

# JOURNAL OF HATE STUDIES

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## Preface

On behalf of the editorial board and staff of the world's first and longest-running peer-review publication devoted to advancing scholarship in this interdisciplinary international academic field, it is my pleasure to offer Volume 12 of the *Journal of Hate Studies* to our readers.

This volume, like Volume 11, focuses primarily on presenting peer-reviewed scholarly articles developed from the selected proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Hate Studies. Themed “The Pursuit of Justice: Understanding Hatred, Confronting Intolerance, Eliminating Inequality,” the conference was co-organized and hosted by the Gonzaga Institute for Hate Studies, the Gonzaga School of Law, and the Washington State Task Force on Race and the Criminal Justice System. Presenters and attendees from two dozen countries worldwide came to Spokane, Washington for four days in April 2013, in order to concentrate on how fear and ignorance of the “other” manifest in hatred, intolerance, and inequality, and thus affect the pursuit of justice for all.

Taken collectively, Volumes 11 and 12 include two keynote addresses and 15 peer-review articles, and they are thematically organized and supplemented by on-point reviews of several important recent books and films. Volume 12, in particular, shines primary attention on two time-honored areas within Hate Studies, as well as emerging contexts of consideration as the field of Hate Studies becomes increasingly transdisciplinary and globally engaged.

The first area is hate crimes—specifically, who perpetrates them and why, how target populations in the U.S., Canada, and elsewhere experience them, and how these harms might be better addressed and prevented at structural levels. The second area is the ongoing reality of organized hate groups in the U.S. today—including the historic and ideological roots of organized hatred, the psychological and politico-cultural influences behind organized hate group membership and activity today, and the contemporary salience of hate groups in shaping the U.S. immigration debate.

While the disciplines of sociology and criminology are most strongly represented in this volume, they are complimented by contributions from archival historians, global feminists, postcolonial and critical race theorists, and others who bridge the roles of scholar and activist as they draw our attention to matters of structural, cultural, and discursive violence (in some cases physical violence, too) against the women, newcomer populations, and “outsiders within” in nations and regions that struggle, or have recently struggled, with intergroup conflict. Especially valuable in this volume are those articles which present critical perspectives, policy recommendations,

and multifaceted justice strategies as articulated by the targets of hatred, intolerance, and inequality.

*About the Present Volume*

Volume 12 begins with the conference opening address by Barbara Perry, entitled, “What Communities Want: Recognizing the Needs of Hate Crime Targets.” Perry, who is Professor and Associate Dean of Social Sciences and Humanities at the University of Ontario Institute of Technology, is an internationally recognized expert in hate crimes and “critical criminology.” Perry co-chairs the Advisory Board of the newly-founded International Network for Hate Studies, a group of criminologists, victimologists, legal scholars, and other hate crimes experts located in the United Kingdom, European Union, and Commonwealth Countries. In this article, Perry brings forth representative voices of those individuals-within-communities whom she has engaged over the past 15 years of her field work, conducted primarily in Canada, in order to highlight experience-based concerns and recommendations among the diverse targets of hate crimes. Perry’s contention, which is consistent with both standpoint-based and feminist empiricist theories of knowledge, is that communities themselves, and the individuals who are part of those communities, “know best” not only as to their own experiences but also as to what they want, need, and deserve from the social institutions within a political community that exist to protect to serve interests in health, safety, human rights, and justice. Thus, a hate crimes framework that does not understand the experiences and respond to the concerns of hate crime targets does not adequately serve those individuals and communities, nor indeed the wider multicultural society. In synthesizing the data from countless field interviews and interventions, Perry identifies what she calls “the harms of hate.” She also discusses why political communities must do more to combat hate and stand in solidarity with the targets of hate, and what this means and looks like in practice as informed by the perspectives of those most affected. Perry presents, through their own voices, the intangible needs of hate crimes targets—for recognition, respect, safety, and voice—and several concrete strategies for improvement via community awareness, community empowerment, victim services, and criminal justice reform.

Our next article is also written about and from within the Canadian context. In “Addressing Racial and Hate-Based Discrimination as Experienced by African Immigrants and Refugees in Waterloo Region, Canada,” co-authors Alicja K. Muszynski and Sadia Gassim situate the contemporary experiences of these recent newcomer populations within larger the historic, cultural, and institutional conditions that made Waterloo Region, and much

of Canada, a predominantly White nation that is in the midst of major demographic and social change. National policy measures, including official multiculturalism, formal recognitions of Canada's First Nations, and a pro-immigration agenda, have helped to drive changes in Canada's racial and ethnic demographics. Especially in major metropolitan areas like Toronto and Vancouver but also in smaller cities and nearby regions where the cost of living may be more affordable or where jobs may be more plentiful, formerly predominantly White areas are, in some sense, becoming microcosms of the wider world. Waterloo Region—a tri-cities area of more than 500,000 people that is situated approximately 75 miles southwest of Toronto and 110 northwest of Buffalo—is one such area. However, Muszynski, who is an Associate Professor Emerita and Co-Op Advisor in the University of Waterloo's Department of Sociology and Legal Studies, and Gassim, who is a Ph.D. Candidate in Social Work at Wilfrid Laurier University and the founder of the not-for-profit organization called World Wide Opportunities for Women ("WWOW"), argue that "the public view that multiculturalism is entrenched within Canadian society is not reflected in the experiences of African newcomers." They contend that African immigrants and refugees in Waterloo Region must "face considerable problems and barriers in adjusting to their country of residence" and are "forced to deal with racism in various manifestations as well as hate based discrimination as recurring patterns in their daily lives." Muszynski and Gassim document these problems via firsthand accounts gathered through two research projects and also chronicle how African immigrant community activists and leaders, in particular, are working with social service agencies and providers, public schools, law enforcement, municipal councils, community agencies, and the legal system to combat the problems. Similar to the previous article, Muszynski and Gassim present the voices of the targets of hate (here at a regional level but in ways that implicate wider conditions), some of whom speak critically of apparent limitations in Canada's official definitions of "hate" and "hate crime" and call for revised legal definitions and institutional practices.

Just as we must note that the targets of hate experience hate within a context of institutional, social, and cultural conditions, we must also note that there are various influences and motivations behind the manifestations, and perpetration, of hate such as hate crime, hate speech, hate-based discrimination, organized hate groups, and hate activity. Our next four articles focus on advancing our understanding of these influences and motivations in the contemporary U.S. context—including who commits hate crimes and why, the political and ideological roots of influence to which many American white racist groups may be traced, the contemporary psychological and sociocultural conditions that inform white supremacy,

and the mainstream political activities and influence of some white racist groups today.

At the Third International Conference on Hate Studies, Jack Levin, the Irving and Betty Brudnick Professor of Sociology and Criminology at Northeastern University delivered a keynote lecture entitled “From Thrill to Defensive Hate Crimes: The Impact of September 11, 2001,” which he developed into a brief article for this volume. Professor Levin is a leading authority on how to understand and address hate crimes, as well as domestic terrorism, mass murder, serial killing, and other violence. He has authored or co-authored 30-plus books and more than 150 articles, and he appears frequently in *The New York Times*, *The Boston Globe*, *The Chicago Tribune*, *The Washington Post*, *USA Today*, *The Huffington Post*, and on major television news programs. Here Levin employs the hate crime offender typology he developed with Jack McDevitt (1988) and expanded with McDevitt and Susan Bennett (2002). Levin argues that the motivations and associated factors behind assaultive hate crime fall into four basic types: thrill (e.g., recreation), defense (e.g., protection against a perceived threat), mission (i.e., as driven by psychosis), and retaliation (i.e., retribution or reprisal). Levin finds that assaultive hate crimes committed within the U.S. after September 11, 2001 indicate prominent shifts in motivations and demographics. Namely, whereas before the September 11 attacks most hate crimes were committed by younger white males (either by “dabblers” who were looking for a “thrill” or by members of organized hate groups acting “defensively”), today those who commit such crimes are more likely to be older offenders and the incident is more likely to come “following some threatening event that involved a victim’s group.” In addition, such crimes have been “less likely to be committed by multiple offenders and more likely to occur on the East Coast,” with a motivation that is traceable to “racial, ethnic, linguistic, religious, and sexual minority status and major political or legal events that were supportive of such minority status.” Levin situates his findings within a wider sociopolitical and cultural climate of xenophobia, religious intolerance, anti-immigrant animus, backlash against the election of President Barack Obama, advances in LGBT equality rights, and a kind of “culture of meanness” that revels in humiliation and shaming. Like other authors in this volume and in Volume 11 too, Levin sees such behaviors within the context of social change. White anti-government backlash and political organizing to combat perceived losses of socio-economic status, cultural identity, and political power can be seen as examples.

Our next article comes to us from Alon Milwicksi, a Doctoral Candidate in History at American University who received a Graduate Student Research Award from the Gonzaga Institute for Hate Studies in 2012-13.



In “Baptizing Nazism: An Analysis of the Religious Roots of American Neo-Nazism.” Milwicki seeks to provide a corrective to the existing literature on American Neo-Nazism by tracing the theological and religious-organizational influence of the Reverend Dr. Wesley Albert Swift, whom he contends “was central to the coalition of religious and militant white nationalist organizations that spread nationwide in the post-World War II period.” Drawing on declassified FBI records, Swift’s writings and sermons, the writings of Swift’s followers and predecessors, and the secondary literature on the evolution of America’s radical racist Right, Milwicki contends that there were “darker, conflictual and even violent strains of religious revival” in the post-War era, and that Swift’s influence upon American Neo-Nazism was not solely political and ideological; it was ultimately theological. Swift’s influence in the development of Christian Identity provided a “ready-made system of values and organizational tenets to the various white power and neo-Nazi organizations” in the post-War era as this belief system “emerged in direct opposition to the Judeo-Christian tradition.” Milwicki argues that Swift gave the movement a theological basis that is “starkly different from and considerably more malleable than modern American Nazism.” Although chief manifestations of Swift’s influence, such as the Church of Jesus Christ Christian and the Aryan Nations (which were led by the deceased Richard Girnt Butler) have been defunct for more than a decade, Milwicki concludes that it remains important to the field of Hate Studies to better understand Swift’s influence on American Neo-Nazism toward understanding how widespread and influential the movement once was, why it continues to exist today, and why it has been so adaptable.

Of course, white supremacy as an ideology and worldview need not be expressed or supported through theological appeals and religiously-presented manifestations. It can also be expressed or supported through secular modes and mechanisms, in ways that similarly involve psychological, normative, political, and cultural factors and appeal narratively to notions of ancestry, genealogy, place, tradition, identity, power, and authority. Our next two pieces, both of which are co-authored, take closer looks at such aspects of organized white racism.

In “Fighting for the Right to Be White: A Case Study in White Racial Identity” Dianne Dentice and David Bugg discuss their findings and recommendations for further research as based on their engagement with a sample of people who are all affiliated with the white supremacist movement. Dentice and Bugg look at how these individuals assign meaning and normative significance to “whiteness,” white culture, and white ethnicity—specifically as pointing to things that are biologically and culturally real, intrinsically good, under attack, and needing protection and preservation from specifi-

cally racial threats (both internal and external). Drawing upon three sources—interviews with members of “White Revolution,” a neo-Nazi organization once led by Billy Roper that has since disbanded, participation in an online survey with discussants on the white nationalist website *Stormfront.org*, and field interviews conducted with affiliates of an Arkansas-based Christian Identity ministry and the Knights Party Klan—this article provides insights into the worldviews and mindsets of a marginal and in some ways stigmatized population in an increasingly diverse, multicultural society. Dentice is an Associate Professor of Sociology at Stephen F. Austin State University, and Bugg is an Associate Professor of Sociology and Director of Learning Communities at SUNY Potsdam.

Whereas Dentice and Bugg seek to understand the more specifically psychological workings of white supremacy, the co-authors of our next piece look to how some white supremacists—via organized and politically-active white racist groups—seek to engage in the political sphere on public matters and otherwise exercise rights and liberties guaranteed under the First Amendment arguably in order to legitimate their beliefs, worldviews, and organizations. In “Uniting the Right: Anti-Immigration, Organizing, and the Legitimation of Extreme Racist Organizations,” Stanislav Vysotsky and Eric Madfis analyze the use of anti-immigration rhetoric and organizing efforts by extreme right wing white racist groups to present themselves as “legitimate” political actors. In brief, the co-authors find evidence which suggests that although these actors are engaging in lawful exercise of civil liberties like freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and free exercise of religion, they are in fact doing so for the purpose of “legitimization”—that is, utilizing their engagement with mainstream political actors on issues of public concern, and via accepted political forms and fora, in order not only to influence mainstream political platforms and stances but also to gain “legitimacy” for their organizations and their ideologies. One result, the co-authors note, is that discourse and thinking on thorny issues like the immigration debate continues to be pulled further toward extreme right wing racist stances among those on the right and indeed as regards any effort to strike a more “centrist” stance, as “extreme groups often present themselves to a more mainstream audience as non-violent organizations working merely to uphold immigration law.” Vysotsky is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology, Criminology, and Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin-Whitewater. His co-author Madfis is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Social Work at the University of Washington-Tacoma.

Leaving behind the explicitly North American context and concern with hate crimes, hate groups, and hate activity, the next two articles take our focus to parts of the world that have struggled, or continued to struggle,

with intergroup conflict as saliently informed by race, religion, nationality, and/or ethnicity. Erin Tunney, a Lecturer in Women's Studies and Sociology at Carlow University, discusses the findings of her field research in Northern Ireland and South Africa in an article entitled "Misogyny and Marginalization in Criminal Justice Systems: Women's Experiences in Two Post-Conflict Societies." Tunney notes that these two seemingly distinctive post-conflict countries actually have much in common—namely, the dynamics of gender-based violence, both at interpersonal and systemic levels, and structurally- and attitudinally-inadequate responses to it from their law enforcement systems. Indeed, based on her field interviews with 90 women between the years 1999 and 2007, Tunney contends "the respective criminal justice systems provide venues through which the hatred of women intersects with the secular politics of nation-building." Based in respondents' insights and experiences, Tunney provides numerous systems-level recommendations on combating misogyny in these nations, many of which may be transferable to other post-conflict and transitional justice contexts.

Then, in a wide-ranging, groundbreaking piece which the author has also presented to a UN Working Group, Yifat Bitton, an Associate Professor at the College of Management School of Law (COMAS), Israel employs theoretical and analytical tools from Critical Race Theory, Critical Legal Studies, Postcolonial Theory, Feminist Legal Studies and Theory, and Palestinian- and Mizrahi-oriented critical perspectives. Entitled "*Discrimination based on "Sameness," Not "Difference": Re-Defining the Limits of Equality through an Israeli Case for Discrimination.*" Bitton alleges that Mizrahi Jews occupy a social station in Israel closer to that of Palestinians than of Ashkenazi Jews. Like Palestinians, she contends, Mizrahis suffer from legal discrimination. Yet unlike Palestinians, Mizrahis experiences of discrimination are not recognized as such because Israeli law conceptualizes Mizrahim as the "same" as Ashkenazim vis à vis Jewishness, not as "different" like Palestinians due to their Arabic "otherness." Bitton utilizes an interdisciplinary methodology, at the heart of which is the theory of Orientalism (most associated with Edward Said), in order to expose what she identifies as experiences of *de facto* discrimination and to begin to reconstruct the legal and sociocultural identities of Mizrahim as "Arab," standing in solidarity with Palestinians via shared experiences of discrimination and shared aspirations for justice. Bitton initiates a call for a new discursive "third space" for both Palestinians and Mizrahis. "in which they may collaborate in articulating and contesting both shared and uniquely encountered forms of discrimination" toward "achieving a better more just society inside Israel."

As an accompaniment to Professor Bitton's extensive article, we are

pleased to include a brief review of Israeli scholar Niza Yanay's *The Ideology of Hatred: The Psychic Power of Discourse*, as penned by Damon T. Berry, a Visiting Assistant Professor at Saint Lawrence University. Berry argues that the Continentalist Yanay, whose engagement in this text spans the likes of Slavoj Žižek, Michel Foucault, Judith Butler, and Jacques Derrida, makes her own extremely "important contribution to the conversation about what constitutes the study of hate: *How we understand hate must not be regarded as the same across subjects differentially established in stratified social contexts.*" Berry highlights how Yanay's distinction drawn between what she calls "objective hatred" and "ideological hatred" is not only important to the work of her project but also to the field of Hate Studies as "demonstrative of the kind of exercise that perhaps ought to be involved in describing our object (of study)," yet he also raises important questions about relationality and positionality with respect to Yanay's "objective/ideological" distinction. Thanks go Arkansas State University Professor Rebecca Barrett-Fox, our Book Review Editor, for her excellent work, as well.

Finally, I wish to give special thanks to the outstanding editorial team of graduate assistants, all of whom were advanced Gonzaga Law School students during the production of Volumes 11 and 12: Kevin Downs, Cullen Gatten, Michelle Herro, Anna Maria Kecskés, Grace King, Aussie Santos, and Gurjotvir Sra. Without their exceptional diligence, it would not have been possible to produce these two volumes. Thank you!

This is a very exciting time in the development of Hate Studies as an international interdisciplinary field. I thank you for supporting our *Journal*.

John Shuford, J.D., Ph.D.

Editor-in-Chief, *The Journal of Hate Studies*, Volumes 11 and 12  
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