame my analysis of the SPLC's use of surveillance and silence around whiteness and racism. Since the SPLC is a large and complex organization with a large and complex website, I have chosen to analyze the specific parts of their website that prompted the most questions for me. This is in no way a complete analysis of the organization or even of their rhetoric. Over hundreds of publications and legal aid campaigns, I have chosen the SPLC's "Hate Map" and general rhetoric around "hate" in relation to their hate group surveillance. I investigate the assumptions grounding the SPLC's use of the term "hate" and analyze their surveillance methods in order to add to the growing body of literature that that seeks to rethink the relationship between local/national law enforcement and progressive groups. Jacqueline Jones Royster and Gesa E. Kirsch suggest that in drawing from a broader range of rhetorical data, feminist researchers "[acknowledge] the existence of multiple, at times contradictory viewpoints, as we seek to render observations and conclusions that are more fully considered, again, in terms of both textual and contextual analyses" (140). By employing a multidimensional discourse analysis I hope to tease out connections between rhetoric, surveillance, and mechanisms of disciplinary power (Foucault, 2010).

Following Foucault's notions of power, Susanne Gannon and Bronwyn Davies suggest that "indeed, we are always within relations of power, as we are always within discourse" (75).

28

A critical feminist discourse analysis gives me the space to problematize relations of power while simultaneously critiquing the mechanisms of that power used by the SPLC. By focusing on the ways in which the SPLC's rhetoric and discourse around mapping, surveillance, and hate produce certain ideas in popular culture about the American left and right, I am able to focus on their use of language and images to further my analysis of the organization's mission.

The Map

The Southern Poverty Law Center's "Hate Map" is arguably the most visited page on the organization's website.[7] Because of the map's popularity on social media, it becomes essential to dissect the purpose of this kind of map and it's impact on viewers.

From the homepage you can find a link for the "Hate Map" in the top right-hand corner, conveniently located under their link for donations and giving. Although it is easily categorized as a map, the SPLC's "Hate Map" is not a map charted by geographers or GIS specialists. It is meant to do one thing: visually account for "active"[8] hate groups in the United States. According to the "Hate Map," there are 917 active hate groups in the United States. Active, in this case, refers to "criminal acts, marches, rallies, speeches, meetings, leafleting or publishing," while "hate group" refers to any group that has "beliefs or practices that attack or malign an entire class of people, typically for their immutable characteristics" (splcenter.org/hatemap). The "Hate Map" outlines the following 14 categories within which specific hate groups fall: Anti-Immigrant, Anti-LGBT, Anti-Muslim, Black Separatists, Christian Identity, General Hate, Hate Music, Holocaust Denial, Ku Klux Klan, Neo-Confederate, Neo-Nazi, Racist Skinhead, Radical

---

[7] According to data gathered from SharedCount, a website used to track clicks, likes, and shares of a specific URL from different forms of social media, the "Hate Map" has over 680,000 recorded incidents of activity on Facebook, in comparison to only 62,000 records of activity for the SPLC's homepage.
[8] I use quotations here to imply that there is a gray area in terms of understanding a group as active.

Traditional Catholicism, and White Nationalist (splcenter.org). Each category has their own color/symbol for easy accessibility (i.e. General Hate is green with a white circle, Ku Klux Klan is gray with a white Klan hood, etc). For the remainder of this section I will be using the terms "group" and "category" differently. The "Hate Map" alternates between terms, but for clarification, I use the term "group" as a specific group in a specific location (Crew 38, American Renaissance, etc), while "category" connotes what ideology the specific groups fall under (Anti-LGBT, Neo-Nazi, etc).

There are two viewing options on the map, one is "Hate Groups" and the other "State Totals." Both maps are interactive, making research on specific groups or states as easy as clicking on an icon/highlighted group name. There is also a drop-down menu where you can sort the map by selecting a specific category or a specific state. The images on the following page show the "Hate Map" by category (Fig. 1) and by state total (Fig. 2). These two maps offer different visual data but produce the same reaction.

While navigating the "Hate Map" you can click on different icons and a text-box pops up giving the name, location, and category within which that specific group falls. If you click on a state total, you are redirected to a state map with a list of active groups along the right hand side again with their name, location, and category within which the group falls. For example, if you click on "State Totals," then click on the red dot on the state of Florida, 63 active hate groups will show up along with their information and location. You can then choose to click on any of the groups or categories to get to more information about group leaders, activities, and ideologies.
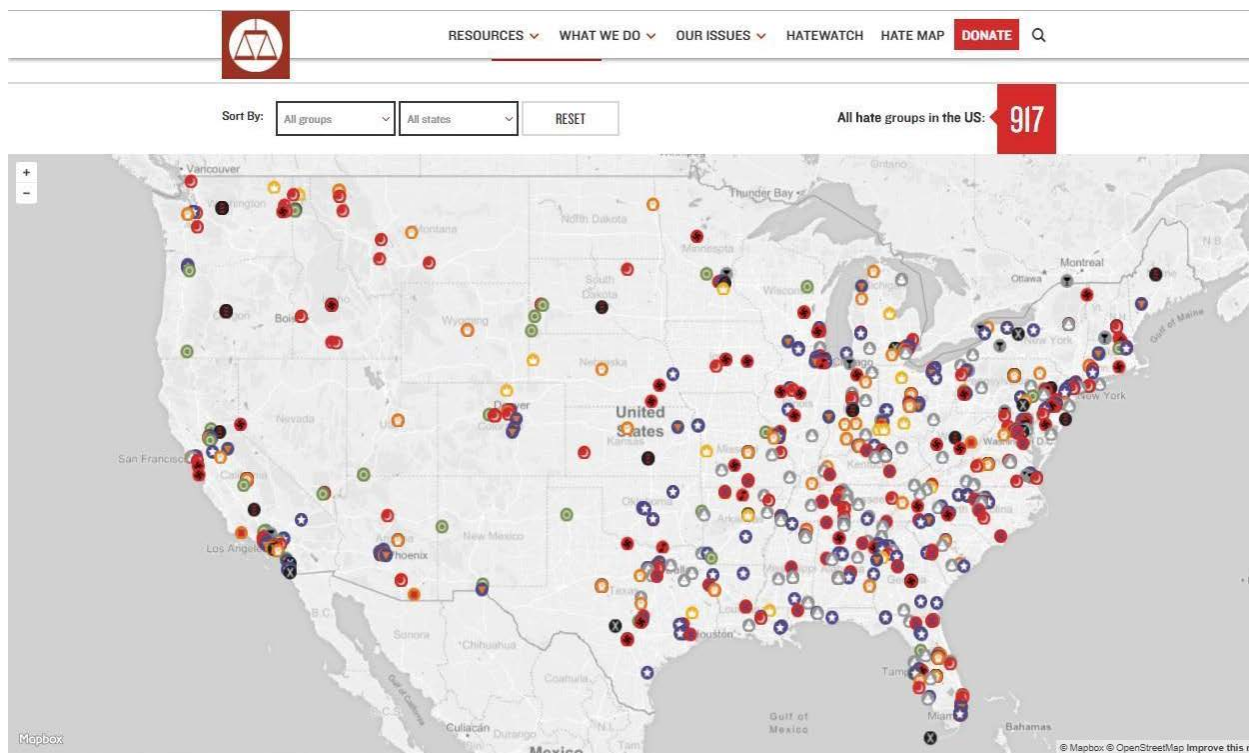
Figure 1: Hate Map by Group
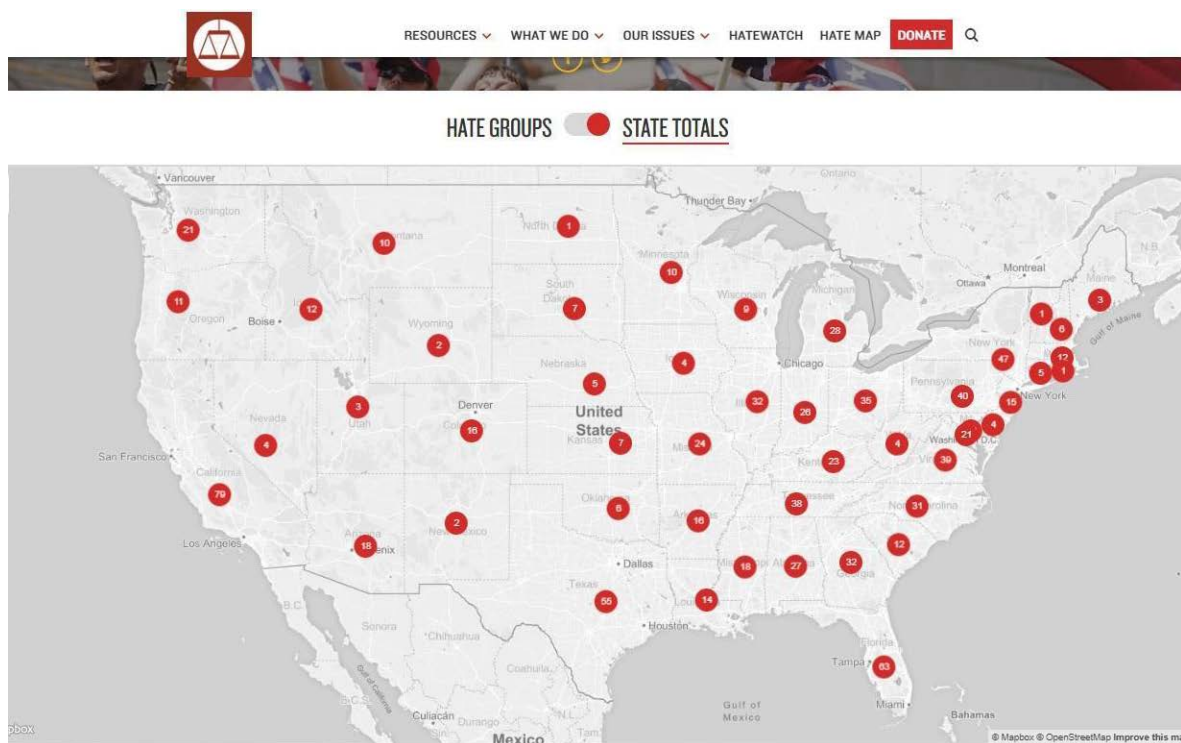
Figure 2: Hate Map by State

V. ANALYSIS

How does surveilling and locating hate groups help us to understand hate crimes and hate ideology? How does surveilling hate group activities result in a reliable map of hate groups? Do hate group activities accurately represent growing numbers of hate groups? In what ways might making hate and extremism the focus of surveillance perpetuate the silence surrounding whiteness? Does avoiding explicit mention of racism perpetuate or hinder the Southern Poverty Law Center's mission? In addition, how might the focus on extremism and hate groups take away from the very real consequences of systematic racism? In what follows, I offer a feminist analysis of the Southern Poverty Law Center's "Hate Map" content as well as their rhetorical use of the term "hate."

"Hate Map" Content

While it is beneficial to learn about different extremist and hate group ideologies, activities, and prominent leaders, there are a few problems with the "Hate Map" itself. As previously stated, the "Hate Map" is not a map for specific location, geography, or comparison. It simply shows state totals, visualizes data, and leads users to more information about the group, category, ideology, or leader. So while you can see that there is a Neo-Nazi organization in Brandon, FL, you cannot find specific information about that *group*; you can only find general information about neo-nazis. There are other ways to find information about different sub-categories and groups on the SPLC's website, but the "Hate Map" does not link you to them directly. Creating easily accessible information about local hate groups could possibly be

beneficial to community members and other concerned citizens interested in challenging hate rhetoric. Additionally, the "Hate Map" and it's linked resources do not provide adequate information in the following fields: activity, location, and time. I will address each in turn.

The more you look at the map, it becomes increasingly difficult to follow what makes a group "active." According to their definition of active, a group could hold a meeting or rally, a leaflet or publication could have been found in the area, or a criminal act could have been recorded in the area. So while the SPLC shows internet users that there are hate groups that exist, they do not link users to publications outlining the circumstances. This would not only be very beneficial in understanding specific hate groups, but it would also make the SPLC's research process and investigations transparent.

In addition to the question of activity, there is also the question of location. Some groups are labeled as "Statewide" hate groups, while others are given specific cities and towns. If an active group is simultaneously recognized as the statewide hub, there should be more detail in regards to spaces that are frequented by active members. For example, it is not possible to find specific addresses frequented by or areas populated by hate groups or individuals involved in hate groups. Clarification is needed in order to understand why/how the map is produced and why certain places are named while others are not. Is the location based on activity? Or is the location based on a specific group? And if so, why isn't there clarification about what the location means for the group/activity? While each active hate group that is documented has a page dedicated to their ideology and group members, there is no further discussion of where they meet, how they meet, and what their geographical location has to do with their organization, members, or activities. If there is no way of determining a specific location, what is achieved from mapping hate groups? While the "Hate Map" is a visual representation of what areas of the

United States have higher hate group activities and higher counts of active hate groups, the organization's inability to expand upon their intention in linking hate groups to specific cities and towns needs to be examined further. The specific locations of hate groups does not answer questions for people who live in cities and states with high numbers of active hate groups, nor do these points on a map offer any kind of explanation to hate/extremist violence.

Finally, the "Hate Map" offers seemingly endless access into the world of right-wing extremists and hate groups. It does not, however, offer a timeline of updated information, when activities or hate crimes occur, or for how long specific chapters and groups have been active. For example, a group is listed on the map because of a rally held in January - does that mean that there is an active hate group in that area in July? Mapping *activities* and when they occur might be a helpful addition to consider. This kind of information could easily be linked to the "Hate Map" to provide clarity of research as well as a great resource for local community members.

While the SPLC's website is rich with information and resources, it does not offer a viewing guide or map key that could be helpful to viewing and understanding the information presented. By showing only the number of certain groups by state, the SPLC fails to analyze the activities and populations of said groups. For instance, while the state of Florida has sixty-three "hate groups" per roughly twenty-million people, and the state of California has seventy-nine "hate groups" per roughly thirty-nine million people, this tells us nothing about the activities said "hate groups" are engaging in or what it is that has gotten them on SPLC's watchlist (splcenter.org; census.gov). While the SPLC's main focus seems to be white nationalist and racist hate groups, according to the "Hate Map" data, the hate group with the highest number of constituencies in the United States is not a white supremacist group. At 193 groups nationwide, Black separatists are, according to the "Hate Map," the largest hate group in the United States.

Although I will not be analyzing this case further in this thesis, I think it is important to note that the SPLC does not offer a thorough analysis of the rise of Black separatists nor do they engage in any discussion about the possible connections between white supremacy and the rise of Black separatist movements. Additionally, as stated earlier, if there is concern about rising hate *crimes*, there should be some kind of discussion focusing on the relationship between hate groups and hate crimes on the SPLC website (splcenter.org). What would mapping hate *crimes*, as well as hate *groups*, look like?

SPLC's Rhetorical use of Hate (Not a Focus on Racism)

The SPLC's "Hate Map" is positioned in such a way that it offers just the right amount of information to produce an emotional response from viewers, be it positive or negative, but not enough information to act in ways beyond donating to the SPLC. You can learn about different hate and extremist groups, individuals, and activities. You cannot, however, learn about specific local groups that are active or have been active in the past. The SPLC uses different language to separate their analyses of hate and extremism. Hate groups are groups that "have beliefs or practices that attack or malign an entire class of people, typically for their immutable characteristics" (splcenter.org/hatemap). According to the SPLC there are currently 917 active hate groups within the United States. In addition to their hate group surveillance, the SPLC offers a way to track extremist groups as well. The difference between extremist groups and hate groups is largely legal and based on actions rather than just ideology. Hate groups are groups who are monitored based on activity while extremist groups are groups monitored based on ideology or doctrine.

In addition to their rhetoric around hate and extremism, it is necessary to point out that there is very little mention of racism throughout the SPLC's entire website. This leads me to two conclusions. First, the SPLC is concerned with violence and right-wing extremism, and second, this use of the term hate implies that they are combatting hate, extremism, and inequality, but not necessarily racism. In using the far-right as a scapegoat for American inequality and extremism, the SPLC effectively creates a safe space for whiteness, white privilege, and liberal white racism to remain uninterrogated. Language is important and the use, or non-use, certain terms reflects current cultural discourses. In the United States, being called out as a racist, or for engaging in racist language, is often viewed more of a social taboo than an ethical failing that might be associated with racism. Because many Americans, especially white people, have been conditioned not to talk about, think about, or engage with racial identity in meaningful and productive ways, whiteness as an institution and racism as a system often remain invisible in their visibility. The invisibility of racial inequality and violence is reflective of what has become socially acceptable (unchecked privilege) and socially unacceptable (challenging language laced with racist ideology). Challenging white privilege and male privilege is a task that often sparks debate, disillusion, and dismissal; but these kinds of challenging conversations are essential and are not possible without critical literacy in the history of racial formation. If racism is merely a buzzword, it is not fully understood as a violent and very real experience for people of color. The SPLC focuses on a product of institutional whiteness and systematic racism without explicitly naming the root of the problem. Hate and extremism are social problems deeply connected to the ways in which racism, patriarchy, and capitalism intersect. Their silence around whiteness, white privilege, and racism as a state system is problematic from an intersectional, feminist, and anarchist perspective.

Law Enforcement Resources

While the SPLC monitors hate groups and activities and theoretically challenges the American right, they miss an important opportunity to critique and radically challenge the criminal legal system in which they operate. It is understandable that the organization's main focuses are legal. However, by not acknowledging the history and structural racism within the criminal legal system, the SPLC's relationship with law enforcement is perplexing. The SPLC suggests that they are "working to reform juvenile and criminal justice systems so they operate fairly and equitably," but there is no critical examination of or consideration of prison abolition, nor is there any discussion of alternatives outside of the criminal legal system. Dean Spade suggests that "discrimination and violence against people of color have persisted despite law changes that declared them illegal. The persistent and growing racial wealth divide in the United States suggests that these law changes have not had their promised effects, and that the structure of systemic racism is not addressed by the work of these laws" (57). Laws do not necessarily protect vulnerable populations. We can see this in the existing literature that critiques hate crime legislation (Mogul et al., 2011; Buist and Lenning, 2016; Spade, 2015; Conrad, 2014; Daring et al., 2013). "Hate crime laws do nothing to prevent violence against [people] but instead focus on mobilizing resources for criminal punishment systems' response to such violence (Spade, 14). By offering only one appropriate (legal) path to "justice," the present system has a monopoly on how victims and individuals wish to deal with their experiences of trauma. This kind of monopoly is perpetuated by organizations like the SPLC whose data and information flow freely to and from law enforcement officials.

The close relationship to law enforcement is problematic in a few ways. First, the SPLC suggests that hate groups are more dangerous to law enforcement than any other group of people;

second, law enforcement has a history of racist violence and brutality against civilians - specifically people of color and people who are often targets of hate crimes and the focus of hate groups' activities; and third, the data collected from/for law enforcement is not explicitly cited or mentioned but is made apparent through their Law Enforcement Resources Page.

To expand upon the aforementioned issues, the SPLC suggests that "law enforcement professionals are more likely to encounter dangerous extremists than virtually any other segment of American society" (splcenter.org/fighting-hate/law-enforcement-resources). By suggesting that law enforcement is more vulnerable to violence than people of color, women, queer people, and people who belong to a religion other than Christianity, is extremely problematic and, without any connection to statistics, hard to prove. While the SPLC frames law enforcement as victims of hate groups and extremists, they simultaneously seem to be suggesting that vulnerable populations should trust and engage with law enforcement. According the the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), between 2011 and 2015, 54% of hate crimes were not reported to police (bjs.gov). The BJS also reported that "violent nonhate (28%) crimes reported to police were nearly three times more likely to result in an arrest than violent hate (10%) crimes" (bjs.gov). If violent nonhate crimes are more likely to lead to an arrest than violent hate crimes, what do hate crime laws do for vulnerable populations and victims/survivors? Additionally, why would a victim report the incident if every experience they have with law enforcement is demeaning and/or negative? Especially if they are less likely to receive any kind of "justice" from the system? Trust is an integral part of community growth and stability (Buist and Lenning, 2016; Feagin et al., 2001). Feagin et al. state that, in relation to racist police brutality, "white racist practices generate and facilitate an erosion of this trust among black citizens and other people of color" (150). Referencing Pierre Bourdieu, the authors go on to outline dominant mechanisms of

power and the ways in which dominant groups maintain power and control over subordinate groups. And a large part of the ability to control stems from police brutality against people of color (Buist and Lenning, 2016; Feagin et al., 2001; Davis, 2003; Gilmore, 2007).

This domination, control, and distrust are essential components in analyzing the SPLC's references to law enforcement. The SPLC frames law enforcement as victims to hate groups while simultaneously remaining silent about racism and systematic violence and the ways communities of color are traumatized and affected by these systems of control. This kind of silence around the toxic relationship between law enforcement and vulnerable communities as well as people of color is dangerous and possibly ineffective. If the SPLC is interested in seeking justice for vulnerable populations, a critical analysis of state systems is essential.

VI. FINDINGS

The SPLC's focus on "hate groups" may foreclose a deeper and more thorough analysis of structural racism and state violence. Suggesting that overt racism and the far-right's ideologies are inappropriate and extremely violent while ignoring the ongoing violence perpetrated by systematic racism undermines the creation of more critical understandings of power, oppression and violence.

The Southern Poverty Law Center's "Hate Map" is both an object and a reflection. It is an object positioned as a visual marker of progress and legal aid, a map of active hate groups in the United States that rhetorically calls on the viewer to support the SLPC and its causes. It is also a reflection of whiteness as an institution. Without specific mention of racism or whiteness on their "Hate Map" or on their "Law Enforcement Resources" page, the SPLC potentially silences the violent reality of systematic racism as well as white complicity in the legal system of the United States. My analysis of the SPLC's "Hate Map" and connection to law enforcement has led me to two main findings: (1) using the term "hate" in lieu of "racism" perpetuates white invisibility; and (2) colluding with law enforcement perpetuates disciplinary power and governmentality. In other words, these strategies do not necessarily create safer communities.

I contend that the Southern Poverty Law Center's rhetoric around "hate" and use of mapping and surveillance colludes with governmentality and state violence and does not challenge systemic racism. In focusing on hate and extremist groups in the United States, the SPLC fails to interrogate their own connection to systematic violence and does not further their analysis on white racism, American imperialism, and the history of genocide in the United States. While the SPLC offers assistance to individual victims and victims' families, their use of

surveillance does not offer assistance to marginalized groups, nor does it challenge state

sanctioned violence or systematic racism.

"Hate" vs Racism and White Invisibility

Through their surveillance tactics the SPLC is making hate groups hypervisible (to a

certain extent) while allowing themselves, law enforcement, and much of white America, to

remain relatively invisible. This hypervisible/invisible paradox relies on the left's rhetoric around

hate and its concomitant silence around racism. The SPLC does not analyze whiteness as an

institution, nor do they explicitly challenge racism; they analyze and challenge extremism only.

This monitoring has the potential not only to make hate groups hypervisible, but it also

simultaneously runs the risk of silencing victims of hate crimes as well as vulnerable social

groups. While monitoring and reporting on hate group activities is important for combatting

violence and hateful rhetoric, the SPLC's "Hate Map" would be even stronger with reference to

systematic racism and state violence that is intimately linked with the very existence of said hate

groups.

Using the term "hate" rather than "racism" provides the SPLC the ability to discuss and

challenge certain activities and groups without focusing on the root of the problem. The term

"hate" also creates an emotional response to data. By choosing to avoid terms like "racism" and

"white privilege," the SPLC's rhetoric around hate and extremism creates an alternative for white

Americans to understand race, identity, and responsibility. White people tend to view themselves

as well-meaning and good-intentioned "even while they think and act in antiblack ways" (Feagin

et al., 187). Without specific and critical intervention in ingrained racism, white people will

continue to benefit from structural racism and may fail to challenge the system that oppresses a

huge portion of the American population. "Whether blatant or subtle, the racist understandings that are embedded in daily life can be actively challenged every day. Only through verbal dissent and other active confrontation can the processes of racist transmission and redefinition be interrupted" (Feagin et al., 217). Racism will not dismantle itself.

In an interview in 2006, SPLC's founder Morris Dees states that "in America you have the right to hate, but you don't have the right to cross that line and hurt people" (Eppinga, 123). He does not mention racism once in this interview even though the SPLC's public website discusses the necessity of fighting hate as well as rooting "out racial discrimination in the system" (splcenter.org). Dees uses hate rhetoric but avoids any explicit mention of racism. I contend that in not referencing racism during this interview, Dees' policies are intimately linked with the popular misconception that both racism and hate are simply personal and emotional responses to difference. But racism, like sexism and heteronormativity, is not an individual act; it is a structural phenomenon that perpetuates systemic oppression and inequality (Feagin et al., 2001; Delgado and Stefancic, 2001; Foucault and Rainbow, 1984).

Perpetuating Disciplinary Power

Following Freilich and Pridemore, I contend that by showing only the number of certain groups by state, the SPLC fails to analyze the activities and populations of said groups. For instance, while the state of Florida has sixty-three "hate groups" per roughly twenty-million people, and the state of California has seventy-nine "hate groups" per roughly thirty-nine million people, this tells us nothing about the activities said "hate groups" are engaging in or what it is that has gotten them on SPLC's watchlist (splcenter.org; census.gov). So then what does mapping hate do for SPLC specifically, and the American public more generally?

42

Foucault recognizes surveillance as a mechanism of disciplinary power exercised through

its invisibility (2010). Browne suggests that racialized surveillance "relies on...techniques to reify

boundaries along racial lines, and in so doing, it reifies race" (2014, 73). When considering

disciplinary power and racial lines, one must also consider whiteness and white power.

Especially when discussing surveillance and visibility. If surveillance is an arm of disciplinary

power then it must be analyzed as an extension of governmentality. And if the mapping of hate

groups is based on monitoring and surveillance, so then it too is an extension of norms and

power. Moreover, the SPLC's silence around systematic racism and whiteness as an institution

reveals the interrogation of whiteness and its connection to state power must be interrogated in

efforts to combat systemic racism. The SPLC's political efficacy could be enhanced by creating

tools that critically analyze whiteness and issues of white compliance on their website. In

refusing to acknowledge race in their mapping, the SPLC effectively silences any possibility that

this type of hate is related to the history of white racism in the United States and is deeply rooted

in American imperialism. So while the SPLC monitors and surveilles hate groups, their work

also obscures the complexities of systematic racism and state sanctioned violence.

Following Tifft and Sullivan and other critical anarchist scholars and activists, I

understand the SPLC's rhetoric around "hate" to be a purposeful and problematic display of

liberal progress narratives. Without explicitly mentioning racism, the SPLC's "Hate Map" exists

as an artifact of extremist and hate group activities, but does not offer an analysis or critique of

the violent ways in which the state and agents of the state (law enforcement) perform and

maintain disciplinary power.

Along with racism, disciplinary power will not dismantle itself. In working with local and

national law enforcement without critically analyzing their connection to violence and racism,

the SPLC plays a part in perpetuating disciplinary power. This is not simply because the SPLC works closely with law enforcement to be able to map hate groups and monitor extremists; this close relationship with law enforcement is almost inevitable for a legal aid organization. What is not necessary or inevitable is the organization's silence around systematic racism and the role it plays on shaping, encouraging, and creating an environment in which hate groups can thrive.

While it is understood that their information comes from and is given to law enforcement officials, what departments the SPLC works for is unknown and not mentioned on the "Hate Map" or "Law Enforcement Resources" page. This surveillance seems to be beneficial mainly to the criminal legal system (CLS) within which the SPLC exists. Money, surveillance and monitoring assistance, case closures, and high arrest rates are a few ways that the SPLC and the CLS benefit from this sort of monitoring. This kind of surveillance is also beneficial to individual extremists and racists looking to find local chapters and groups. Although there is no information about local groups, just by seeing the name of a local group on the map, an individual could access Stormfront, The Daily Stormer, or any other alt-right, white racist, white supremacist, or white nationalist blog/website to get in touch with other extremists or racists. What does this surveillance do for possible victims of crimes? It adds to pre-existing fears and concerns and offers limited information about hate group or extremist activities. The SPLC's surveillance tactics are largely helpful for their organization and building cases against active hate groups. Dean Spade references Derrick Bell's "interest- convergence" theory which asserts that "[t]he interest of blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interests of whites" (Spade, 10). This argument suggests that those interested in ending white supremacy must look critically at "purported legal victories, recognizing that

they are often merely adjustments that maintain systems of control and maldistribution" (Spade, 10). Again, I ask: who benefits from mapping hate?

VII. DISCUSSION

Charlottesville and Antifa Resistance

While writing my analysis, the Southern Poverty Law Center became even more public with their mission after their swift response to the white nationalist riot and demonstration in Charlottesville, VA on August 12, 2017. As the news spread throughout social media, the SPLC began writing responses and reposting data and articles previously written and researched by the organization. Along with the SPLC, anti-fascist (or Antifa) resistance has also become central to the national conversation on neo-nazis and white supremacists. Mark Bray, a historian and organizer who recently published "The Anti-fascist Handbook," has been the leading voice of the movement. In an article published by the *Washington Post*, Bray outlines the historical importance of anti-fascist resistance and organizing in response to racism, white supremacy, anti-semitism, and fascism in general. Bray contends that the movement's "adherents are predominantly communists, socialists and anarchists who reject turning to the police or the state to halt the advance of white supremacy." He goes on to state that "it should not have taken the murder of Heather Heyer for so many of us, especially white people, to take seriously the threat of white power that has plagued communities of color for generations" (Bray).

During a debate with Bray on *Meet the Press* on August 20, 2017, Richard Cohen, the president of the Southern Poverty Law Center, argued against censorship and suggested that anti-fascist counter-protest was "contrary to our values embodied in the first amendment" (1:36-1:56). By continuously taking the side of the state, Cohen actively engaged in white complacency. His argument continued on to suggest that the best way to protest is to do so peacefully. The violence and terror experienced by people who were actually at the "Unite the Right" demonstration

suggests that peaceful protest was not safe or even possible. In an interview with Amy Goodman

for *Democracy Now*, Cornel West explained the serious violence and fear he and many other

peaceful protesters experienced while being trapped in a church by white nationalists the night of

August 11. "We would have been crushed like cockroaches if it were not for the anarchists and

the anti-fascists," he said in reference to the lack of police activity and protection (42:27-42:36).

While this incident did not necessarily take anarchists or anti-fascists by surprise, it did spark a

discussion about how to appropriately protest or deal with white nationalists and neo-nazis.

There is a rift among the American Left in terms of resistance and social change.

By rallying against anti-fascists instead of white supremacists and neo-nazis, many white

people choose the side of the oppressor in the name of free speech. Centrists and the SPLC alike

have openly disregarded white supremacist violence by suggesting that Anti-fascist action is to

blame for the violent outbursts in Charlottesville. As Bray states in his aforementioned article,

"the days of "just ignoring them" are over" (Bray).

The Confederacy, Neo-Nazis, Whiteness and Power

> Racism also occurs when media perpetuate stereotypes about people of color. Racism determines policy discussions about everything from healthcare to agriculture to national security. Racism shapes how individuals and communities see ourselves and understand our relationships to one another. Racism determines what schools will be well funded and which communities will be sited for toxic industry. Racism shapes how things like beauty, reason, intelligence, and enterprise are culturally defined. Racism determines who will be arrested, what public benefits programs will be cut, and what behaviors will be considered criminal. Racism does not just flow from the top down but rather permeates the entire field of action (Spade, 2011).

In order to critically analyze white supremacist movements in the United States it is

essential to also radically rethink the nature and normativity of whiteness, white power, and

white privilege in the United States. With explicit focus on the American right, the Southern Poverty Law Center obscures the different forms that white supremacy takes in various branches of US government and culture.

Another example of the SPLC's use of framing hate groups as the main influence of racist and xenophobic terror can be seen in their 2016 article about symbols of racism in the United States. While the article was written in April of 2016, the link didn't appear on the SPLC's front page until after August 12, 2017 - after the violence that erupted in Charlottesville, VA in response to a white nationalist/racist protest hoping to protect a confederate monument on the University of Virginia campus, the SPLC has again been placed as a central voice in the conversation. Similar to their "Hate Map," the SPLC produced an alternative map outlining "Public Symbols of the Confederacy" in the United States that offers readers/viewers an outlined methodology and a section to add comments or alterations to their map (a feature not used on their original "Hate Map"). This map shows the places in the United States with confederate monuments, where the confederate flag is flown, schools named after confederate generals, etc. Along with this confederate map, their article titled "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy," frames acts of individual racist violence as dependent upon hate group indoctrination (splcenter.org/whose-heritage). The SPLC centralizes Dylann Roof's act of domestic terrorism and violent white supremacy that took place in Charleston, South Carolina in 2015. The SPLC frames Roof's association with an online hate group as a key factor in the hate crime and does not unpack the ways in which the media perpetuates inaccurate and dangerous stereotypes about marginalized groups, specifically people of color, and even more specifically Black people, nor does the article take into account the history of racism embedded in the United States criminal legal system (Dyer, 1997; Mirzoeff, 2011; Feagin et al., 2001; Omi and Winant,

2014; Bell, 1995; Delgado and Stefancic, 2001; Daniels, 1997). When Roof murdered Rev. Clementa Pinckney, Tywanza Sanders, Cynthia Hurd, Rev. Sharonda Coleman-Singleton, Myra Thompson, Ethel Lance, Rev. Daniel Simmons, Rev. DePayne Middleton-Doctor and Susie Jackson at Emmanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church on June 17, 2015 he was not *only* influenced by a hate group on the internet. He, like many other American terrorists, was made to believe that his unearned privilege, as well as his white invisibility, was in danger. His hatred and violence towards people of color was not *only* reflective of hate group rhetoric - it was and is reflective of the United States legal system by and large. The fact that he was not shot on sight by law enforcement is telling.

VII. CONCLUSION

The Southern Poverty Law Center proposes a challenge to hate groups and group leaders by surveilling and monitoring hate groups and activities, and by winning million dollar lawsuits against individuals and leaders in hate and extremist groups. They offer an additional challenge by monitoring and surveilling hate groups and openly mapping their activities on their "Hate Map." The SPLC is fighting hate legally. As a progressive legal organization, the SPLC effectively uses their powerful voice to work towards a more tolerable and less hateful society. Using their legal advocacy to economically shut down certain hate groups and extremist leaders is an important step in the right direction for historically disenfranchised populations in the United States. The SPLC's use of mapping hate groups allows any internet user to learn about groups and ideologies while their connection to law enforcement offers an intervention to racist policing tactics by focusing on a collective enemy: white supremacists, hate group activities, and hate crimes more generally.

Nonetheless, amongst all of progressive leftist work that the SPLC is doing, there are still specific drawbacks to their use of surveillance and their focus on hate, extremism, and hate groups. In my analysis, I have singled out two main findings: the rhetorical use of hate in lieu of racism perpetuates white invisibility and the SPLC's close connection with the state perpetuates disciplinary power and governmentality. Both findings lead me to the claim that the SPLC's political and legal strategies, while offering necessary and important data and legal support to historically vulnerable populations, are in need of further analysis. If the self-proclaimed experts on hate are not also actively challenging systematic racism and white supremacy that comes in the form of police brutality, disproportionate arrests of people of color, a lack of resources for

schools and communities populated by poor people and people of color, and the very basic lack of positive representation for people of color in the media, then the organization is missing crucial entry points to more effectively advocate for social change.

My question for the Southern Poverty Law Center is why are they not focused on fighting racism, systematic inequality, toxic masculinity, and capitalist heteropatriarchy explicitly named as such? In using the term "hate" to foreground their organization's antagonists, the SPLC relies on reactionary emotion as a political tool. But is this the best tool for the job of dismantling the systems of power that produce and reproduce inequality and violence? To successfully dismantle an entire system of racism and bigotry, the SPLC might work closely with anarchist and anti-fascist organizers in order to imagine an alternative to working directly with the police state.

The state surveillance of organized hate groups is paradoxical. Although intended to reduce crime and violence, I contend that, in accordance with SPLC's "Law Enforcement Resource Page," the SPLC's mapping and surveillance of hate groups functions to protect police officers, maintain social order, and demonize the right. Additionally, as a technology or extension of governmentality, this surveillance reproduces the idea that the state is liberal and progressive and masks systematic racism, sexism, and heteronormativity. While I have chosen to focus predominately on race and racism in this project, further research should focus on other systems of control that are implicated in the surveillance and mapping of hate groups. Further analysis could include unpacking the SPLC's silence surrounding violence against women and silence surrounding police brutality against queer and trans women of color. Additional analysis is necessary to unpacking the ways in which this kind of surveillance affects marginalized and vulnerable groups.

While I understand that as a legal advocacy group their main goals are of course legal and legislative, with thorough, transparent analyses and a focus on victims and survivors of crimes rather than making it financially impossible for a hate group to survive, I believe that the SPLC could make a larger impact. While I acknowledge that it is important to create barriers for active hate groups, financial barriers being a prime example, centering families, victims, survivors, and possible victims is also crucial to the work of justice.

That being said, this project is not meant to be a call to arms against the Southern Poverty Law Center. This project is a call to arms against all forms of white supremacy and state violence; it is meant to challenge an affluent advocacy group to make changes to their website and to openly combat racism and white supremacy in more robust ways. This project seeks to contribute to a critique of a much larger system of control and surveillance. Additionally, it problematizes the left's paradoxical focus on "hate" and inability to shift the analysis to their own forms of racism and exclusion. Focusing on far-right hate rhetoric is important and essential to critical social theory and democratic contestation, but neither hate nor racism exist in a vacuum. Without analyzing the subtle and covert racism, sexism, and heteronormativity that exists in the American left it becomes politically problematic to simply demonize the American right. This research is, for me, a way to challenge both the left and the right within the United States, a way to challenge the state, as well as a challenge to white people who explicitly benefit from state violence and racism.

In offering a critical analysis to the Southern Poverty Law Center's "Hate Map," rhetorical use of the term "hate," and their relationship with law enforcement, I have argued that the SPLC colludes with governmentality and perpetuates disciplinary power through their silence around systematic racism and white supremacy and their uncritical relationship with law

enforcement. In avoiding terms like "racism" and "whiteness," the SPLC silences the reality of systematic racism and white racism in particular. In focusing only on hate and extremist groups, the SPLC gives a pass to white people, who are already historically conditioned not to interrogate their implication in histories of racial formation. In suggesting that the groups, ideologies, and individuals on their map are the enemies, the SPLC absolves themselves of challenging complicit whiteness and gives left-leaning people an opportunity to feel connected to the fight against hate through online activism and philanthropic giving.

Since the Southern Poverty Law Center is funded by donors, it is safe to assume that the organization has a number of very affluent, powerful, and loyal patrons; they have the power, money, and platform to expand upon their research and make connections between hate group populations and systematic racism. While monitoring hate group activity is necessary to better understand the organization's' motives and potential for violence, surveillance and mapping is not necessarily the most comprehensive or productive way to challenge white supremacy in the United States.

I have come to understand the "Hate Map" as a visual marker of liberal progress as well as a way of colluding with law enforcement. For the SPLC, their "Hate Map" is a visual aid for fundraising that is ultimately financially and legally beneficial to them. The SPLC works closely with the state to regulate and monitor local communities and the activities that communities engage in. While they publish data about hate groups, it is not clear if they are also collecting data on groups resisting and bashing back against violent white supremacy. While I am not necessarily advocating for more surveillance, I am advocating for more radical resistance to hate and racism. Perhaps a link to local resistance groups might make the "Hate Map" beneficial to community members - not just law enforcement. Presently, it is not clear or apparent how

mapping hate is beneficial, financially or legally, for local communities or victims/survivors of hate group violence/terror. The rhetorical function of the Southern Poverty Law Center's "Hate Map" is to locate hate in specific groups across the country while offering no further analysis of structural racism, a gesture which in turn masks governmentality. Further research should focus on fully understanding the SPLC's focus on hate groups and extremism and their relative silence around systematic inequalities and state violence.

In order to challenge a system rooted in American legal and political traditions, surveilling hate groups is not enough. Working closely with local anti-racist organizations, engaging with community-based research, and resisting the state, including law enforcement, are all effective ways of combating disciplinary power, governmentality, and white supremacy.

REFERENCES

Adamczyk, Amy, et al. "The Relationship between Hate Groups and Far-Right Ideological Violence." *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, vol. 30, no. 3, Aug. 2014, p. 310.

Ahmed, Sara. "The Phenomenology of Whiteness." *Feminist Theory*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2007, p. 149-168.
---. *Queer Phenomenology.* Duke University Press, 2006.

"Anarchist Criminology." *Encyclopedia of Criminological Theory*. 2010.

Bell, Derrick. "Brown v. Board of Education" *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*, edited by Kimberlé Crenshaw et al., The New York Press, 1995, 20-29.

Bell, Kristie, et al. *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies.* Taylor and Francis, 2014.

Buist, Carrie L., and Emily Lenning. *Queer Criminology*. Routledge, 2016.

Bray, Mark. "Who are the antifa?" *The Washington Post*, 16 Aug. 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2017/08/16/who-are-the-antfa/?utm_term=.52c9c45204c1.

Browne, Simone. "Race and Surveillance." *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*, edited by Kristie Bell et al., Taylor and Francis, 2014, 72-81.

Burchell, Graham, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller. *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. University of Chicago, 1991.

Bureau of Justice Statistics. "Hate Crimes" https://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=tp&tid=37

Cohen, Richard and Mark Bray. Interview by Chuck Todd. "Is Violence Ever Acceptable in the Face of Hate Groups?" *Meet the Press*, 20 Aug. 2017, https://www.nbcnews.com/meet-the-press/video/is-violence-ever-acceptable-in-the-face of-hate-groups-1028526659570. Accessed 22 Aug. 2017.

Conrad, Ryan, editor. *Against Equality: Queer Revolution, Not Mere Inclusion.* AK Press, 2014.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity,Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*, edited by Kimberlé Crenshaw et al., The New York Press, 1995, 357 383.

Daring, C.B. et al. *Queering Anarchism: Addressing and undressing power and desire*. AK Press, 2013.

Daniels, Jessie. *White Lies: Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality in White Supremacist Discourse*. Routledge, 1997.

Day, Katie. "The Southern Poverty Law Center." *Journal of Religious & Theological Information*, 4:2, 49-50, 2001.

Delgado, Richard, and Jean Stefancic. *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*. New York University Press, 2001.

Dubrofsky, Rachel E., and Shoshana Amielle Magnet. "Feminist Surveillance Studies: Critical Interventions." *Feminist Surveillance Studies*, edited by Rachel E. Dubrofsky and Shoshana Amielle Magnet, Duke University Press, 2015, 1-15.

Dyer, Richard. *White*. Routledge, 1997.

Eppinga, Joanie. "Shining the Spotlight on Injustice: An Interview with Morris Dees." *Journal of Hate Studies*, vol. 5, no. 119, 2006, p.119-123.

Feagin, Joe R., et al. *White Racism*. Routledge, 2001.

Foucault, Michel. *The Foucault Reader*. Vintage Books Edition, 2010.

Freilich, Joshua D., and William Alex Pridemore. "Mismeasuring Militias: Limitations of Advocacy Group Data and of State-Level Studies of Paramilitary Groups." *Justice Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 1, 2006, 147-162.

Gannon, Susanne, and Bronwyn Davis. "Postmodern, Post-structural, and Critical Theories." *Handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and Praxis,* ed. Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber, 2012, 65-85.

Garland, Brett, and Pete Simi. "A critique of using civil litigation to suppress white supremacist violence." *Criminal Justice Review*, vol. 36, no. 4, 2011, 498- 528.

Goldman, Emma. *Anarchism and Other Essays*. Dover, 1969.

Graham, Robert. *We Do Not Fear Anarchy We Invoke It: The First International and the Origins of the Anarchist Movement.* AK Press, 2015.

Haggerty, Kevin D. "Surveillance, crime, and the police." *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*, ed. Kristie Bell, et al., Taylor and Francis, 2014, 235-243.

Haraway, Donna. "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of

Partial Perspective." *Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perspectives*, ed. Carole
R. McCann and Seung-kyung Kim, 2013, 412-423.

hooks, bell. "Killing Rage: Ending Racism." H. Holt and Co.,1995.

Hunt, Alan, and Gary Wickham. *Foucault and the Law: Towards a Sociology of Law as
Governance*. Pluto Press, 1994.

Jacobs, James B., and Jessica S. Henry. "The Social Construction of a Hate Crime Epidemic."
The Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology, vol. 86, No. 2, 1996, p. 366-391.

Kropotkin, Peter. *Anarchism.* Dover, 1970.

Levin, Jack and Jack McDevitt. *Hate Crimes : The Rising Tide of Bigotry and Bloodshed*.
Westview Press, 1993.

Manning, Peter K. *The Technology of Policing: Crime Mapping, Information Technology, and
the Rationality of Crime Control*. New York University Press, 2008.

McWhorter, Ladelle. *Racism and Sexual Oppression in Anglo-America: A Genealogy*. Indiana
University Press, 2009.

Mirzoeff, Nicholas. *The Right to Look*. Duke University Press, 2011.

Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States*. Routledge, 2015.

Perry, Barbara and Randy Blazak. "Places for Races: The White Supremacist Movement
Imagines U.S. Geography." *Journal of Hate Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2009/2010, pp. 29-51.

Royster, Jacqueline Jones and Gesa E. Kirsch. *Feminist Rhetorical Practices: New Horizons for
Rhetoric, Composition, and Literacy Studies*. Southern Illinois University Press, 2012.

Smith, Andrea. "Not Seeing: State Surveillance, Settler Colonialism, and Gender Violence."

Feminist Surveillance Studies, edited by Rachel E. Dubrofsky and Shoshana Amielle
Magnet, Duke University Press, 2015, 21-38.

Southern Poverty Law Center. "Hate Map." https://www.splcenter.org/hate-map.
--- "Law Enforcement Resources."
https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/law-enforcement-resources.
--- "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy."
https://www.splcenter.org/20160421/whose-heritage-public-symbols
confederacy.

Spade, Dean. *Normal Life: Administrative Violence, Critical Trans Politics, and the Limits of
Law*. New York: South End Press. 2011.

Streissguth, Tom. *Hate Crimes*. Facts on File, Inc., 2003.

Tifft, Larry, and Dennis Sullivan. *The Struggle to be Human: Crime, Criminology, and Anarchism*. Cienfuegos Press, 1980.

West, Cornel. Interviewed by Amy Goodman. *Democracy Now*, Aug. 14, 2017. https://www.democracynow.org/2017/8/14/cornel_west_rev_toni_blackmon_clergy. Accessed Aug. 20, 2017.

Yancey, George. *Watching the Watchers: The Neglect of Academic Analysis of Progressive Groups*. "Springer Science and Business Media." 2014.

Žižek, Slavoj. *Violence*. Picador, 2008.

APPENDIX A:

PERMISSION TO REPRINT MATERIALS

The Southern Poverty Law Center has granted me permission to reprint images of their

"Hate Map." The images referenced were directly saved from the Southern Poverty Law

Center's website and were not edited in any way. This documentation may be found in the

supplemental file titled **SPLC Permission to Reprint Materials.pdf**.