

## Dedication

This volume of the *Journal of Hate Studies* is dedicated to  
Eva Lassman, 1919-2011.

# JOURNAL OF HATE STUDIES

GONZAGA UNIVERSITY  
INSTITUTE FOR HATE STUDIES

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The *Journal of Hate Studies* is published annually by the Gonzaga University Institute for Hate Studies. The purpose of the Journal is to promote the sharing of interdisciplinary ideas and research relating to the study of what hate is, where it comes from, and how to combat it. The Gonzaga University Institute for Hate Studies is operated under the auspices of Gonzaga University in Spokane, Washington. The views expressed in the Journal are those of the authors and should not be attributed to the Gonzaga University Institute for Hate Studies, Gonzaga University, the institutions with which the authors are affiliated, or the editors.

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# JOURNAL OF HATE STUDIES

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## Call for Papers

Deadline: March 15, 2012

“Hate and Political Discourse”  
Journal of Hate Studies  
Volume 10, No. 1 (2011/12)

Guest Editor:

Robert L. Tsai, J.D.

Professor of Law, American University, Washington College of Law

### ABOUT THE THEME

Often shielded by constitutional rules and nurtured by political discourse, hate has a mercurial existence in the popular imagination. In the “arena of angry minds,” as Richard Hofstadter called American political life, political actors sometimes choose to condemn hatred, distance themselves from it, appeal to its existence, or foment it.

Even when subjugation, discrimination, or violence is not the goal, the politics of hate can pay off. Rather than seeking its total eradication, many democracies assume the permanence of hate and seek to minimize its excesses or to punish and prohibit specific expressions. Are such assumptions well-founded, and such strategies wise?

Some of the social groups marked through the techniques of hatred have changed over time, as the political dividends for resorting to strategies of hate have shifted, while other groups seem to be consistent targets of hate. Technological advances offer new tools to combat hatemongering even as they can make demagogues more effective.

What are the structural conditions that allow hate to thrive or might permit its isolation? How might inroads be made in the law or politics of inclusion, especially in countries with strong commitments to rhetorical freedom and popular sovereignty?

### CALL FOR SUBMISSIONS

The *Journal of Hate Studies* welcomes original papers treating the theme of “Hate and Political Discourse,” from a wide range of disciplines, including history, law, philosophy, political science, sociology, criminal justice,

social psychology, economics, anthropology, geography, journalism, communications, rhetoric, literature, educational studies, and cultural studies.

We especially encourage original treatments of the following topics:

- Hate and popular sovereignty
- How hate can foster alternative communities and movements
- Cultural foundations of hate
- Historical changes in rhetorical strategies
- Political parties and hate
- Necessary political conditions for hate
- Empirical approaches to the problem of hate
- The role of hate in nation-building
- How literature, rhetoric, journalism or other forms of communication can fuel or discourage hate
- Geographical differences in how hatred is sustained or combated
- Comparative approaches and cross-cultural challenges
- New technologies in combating or fomenting hatred in the realm of political discourse

We anticipate hosting an invitational Symposium in Fall 2012, either at American University or Gonzaga University, in conjunction with the publication of this Volume. Authors published in this Volume would be invited to present their work at the Symposium.

#### ABOUT THE JOURNAL

The *Journal of Hate Studies* is a peer-reviewed publication of the Gonzaga University Institute for Hate Studies. The *Journal of Hate Studies* is an international scholarly journal promoting the sharing of interdisciplinary ideas and research relating to the study of what hate is, where it comes from, and how to combat it. It presents cutting-edge essays, theory, and research that deepen the understanding of the development and expression of hate.

#### GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSIONS

Submissions are typically expected to be between 5,000 and 10,000 words. Submissions may be made in either of the following ways.

- As an attachment sent by email to [hatestudies@gonzaga.edu](mailto:hatestudies@gonzaga.edu)
- Through the Journal's online site (<http://journals.gonzaga.edu/index.php/johs/information/authors>)



Submissions should be made in MS Word format. Please do not submit PDFs.

Submissions should be presented in APA format, with minimal endnotes rather than footnotes. However, legal scholarship may be presented in Bluebook or ALWD.

More information about submission guidelines, the *Journal of Hate Studies*, and the Gonzaga University Institute for Hate Studies can be found at <http://gonzaga.edu/hatestudies>.

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# Preface

## INTRODUCTION

On behalf of the Gonzaga University Institute for Hate Studies and the *Journal of Hate Studies*, it is our pleasure to offer Volume 9 of the *Journal*. Herein readers will find a collection of eleven articles, a special interview with a recent Nobel Peace Prize nominee, and a remembrance of a woman whose life and work helped inspire the field of Hate Studies.

The present volume includes selected proceedings from the Second International Conference on Hate Studies, which took place April 6-9, 2011 in Spokane, Washington. These articles exemplify the conference's theme of "Interdisciplinary Approaches to Understanding the Nature of Hate, Crafting Models for Combating Hatred, and Implications for Practice" and span its four areas of concentration: *education, research, practice, and advocacy*.

Seven years have now passed since the First International Conference was held in 2004 at Gonzaga University in order to "Establish the Field of Hate Studies." In many ways, the Second Conference provided a global "altar call" to convene a community of leaders and future leaders in this still-emerging field of study.

The four-day conference brought together more than 250 individuals from two dozen countries and four continents. Leading academics from several of the world's top-ranked colleges and universities conversed with educators, researchers, human rights experts, law enforcement personnel, representatives of governmental and nongovernmental organizations, journalists and media members, community leaders, activists, students, and many others. The conversation focused on how to better understand and analyze hatred from multiple perspectives, and how to prevent and combat hatred in its various manifestations. The full conference lineup, including presentation abstracts, is available for download at <http://guweb2.gonzaga.edu/againsthate/ConferencePresentationAbstracts.pdf>.

The conference provided many highlights, beginning with the opening night remarks of Charlene Teters, who spoke on the topic of "Bringing One's Whole Being to Countering Hatred." Teters is a Professor of the Institute of American Indian Arts and is also a founding member of the National Coalition on Racism in Sports and the Media. She is known in particular for her stance against the University of Illinois's use of the "Chief Illiniwek" mascot and logo. On October 10, 1997, ABC News Anchor Peter Jennings recognized Professor Teters as "Person of the Week" and profiled her message, activism, and work on *ABC World News Tonight*. As

a member of the Spokane Tribe of Indians, speaking at the conference represented for Professor Teters a homecoming and return to sacred land; her Spokane name is Slum Tah.

Though told in different voices, other featured sessions delivered similar messages and impact. Hannah Rosenthal, a Special Envoy of the U.S. Department of State, spoke on the necessity to “confront and combat the many forms of hatred in our world today.” She reminded those gathered of the wisdom of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who described hatred as “an unchecked cancer” that “corrodes the personality and eats away its vital unity . . . destroys [one’s] sense of values and [one’s] objectivity” and leads one “to describe the beautiful as ugly and the ugly as beautiful, and to confuse the true with the false and the false with the true.” Rosenthal is the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism, and the full text of her prepared remarks is available at <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/rm/2011/160352.htm>.

Sharing with the global community his plea for peace in the Middle East and an end to enmity between Israelis and Palestinians, Dr. Izzeldin Abuelaish delivered the Conference’s keynote address. A Nobel Peace Prize nominee in 2010 and a recognized voice for reconciliation, “the Gaza Doctor” has penned the autobiography, *I Shall Not Hate: A Gaza Doctor’s Journey on the Road to Peace and Human Dignity*. Millions worldwide are now familiar with Dr. Abuelaish’s amazing story of resilience in the face of unimaginable heartbreak and tireless travail in pursuit of peace and health for all people. On January 16, 2009, three of his daughters and one of his nieces – all civilians – perished when Israeli tank fire destroyed his home in Gaza’s Jabaliya refugee camp. Dr. Abuelaish recounted these horrible events live only moments later on Israel’s Television 10, for whom he had been reporting daily during the Gaza War (the Israeli incursion of December 27, 2008 through January 18, 2009). U.S. President Barack Obama’s May 19, 2011 address, “Moment of Opportunity: American Diplomacy in the Middle East and North Africa,” referenced Dr. Abuelaish’s life story and his call for peace and reconciliation.

Amid these wonderful moments during the Conference came this sad news: Professor Keith Aoki, one of the featured speakers, would not participate due to ill health. Soon sadness turned to grief, then mourning. Professor Aoki passed away on April 26, 2011, after a private and lengthy battle against a terminal illness. Aoki was a Professor of Law at King Hall School of Law, the University of California at Davis. He was an expert in Critical Race Theory, Asian American Jurisprudence, Intellectual Property, and State and Local Government Law. Aoki and Institute for Hate Studies Director John Shuford co-authored numerous recent articles on immigration law and policy, and Aoki was scheduled to speak during the Director’s Ses-

sion on “Hate in the Immigration Debate.” Duke University Law Professor James Boyle has produced enconia to Keith Aoki that are available at <http://www.thepublicdomain.org/2011/04/27/rip-keith-aoki/>.

#### ABOUT THIS VOLUME

One example of hate activity that has been available in the news of late made its way to the Supreme Court in the recently-decided case *Snyder v. Phelps*. Members of the Westboro Baptist Church picket near the funerals of soldiers and others, proclaiming that “God Hates Fags,” “God Loves Dead Soldiers,” and “Thank God For Breast Cancer.” Rebecca Barrett-Fox of the University of Kansas became curious about what motivated the group; she also wondered about the emotional attitude researchers should take toward such subjects, whom so many people apparently find highly distasteful. Does it make sense to have empathy toward people who take hateful action, Barrett-Fox wondered, and how does taking a compassionate stance toward them affect ethnographic research? She answers these questions in her article, “Anger and Compassion on the Picket Line: Ethnography and Emotion in the Study of Westboro Baptist Church.” After spending years going to services with Church members, talking with them, joining them on their bus as they traveled to pickets, and watching them in action, Barrett-Fox found that having an emotional connection with her subjects did not make her more sympathetic to their cause, and did make her less likely to be desensitized to their behavior. Barrett-Fox recounts several lessons learned and concludes that “achieving an ethical, workable, and productive rapport may be easier than expected in some cases and, I think, remains an important strategy for comprehending the life-worlds of individuals engaged in hate groups.”

Sarah Steele, of Cambridge University and Flinders University of South Australia, also has concerns about the perception and treatment of those whom majority populations deem to be unacceptable—and their victims too. In “‘Combating the Scourge’: Constructing the Masculine ‘Other’ Through U.S. Government Anti-trafficking Campaigns,” Steele argues that nativism, racism, and anti-immigrant sentiment presented by representatives of the U.S. government in the context of human trafficking leaves both victims and traffickers portrayed as one-dimensional criminals. “Current anti-trafficking regimes,” Steele contends, “embody and restate xenophobic reactions directed against illegal migrant men, while often disguising the role domestic actors have in trafficking.” Additionally, Steele observes, the images presented imply that traffickers are lacking in “proper” masculinity, particularly of the sort embraced by Americans. Steele explains that her article “not only explores how government anti-trafficking statements made

between 1998 and 2010 create and reinforce divides in masculinities based on regimes of racial domination, but also notes particularly how anti-trafficking furthers the domination of white American masculinity.” She describes the ineffectiveness of such an approach and suggests that we must “move beyond racial stereotyping and the immigration frame” if we hope to broaden our definitions and understandings in a way that will deepen our thinking and allow us to see those involved in this trade as multi-faceted and textured human beings, thereby allowing us to pursue social change more effectively.

The stereotyping and dismissal of “Others” described by Steele is also addressed by William Arrocha in his article, “Arizona’s Senate Bill 1070: Targeting the Other and Generating Discourses and Practices of Discrimination and Hate.” Arrocha, an assistant professor at the Monterey Institute of International Studies (a graduate school of Middlebury College), observes that the profiling of those who are presumed to be undocumented immigrants, which Arizona Senate Bill 1070 of 2010 would allow, is likely to exacerbate existing tensions and to foster hate among current residents of the state and nation. Under such conditions, Arrocha contends, “a future in which the common ethos of inclusion and mutual respect is desired can be seriously jeopardized.” He adds that such an environment is also likely to result in an increase in hate crimes. Alternatives to the ways in which immigrants are currently defined, both legally and socially, are presented, as are alternatives to current social and legal institutions; but before these can be implemented, Arrocha notes, we must cease to view the immigrant as “other,” as an alien and a threat. Yet, he claims, the U.S. economy depends upon the maintenance of a racialized, marginalized “other” for purposes of economic exploitation and self-definition. Although the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit recently upheld a lower court’s preliminary injunction that prevented Arizona from enacting many of the more controversial aspects of S.B. 1070, Arrocha notes that only the passing of time will tell us how the clash between these conflicting forces will play out. Arrocha’s presentation came during the Director’s Session on “Hate in the Immigration Debate.” Also presenting in this invited session were Latino Critical Legal Studies scholar Professor Steven Bender, now of Seattle University School of Law, and Institute for Hate Studies Director John Shuford.

Terrance MacMullan, Associate Professor of Philosophy and Honors at Eastern Washington University propounds that despite the election of a Black president, racism continues to exist and to be active in the United States. The good news is that racism, particularly among Whites, is often a result of inculcated habits rather than of a chosen stance—habits that range from the “merely stupid and insensitive to the viciously violent,” and can

therefore be unlearned and changed, and replaced with better habits. MacMullan asserts that it is our intellectual inheritance, the categories with which we think, that allows us to behave habitually in a way that oppresses another race. If we are to change these often-unconscious habits, MacMullan argues, we must become aware of them, see their origination and their destination, and change them into choices that are a better fit for the 21st century world. Doing so, he explains, will allow us to direct vague fears of the “other” into actions directed toward building harmonious community.

In “The Community Security Trust – Best Practice in Combating Antisemitic Hate,” Michael Whine, Director of Government & International Affairs at the Community Security Trust, describes antisemitic activity in post WWII Britain and the Jewish community’s response. He also describes legal and political developments in the realm of antisemitism. He recounts how the Community Security Organisation, which in 1994 became the Community Security Trust (CST), was established in an effort to address security issues being confronted by the Jewish community in Britain. Whine details the structure of the CST and lays out its goals and methods. The organization’s activities, which are offered free of charge to the entire community, include providing suggestions and training to community groups and individuals regarding security issues. CST also provides advice to Jewish community institutions and their staff, builds relationships with other minority groups, and works internationally in the realm of hate crimes. Whine concludes that CST offers an example of best practice within the realm of groups combating hate.

Jordan Blair Woods, Ph.D. candidate at the University of Cambridge, also takes a look at hate crime in Britain. In “Policing Hatred: A Case Study of an English Police Force,” Woods examines the attitudes and actions of police officers in a small city within the context of hate crime allegation, investigation, law enforcement, and prosecution. Woods broadens the focus of hate crime research in Britain, which formerly concentrated primarily on cases having to do with race and faith, by including cases that involve, additionally, gender identity, sexual orientation, and disability, which are considered aggravating factors when sentencing takes place. Woods’ goal was to gather systemic knowledge about the real-world enforcement of hate crime laws, which he does through the use of observations and interviews. He found that obstacles to the prosecution of hate crime included a lack of financial resources, high turnover, difficulty of proof and obtaining conviction, and distrust of the police among minority communities. Woods also found that in officers’ minds, hate crimes were strongly associated with race, which could cause alleged cases motivated by other kinds of hatred to be neglected. The study suggests, among other things, the importance of conducting further research regarding the defini-

tions of hate crime, the role of police discretion in the prosecution of hate crimes, and the value of devolving hate crime work onto units specifically trained and assigned to this area.

Special training is also a focus of Tamar Ascher Shai, who contributes "Taking a Stand: The Role of the Early Childhood Teacher in Educating Against Homophobia." Ascher Schai, who is a senior lecturer at the David Yellin College of Education in Israel, argues that, although many people think that harassment based on sexual orientation is an issue that is confronted by adolescents and young adults, young children also feel the repercussions. Ascher Schai asserts that teachers need to teach children early that sexual orientation and/or behavior that does not fit heterosexual norms is acceptable and legitimate. She contends that unclear terminology and ignorance fuel negative sexual stereotypes and must be eliminated. She describes the effects of homophobia on young children's development and charges teachers to play a key role in eliminating that homophobia, asserting that teachers who support a diversity of gender identities and behavior "will contribute to children's sense of trust and faith in the world, their confidence in themselves, and behavior that is characterized by independence and initiative." She cautions that teachers must create a space where young children, and their families, feel safe. Teacher preparation programs should educate teachers about how to explore their own prejudices and unexplored perceptions, Ascher Schai argues, as well as how to deal with homophobia in the classroom.

Jo Ann Jankoski, an assistant professor in the Department of Human Development and Family Studies at Penn State University, also addresses the topic of tolerance in the classroom. Her article is entitled "Socialization and Hate: Can Higher Education Make a Difference?" Her answer to her own question is a resounding "yes." Jankoski offers a case study of two college students, both of whom had been reared in homes in which hatred for people of other races, religions, and sexual orientations was the norm and was openly expressed. Using the frameworks of the Cycle of Socialization and the Hate Model, Jankoski describes the intellectual and emotional changes that took place in the two college students as a result of reflecting on course materials and engaging with the teacher, as well as with other students whom they initially had marginalized and harassed. Jankoski concludes that change is indeed possible; to lay the groundwork for it, teachers must explore their own biases, challenge those of students, and educate students about social justice and diversity. Jankoski further recommends that teachers learn about and employ the Cycle of Socialization in their classes to allow students a chance to "question, reflect, and struggle with who they are as individuals, and, more importantly, who they want to become."

If we are to help people answer those questions and others, "an anthro-

pology of hate is long overdue,” asserts Jennifer Schlegel, an assistant professor at Kutztown University in Pennsylvania. In her article, “Applied Anthropology and Anti-hate Activism,” Schlegel writes first of the importance of responding to hateful speech and acts with open dialogue. She observes that hate activists look for towns that offer no vocal response to hate acts in order to find recruits. Schlegel tells how her own activism was rechanneled as a result of her fear for her children and her job. Knowing the importance of speaking out against racism and other forms of hate, Schlegel began teaching what she considers an applied anthropology course, called “Hate Across Cultures.” In this course, Schlegel defines hate as a practice rather than just an emotion. Through course readings, response papers, interactions with class members, and guest speakers, students come into contact with and re-assess their own stances in regard to hateful behaviors. Students have reported that the class has influenced decisions they made later in their lives. Schlegel emphasizes the need for ethnographic research that includes historical and community contexts, as well as the practices and suppositions that suppress or allow hate in any given community.

Why is it that people who hate sometimes use violence, but often choose not to? This is the question addressed by Anne Nassauer, a Ph.D. candidate at the Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences, Humboldt University of Berlin, who is concerned with the possibility of interrupting hatred before it can escalate into violent action. Nassauer’s article, “From Hate to Collective Violence: Research and Practical Implications,” is indeed practical in its examination of the social interactions that lead, or do not lead, to violence. Nassauer argues that emotions, even those as strong as hate, are not enough to overcome our inhibition thresholds when it comes to violence; but that when these emotions are coupled with particular patterns of interpersonal dynamics, violence is more likely to ensue. She examines social demonstrations as offering particularly good examples of the sorts of sequences that often take place in tense situations, arguing that if we clearly understand such sequences and the emotional dynamics by which they are fueled, we can learn to interrupt those sequences and thereby prevent collective violence.

Collective violence is also a concern of Steven Leonard Jacobs, who focuses specifically on genocide. Jacobs, Associate Professor of Religious Studies and Aaron Aronov Endowed Chair in Religious Studies at the University of Alabama, discusses the role of religion as a “participating factor” in genocide. Using the framework of the three Abrahamic faiths—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—Jacobs suggests that tribalism, religious exclusivism, a belief that certain actors have privileged access to the divine, and narrow readings of sacred texts all contribute to religion’s having played a



role in many genocides. Jacobs then offers suggestions for extracting religion from genocide. These include acknowledging the role that religion has played in past genocides; offering anti-genocide education within religious frameworks; recognizing and honoring the common elements and the diversity among religions; acknowledging that no one religion is better than others, and that all religions seek both answers to questions about the meaning of life and encounter with the numinous; rejecting the notion of privileged access to the divine; and reading sacred texts with people of other faiths with an openness to understanding their experiences and interpretations. Jacobs offers these ideas as the beginnings of conversations, conversations whose importance in the movement to end genocide cannot be overemphasized.

Izzeldin Abuelaish also wants to end violence between people of diverse faiths. The Michael & Amira Dan Professor in Global Health in the University of Toronto's Faculty of Medicine was interviewed by our editor, Joanie Eppinga, at the Second International Conference on Hate Studies. Their conversation is recorded in "The Antidote to Hate Is Success': An Interview With Izzeldin Abuelaish." Dr. Abuelaish has responded to personal tragedy with a grace and compassion almost beyond comprehension, and in this special interview he describes his ideas for building a peaceful world through education, dialogue, mature behavior and role modeling, and an enhanced sense of connection with all people. Abuelaish also places particular emphasis on the role of women, expressing the belief that women are key players on the road to a global community.

One woman who did indeed play such a role in standing up to hate and reshaping community was Eva Lassman. An honorary board member of the Institute for Hate Studies, a Holocaust survivor, a wife, mother, speaker, friend, and constant inspiration to the Inland Northwest community for more than 50 years, Eva passed away on February 9, 2011 at the age of 91, leaving us poorer in comrades, yet richer in the wisdom she shared and the example she set. The Institute for Hate Studies presents annually two "Eva Lassman Take Action Against Hate Awards," to individuals and organizations in the Inland Northwest. Jerri Shepard, Associate Professor of Educational Leadership at Gonzaga University, Institute board member, and personal friend of Eva, offers the memorial to Eva that concludes this volume of the *Journal of Hate Studies*.

#### THE FUTURE OF HATE STUDIES

After convening two successful International Conferences and producing nine volumes of the *Journal of Hate Studies*, readers of this volume may wonder: *What happens next?*

For starters, Volume 10 of the *Journal* will focus on the theme “Hate and Political Discourse,” and Constitutional Law scholar Robert Tsai will serve as guest editor. Tsai, a Professor of Law at American University Washington College of Law, specializes in First Amendment Theory, Democratic Theory, Social Movements, and Law and Culture. More information about *Journal* Volume 10 appears in the “Call for Papers” within the present volume.

Then, in 2013, the Institute for Hate Studies will convene the Third International Conference on Hate Studies, held again in Spokane and hosted by Gonzaga University. We anticipate that the International Conference will become a biannual global gathering.

We also anticipate the creation of new learning opportunities and professional development experiences for those who are interested in Hate Studies. These would include jointly sponsored symposia, regional conferences, faculty workshops, practitioner institutes, special seminars, courses, and research projects.

In time, we envision the development of a membership-based International Society for Hate Studies, expanded student research awards, student scholarships, the development of collegiate academic programs in Hate Studies, perhaps even rotating locations for the International Conference.

Most importantly, we envision the continued growth in numbers, professional backgrounds, and methodologies of those who “do Hate Studies,” for it is clear that our world needs what Hate Studies has to offer.

We hope that Volume 9 of the *Journal of Hate Studies* contributes to your thought and your work. We encourage you to seek ways to become more involved with the Institute and the *Journal*, and we look forward to seeing you at the Third International Conference.

John Shuford  
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