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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 and Volume 12 focus primarily on presenting peer-reviewed scholarly articles developed from the selected proceedings of the Third 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 11, in particular, tackles issues of hateful and assaultive speech, civil rights and civil liberties, hate-based phobias (Islamophobia, homophobia, and xenophobia), stigmatization and marginalization, and structural and cultural violence against target populations as accomplished through law, policy, and discourse. The volume also includes consideration of the somewhat ambivalent role of social media and digital technology utilization toward violence prevention and social change, and the historic influence and contemporary experience of Jesuits and some Jesuit-trained people in areas of politics and peacemaking where individuals, social groups, and communities stand at odds. Contributions to this volume come from scholars, researchers, and practitioner-experts in the fields of Law, History, English, Rhetoric, Religious Studies, Catholic Studies, American Studies, International Policy Studies, Peace Studies, Information Technology Sciences, Global Health, Psychiatry, Social Work, and Human Services.

About the Present Volume

The volume begins with a special contribution by Mari Matsuda, one of the most influential and innovative legal scholars of the past half-century. Professor Matsuda, of the William S. Richardson School of Law at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, provided the keynote address at the

Journal of Hate Studies Tenth Anniversary Symposium, which was held at American University Washington College of Law in Washington DC on September 27, 2012. Entitled “Is Peacemaking Unpatriotic?: the Function of Homophobia in the Discursive World,” Matsuda’s wide-ranging address took place shortly after the attack on the U.S. Embassy in Benghazi, Libya and amidst the ongoing uproar over the *YouTube* posting of *The Innocence of Muslims*. Matsuda’s discussion worked to reveal the sometimes-latent connections between Peace Studies, Hate Studies, Feminist Theory, Critical Race Theory, First Amendment Theory, American Pragmatism, and other fields and methodologies. Her purpose, in trying to talk publicly about why it is so difficult, even dangerous, to talk the language of peace publicly, led her to consider the “large role” that homophobia plays in what she calls “the dominance of dominance.” Matsuda calls homophobia “the semi-otic motherlode, the paradigm binary, the place we learn about hate, disgust, fear, inside, outside, retribution” and considers “the closet and its mechanisms of enforcement” to be “the primary mechanisms of injustice in our culture.” Thus, insofar as it concerned with understanding and addressing “the dominance of dominance,” Hate Studies has much to contribute to the work of making it possible to talk the language of peace publicly. Matsuda’s thought-provoking keynote is published here for the very time because it prefigures and provides excellent complement to many “Pursuit of Justice” articles drawn from the Third International Conference on Hate Studies.

Shannon Dunn, an Assistant Professor of Religious Studies at Gonzaga University, argues in her article “Islamophobia, Hateful Speech, and the Need to Practice Democratic Virtues,” that there is certain insincerity to democratic claims of “freedom of speech” that “ignore systemic social conditions of injustice and inequality” and that use the First Amendment protections to provide cover for those engaging in insulting, inflammatory Islamophobic hate speech, especially as it appears in video/film and print. Inspired by the groundbreaking work of Professor Matsuda and harmonizing with Jeremy Waldron’s influential thesis in *The Harm in Hate Speech* (Harvard University Press, 2012), Dunn argues that “the harm caused by (hateful religiously-oriented) speech can be measured in the way that it ostracizes and stigmatizes members of certain groups, including immigrants and refugees (and those whose religious identity is also a marker of difference).” In a turn of phrase reminiscent of Matsuda’s own earlier in the volume, Dunn contends that hateful speech “resembles more an act of bullying than an expression of truth,” and thus the tolerance of such speech—legally, politically, culturally—permits and reinforces dominance and subordination rather than freedom and flourishing. Dunn’s discussion ultimately focuses on the “necessity of developing particular civic virtues,”

chiefly those of charity and solidarity, that “engender not only tolerance but also trust between groups” and actually “support free speech in a pluralist democratic society.”

Continuing the critical examination of how hate sometimes manifests and plays out in the putative exercise of civil liberties, Christopher B. Strain, Professor of History and American Studies at the Harriet L. Wilkes Honors College, Florida Atlantic University, tackles one of the most contentious issues in American political life. In his innovative article called “Evil Black Guns: Hate, Instrumentality, and the Neutrality of Firearms,” Strain considers “a provocative counter-thesis—that firearms may serve not only as mechanisms of violence in shooting rampages but also as catalysts.” The old mantra that “guns don’t kill people; people kill people” may be too simplistic, if it turns out that guns themselves contribute to such outcomes and are, somehow, something more than mere instrumentalities. Might guns themselves be non-neutral actors, Strain asks? Might they, in fact, bear some dimension of responsibility as contributing—in terms of agency—not only to gun deaths but also to other moral evils such as school shootings, hate-fueled violent rhetoric, and organized hate activity? Strain’s critical analysis, which draws influence from the Philosophy of Technology and Critical Science Studies—especially Don Ihde, Donna Haraway, and Bruno Latour—is meant to be a “first word” in opening up new areas of inquiry and theorization in this highly-polarized, hotly-contested debate. Some readers may find themselves equipped with all new tools and questions useful toward reconsidering the gun control conversation. Other readers may find themselves unconvinced by Strain’s argument but nonetheless urged to see new dimensions of a very complicated set of issues. All of Strain’s readers are likely to find his thesis provocative and challenging.

The next two articles focus on another of America’s most persistent problems: how immigration regulation and law enforcement bear on the status and treatment of unauthorized immigrants, specifically those from Mexico and Central America.

Gregory Cunningham, former Director of Immigration and Refugee Services at Catholic Charities of Spokane, uses narrative-and-analysis to explore how misaligned Federal immigration law policies, programs, and priorities are harming immigrant workers and their families and introducing conditions of instability and insecurity into entire businesses and industries, small towns and regions, and indeed the entire nation. Cunningham’s piece, entitled “The Real Consequences of I-9 Audits Considered through a Case Study of Brewster, Washington” is in some ways reminiscent of the style of social worker Jane Addams’s classic essay “A Modern Lear,” about the Pullman strike of 1894, as each attends to the historic context of socio-

political issues, puts human faces and voices to macro-level dynamics, and enlarges moral imagination and compassion by drawing out ethical lessons from what might have been otherwise avoidable conflicts.

Whereas Cunningham's essay reveals the local implications of national-level policy actions and debates, William Arrocha turns to transnational consideration of these same actions and debates. Drawing explicitly upon Peace and Conflict Studies founder Johan Galtung's theorizations of structural and cultural violence, and implicitly on Galtung's claim that the U.S. operates both as a republic and an empire, Arrocha critically examines how U.S. immigration law and policies systematically marginalize, dehumanize, and criminalize unauthorized Latina/o migrants and other non-citizens. Arrocha, who is an Assistant Professor of International Policy Studies at the Middlebury Institute for International Studies at Monterey, shows how the rights reflected in the U.S. Constitution are not extended to all those within U.S. territorial jurisdiction, let alone those outside of it, thus leaving unauthorized Latina/o migrants in predictably, perhaps in some ways intentionally, vulnerable positions as they are caught in push/pull factors and "spatial segregation produced by a juridical and political economy of social inequality." However, Arrocha's purpose is not merely to criticize the human rights violations and other abuses which these migrants and others regularly face. Indeed, Arrocha envisions possibilities and strategies for advancing human dignity and restoring justice through the concept of "compassionate migration." In this essay, called "Reclaiming Justice and Eliminating Inequality through Compassionate Migration: The Relentless Struggle of Migrants Living in the Shadows," Arrocha engages this emerging concept and identifies certain sources and standards for it, including international human rights law norms, civil society organization advocacy and practices, religious leadership and interfaith coalitions, the provisions of the proposed DREAM Act, and more expansive interpretation of U.S. constitutional law.

As each of our authors so far has demonstrated, dehumanization of the so-called "outsider within" is a global problem that is variously manifested in national and regional contexts. Furthermore, although it is shaped by warfare, colonization, migration/diaspora, and other transnational factors and relationships, dehumanization is always ultimately experienced at the personal and interpersonal levels. Our next article, "Filipino Amerasians: Gauging Stigmatization, Intolerance and Hatemongering in a Pluralistic Asia Pacific Society," turns to the public health conditions and concerns produced, in part, by U.S. foreign policy decisions and (in)actions involving the Philippines—specifically, the existence, status, and treatment of Filipino Amerasians, born of U.S. servicemen fathers, who have been neither accepted socioculturally in their homeland nor legally (in terms responsibil-

ity) by their biological fathers or the U.S. government. Data gathered through field interviews and mental and physical health assessments conducted by researchers Peter C. Kutschera and Marie A. Caputi, affiliates of the Philippine Amerasian Research Center, indicate high levels of “stigmatization, bias, name-calling, intolerance, and even hatemongering experienced by military Filipino Amerasians and other biracial Pan Amerasian progeny abandoned abroad by their U.S. servicemen fathers.” The researchers conclude that even within the pluralist, multiracial society of the Philippines, Filipino Amerasians remain highly susceptible to victimization and traumatization through “verbal harassment, hate, and occasional violence by mainstream Filipino natives or foreigners,” due often to personal morphological and cultural behavioral variances, as well as “the unproven, stereotypical view that the vast majority of Amerasians’ mothers were sex workers” (and the children were thus rejected by their biological fathers on that basis). Kutschera and Caputi note that this population has been relatively neglected from a research perspective, due in part to faulty beliefs that Filipino Amerasians experienced less severe discrimination than other Amerasian populations and also to the particular geopolitical dynamics of the ongoing U.S.-Philippines relationship. In the end, the researchers recommend that the U.S. government take greater responsibility toward this population and also conduct more searching review of U.S. foreign policy—including in the areas of immigration, military administration, and global health.

Our next article likewise focuses on stigmatization but returns to the U.S. domestic context and draws our attention to the juvenile court system and the psychopathology of LGBTQ child abuse/neglect victims. In “The Price of Sunshine: Open Dependency Courts and Their Risks to LGBTQ Child Abuse/Neglect Victims,” William W. Patton argues that in the case of such children, presumptively open child dependency proceedings—in which child protection hearings are open to the press and the public—run counter to the state’s general responsibility to “secure a safe and permanent place for abused and/or neglected children that will be in the child’s best interests” and to the specific responsibility to protect LGBTQ youth in the dependency system. This is because the open dependency environment is likely to produce compounding harmful psychological effects to children who, as LGBTQ, are already “particularly psychologically vulnerable to bullying and social opprobrium.” Patton, who is a Professor and the J. Alan Cook and Mary Schalling Cook Children’s Law Scholar at Whittier Law School and a Lecturer in Psychiatry at the UCLA David Geffen School of Medicine, “surveys the vast child and adolescent psychiatric evidence regarding the significant risks that LGBTQ youth suffer from the fear of disclosure and/or the actual publicity of their sexual orientation once child

dependency proceedings are presumptively opened to the media and the public in general.” He concludes that the “risk of disclosure of identifying facts about LGBTQ child abuse victims in presumptively open child dependency proceedings, and the consequent dangers of psychological damage to these (already-vulnerable) children” substantially outweigh the “speculative increase in system accountability from opening the courts,” and so urges policymakers to consider these realities when they seek to “determine the ambit of press and public access to those proceedings.”

Sarah Steele, who writes on global health issues from a critical humanities perspective, echoes Patton’s insight that through bringing on increased public attention and media exposure, well-intentioned but insufficiently-aware actors can produce stigmatizing, undermining, and otherwise harmful effects to those individuals and populations whom they seek to assist, advocate for, or even protect. Writing here with her colleagues Tyler Shores and Yvette Pollastrini to produce “War Crimes, Wristbands, and Web 2.0, Exploring Online Justice Advocacy, Colonialism and ‘Civilizing Missions’ through *Kony2012*,” Steele’s article critically re-reads the work of advocacy organization Invisible Children, which in March 2012 released the viral video called *Kony2012*, about the exploitation of child soldiers in Uganda by Lord’s Resistance Army leader Joseph Kony. The film has produced almost 100 million views on *YouTube.com* to date, thus indicating the tremendous communicative power that digital technologies wield, perhaps even toward preventing violence and promoting social change. Yet *Kony2012* has come under criticism by Steele et al., and many other commentators, for reproducing the “material and discursive legacies of colonialism,” specifically by “unintentionally reproducing and rapidly disseminating stereotypes, bias, and racism,” thereby having limited effectiveness and also adverse consequences when trying to address hate and exploitation. Steele and her colleagues contend that *Kony2012* and its director/producer Jason Russell have “subtly marginalized the experiences and cultural perspectives” of Ugandans and instead “privileged a Western-centric interventionism” of a particularly militaristic character. Steele is a Lecturer in Social Determinants of Health at the Centre for Primary Care and Public Health, Blizard Institute, Barts and also at the London School of Medicine and Dentistry, Queen Mary University of London.

The final article in Volume 11 comes to us from Fr. Michael Maher, an Associate Professor of History, the Director of Catholic Studies at Gonzaga University, and a member of the Jesuit Historical Institute (as appointed by Fr. Kolvenbach, then the superior general of the Jesuits). In his article “*The Society of Jesus and the Eradication of Hate*,” Fr. Maher contributes to our understanding of the Society’s historic role in ending vendettas, stopping or preventing retaliations, restoring honor, making peace, and promoting rec-

conciliation. Like others in this volume, Fr. Maher draws influence from Erving Goffman's work. Yet Fr. Maher looks not at stigmatization but instead at Goffman's development of the sociological concept of face as "the visual representation of the dignity or prestige one has achieved through personal merits or familial rank and the honor that society places on such a rank or merit." Fr. Maher traces the importance of "face" in early modern Mediterranean society—including the complex relationship between saving or losing face and such interpersonal and social manifestations of hatred as animosity and enmity. Through his careful examination of primary Jesuit texts and archival sources, Fr. Maher finds evidence to support the conclusion that the eradication of hatred "may be identified as an extension of the Jesuit's fundamental identity." This conclusion is important not only to providing a better understanding of the normative roots and historic role of the Society of Jesus, but also perhaps to guiding student formation through Jesuit education in a world that is plagued by hatred yet hungry for peace.

Due to the excellent work of Gonzaga University Law Professor Mary Pat Truthart and Arkansas State University Professor of American Studies Rebecca Barrett-Fox, the *JHS* film and book review editors, respectively, this volume also includes reviews of two outstanding recent contributions, one by an award-winning documentary filmmaker and one by a noted expert in the field of peacebuilding.

Jessica Maucione, an Assistant Professor of English at Gonzaga University, provides a review of S. Leo Chiang's *Mr. Cao Goes to Washington* (Walking Iris Media, 2012). Chiang, who is a Taiwanese-born American film director, cinematographer, Lecturer in Social Documentation (the University of California, Santa Cruz), and fellow of the Sundance Institute Documentary Film Program, presented *Mr. Cao* during the Third International Conference on Hate Studies, and Chiang's remarks during a post-screening panel discussion advanced the conference theme. The film follows the rollercoaster ride of Anh "Joseph" Cao, a young, groundbreaking Asian-American politician who left the Society of Jesus to pursue his "calling" as public servant. Cao, who is a Republican and first-generation Vietnamese immigrant, won election in Louisiana's second Congressional district as the first Vietnamese-American member of Congress. Hailed as a progressive, bipartisan figure and for his high character and commitment to serving his predominantly African-American constituency in post-Katrina New Orleans, Cao developed a first-term voting record as the most liberal Republican in the House of Representatives and received President Barack Obama's personal thanks for his "friendship." However, Cao found himself on the political sidelines after just one term of office—due perhaps to his moral convictions. He alienated the Obama Administration when he with-

drew his initial support for the Affordable Care Act, citing the Act's insufficient language to prevent funding allocations for abortion. Cao's quick rise-and-fall provides an important lens on the subtle complexities of race, region, and religion in contemporary American political life.

The volume concludes with a review of Joseph G. Bock's *The Technology of Nonviolence: Social Media and Violence Prevention* (MIT Press, 2012), which is penned by Tyler Branson, a Ph.D. Candidate in Rhetoric and Composition at Texas Christian University. Bock, who holds a Ph.D. in International Relations from American University, has more than a dozen years of international humanitarian experience that includes overseeing global health projects and other programs in Bosnia, Croatia, Guinea, Iraq, Kosovo, Liberia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Pakistan, Rwanda, Serbia, Sierra Leone, Thailand, and Uganda. Bock has served as a consultant to the World Bank and the Asia Foundation, and was a fellow of the W.K. Kellogg Foundation. He has addressed gatherings at a UN Assembly in Cairo, the Woodrow Wilson Center, Oxford University, and elsewhere around the world. Drawing upon his richly diverse field experience and networks, Bock documents and describes various information technology tools and strategies for tracking, curbing, or even preventing violence—including incitement, hate speech, ethnoreligious conflict, gang violence, and mass atrocities—as these tools and strategies have been implemented in the Middle East, Kenya, East Africa, Chicago, Sri Lanka, and Ahmedabad, India. Ultimately, Bock makes a persuasive, evidence-based case for the success and potential of using social media to prevent violence and promote nonviolent social change.

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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