

The Year in Hate & Extremism 2021





About the Southern Poverty Law Center

The SPLC is a catalyst for racial justice in the South and beyond, working in partnership with communities to dismantle white supremacy, strengthen intersectional movements and advance the human rights of all people.

Explore what's happening in your state at splcenter.org/hate-map

For media inquiries, please contact our press team at press@splcenter.org.
Comments, suggestions or tips? Send them to HWeditor@splcenter.org

Get the latest news and join the conversation.

 @Hatewatch  SPLCenter

For more information, visit splcenter.org



ILLUSTRATION BY JOAN WONG

Contents

THE YEAR IN HATE AND EXTREMISM 2021.....	2
THE EXTREME RIGHT'S PIVOT TO (LIVE)VIDEO.....	18
NICK FUENTES DEPLATFORMED: A WHITE NATIONALIST'S JOURNEY THROUGH ALT-TECH.....	24
THE YEAR IN UNITY AND RESILIENCE.....	26
“LEMONS TO LEMONADE” WITH THE BTV CLEAN UP CREW.....	28
“VOICES OF LOVE AND UNITY” FOR AFGHAN REFUGEES.....	29
SEEDING FREEDOM IN THE MISSISSIPPI DELTA.....	31
“WE HAVE TO MOBILIZE TOGETHER.”.....	33
WHAT WE DO NOW: POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS.....	36
HATE GROUP MAP AND LISTS.....	42
ANTIGOVERNMENT GROUP LISTS.....	56
ENDNOTES.....	63
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	65

The Year in Hate and Extremism 2021

By Cassie Miller and Rachel Carroll Rivas

THE STORMING OF the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6 exposed an alarming reality: that extremist leaders can mobilize large groups of Americans to use force and intimidation to impose their political will. The reactionary and racist beliefs that propelled a mob into the Capitol that day have not dissipated. Instead, they've coalesced into a political movement that is now one of the most powerful forces shaping politics in the United States.

In the year since the insurrection, this hard-right movement – made up of hate and extremist groups, Trump loyalists, right-wing think tanks, media organizations and committed activists with institutional power – has worked feverishly to undermine democracy, with real-world consequences for the people and groups they target. Within the GOP, a radical faction is attempting to rout the few remaining moderates unless there is a robust counter-effort from democracy supporters.



Illustration by Joan Wong



Many Republicans and a **monied network of ally groups** have exploited the “Big Lie” of a stolen election in 2020 to enact a **historic number of voter-suppression bills** that disproportionately disenfranchise voters of color and people in poverty.^{1,2} They have rallied their base against inclusive and anti-racist education and introduced a slew of bills that would **allow discrimination** against transgender people and gut the teaching of Black history.³ Attempts to ban books are **on the rise**, targeting materials that discuss race, sexuality and gender.⁴ Some Republican members of Congress have worked together with **open white nationalists** and promoted the racist “great replacement” conspiracy theory that has inspired numerous deadly terror attacks.⁵ They have scapegoated the Asian American community for COVID-19, harassed public health officials and election administrators, celebrated a vigilante who killed two protesters at a Black Lives Matter demonstration, and defended insurrectionists.

These actions discourage and even prevent people from marginalized groups from fully participating in the political sphere and normalize the use of intimidation, force and violence against people the right deems threatening to their agenda. In many instances – especially the assault on education – they are designed to chill any discussion of racism and other forms of discrimination.

Extremist groups have also found ways to insert themselves into mainstream politics. In the aftermath of Jan. 6, they shifted their efforts to local politics, focusing especially on COVID safety protocols and school curricula. Hard-right organizations disrupted school board and city council meetings around the country and, in the process, created space for more extreme and bigoted voices. As a result, public servants have experienced a wave of threats that will likely continue as the country heads toward the 2022 midterms.

Meeting the challenge of the hard right

The antidemocratic hard right described in this report is a social and political movement that rejects equality and pluralism, and through its actions seeks to build a hierarchically ordered society in which certain groups of people hold more political, social and economic power than others. The hard right is authoritarian and reactionary, and very

often conspiratorial, racist and nationalistic. Not all the groups and individuals that make up the hard right hold the same beliefs or embrace the same political strategies. But all espouse a view of society that is exclusionary, and generally target people of color, women, LGBTQ people, religious minorities, immigrants and non-Christians.

The SPLC tracks both hate groups and anti-government extremist groups – which, combined, make up some of the most extreme elements of the hard right. Hate groups vilify others based on such immutable characteristics as race, religion and gender identity, while groups in the antigovernment movement believe that the federal government is tyrannical, and traffic in conspiracy theories that often malign the same marginalized communities that hate groups target. These groups often overlap and work alongside one another. Over the past year, they have converged around a willingness to engage in political violence, either inflict or accept harm, and deny legally established rights to historically oppressed groups of people.

In 2021, the SPLC documented 1,221 active hate and antigovernment extremist groups across the United States. After reaching a historic high of 1,021 in 2018, hate group numbers have fallen for the third year in a row, to 733 in 2021. The number of antigovernment groups, too, has fallen from 566 in 2020 to 488 in 2021. Rather than demonstrating a decline in the power of the far right, the dropping numbers of organized hate and antigovernment groups suggest that the extremist ideas that mobilize them now operate more openly in the political mainstream. Roughly half of likely voters, for instance, believe that the Jan. 6 insurrectionists who were arrested and jailed are “**political prisoners**”⁶ – an idea that was promoted by such groups as the Proud Boys in the months following the siege and was then advanced by some Republican elected officials and conservative media pundits. Extremist organizing doesn’t need to take place in fringe hate groups when right-wing extremist narratives circulate widely, and their proponents hold real institutional and social power.

This does not mean the continued ascent of the hard right is inevitable. In 2020, the country gathered to protest in the name of racial justice in what, in terms of participants, was possibly the **largest**



political mobilization the country has ever seen.⁷ The pandemic has wreaked havoc on communities vulnerable to health and economic instability, but people have also used the crisis as an opportunity to organize and build solidarity. Workers across the country and a variety of employment sectors are unionizing **to improve pay and working conditions**, and communities have organized to provide **mutual aid**.^{8,9} People, especially in the Deep South, are working to expand and protect voting rights, despite an onslaught of voter-suppression laws.

Pushing back against rising authoritarianism will require a holistic approach. To stop a movement that openly decries democracy, lawmakers need to reinforce democratic institutions – most immediately by protecting voting rights. The hard right is now a mainstream political movement, and traditional counterterrorism tools – including increasing law enforcement agencies’ surveillance and intelligence gathering capabilities – are not suited for blunting the movement’s growth. In addition, history shows they would likely lead to violations of Americans’ civil liberties. The country needs to address the threat of extremism as a social problem, which requires investment in social programs and public health-inspired prevention measures. With good public policy, significant investment from government and business, and on-the-ground community organizing, the tide can be turned.

Where extreme meets mainstream

The growth of a mainstream reactionary right-wing movement in 2021 is inextricably linked to the powerful racial justice movement that mobilized Americans in 2020. The movement for Black lives forced the country to reckon with the realities of systemic anti-Black racism and police violence. Its widespread resonance also ignited fear in the hard right, which mounted counter-efforts to maintain and strengthen white supremacy. Trump and other reactionaries demonized the movement, and painted Black Lives Matter activists, Democrats and the left broadly as an existential threat to the country. “The left-wing cultural revolution,” Trump said in a **September 2020 speech**,¹⁰ “is designed to overthrow the American Revolution.”

This backlash has historical precedent. During Reconstruction, whites who wanted to maintain their supremacy founded the Klan to intimidate newly emancipated Black people and violently perpetuate a system of racial subjugation rooted in slavery. In the civil rights era, white citizens, politicians and law enforcement worked together to fight the freedom movement with violence and an organized campaign of “massive **resistance**” to school desegregation.¹¹ Repressive right-wing movements like this emerge during moments of social change and are, according to Chip Berlet and Matthew Lyons, two prominent scholars of



Fox News host Tucker Carlson is among the most prominent members of the right to promote the racist “great replacement” conspiracy.

the far right, “motivated or defined centrally by backlash against liberation movements, social reform, or revolution.”¹² Or, as the historian Carol Anderson put it, “The trigger for white rage, inevitably, is Black advancement.”¹³

The overwhelming majority of people arrested for their role in the insurrection had no formal ties to right-wing groups. They came from all over the country. The majority were employed. Most were in their 40s and 50s, and they **mostly get their news** from mainstream media.¹⁴ Among middle-aged, middle-and upper-class people, this illiberal political movement has found its footing and become thoroughly mainstream.

Another factor tied together the people who took part in the Capitol siege: “Counties with the most significant declines in the non-Hispanic White population,” a University of Chicago study found, were “the most likely to produce insurrectionists.”¹⁵ Later polling conducted by the same University of Chicago researchers found that, among Americans who believe the use of violence is justified to restore Trump to the presidency, almost two-thirds also believed that Black and Hispanic people in the United States “will eventually have more rights than whites.” Put another way, the hard-right movement that supports the insurrection is motivated in large part by a desire to maintain white political hegemony.

Fear of changes to the social status quo, in which white people hold a privileged place, has helped fuel the mainstreaming of the “great replacement” myth – a conspiracy in which white people are being systematically replaced by non-white immigrants at the hands of leftists, Democrats, “multiculturalists,”

Jewish people and others. The myth is central to the white nationalist movement, which in 2021 included 98 hate groups. Since 2018, extremists inspired by the great replacement theory have committed terror attacks in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Christchurch, New Zealand; Poway, California; and El Paso, Texas. But as hard-right actors weaponize America’s demographic changes to instill fear and resentment, the myth has spread beyond terrorist manifestos and into American living rooms.

In 2021, Tucker Carlson, whose Fox News show is the most-viewed cable news program in the country, openly promoted the great replacement conspiracy. “In political terms, this policy is called the great replacement, the replacement of legacy Americans with more obedient people from far-away countries,” he **said on air in September**.¹⁶ His words opened space for others, including elected officials such as Rep. Matt Gaetz of Florida, who tweeted that Carlson was “CORRECT about Replacement Theory as he explains what is happening to America.” Officials in border states, where white nationalist and antigovernment groups have “**intercepted**” and **interrogated migrants**,¹⁷ have especially tried to ramp up fear of white replacement to undercut their political opposition. Democrats, Texas Lt. Gov. Dan Patrick **said on Fox News**, are using immigration to “take over our country without firing a shot.”¹⁸

In response to the elected officials and other public figures citing the great replacement theory, Vincent James Foxx, a white nationalist who helped organize the “Stop the Steal” movement, wrote on Telegram: “We are the mainstream now. Our message and worldview are inevitably the conclusions every conservative in the country will come to.”

The right’s embrace of violence

In February, the Arizona congressman Rep. Paul Gosar **addressed** a crowd at the America First Political Action Conference (AFPAC).¹⁹ The event, held annually, is hosted by white nationalist streamer Nick Fuentes, who stationed himself outside the Capitol on Jan. 6 and told his followers to “break down the barriers and disregard the police.”

“White people founded this country. This country wouldn’t exist without white people. And white



people are done being bullied,” Fuentes told AFPAC attendees in his speech, immediately after the sitting Republican congressman spoke.

Gosar made news again later in the year when he posted a video to Twitter of an anime version of himself killing Democratic Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and attacking President Joe Biden. While Gosar was eventually censured by the House of Representatives for the tweet, his Republican colleagues shied away from condemning his actions. Only two voted in favor of the censure.

Gosar’s tweet and the Republican failure to respond are but one illustration of how much violent rhetoric and threats have been normalized on the right. Political scientists and historians have noted that, although political violence is certainly not absent in America’s history, this moment is unique because of the legitimacy that elected officials, as well as the former president, have lent to using violence as a political tool. “The elite endorsement of political violence from factions of the Republican Party is distinct for me from what we saw in the 1960s,” Pomona College political scientist Omar Wasow [told *The New York Times*](#).²⁰ “Then, you



Reps. Paul Gosar (R-AZ) and Matt Gaetz (R-FL) have been leading voices in the Republican party promoting hard-right talking points.

didn't have – from a president on down – politicians calling citizens to engage in violent resistance.”

At his speech on Jan. 6, 2021, then-President Trump told his followers and the members of his party, “Our country has been under siege for a long time.” He said, “If you don’t fight like hell, we’re not going to have a country anymore.” Other Republicans have followed suit, suggesting only extraordinary solutions, outside the normal political process, are fit to meet the threat. Officials, including Rep. Madison Cawthorn, have cited the election fraud myth as evidence that violence could become inevitable: “You know, if our election systems continue to be rigged, and continue to be stolen, then it’s going to lead to one place, and it’s bloodshed,” he said at a North Carolina GOP event in August.

Republican voters, too, are shifting toward a greater acceptance of political violence. According to [research](#) conducted by the Public Religion Research Institute, 30% of Republicans, and 39% of those who believe the 2020 election was stolen from Trump, agree that “true American patriots might have to resort to violence in order to save our country.”²¹

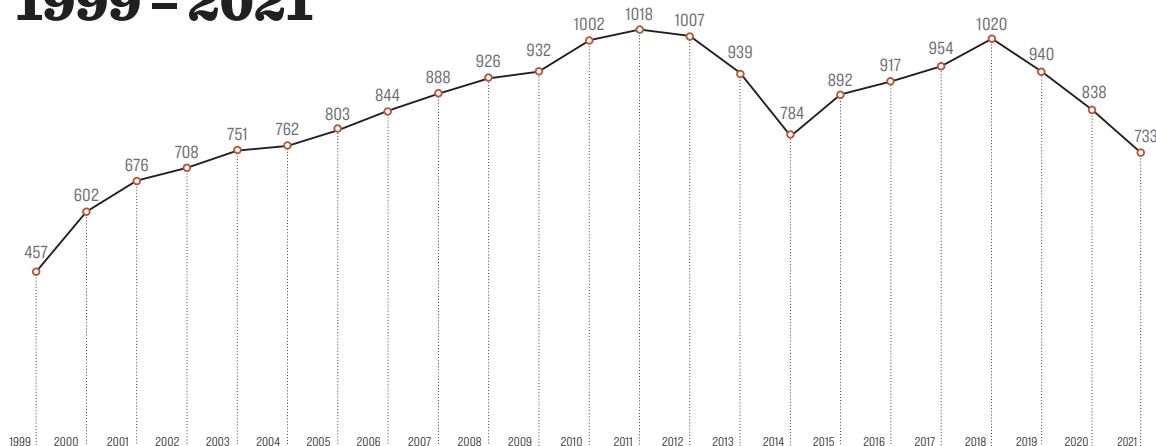
Perhaps no moment better illustrated the extent to which some Republicans tolerate and even encourage violence than the way the party celebrated the acquittal of Kyle Rittenhouse. The teenager, who was not known to have extremist

ties at the time, but whom far-right extremists like the Proud Boys have since exalted as a “hero” and “saint,” killed two protesters and maimed a third at a 2020 racial justice protest in Kenosha, Wisconsin. Rittenhouse was acquitted after testifying that he fired in self-defense. “There is hope for this country,” Rep. Thomas Massie [tweeted](#) after learning the verdict.²² Others have made a show of vying to hire Rittenhouse as their intern, while the right-wing campus organization Turning Point USA treated him like a celebrity at their America Fest 2021 event. In a bizarre carnival-like atmosphere, Rittenhouse received a standing ovation as he strolled onstage for a panel discussion accompanied by pyrotechnics and his own theme song.

Proud Boys membership spikes

While the overall number of hate groups declined in 2021, some groups experienced rapid growth, as well as increased influence and access to the political mainstream. The most dramatic rise happened within the Proud Boys, a “Western chauvinist” men’s organization with a long history of violence. In 2021, the SPLC documented 72 active Proud Boys chapters across the country, up from 43 the year before. The rise in Proud Boys chapters is especially remarkable considering that at least 40 members of the group have been charged in relation to their role in the Jan. 6 insurrection. Their growth suggests the country has become

Hate Groups 1999 – 2021





Individuals dressed in the colors and paraphernalia of the “Western chauvinist” Proud Boys joined protesters against mandates related to COVID-19 on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., in January 2022.

LEAH MILLIS/REUTERS

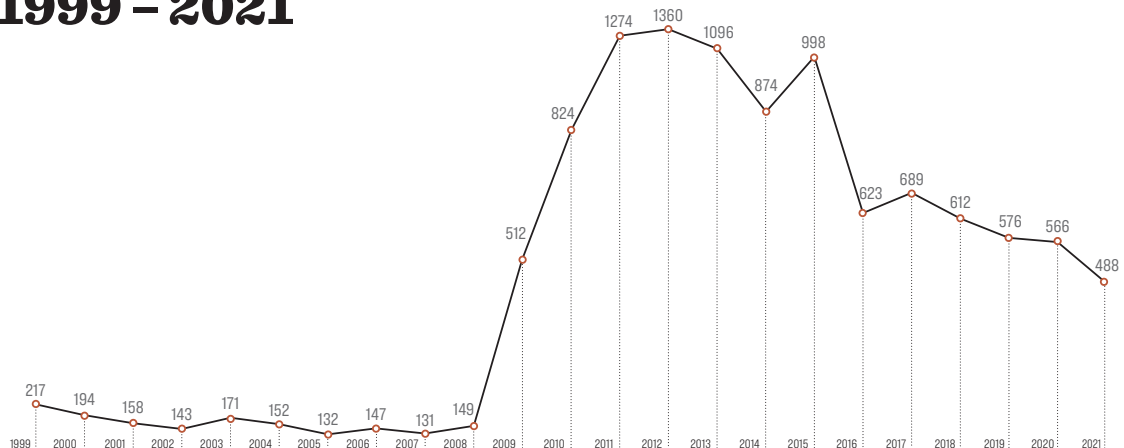
alarmingly fertile ground for their brand of authoritarian politics.

The Proud Boys spent the Trump years hosting rallies around the country that often descended into violent riots. With a handful of exceptions, they faced little interference from law enforcement, giving the impression that they had the tacit approval of police. They built a vast organizational network and, when Trump told the group to “stand back and stand by” during the first presidential debate in 2020, they became a household name. Acting

as **Trump’s foot soldiers**, roughly 100 Proud Boys descended on the Capitol on Jan. 6, and members of the group were among the first to enter the building during the siege.

Like other far-right extremists, the Proud Boys have shied away from large-scale protests in the aftermath of the Jan. 6 insurrection, especially those held in Washington, D.C., out of fear of attracting law enforcement attention. The group has continued to organize, however. According to research from VICE reporter Tess Owens, the Proud Boys

Antigovernment Groups 1999 – 2021





Members of the white nationalist Patriot Front preparing to march with anti-abortion activists during the 49th annual March for Life in Washington, D.C., in January 2022.

attended at least 114 public events in 2021, largely targeting local governments and community institutions such as public schools.²³

As the larger political right riled up their base over issues including masking, vaccines and inclusive curriculums in schools, groups like the Proud Boys have latched on, winning supporters, building alliances across different interest groups and normalizing their place within mainstream right-wing spaces by entwining themselves in local political battles. They have attended and hosted rallies, menaced people at school board meetings and provided security at right-wing events. “Oh my goodness, thank God for the Proud Boys,” said a pastor whose anti-abortion event in Salem, Oregon, was guarded by members of the group.

This kind of local-level organizing has real impacts on communities and local officials, who are subjected to threats and harassment. While the Proud Boys have run a handful of candidates for local elected office, they primarily want to use their presence as a tool of intimidation. Explaining why the Cape Fear Proud Boys were attending a school board meeting in North Carolina, a member **told a reporter**, “If our presence escalates that pressure and makes it to the point where we become a distraction to

conducting business and they just change the mask mandate so we go away, that’s a win.”²⁴ Students are also targets of right-wing mobilization. In a suburb of Chicago, Proud Boys attended a November school board meeting to express their opposition to the school library’s inclusion of *Gender Queer*, a memoir written by a non-binary author. Members of the group taunted students who defended the book and accused one of being a pedophile. Students **told a reporter** at the *Chicago Sun-Times* that the Proud Boys’ actions were “unnerving” and “intimidating.”²⁵

In Nashua, New Hampshire, the school board began stationing police at its meetings after Proud Boys and members of the neo-Nazi group NSC-131 began to attend. “This is my fourth year on the board,” one member **said**, “and this is the first time we’ve needed to do this. It’s not good for our community.”²⁶

White Nationalist and Neo-Nazi groups continue to adapt

Even as the ideas that propel the white power movement gain more purchase among an increasingly authoritarian Republican Party, its constituent groups have faced organizational challenges, due in part to law enforcement pressure and civil suits.

After a series of deadly far-right attacks during the Trump presidency, the Department of Homeland Security recognized in a 2020 threat assessment that white supremacist extremists are, and will remain, “the most persistent and lethal threat to the Homeland.” The report, along with **later statements** by the **Biden administration**, marked a larger shift within law enforcement and intelligence agencies away from foreign terrorist groups, which became the single-minded focus of federal counter-extremism efforts following the 9/11 attacks.²⁷

As a result of the renewed focus on domestic extremism – which accelerated after the insurrection – the white power movement experienced a slew of arrests in the last two years. In fall 2021, two members of the white nationalist group **The Base** were **sentenced** to nine years in prison after they received a terrorism enhancement to gun charges stemming from 2020.²⁸ Another was **sentenced** to 20 years for his role in a conspiracy to murder a couple involved in antifascist activism.²⁹

Partially as an attempt to evade authorities and antifascist infiltrators, neo-Nazi groups, whose numbers dipped from 63 groups in 2020 to 54 in 2021, organized in more decentralized fashion. Prominent voices in the movement now encourage members of neo-Nazi online communities to maintain anonymity and congregate in diffuse online communities rather than join public-facing groups with names and membership vetting procedures. Extremists **not associated** with a defined group have still been arrested, showing the strategy has returned mixed results.³⁰

In addition to attracting attention from law enforcement, the energy of the white power movement was dampened by the outcome of the *Sines v. Kessler* trial, a civil suit brought by Integrity First for America against the organizers of the 2017 Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia. On Nov. 23, 2021, jurors found all the defendants liable on a number of charges, including civil conspiracy, under Virginia state law. Combined, they face \$25 million in damages.

Though the increased attention of civil authorities has created major challenges to the white power movement, it’s clear that the criminal legal system, on its own, cannot adequately address the problem of far-right extremism. A large subset of

the movement remains concentrated on influencing mainstream politics, and nearly every indicator suggests the political ground is fertile to their appeals unless diverse communities working together build resiliency through prevention, organizing and education.

Some white nationalist organizations, such as Nick Fuentes’ America First Foundation, want to exert power over the GOP and convince its members to openly embrace white nationalism. Others are attempting to build infrastructure to challenge mainstream institutions, including the National Justice Party (NJP). Founded in 2020 by several longtime activists in the white power movement, NJP has become a hub for the movement. The group hosts meetings throughout the year where representatives from a number of white nationalist groups can come together and collectively organize. An October 2021 meeting gathered about 150 attendees.

One of those groups is **Patriot Front**, which has 42 chapters nationwide.³¹ In 2021, Patriot Front held multiple “flash” demonstrations around the country and, according to **leaked internal communications**, defaced George Floyd and Black Lives Matter murals.³² Patriot Front, like many extremist groups, at times uses mainstream social media to spread their propaganda. During a December demonstration in Washington, D.C., that included



**In the wake of
Jan. 6, the
hard right is
reorganizing,
re-strategizing
and planning to
emerge stronger.**

about 100 members marching through the National Mall, a Patriot Front member created a fake Twitter account to bring their action to mainstream attention: “HAPPENING NOW: About 500 men with riot shields are marching in #WashingtonDC,” the account tweeted, gaining more than 1,000 retweets.

Extremists easily get around bans on social media platforms, often simply creating new usernames and continuing to post. They also find ways to make algorithms work to amplify their content, including using specific words or hashtags repeatedly to make them appear under the “Trending on Twitter” section. During the Jan. 6 insurrection, for instance, members of the far right used Twitter to spread the lie that antifa attacked the Capitol – a **conspiracy** later repeated on the House floor.³³ More broadly, **platforms such as Twitter** and Facebook have failed for years to adequately enforce their own terms of service. Both companies operate under a libertarian ethos, allowing white supremacist and other hateful and dangerous content on their platforms. They have invested inadequate resources into meaningful content moderation despite repeated promises to do so, and they tend to remove extremist content or individuals only after heavy public pressure.

Hate groups and other extremists do not solely rely on mainstream social media platforms to spread their message – they are increasingly using “alt-tech” platforms that are often advertised as “free speech” alternatives to places like Twitter and Facebook. On these platforms, users don’t have to worry about content moderation. These include video platforms like Bitchute and Odysee and social media sites like Gab. The startup **Chthonic Software** helped create a monetized streaming site for Nick Fuentes and other extremist livestreamers after many were banned from other sites in the aftermath of Jan. 6.³⁴

Gab has for years been a haven for racist and antisemites. The man who is charged with killing 11 people at the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 2018 was a user and posted on the site immediately before the attack. In the past year, Gab CEO Andrew Torba has expanded the services offered on the platform to create what he calls a “parallel society.” “At Gab when we recognize a problem in the world, like

Big Tech censorship and the anti-White, anti-Christian, and anti-American woke economy, we don’t just sit around and complain about it like our useless politicians do,” Torba posted to Gab’s website in June. “We take action and start building.”³⁵ The company recently launched an ad platform and says it will soon offer a payment processor. The services Gab, Chthonic and others offer suggest that the white power movement is building increasingly resilient online services, which can allow extremists to spread and monetize their content while remaining impervious to public pressure or government regulation.

The Antigovernment Movement takes a hit, but gets back up bruised and battered

The number of antigovernment groups decreased in 2021, down by 79 from 2020 for a total of 488 in 2021. This trend has held fast since antigovernment group numbers peaked in the 2010s with the rise of the tea party movement. Like hate groups, the current decrease in organizational numbers does not reflect a lack of popularity of antigovernment ideology, nor a significant decrease in the level of supporters and participation in movement activities. The primary grievances that underpin the movement – in particular, distrust of the federal government and an absolutist take on gun rights – are widespread within the United States. Trust in the federal government has been **declining over the last two decades** and, in 2021, only 39% of Americans said they trusted the federal government to handle domestic issues.³⁶ While **Americans** support passing stricter gun laws,³⁷ a powerful minority has **pushed states to continue easing restrictions** on firearms and sowed the conspiratorial belief that the government could someday confiscate Americans’ guns.³⁸ Gun sales in 2020 and 2021 **reached historic levels**, further setting the stage for political violence.³⁹

While the antigovernment movement has always maintained some national communications infrastructure, including online forums, social media helped build national organizations like the Oath Keepers and helped to popularize antigovernment imagery like the Gadsden Flag. During his presidency, Trump further legitimized the movements, particularly as states around the



Leader of the antigovernment extremist organization People's Rights Ammon Bundy speaks to the public in January 2022 in Shelley, Idaho.

country implemented public health measures in the first months of the pandemic. “LIBERATE MINNESOTA!” “LIBERATE MICHIGAN!” and “LIBERATE VIRGINIA,” he [tweeted](#) in 2020, adding to the last tweet: “And save your great 2nd Amendment. It is under siege!”⁴⁰ This kind of rhetoric bolstered the power of the movement and read like a call to arms for extremists.

The Jan. 6 attack was the most public moment for the antigovernment movement since the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995. Like Oklahoma City, the violence of Jan. 6 has brought new pressure on the movement, but that pressure has not necessarily reduced its influence. Over 700 individuals have been charged with a variety of crimes for their participation in the insurrection, including 22 members of the Oath Keepers and at least four members of the [Three Percenters](#). Eleven Oath Keepers and the group’s founder, Stewart Rhodes, have been charged with seditious conspiracy for their role, a rare and notably serious charge.

Following Jan. 6, the antigovernment movement has faced greater scrutiny by the public, media, law enforcement, policymakers, tech and social media companies, and lawmakers. That scrutiny, along

with the deplatforming on Facebook of some 2,000 antigovernment associated pages in fall 2020, has forced groups in the movement to reorganize. As a result, their activity has become more dispersed and focused on localized activities. After the insurrection, Oath Keeper chapter head Doug Smith said, “As far as Jan. 6, I will never attach my name or the men in this state to Oath Keepers again.” The North Carolina chapter voted to unaffiliate and break with the national organization.

Since the insurrection, factions of the far right have coalesced around several hot-button issues with widespread right-wing support, including refusing to acknowledge Biden’s win. Issues fueling antigovernment extremists include organizing against what they perceive to be adoption of critical race theory (CRT) in public schools, against vaccine and mask mandates, and in opposition to immigration.

The antigovernment movement couches its extremist ideas under the language of patriotism. Ammon Bundy’s People’s Rights, in particular, has made use of this rhetoric. Bundy is well known for engineering armed standoffs in 2016 at the Malheur Refuge in Oregon and, in 2014, on federally leased lands in Nevada. In 2021, People’s Rights activists



Oath Keepers militia founder Stewart Rhodes holds a radio as he departs with volunteers from a rally held by U.S. President Donald Trump in Minneapolis, Minnesota, Oct. 10, 2019.

held a variety of small-scale demonstrations for individual grievances over taxes, property rights and natural resource availability. Throughout 2020 and 2021, Bundy organized a series of stunts and acts of political intimidation while purposefully disobeying COVID-19 public health measures that resulted in his arrest. Bundy, like several antigovernment activists in the second half of 2021, also began a campaign for political office in Idaho for the 2022 midterm elections.

In the Southwest, militias and other extremists have collaborated to set up camps in the desert targeting migrants crossing the U.S.-Mexico border. During 2021, hard-right extremists continued to harass humanitarian aid groups, some using their relationships with border patrol agents to circumvent and legitimize their vigilante activities. The activities of militia groups have gone unchecked, and groups continue to illegally detain migrants.

After four years of national alignment with the Trump administration, antigovernment extremists have returned to their bread-and-butter focus on attacking local democratic institutions and rallying

against the U.S. Federal Government and tribal governments at the local level. The focus has heavily targeted local public health boards, school boards and elections administration officials.

The John Birch Society and QAnon enthusiasts have also peddled anti-vaccine misinformation and anti-mask propaganda, formed protests and rallies, and caused disturbances in front of hospitals and public officials' homes. Conspiracy propagandists have found a niche audience with COVID-19 vaccine skeptics, using existing anti-government mistrust, corporate skepticism and a long historical relationship with a growing natural-health sector to push the false ideas of vaccine danger. Other COVID-19 conspiracy theories are extensions of previous iterations of falsities about government population control, often rooted in fears of demographic shifts, and coded antisemitic conspiracies about a vaccine push by a cabal of nefarious actors.

Organized by the Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association (CSPOA) and Protect America Now (PAN), many constitutional sheriffs

have promoted COVID-19 conspiracy theories and refused to enforce health guidelines enacted by their lawmakers. More than 40 sheriffs attended a CSPOA event in Texas in February, and three county commissions purchased lifetime memberships in the association. CSPOA leader Richard Mack spent 2021 touring the country recruiting sheriffs and speaking at events, alongside QAnon adherents, antisemites and sovereign citizens. PAN also signed onto a letter to the president about the border promoted by SPLC designated anti-immigrant hate group Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR).

On many occasions, promoters of a wide variety of conspiracy theories and antigovernment ideologies have converged on single events to network. This has included the Reawaken America and Arise USA event tours featuring a mix of known antigovernment extremists, alternative health leaders, politicians and political advisors, and activists in the Patriot movement associated with the religious right. Many of the hallmark antigovernment events and tours featured Jan. 6 participants and organizers and perpetuated the “Big Lie” of a stolen election. These events supported the many regressive policy changes to voting rights that stained state Houses around the country in 2021.

The coalescing of QAnon adherents with sovereign citizens, constitutional sheriffs and militia members, along with conspiracy-minded anti-maskers and anti-vaxxers, has produced an environment where groups can openly recruit and market their ideas to each other and the general public.

Mainstream hate reorients without the White House in its pocket

Hate groups continue to permeate mainstream society and politics with bigoted anti-LGBTQ, anti-immigrant, and anti-Muslim ideas and policies. These groups were in recovery mode following Trump’s loss, as they saw some rollbacks by the Biden administration of the most flagrantly anti-immigrant Trump policies, such as the attempt to restrict entry into the U.S. from a range of majority-Muslim countries.

SPLC documented 50 anti-Muslim groups active in the U.S. in 2021. They represent a sophisticated, well-funded network dedicated to vilifying Muslims and their faith. This network spans



Frank Gaffney, founder and president of the anti-Muslim hate group Center for Security Policy, and Brigitte Gabriel, founder and president of the anti-Muslim hate group ACT for America.

from more established anti-Muslim think tanks operating inside the Beltway to localized groups focusing on state and county issues. Key figures in the network, such as Brigitte Gabriel and Frank Gaffney, remain politically connected and influential. One of the largest anti-Muslim organizations, ACT for America, decreased its chapters numbers once again. Many of the group’s chapters have broken off to form independent organizations, such as AlertAmerica.News, Last Chance Patriots, Red-Green Axis Exposed and G416 Patriots.

Some groups moved from focused anti-Muslim ideology to more generalized hate issues and conspiracies about inclusive education, the Black Lives Matter movement and COVID-19. In the last quarter of 2021, anti-Muslim groups leaned into their bigotry as the U.S. troop withdrawal from Afghanistan resulted in a new round of refugee resettlement in communities around the U.S.

The LGBTQ rights movement gained an ally in the Biden-Harris administration and continues to see positive movement at the local and business level, but hate groups mobilized in 2021 to push back and attempt to advance anti-LGBTQ bigotry. SPLC documented 65 groups in 2021 that were focused on regressive state legislative policies, pushing harmful conversion “therapy,” vilifying trans people, banning books that were LGBTQ-welcoming, and taking on school boards on anti-LGBTQ topics. Many new locally focused “parent” organizations leaned into segregationist language of “parent choice” to oppose masking, vaccination and LGBTQ rights. Groups like Mass Resistance coordinated local action targeting school boards and libraries in anti-transgender attacks.

These modern reactionary campaigns are modeled on efforts from the 1980s and 1990s, when the right used fear of the HIV epidemic to demonize the LGBTQ community in an attempt to kneecap their movement for equal rights. In the previous decades they passed anti-LGBTQ public school curriculum laws, and today these groups are advocating book bans and attacking LGBTQ educators. Likewise, the John Birch Society, which opposed school desegregation, continues with the same antigovernment communist conspiracies, this time using them to oppose COVID-19 masking and other “culture war” issues to mobilize parents into hard-right political action. John Birch Society founding board member Fred Koch’s legacy continues, with his descendants’ philanthropic organizations engaging in astroturfing anti-CRT campaigns across the country and trying to hide their national agenda and make it look like it originated locally.

Anti-immigrant hate groups also reoriented their strategy to state government and local elected officials, with a focus on attorneys general and sheriffs in U.S. Southern border states. Dan Stein, president of FAIR, stated it clearly: “In this environment, our state legislatures and governors are the last line of defense.” Ken Cuccinelli, a former Virginia Attorney General and Trump Homeland Security official, recently published a policy brief at the Center for Renewing America on the strategy and concluded, “Given the federal government’s dereliction of duty, it is now incumbent on governors and states to fill the void and

do what federal officials and lawmakers refuse to do: end the invasion at the U.S. southern border and restore both order and sovereignty.”

Several high-ranking Trump administration officials filled staff positions at various anti-immigrant hate groups. For example, Tom Homan, Trump’s acting director of Immigration and Customs Enforcement from 2017 to 2018, and Mark Morgan, Trump’s acting director of ICE and U.S. Customs and Border Protection, are both senior fellows at FAIR.

The implications of these hard-right activities are grave. White supremacy perpetuates systemic racism. As a result, communities of color, LGBTQ people, immigrants and refugees, and religious minorities face continued threats, intimidation, violence and bias. Nearly one out of every four Jewish people in the U.S. reported experiencing antisemitism in the past year. Advocacy groups for both Muslim and Jewish American people reported a spike in hate crimes, harassment, bullying and discrimination. In New York, reports of subway bias incidents that targeted Asian Americans increased 233% from 2020. The Human Rights Campaign called 2021 the deadliest year on record, documenting that at least 57 transgender and gender non-conforming people were killed in the U.S.

Conclusion

Jan. 6 should be recognized for what it was: a full-on violent assault on democracy that showcased the strength of the hard right. In the wake of that day, the hard right is reorganizing, re-strategizing and planning to emerge stronger. Throughout 2021, the hard right hit the streets across the U.S., blocked important policy, attacked democratic institutions, engaged in violence and energized their base of supporters. The 12 months that followed Jan. 6 showed beyond a doubt that they will not go quietly.

Such institutions as SPLC, the media, Congress, the Justice Department and law enforcement are working to hold accountable the actors and instigators of Jan. 6 and those that continue to perpetrate harm to communities and democracy. This accountability is incredibly important and can have a real impact, but it will be only temporary if it becomes too focused on individual criminal



Trump supporters clash with police as they try to storm the U.S. Capitol building in Washington, D.C., on Jan. 6, 2021.

acts. The problems are societal and require holistic solutions.

Historically, the United States has relied heavily on law enforcement, intelligence agencies and the criminal legal system to address social problems. That power has repeatedly been abused and disproportionately wielded against progressive activists, immigrant communities, communities of color and religious minority groups. After the Sept. 11 attacks, intelligence and law enforcement agencies engaged in **racial profiling, spying** on Muslim communities in the name of national security.⁴¹ Now, there are calls to use the same set of tools against white supremacists, and even to expand counterterrorism tools by creating a domestic terrorism statute. In fact, the government already has the power to **effectively prosecute** extremists,⁴² a fact supported by **recent convictions** against white supremacists and the charges brought against more than 700 people connected to the insurrection.⁴³

A national security-centric approach will never be able to blunt a mainstream authoritarian political movement. Accountability matters, and there will be legal consequences for those that attempt

to overthrow the government, threaten democratic institutions and inflict harm on others. But the United States must also look for ways to build a more resilient democracy. Communities and governments need to adopt a public health approach to preventing extremism by engaging communities, mental health experts, social workers and, especially, people involved in the day-to-day lives of young people.

Even more, a reinvigorated vision of a more inclusive democracy is necessary, one that creates a stark alternative away from the destructive path of the hard right. That means expanding and protecting access to voting, creating legislation to protect people who face discrimination, promoting civics education and teaching students an anti-racist curriculum, and ensuring all Americans have health-care, housing and other vital services so they can lead safe and dignified lives.

History tells us that the threat is real, but it also reminds us that we can turn the tide.

The Extreme Right's Pivot to (Live) Video

By Hannah Gais

THROUGHOUT 2021, right-wing extremists increasingly embraced livestreaming technologies as their preferred tool for organization, fundraising and propaganda.

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) has tracked extremists from a range of far-right ideologies gravitating toward a plethora of livestreaming video platforms. In part, this pivot to live video content mirrors the medium's popularity among mainstream social media users, many of whom have turned to livestreaming platforms for entertainment. But it also reflects a tactical shift among extremists toward sites that provide an infrastructure for fundraising, promoting in-person events and preserving an archive of their work.

“Extremists and hate groups are typically early adopters of new technology, particularly anything that can be used for propagandizing, recruitment or



Illustration by Jim Cooke





‘Alt-tech’ platforms have provided a fruitful fundraising outlet for extremists.

harassment. With video livestreaming, they have found a low-cost, engaging way to get their message out, and unfortunately, they are making money at it too,” Megan Squire, an Elon University professor and SPLC senior fellow, said in an interview.

Livestreaming content presents challenges to stopping the spread of hateful content online. It is ephemeral – meaning content is not always automatically saved on a site, so a streamer may choose to remove a stream with content that violates a platform’s terms of service after a broadcast and before site moderators can act. In addition, some sites rely on users to report egregious live content. In other words, even if a video is flagged for review, moderation teams may not act until a livestream has already concluded. Finally, a constellation of “alt-tech” sites, some of which were built by and for the far right, operate with minimal or no content moderation, ensuring that extremists can continue to raise money and promote their activities unimpeded.

‘YouTube as we know it is over’

While people have been broadcasting live video content over the internet since the 1990s, today’s decentralized right-wing extremist livestreaming ecosystem is a reaction to policy changes on mainstream platforms such as YouTube and Twitch.

In late 2019, in response to real-world violence and **charges that YouTube’s recommendation algorithm** was propping up extremist content, the popular video streaming site began taking a more systematic approach to cracking down on

violent content and hate speech on the platform. Far-right extremists began gravitating toward **so-called “alt-tech” sites**.⁴⁴ While the “alt-tech” ecosystem is not exclusive to the radical right, in this case the term refers to platforms that provide a haven through limited or no content moderation for those users who have been, or at least risk being, locked out of mainstream social media sites for violating their terms of service, usually on hate speech.

“YouTube as we know it is over. They will burn themselves to the ground to ruin alt voices from getting out. Go to alt sources now,” Red Ice TV, a prominent white nationalist site, tweeted **on Dec. 3, 2019, less than two months** after YouTube banned the show permanently.⁴⁵

If someone is looking for a substitute for YouTube, they can turn to a variety of **alternative platforms, some of which have explicitly marketed themselves as “free speech” havens**.⁴⁶ There’s DLive, a youth-targeted gaming site; Rumble, the **Peter Thiel-funded** video streaming site popular with pro-Trump conservatives;⁴⁷ Trovo, another gaming-focused video platform; Brighteon, one of the platforms that a coalition of state attorneys general **listed in early 2021** in a letter for its wealth of medical disinformation around the COVID-19 pandemic;⁴⁸ or Odysee, a video streaming site that allows creators to monetize their content through cryptocurrency. For more options for monetization, creators can turn to SubscribeStar, a clone of the subscription service Patreon, or Entropy, a software that works in conjunction with YouTube or other livestreaming platforms to provide an alternative space for livestreamers to raise money off their work and interact with viewers. A handful of extremist creators have launched their own platforms as well.

Among the broader far right, the popularity of livestreaming is reflected in its presence at events. SPLC reviewed criminal complaints against alleged participants in the Jan. 6 insurrection and found references to a variety of platforms with livestreaming capabilities, including Periscope, DLive, Twitch, YouTube, Odysee and others. Hatewatch, the publishing arm of SPLC’s Intelligence Project, **documented** at least five DLive accounts streaming from the Jan. 6 “Stop the Steal” rally-turned-insurrection.⁴⁹



Alex Jones speaks as the Capitol Building is stormed by Trump supporters on Jan. 6, 2021.

“Every large-scale or even medium-scale [demonstration]: political events, anti-lockdown demonstrations – they’re all going to have a livestreaming element,” Ciaran O’Connor, an analyst at the Institute for Strategic Dialogue, told SPLC in an interview.

“Content is king for these people. That’s what drives a lot this: they just want to create content that they can share online, they can get donations and views off of, [and] they can share later on as clips,” he said.

Funding hate by going live

“Alt-tech” platforms generally don’t command the same audience size – and, thus, the same access to possible donors – as YouTube and Twitch. Still, they have provided a fruitful fundraising outlet for extremists, some of whom have netted annual earnings in the low six figures off streaming alone.

One of these is Nick Fuentes, a white nationalist livestreamer and “Stop the Steal” proponent whose “America First” show has aired on a variety of platforms since fall 2017. As *Hatewatch* [reported in late 2020](#),⁵⁰ Fuentes was one of the top earners among a pool of 56 right-wing extremists on the youth-targeted platform DLive, yielding an average of \$326 per day – an amount equal to a yearly salary of \$119,000

– between April and October of 2020. Following Trump’s electoral loss and Fuentes’ involvement in the “Stop the Steal” movement, [Fuentes increased his average to \\$600 per day](#) on DLive, according to data from SPLC senior fellow Squire.⁵¹ On Jan. 9, 2021, DLive banned him from the site, along with several other users who either entered or were outside the Capitol during the insurrection.

Other right-wing extremist livestreamers have turned to SubscribeStar, a subscription-based site. Alex Kaplan, a senior researcher at Media Matters for America and the author of a December 2021 report examining [19 SubscribeStar accounts](#) associated with far-right extremists,⁵² told SPLC in an email that the platform “has allowed [the far right] to raise significant amounts of money – while also profiting off of their content.” (SubscribeStar takes a 5% cut, at least, of users’ earnings.) In total, Kaplan found that these 19 accounts raked in nearly \$29,000 a month. The group’s top earner, the QAnon-supporting video show [SGT Report](#),⁵³ made at least \$4,472 a month through the site,

roughly equivalent to a \$54,000 yearly salary. Others included multimillionaire conspiracy theorist and Infowars founder **Alex Jones** (\$4,261 per month); Red Ice TV (\$3,910 per month); Vincent James Foxx, a Fuentes associate and former propagandist for the white nationalist street-fighting club **Rise Above Movement** (\$3,346 per month); and Owen Shroyer, an Infowars host who was arrested on charges related to his alleged participation in the Capitol insurrection (\$1,950 per month).

Unlike buying merchandise or a subscription, livestreaming platforms encourage engagement between donors and creators. On YouTube, DLive, Trovo, Odysee, Entropy and the like, users can comment and donate in real time during a stream. Scholars have pointed to a reciprocal relationship between donors and content creators, particularly regarding the role donations can play in influencing content. Becca Lewis, author of **a 2018 report on right-wing networks** on YouTube, noted that audience feedback through the site’s “super chats” – where viewers could comment on streams and donate in real time – could encourage content creators to read shocking or offensive statements on screen.⁵⁴ Likewise, Squire **observed in a 2021 paper** focused on DLive that large-scale donors could take on a reputation of their own within a particular

livestreamer’s fanbase.⁵⁵ For instance, donors may be granted chat moderation privileges or unique shoutouts on a particular stream.

Livestreaming’s role in community building

As with **podcasts**, the extreme right has used livestreaming to promote events, propagate new ideas, network across and within ideologies, and above all, build a community. Researchers pointed to the intimacy livestreaming allows as crucial to its appeal.

“Creators get to speak to audience members in real time, over great spans of time, and audiences frequently get to interact directly with the creators,” Lewis, the author of the 2018 report on YouTube and a Ph.D. candidate at Stanford University whose work focuses on online political communities, told SPLC in an email. “This close dynamic is important for all creators trying to make a living from audience subscriptions and donations, but it’s especially important for white and male supremacist creators, who are also trying to impart their extremist messaging to their audiences.”

These close-knit communities can, in turn, ensure that a livestreamer’s messaging proliferates across platforms. O’Connor **pointed to Paul Miller**, a neo-Nazi known as “Gypsy Crusader” online, who recorded himself threatening and spewing racist slurs at users on the video chat app Omegle.⁵⁶ Even though Miller’s career as a livestreamer spanned less than a year, O’Connor noted, his fans continue to share clips of his material on a slew of social media sites, including mainstream ones like TikTok.

These flourishing fanbases not only benefit extremists in terms of their reach, but they also make it possible for some to harness their own e-celebrity to hold real-world events or launch their own organizations.

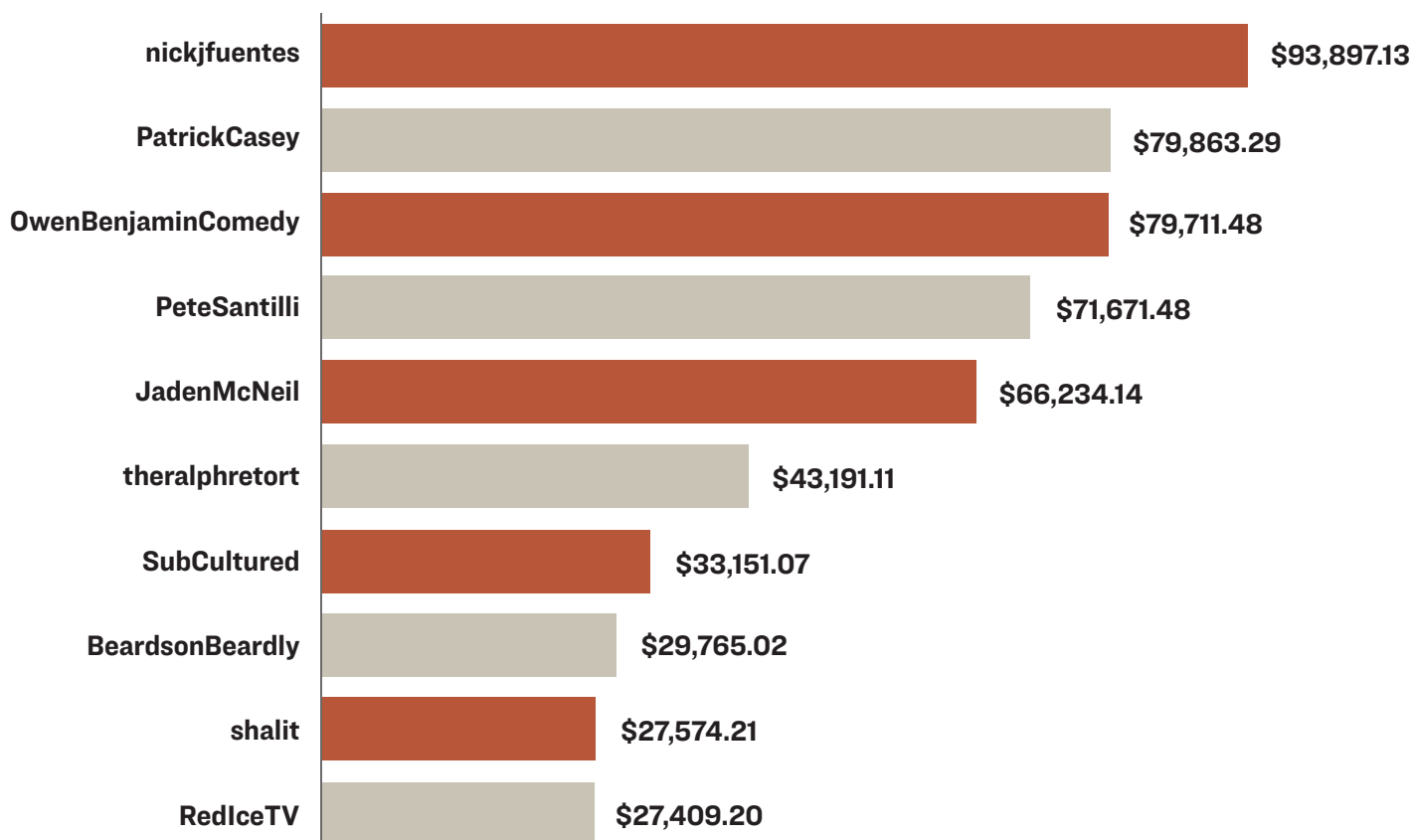
In spring 2021, livestreamer Owen Benjamin, a self-styled antisemitic comedian who **once claimed** the Holocaust was Hitler’s effort to “clean [Germany] of parasites,” purchased a 10-acre lot of land in rural Idaho that he’s pitched as a “refuge” for his fans. Benjamin began fundraising for the compound in 2020, according to **The Daily Beast**, at which point he encouraged his supporters, who call themselves “bears,” to donate to the cause in exchange for camping rights.⁵⁷ Had Benjamin been able to secure funds



Antisemitic comedian Owen Benjamin performing in 2016.

Extremist Earners on DLive

April 2020-February 2021



SOURCE: DLIVE

for a 200-acre piece of land, he told Lana Lokteff of Red Ice TV on Jan. 4, he had discussed doing “tactical training courses for donors.”

Likewise, Fuentes used his livestream fandom to publicly launch his own nonprofit political organization in early 2021. In the days before his annual America First Political Action Conference (AFPAC) – which is held each year alongside the more mainstream Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) – **Fuentes announced** that he would be spearheading the America First Foundation, a 501(c)4 organization. Such groups collect donations like a traditional nonprofit, but they have a wider latitude to engage in political activity such as lobbying and electioneering.

‘Where things fall through the cracks’

The prevalence of livestreaming comes with its own set of unique challenges to researchers, journalists and the tech companies responsible for moderating hateful content.

Researchers pointed to the challenges of moderating and monitoring livestreaming content. These ranged from the length of broadcasts – some of which can be upwards of three hours long – to the technical shortcomings of the platforms involved. Jared Holt, a resident fellow at the Atlantic Council’s Digital Forensic Research Lab whose work focuses on domestic extremism, told SPLC that livestreaming has long been “a place where things fall through the cracks.”

“Moderating live video content has often proved challenging for social media platforms since the content is being produced in near-real-time and can often be changed or removed after a stream to try to avoid would-be automated moderation against their channels. This content strategy also creates additional, though not impossible, challenges for researchers focused on hate movements,” Holt said.

Most platforms also depend on users to report egregious content in livestreams. This reliance on

user-generated reports has already had disastrous consequences. In 2019, white supremacist terrorists in Christchurch, New Zealand, and Halle, Germany, used Facebook Live and Twitch, respectively, to broadcast their attacks in real time and **rack up thousands of views**. In the case of Christchurch, Facebook said in a statement posted March 18, 2019, that it received its first user report 29 minutes after the attacker, Brenton Tarrant, began livestreaming. Before Facebook took down the original video, it was viewed around 4,000 times.

Certain “alt-tech” platforms may not even offer a mechanism for reporting content – and even if they do, they may choose to overlook extremist activity. In May, **The Guardian reported** that an executive at Odysee told moderators that a “Nazi that makes videos about the superiority of the white race” was not enough to warrant removing content from the site.⁵⁸ And some tech platforms even, directly or indirectly, encourage or facilitate extremism. As **Hatewatch reported** in December, an executive from Entropy announced he had constructed a custom piece of software for Fuentes, the white nationalist “Stop the Steal” proponent, after Entropy’s payment processor requested the company cut ties with him.⁵⁹

“As long as there are platforms that allow some form of monetization and either refuse to enforce their rules or do not care about who is using their platforms, white nationalists and other extremists will continue to have homes to fund their hate and conspiracy theories,” Alex Kaplan, the author of the Media Matters report on SubscribeStar, told SPLC.

But even with mainstream tech companies that have been receptive to criticisms of their handling of extremist content, researchers suggested that platforms’ moderation policies should be considered dynamic.

“We need to view tech company content policies as an ongoing, evolving process. That is, there will never be a point where companies reach a ‘sufficient’ policy approach and can rest on their laurels,” Lewis told the SPLC.

“Online extremists are constantly changing tactics, and tech companies will have to constantly keep up,” she added.

Nick Fuentes Deplatformed: A White Nationalist’s Journey Through Alt-Tech

By Hannah Gais

Nick Fuentes, a white nationalist livestreamer and proponent of the anti-democratic “Stop the Steal” movement, spent much of 2021 jumping from one streaming platform to another following a ban from **the youth-targeted streaming platform DLive** in the wake of the Jan. 6 insurrection at the U.S. Capitol.

On Jan. 9, 2021, three days after Fuentes **told insurrectionists** to “keep moving towards the Capitol” and “break down the barriers and disregard the police,”⁶⁰ DLive announced it had banned Fuentes, and several others, from the platform on the basis of “inciting violent and illegal activities.” Prior to his DLive ban, the Southern Poverty Law Center Intelligence Project’s publishing arm, Hatewatch, **reported that Fuentes was one of the top earners** on the platform, on track to earn a salary of \$118,000 per year. During the “Stop the Steal” protests in late 2020 and early 2021, **Hatewatch learned** that Fuentes received \$43,822.86 in donations on DLive.⁶¹

Fuentes’ efforts to construct a viable alternative platform following his DLive ban illustrates the hurdles right-wing extremists face after deplatforming. (“Deplatforming” refers to the action of tech companies stopping a person or group, particularly extremists, from using their services.)

“This has been the hardest year of my entire life,” Fuentes said on a Dec. 23, 2021, livestream, referencing these struggles. “We started out the year with everything I had built totally destroyed – the financial aspect of it, the streaming aspect of it, and even the infrastructure on the business side.”

SPLC tracked Fuentes’ activities after DLive banned him from the platform and found that he used a variety of tactics to keep his weeknight show, “America First,” up and running.

➡ On Jan. 11, 2021, Fuentes announced on Telegram that he had been working “around the clock” to launch his own streaming site in the immediate aftermath of the DLive ban. Due to technical issues, Fuentes and his team were unable to stream his show on the new platform until Jan. 15.



White nationalist activist Nick Fuentes holds a rally at the Michigan state Capitol in November 2020.

➔ The independent platform didn't last, however. On Jan. 18, SPLC identified that Fuentes was using YouTube to stream his show, even though the video streaming site had banned him on Feb. 14, 2020. Through its examination of his site's source code, SPLC determined that Fuentes had managed to return to YouTube. When SPLC reached out to YouTube on Jan. 20, 2021, a representative said they had terminated multiple channels for attempting to circumvent Fuentes' ban from the platform.

➔ That same day, Fuentes gave a special shout-out to members of the tech team that had supported him through his efforts to find an alternative to DLive. As [Hatewatch reported](#) in November,⁶² among those Fuentes credited with providing technical support were, according to Hatewatch research and analysis, Simon Dickerman, who appears to have longstanding ties to white power circles online, and Michael Zimmermann, the then-information technology director of the Trump-tied conspiracy site Infowars.

➔ By mid-February, Fuentes' team announced they were beta testing his new streaming platform. Though he remained the sole user of the site for several months, Fuentes rebranded his custom livestreaming platform as cozy.tv in mid-October.

➔ Fuentes continued to rely on an external platform, Entropy, to process donations and provide a chat for users during his livestreams. But as [Hatewatch reported in December](#), Fuentes announced during a Nov. 29 broadcast of "America First" that Entropy's payment processor forced the company to drop him as a client. Emmanuel Constantinidis, founder and CEO of Chthonic, the company that owns Entropy, reassured users of his software that they had "built [Fuentes] a replacement." In a statement posted on the messaging app Discord, Constantinidis added, "It's a complicated story, but sufficed to say we won't leave anyone out to dry."

Fuentes' journey reflects the hurdles many right-wing extremists face when it comes to navigating the "alt-tech" ecosystem. As his brief return to YouTube demonstrates, deplatformed extremists still favor mainstream social media sites for their ease of use and audience. Above all, Fuentes' month-and-a-half-long struggle to set up a viable long-term streaming alternative demonstrates the real costs of deplatforming, in that it not only strips them of their ability to fundraise but forces them to redirect income to find new ways to keep hate online.

The Year in Unity and Resilience

DESPITE ITS CHALLENGES and tumult, 2021 was also a year marked by the actions and strength of individuals, organizations and communities across the United States who met the moment. Whether they've been working towards progress for decades or have recently organized to confront new manifestations of hardship and bigotry, their resilience remains steadfast. As we enter 2022, with political division and public health concerns at the forefront of our collective conscious, we're seeking to highlight some of those individuals and organizations, as well as the coalitions they have helped build to support their communities. While those featured below continue to carry imperative work forward, we also aim to elevate the need for the equitable dissemination of support and resources.



BARRETT EMKE



Kansas State Rep. Stephanie Byers in the state Capitol in Topeka, Kansas, in February 2022.

‘Lemons to Lemonade’ with the BTV Clean Up Crew

By Lydia Bates

“If we believe in a community at all ... [we] have to believe that our neighbors feel loved and welcomed,” explained a founding member of the BTV Clean Up Crew, based in Burlington, Vermont. This belief is what keeps the Clean Up Crew motivated as they confront hate and extremism in their community.

Founded in July 2019, the BTV Clean Up Crew works to remove bigoted stickers and flyers posted around the area by hate groups. Communicating via encrypted and secure messaging platforms, the grassroots coalition of community members identifies areas where hateful messages have been posted and organizes expedient removal.

Prior to COVID-19 precautions, group members spent weekends removing hateful material and picking up roadside trash. Since the onset of the pandemic, their activities have become more ad hoc, resulting in the removal of over 230 hate stickers and flyers in 2021.

The hate group that most frequently posts flyers and stickers in the Burlington area is a white nationalist group called **Patriot Front**. In a year when the flying efforts of Patriot Front have increased elsewhere in the country, the Clean Up Crew reports that “in the aggregate, [the number of incidents] has gone down” in the Burlington area.

The group’s fundraising model has much to do with that decline. Each month, the Clean Up Crew tallies the number of hate stickers they’ve removed. They then crowdsource donations from Facebook followers who pledge a monetary amount per sticker to a local nonprofit of the Crew’s choosing. The more stickers hate groups post in the Burlington area, the larger the donation to local progressive organizations.

“We try to donate money directly to whatever group that was most targeted that month,” a Clean Up Crew member explained. Recently, due to a spate of transphobic flying incidents, the BTV

Clean Up Crew has been funneling donations to **Outright Vermont**, a local organization aimed at building an equitable and inclusive society for all LGBTQ+ young people. The Clean Up Crew has also donated to local organizations such as **Migrant Justice** and **Black Lives Matter of Greater Burlington**.

“It adds some levity to something that is so dire. It’s lemons to lemonade” said Rachel Frida Siegel, co-coordinator of the **Old North End Mutual Aid (ONEMA)**, a local organization that was recently the recipient of BTV Clean Up Crew’s crowdfunded donations. “That money enabled us to make our community stronger by supporting people who needed resources that they couldn’t get otherwise.”

Part of the Clean Up Crew’s success in confronting hate in their community stems from their focus on preventing the amplification of extremist rhetoric and narratives. Group members do not alert the police or local media to the flyers and stickers but quietly remove them along with other types of trash.

For those interested in creating similar efforts in their community, the BTV Clean Up Crew recommends making a strong distinction between the bigotry espoused by hate groups and what might be considered differing politics. “Make it clear that what you’re trying to do is counter hate against neighbors” explained a Crew member. “These people are trying to attack your neighbors. These aren’t people who are trying to express their political beliefs.”



To support the BTV Clean Up Crew and learn more about their efforts to make “every neighbor feel loved and welcomed,” visit their Facebook page at <https://www.facebook.com/btvcleanupcrew/>.



Washington Gov. Jay Inslee joins community and business leaders at Seattle-Tacoma International Airport in October 2021.

COMMUNITY COALITION-BUILDING

‘Voices of Love and Unity’ for Afghan Refugees

By Caleb Kieffer

In the state of Washington, the American Muslim Empowerment Network at the Muslim Association of Puget Sound (MAPS-AMEN) is leading a campaign to welcome refugees from Afghanistan.

“There’s so much noise, and we need to have our voices of love and unity to be louder than the haters that are always going to be there,” said Aneelah Afzali, executive director of MAPS-AMEN. “That’s the approach we have to take.”

The United States has taken in around 75,000 Afghans since the chaotic withdrawal from Afghanistan in August 2021. As of Dec. 31, 2021, 52,000 have been resettled in communities across

the U.S. Another 22,500 remain in temporary housing facilities awaiting completion of the process, according to the Department of Defense. Efforts to safely resettle Afghan refugees received bipartisan support from many lawmakers and the public, but the effort has not been without politicization. Anti-Muslim hate groups and some right-wing lawmakers used the opportunity to spread divisive rhetoric and bigotry.

Afzali and MAPS-AMEN sought to get ahead of the hate and send a welcoming message to arriving Afghan refugees. “We’re likely going to see, and we’ve already seen, a spike in xenophobia and Islamophobia with a number of new Brown

Muslims arriving in different parts of the state,” she said. “So, what we created are these welcome signs that just say we welcome our Afghan neighbors.” The signs feature a message flanked by colors of the U.S. and Afghanistan flags. She said the goal was to “distribute these welcome signs to really try to get ahead of the narrative and try to have public officials, leaders, and others step up and create that welcoming environment and try to maximize the kind of bipartisan support [for refugees].”

In October 2021, Afzali joined Washington Gov. Jay Inslee, corporate partners and other community leaders at a press conference at the Seattle-Tacoma International Airport’s Welcome Center for Afghans to greet those arriving from Afghanistan and to speak out against recent violence against immigrant and Muslim communities. MAPS-AMEN is also partnering with the Washington State Department of Social and Health Services to provide support for refugees. This effort includes coordination between the government, resettlement agencies and community-based organizations, as well as the Afghan American community. Afzali said various working groups have been established to address housing, employment, health, legal services, donations, food and more.

Washington is one of the top 10 states taking in refugees, according to data from the U.S. State Department. The Southern Poverty Law Center tracked 50 anti-Muslim hate groups in 2021, including three in Washington. Anti-Muslim hate groups coalesced around anti-refugee sentiment in 2021. This rhetoric is likely to carry over into 2022 as the Biden administration announced plans last year to increase the United States’ refugee cap to 125,000. This is set to reverse Trump’s historically low cap of 18,000.

Afzali said she plans to continue the welcoming campaign through the next few months as more refugees arrive. “We’re also helping make sure that families do not fall through the cracks. And it’s so hard to do that because you have such an influx. Both the pace and the number of arrivals is significant.” She also stressed the importance of people showing up for the Afghan community. “That kind of welcoming message is not only important for the Afghan arrivals themselves to feel that support from the community, but again, also to help ensure that any of those voices that might otherwise want to thrive, those ugly voices of hate, that we nip them in the bud in advance. We cannot allow that hateful messaging to gain any kind of momentum.”



LIBERATION THROUGH EDUCATION

Seeding Freedom in the Mississippi Delta

By Lydia Bates

Sunflower County Freedom Project Fellows visit the Equal Justice Initiative’s National Memorial for Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama.

TIONAL MEMORIAL CE AND JUSTICE



Liberation education is premised on the idea “that you have the tools, knowledge, skills and resources to lead the life that you want to live,” explained Ki Harris, Executive Director of the Freedom Project Network.

Composed of three individual Freedom Projects in Sunflower County, Meridian, and Rosedale, Mississippi, each project supplements student education with programming geared toward agency and empowerment. The overarching Freedom Project Network was developed in 2016 to sustain each of the existing sites and grow the reach of the organization.

As Harris detailed, the organization’s work and goals are reflective of the traditions of the **1964 Freedom Summer Schools**. Carrying the spirit of those schools forward, the Freedom Project Network seeks “to create a type of educational movement where students [are] taught to question, students [are] taught to interrogate, and students

[are] taught to challenge oppressive systems in their community and the society at large.”

Having come to Mississippi with Teach for America in 2014, Harris knows the challenges that public-school teachers face in supporting students who are underserved and historically marginalized. “We’re taught [this is] an achievement gap” Harris explained, “but if we actually interrogate that further ... that’s not true. It’s not an achievement gap, but an opportunity gap.”

As the Freedom Project Network seeks to bridge that gap with liberation education, students and staff are grounded in Love, Education, Action and Discipline – the LEAD Principles. Despite the instability of the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, each Freedom Project has continued to provide **LEAD-guided programming** that goes well beyond the conventional bounds of after school extracurriculars.

In **Love**, Rosedale Freedom Project students established the Gender-Sexuality Alliance to

support LGBTQ+ individuals in partnership with the LGBTQ Fund of Mississippi in 2021. Love also inspired the Freedom Project’s staff to adapt to changing public health conditions with “porch-visits” – meetings between staff and students on family home porches.

As the core of each Freedom Project’s mission, **Education** was the driving force behind reading, conversations and a speaker series centered on abolition at the Rosedale Freedom Project. Similarly, interactive education was the impetus for a summer trip to the Equal Justice Initiative’s National Memorial for Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama, and the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute and 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham.

Throughout 2021, Freedom Project students harnessed Love and Education to guide their **Action**. Following research into food deserts – urban areas where fresh, affordable food is scarce – students in Meridian planted seven community gardens at senior living facilities, public housing complexes and churches. Meanwhile, Sunflower

County Freedom Project students spent over 200 hours writing and editing their annual literary magazine, *The Chapters of Life*.

With **Discipline**, all Freedom Project students in Meridian maintained an above 3.0 GPA. Rosedale students visited four colleges and universities, and all senior Freedom Project students in Sunflower County were accepted to college.

According to Jalaya Liles Dunn, Director of SPLC’s **Learning for Justice**, “there’s a great deal of crossover between the LEAD Principles and the four domains of Learning for Justice’s Social Justice Standards – identity, diversity, justice and action – which LFJ hopes will contribute to more liberation in schools and communities as well.”

Similar to Learning for Justice, as the Freedom Project Network continues to plant the seeds of

(Top left) Freedom Project Fellows and staff sing a Freedom Song in their daily “circle up.” (Top right) Fellows from the Meridian Freedom Project participate in a reading circle for their Novel Studies course. (Bottom left) Fellows and staff from the Rosedale Freedom Project create art to show unity and collective power.

FREEDOM PROJECT NETWORK



freedom through education, they are playing a crucial role “in shaping an inclusive, multiracial and multiethnic democracy,” Liles Dunn explained.

“An education for freedom provokes questions, ignites wonder and promotes critical thinking,” Liles Dunn said. “Ensuring that the next generation of leaders embraces identity and diversity and wields collective power and action to champion justice is a fundamental step to disrupting hate at its core.”

In the view of Harris and the Freedom Project Network, such questions and critical thinking form the educational foundation from which “blossoms all freedoms.”

To learn more about the Freedom Project Network and support them in their mission to seed freedom through education, visit their website at <https://www.freedomprojectnetwork.org/>.



REPRESENTATION IN OFFICE

‘We have to mobilize together.’

By Jason Wilson

Before she became the first Indigenous transgender woman elected to a state house in the United States, Kansas state Rep. Stephanie Byers spent 32 years teaching music to high school students.

During Byers’ own high school days at a public school in Oklahoma, an inspirational teacher opened her eyes to the fact that “music was available to everyone” regardless of their origins or income status.

This made her want to awaken others to the same possibilities.

“I wanted to use music to touch people’s hearts, including in class,” Byers said. “I wanted to make it a joy.”

She taught first at a private school, and then a small rural school in Colorado.

“I understand the challenges faced by rural schools, and suburban schools, and inner-city schools,” she said. She now employs her firsthand experience in her service on the Kansas House Committee on Education.

Finally, she arrived at North Wichita High School, where, for over two decades, she was part of a community that offered inspiration, support and safety to its members.

“Inside that building there’s a bubble of protection,” she said.

And that protection is extended not only to students.

In the years leading up to her retirement, Byers’ gender transition renewed her sense of the resilience that arises from tightly bonded school communities.

“I began living authentically in 2014 without knowing how my colleagues would respond,” she said. “But the faculty wrapped themselves around me and said, ‘We love you – how can we help you?’”

This, and her intimate understanding of the challenges faced by LGBTQ students, led her to activism as anti-LGBTQ legislators around the country began pushing so-called “bathroom bills.”





We have got to unite together across this country. We have got to realize that we have to mobilize together.

— REP. STEPHANIE BYERS

“My activism on LGBTQ issues geared up after I began living authentically,” she said, and her skilled advocacy led to her achieving local and even national prominence as a transgender rights campaigner.

Friends and allies began encouraging her to run for office, and when the incumbent Democrat retired as representative of Kansas’s 86th District, Byers ran in the 2020 election, and won by 11 votes.

She has not forgotten her former colleagues and students, however. Indeed, she thinks the far right has chosen to highlight issues like so-called “critical race theory” precisely because they see schools as a place that promotes resilience in the communities they wish to scapegoat and target.

“That’s why we’re seeing the right-wing push on school boards,” she said, adding, “They see there’s a structure of safety there, and they want to tear that structure down.”

The outgrowths of the assault on schools are as apparent in Kansas as they are in the rest of the country, according to Byers.

“The screaming matches at school boards – that’s happening in Kansas,” she said.

And in turn, this has affected teachers, who are also struggling to navigate educating during a pandemic.

“My friends who are still teaching are heart-broken,” she said. “They’re no longer seen as professionals by some of the parents of the students they teach.”

For now, in the legislature, that means her agenda is, first, to protect existing structures of resilience and safety.

“We’re still on the defensive,” she said of the Democrat “super-minority” that is contending with GOP efforts to enact bills that would, in one example, ban transgender girls from participating in girls’ sports.

On that specific issue, Byers said progressive activists around the country should “look past the shiny object,” and not be distracted by the anti-LGBTQ framing of the issue.

“It’s not about fairness in sports,” she said. “It’s about putting kids in closets.”

“We need to call it out for what it is: bullying,” Byers adds.

In other advice to those pushing back on hate, she said progress will not be piecemeal. “We have got to unite together across this country,” Byers said. “We have got to realize that we have to mobilize together.”

Conclusion

Through efforts to counter and expose, SPLC has long sought to confront and mitigate the harm caused by hate and extremism. Without the resilience of individuals and communities beyond our organization, however, that work would be futile. Being informed by the research on hate and extremism contained within this report and galvanizing through educational and community-based resilience efforts is how we “mobilize together.” From grassroots organizers, through local and

national coalitions, to policymakers and elected officials, resistance to hate and support for those victimized is each of our responsibility. When acts of hate and harm occur, we encourage you to safely speak out, form and join networks of resilience, and seek the necessary resources to support those who have been targeted. While the [SPLC](#) and [Learning for Justice](#) websites have ample [information](#) and [resources](#), action is the foundation of unity and resilience.

What We Do Now

Policy Recommendations

DEMOCRACY IN THE United States is under threat from a hard-right, antidemocratic mass movement that has brought hate and antigovernment extremists into the mainstream, threatening the fabric of inclusive, diverse democracy. It is urgent for policymakers to act to defend and strengthen our democratic institutions, and to commit to holistic, long-term initiatives to counter racism, antigovernment extremism, and hate groups in America.

Protect democracy

Every citizen deserves to be able to participate in our democracy and civic discourse without fear, intimidation or barriers.

With essential voting rights legislation blocked due to Senate Republican obstruction, it is even more important for the Department of Justice to use its authority to challenge discriminatory anti-voting laws – and for activists and grassroots





ER FOR VOTING RIGHTS

ington, DC · Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday · January 17, 2022

organizations to engage in the fight to protect and advance voting rights through every tool we have in our communities. While Congress should enact legislation to raise the threshold for challenging Electoral College votes, and to clarify that the Vice President’s role in the process is exclusively ministerial, with no authority to overturn election results, it must not do so without also passing legislation to address the erosion of the Voting Rights Act and other reforms to strengthen our democracy.

Speak out against hate, political violence, and extremism

Words matter, especially from our leaders. It is impossible to overstate the importance of elected officials, business and community leaders, civic and faith leaders, military commanders, and law enforcement executives using their public platforms to condemn hate, racism, attacks on voting and democratic institutions, and extremism in all forms. Failure to do so emboldens extremists – as we saw dramatically demonstrated during the Trump administration. Leaders across the country can inspire positive change and confidence about the future by promoting visions of an inclusive community where everyone can thrive.

Following the Jan. 6 insurrection, corporate leaders vowed to withdraw financial support from political officials who refused to certify the 2020 election. One year later, corporate money continues to flow to most of the 147 lawmakers who voted against certification. Statements of support of our democracy alone are insufficient; they must be backed up with meaningful action.

Hold the planners and perpetrators of the Jan. 6 attack accountable

Those responsible for the deadly Jan. 6 insurrection – and elected officials who explicitly or subtly encouraged or enabled this political violence – must be held accountable and suffer real consequences.

- The essential work of the House Select Committee to investigate the Jan. 6 attack on the United States Capitol must be strongly supported. The Committee’s findings and recommendations will be critical for lawmakers and the public to help understand the architects behind the Jan. 6 attack, how to hold those

700+

individuals have been charged by the Justice Department in connection with the Jan. 6 attack on the U.S. Capitol.

80+

of the defendants charged in relation to the Jan. 6 attack have ties to the U.S. military – mostly veterans.

planners and perpetrators accountable, and necessary steps to safeguard future elections and our country’s democratic institutions.

- The federal government should continue to prosecute the organizers, financial backers, political enablers and perpetrators involved in the Jan. 6 insurrection to the fullest extent of the law. The prosecution of specific individuals for “seditious conspiracy” is a welcome development – and an important and appropriate step given the gravity of the attack.
- Business leaders and corporations should permanently suspend political donations to members of Congress and other elected officials who helped incite the violent siege and commit to withholding all forms of support for political candidates who either actively support political violence, amplify those who do, or fail to promptly condemn political violence when it comes from their allies or supporters.

Improve government response to domestic extremism

President Biden’s [National Strategy for Countering Domestic Terrorism](#) calls for expanded information sharing and more resources to address the racism underlying extremism, including efforts to advance equity and promote civics education and engagement.



A student holds a pair of heart balloons at a rally to raise awareness of anti-Asian violence outside the Japanese American National Museum in Little Tokyo in Los Angeles on Mar. 13, 2021.

- Congress should enact the Domestic Terrorism Prevention Act (S.964/H.R. 350) to establish offices within the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), the Department of Justice, and the FBI to monitor, investigate and prosecute cases of domestic terrorism – and require regular reports from these offices.
 - Congress should reject efforts to create a new **criminal** domestic terrorism statute, which could be weaponized against dissidents, communities of color, or political opponents. The federal government has plenty of tools to enforce existing laws; it only needs the will to use them.
 - The Biden administration and Congress should promptly implement the new **COVID-19 Hate Crime Act**, and work urgently to address bias-based violence against Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders and other groups, and close gaps in current hate crime data collection and response.
 - Congress should **end funding for police militarization** and the transfer of excess military property to law enforcement agencies. And Congress and the Justice Department should take steps to gauge and directly address white supremacy in policing.
- Enforce current laws and use strategic litigation**
- Every state prohibits private militias, and the federal government and many states have laws prohibiting political violence, restricting firearms in the state capitol/government buildings and near polling places, and banning paramilitary training in furtherance of, or in preparation for, a civil disorder.
- Federal and state authorities should take action to raise awareness about these laws – and enforce them when hard-right activists engage in militia activity.
 - Human rights advocates and state attorneys general should pursue civil litigation – like Integrity First for America’s successful suit against planners and perpetrators of the 2017 Charlottesville white supremacist riot and the December 2021 lawsuit filed by Washington, D.C., Attorney General Karl A. Racine against the Proud Boys, Oath Keepers and other Jan. 6 violent actors – as a best practice that can help deter such lawless behavior in the future.
 - The Justice Department’s Election Threats Task Force must be supported and empowered to protect election workers and voters from intimidation, harassment and violence.

Confront white supremacy and extremism in the military

The Justice Department has so far charged more than 700 individuals in connection with the U.S. Capitol attack. Disturbingly, more than 80 of the defendants charged in relation to the Jan. 6 attack have ties to the U.S. military – mostly veterans.

Led by Secretary of Defense Lloyd J. Austin III, military and civilian Pentagon leadership have been outspoken in addressing this issue seriously – including a **Department-wide stand down** to educate personnel on the dangerous threat of extremist activity and the establishment of **the Countering Extremist Activities Working Group (CEAWG)** to study the issue and offer recommendations.

The Department of Defense must promptly implement the December 2021 **CEAWG report** commitments and complement those advances with additional actions:

- Address extremism at every stage of a service member’s career: better screening during recruitment, expanding and clarifying prohibitions against advocating for, or involvement in, supremacist or extremist activity for all active-duty personnel, and more extensive and tailored efforts to help veterans transition into civilian life, including the ongoing availability of counseling and other mental health and social welfare services.
- Because veterans are high-value targets for extremist groups, the Veterans Administration must provide ongoing education and outreach against misinformation and disinformation to help former military personnel fend off – and report – outreach from extremists.
- Expand existing service prohibitions against the display of flags, clothing, tattoos and bumper stickers – on or off a military installation – that support extremist groups and activities.
- Mandate more extensive data collection and reporting, including an annual climate survey on extremism.
- Immediately rename the ten U.S. Army bases named for Confederate leaders. No American should train at a base named for individuals who fought against the United States for the right to enslave other people.

Fund prevention and education initiatives to steer individuals away from hate and extremism

Disinformation and conspiracy theories are galvanizing attacks on democracy and government institutions and can lead to ideologically motivated violence.

- Federal agencies, including the Department of Justice, the Department of Education, and the Department of Health and Human Services should provide more resources for programs and processes for early intervention. Programs in these areas should focus on inoculating communities against extremism and empowering adults to help steer young people away from dangerous ideas. SPLC and **American University’s Polarization and Extremism Research and Innovation Lab (PERIL)** are currently piloting promising non-governmental initiatives in this direction.
- Federal and state government leadership must promote civics education and anti-bias, anti-hate and democracy-building education programs. It is not possible to legislate, regulate or tabulate hatred and extremism out of existence. **SPLC’s Learning for Justice** resources can serve as a model for needed resources in our nation’s schools.
- The Department of Education should fund and promote anti-racism programs and initiatives to teach critical thinking skills and digital literacy, so students can be inoculated against and fend off misinformation, disinformation and online radicalization. These approaches should be community-focused and non-carceral, and they should foreground the experiences of and support for victim-survivors.
- To respond to unwarranted attacks on inclusive education, federal and state officials should provide support and funding to communities addressing intimidating and menacing threats of violence against health care workers, school board members, teachers and school administrators.

Hold tech and social media companies accountable and promote online safety

More than a year after Jan. 6, it is still frighteningly simple for racists and extremists to disseminate propaganda, recruit followers, generate profits



Black Lives Matter supporters protest in Jacksonville, Florida's Hemming Park on June 24, 2021, the night after the City of Jacksonville took its first steps to remove the city's Confederate monuments.

and spread intimidation on the major social media platforms. Meanwhile, a large number of “alt-tech” platforms have also sprung up to service extremists whose actions exile them from Facebook, Twitter and YouTube.

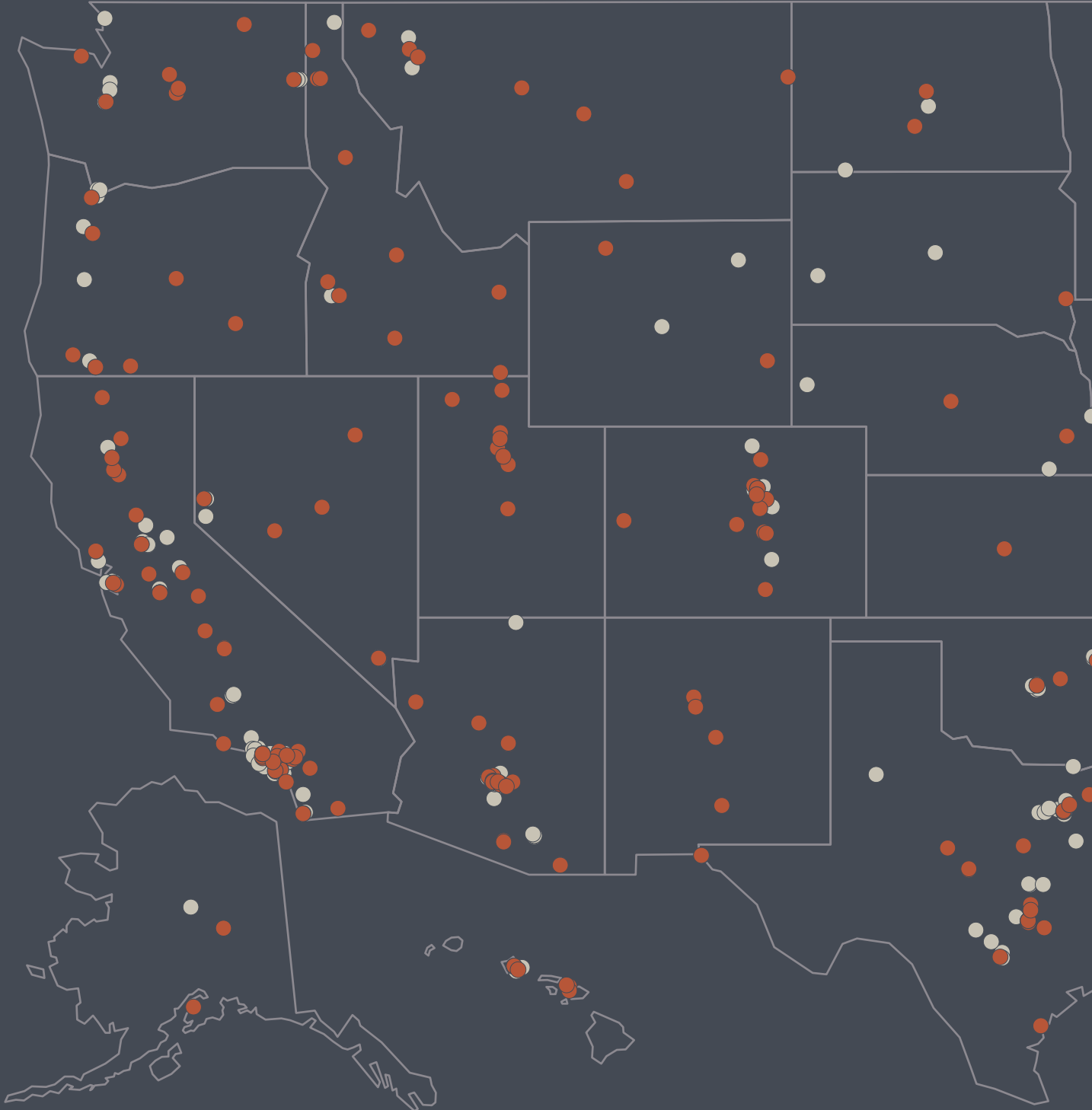
- Tech companies must create – and enforce – Terms of Service and **policies** to ensure that social media platforms, payment service providers and other internet-based services do not provide forums where hateful activities and extremism can grow and lead to domestic terrorism. This will require increased spending on and attention to content moderation to rapidly and effectively address content that violates the terms of service, and detailed transparency reports that address the reasons and numbers of content takedowns.
- Social media companies should be required to make data available to academics and researchers, including information about deplatforming, content removal, account removal, account demonetization, shadow banning and slowdowns, as well as how user ads and recommendation algorithms impact

the proliferation of extremist content on the site/app.

- Social media platforms and online payment service providers should act to disrupt the funding of hate online, to prevent their services from helping to incubate and bankroll terrorists and extremism.
- Tech companies that offer crowdfunding, subscriptions, video streaming cash payouts, in-app or in-site currencies, and/or cryptocurrencies should face additional mandatory transparency and reporting requirements to document use or abuse of their systems to provide financial support for intimidation, harassment and violent extremism.
- Consistent with the First Amendment and privacy considerations, federal and state government officials should implement rules and regulations to ensure that tech companies comply with civil rights laws prohibiting discrimination. Law enforcement should scrutinize platforms and ensure they are enforcing prohibitions on activities that endanger the public or conspire against the rights of others.

Active Antigovernment And Hate Groups

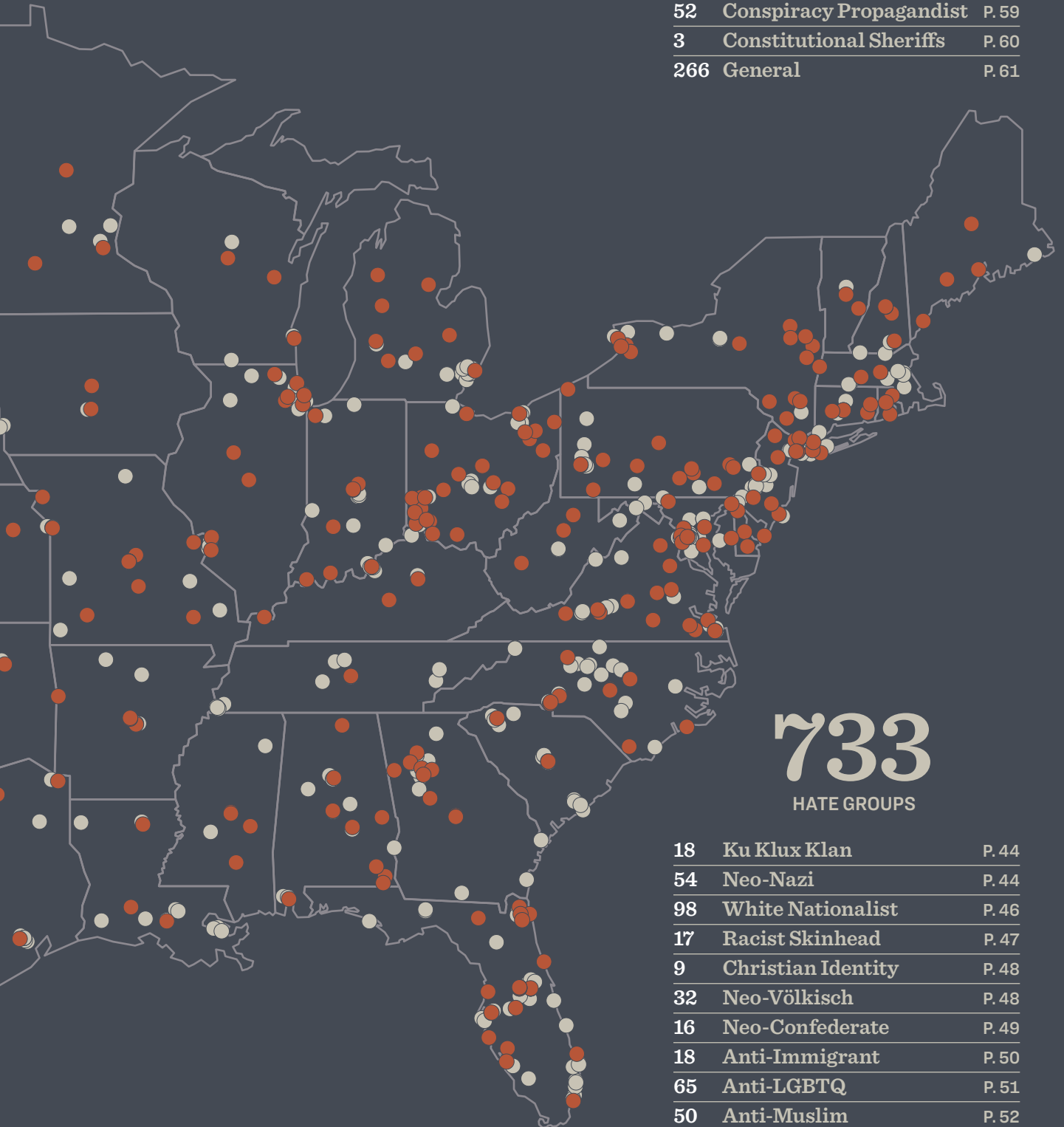
In The United States In 2021



488

ANTIGOVERNMENT GROUPS

92	Militia	P. 56
75	Sovereign Citizen	P. 58
52	Conspiracy Propagandist	P. 59
3	Constitutional Sheriffs	P. 60
266	General	P. 61



733

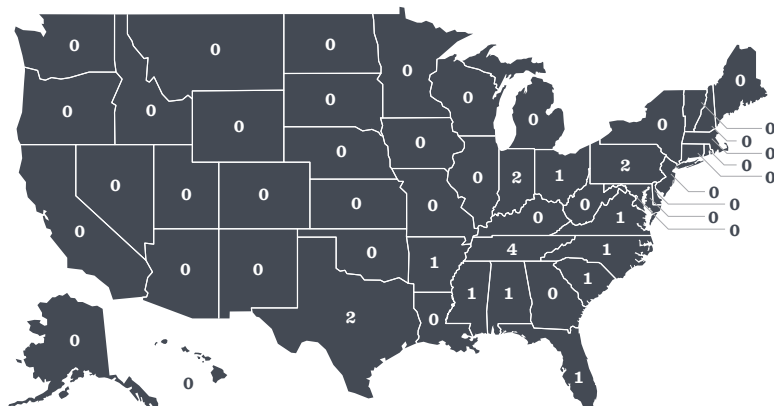
HATE GROUPS

18	Ku Klux Klan	P. 44
54	Neo-Nazi	P. 44
98	White Nationalist	P. 46
17	Racist Skinhead	P. 47
9	Christian Identity	P. 48
32	Neo-Völkisch	P. 48
16	Neo-Confederate	P. 49
18	Anti-Immigrant	P. 50
65	Anti-LGBTQ	P. 51
50	Anti-Muslim	P. 52
61	Antisemitism	P. 53
295	General Hate	P. 54

IN YOUR STATE, GO TO [SPLCENTER.ORG/HATE-MAP](https://splcenter.org/hate-map)

18 Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan, with its long history of violence, is the oldest and most infamous of American hate groups. Although Black Americans have typically been the Klan's primary target, adherents also attack Jewish people, those who have immigrated to the United States and LGBTQ people.



Alabama Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Alabama*

American Christian

Dixie Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Tennessee*

Florida

Philadelphia, PA

Church of the Ku Klux Klan

DeKalb, TX*

Church of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Valparaiso, IN*

East Coast Knights of the True Invisible Empire

Pennsylvania*

Honorable Sacred Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Madison, IN*

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan/Christian Revival Center

Harrison, AR*

Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Pelham, NC*

Virginia

Old Glory Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Santa Fe, TN*

Patriotic Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Gladewater, TX*

South Carolina

True311.com

Tennessee

United Klan Nation

Tennessee*

White Christian

Brotherhood of the Ku Klux Klan

Dayton, OH

Mississippi

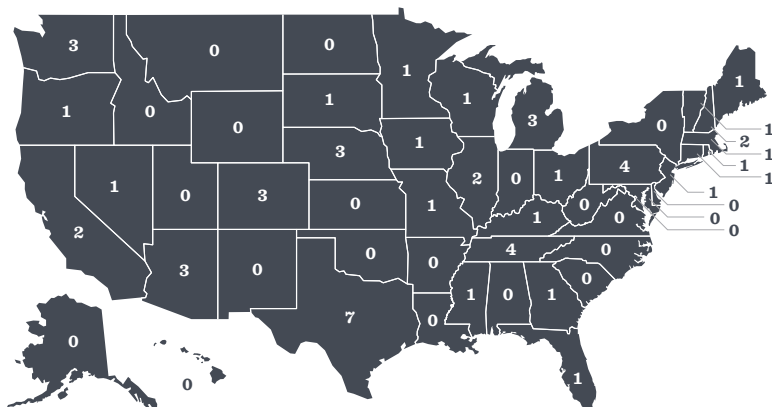
TOP TAKEAWAYS 2021 was marked by more attempts at alliances between Klan groups; accusations of disloyalty to the Klan on social media; and aggrandizing membership, event attendance and influence. Like years past, the number of active Klan groups declined – from 25 in 2020 to 18 in 2021.

KEY MOMENTS 2021 began with the doxing of several members of the DeKalb, Texas-based Church of the Ku Klux Klan and the Gladewater, Texas, chapter of the Patriotic Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. A hacked list of potential applicants shows an extensive overlap in membership between Klan groups. In May, the largest Klan event of the year occurred on private land in Tennessee. Members of the American Christian Dixie Knights, the White Christian Brotherhood and the Alabama Knights gathered to light a cross and initiate a few new members. The number of Klan-related flying incidents dropped significantly this year, from just over 40 in 2020 to under 30 in 2021.

WHAT'S AHEAD KKK activity will likely remain stagnant or continue to decline in 2022. Groups continue to develop websites and attempt to utilize social media platforms but with little success. The KKK's imagery and rituals, unpopular within the contemporary white power movement, coupled with its group leaders' inability to resolve conflicts, hamper hopes for a revival. Similar to 2021, the most notable Klan-related activity in 2022 will most likely be protests countering Klan events and community-based demonstrations against Klan flying incidents.

54 Neo-Nazi

Neo-Nazi groups share a hatred for Jews and a love for Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany. While they also hate other minorities, LGBTQ people and even sometimes Christians, they perceive “the Jew” as their cardinal enemy.



14 First

Washington*
Kentucky
Texas

American Futurist

Denver, CO*
Michigan

American National

Socialist Party

Texas

American Nazi Party

Georgia
New Hampshire

Aryan Freedom

Network

Texas

Aryan Nations –

Church of the Jesus

Christ Christian

Arizona *

AryanFolk.com

Oregon*

Church of Ben Klassen,

The

Pittsburgh, PA*

Austin, TX

Creativity Alliance, The

Illinois*

Daily Stormer, The

Worthington, OH*

Folks Front/Folkish

Resistance Movement

Arizona*

California

Colorado

Michigan

Minnesota

Mississippi

Nebraska

Nevada

Tennessee

Texas

Washington

Fuhrernet

Pennsylvania*

Injekt Division

Texas*

California

Iron Youth

Texas

National Alliance

Mountain City, TN*

Iowa

Pennsylvania

National Socialist

Charitable Coalition/

Global Minority

Initiative

Illinois

National Socialist

German Workers Party

Lincoln, NE*

National Socialist

Movement

Kissimmee, FL*

Maricopa, AZ

Connecticut

Pennsylvania

Tennessee

Washington

National Socialist

Order

Colorado*

Nationalist Social Club

(NSC-131)

Massachusetts*

Maine

New Hampshire

Rhode Island

Vermont

New Order

Milwaukee, WI*

NS Publications

Wyandotte, MI

Patriotic Dissent Books

New Jersey*

PzG Inc.

Rapid City, SD

Straight Arm Media

Tennessee*

Third Reich Books

Fairbury, NE

Vanguard News

Network

Kirkville, MO*

Definitions

What is a hate group?

The Southern Poverty Law Center defines a hate group as an organization or collection of individuals that – based on its official statements or principles, the statements of its leaders, or its activities – has beliefs or practices that attack or malign an entire class of people, typically for their immutable characteristics. An organization does not need to have engaged in criminal conduct or have followed their speech with actual unlawful action to be labeled a hate group. We do not list individuals as hate groups, only organizations.

The organizations on our [hate group list](#) vilify others because of their race, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation or gender identity – prejudices that strike at the heart of our democratic values and fracture society along its most fragile fault lines.

What is an antigovernment group?

Groups we list as antigovernment see the federal government as an enemy of the people and promote baseless conspiracy theories generally involving a secret cabal of elites seeking to institute a global, totalitarian government – a “New World Order.” The antigovernment movement includes the militia movement, which encompasses groups such as the [Three Percenters](#) and [Oath Keepers](#), that actively engage in paramilitary activities. The movement also includes so-called “[sovereign citizens](#)” who reject the authority of the government, as well as self-described “constitutional sheriffs” who believe sheriffs are the highest form of law enforcement in the country and can disobey federal laws deemed “unconstitutional,” and members of the tax protest movement, who believe they have the legal ability to avoid paying income taxes, which they perceive to be illegitimate.

For more information, see <https://www.splcenter.org/20200318/frequently-asked-questions-about-hate-groups>.

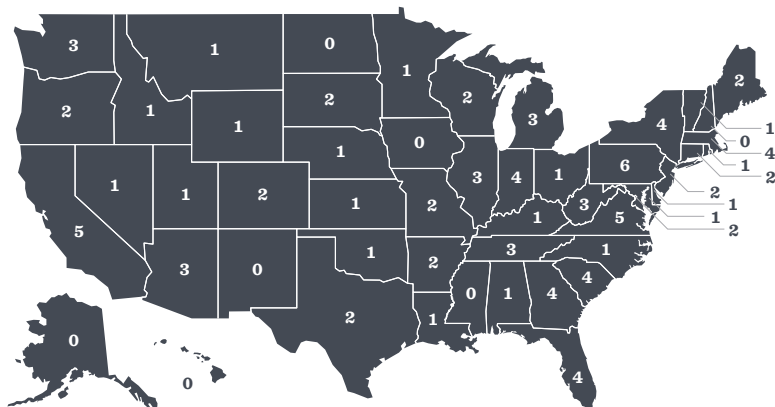
TOP TAKEAWAYS The neo-Nazi movement continued to struggle under significant setbacks to in-person organizing in 2021. Instead, much of the momentum behind the neo-Nazi movement today continues to come from smaller, more decentralized groups and online social networks with a terroristic focus.

KEY MOMENTS In November 2021, a jury in the Sines v. Kessler civil trial against the organizers of the deadly 2017 “Unite the Right” rally found former Daily Stormer contributor Robert “Azzmador” Ray of the National Socialist Movement (NSM) and former NSM leader Jeff Schoep liable on charges of a civil conspiracy under Virginia state law. The jury ordered NSM to pay \$1 million in punitive damages and Schoep and Ray to each pay an additional \$500,000 and \$700,000, respectively. Legal proceedings against several members of Atomwaffen Division concluded in 2021 as well. In May, a federal court sentenced John Cameron Denton, a former Atomwaffen leader who went by the monikers “Rape” and “Vincent Synder” online, to 41 months in prison for his role in a conspiracy that involved a form of targeted harassment known as “swatting.”

WHAT’S AHEAD The size and influence of historically prominent groups will continue to change as the movement reforms itself to cater to a new generation of neo-Nazis. Many of these younger neo-Nazis have tossed aside traditional organizing tactics in favor of decentralized online spaces. On platforms such as [Telegram](#), this new generation of extremists has embraced more openly violent messages, including advocating for or valorizing acts of terror. This rhetoric will continue in 2022.

98 White Nationalist

Adherents of white nationalist **groups** believe that white identity should be the organizing principle of the countries that make up Western civilization. White nationalists advocate policies to reverse changing demographics and the loss of an absolute, white majority.



Affirmative Right

Atlanta, GA*
America First Foundation
 Western Springs, IL*
 Saint Petersburg, FL
American Freedom News
 Hampton Twp, PA*
American Freedom Party
 Los Angeles, CA*
 New York, New York
American Patriots USA
 Dahlonga, GA*

American Renaissance/ New Century

Foundation
 Oakton, VA
Antelope Hill Publishing
 Quakertown, PA*
Arktos Media
 New York, NY*
Bay State Active Club
 Massachusetts
Blood River Radio
 Bartlett, TN*
Christ the King Reformed Church
 Charlotte, MI*

Colchester Collection, The

Machias, ME*
Council of Conservative Citizens
 Blackwell, MO*
Counter-Currents Publishing
 San Francisco, CA*
Cursus Honorum Foundation
 Austin, TX
Dominion Active Club
 Virginia*
 Evergreen

Bedford, PA*

Exodus/Americanus

Floyds Knobs, IN*
Fight White Genocide

Columbia, SC*

Fitzgerald Griffin

Foundation, The

Vienna, VA*

Front Range Active Club

Colorado

Full Haus

Purgitsville, WV*

Indiana Active Club

Indiana*

International

Conservative Movement

Massachusetts*

Koschertified?

San Marcos, CA*

Mannerbund

Norwalk, CT*

National Justice Party

Butler, PA*

National Reformation

Party

California*

New Jersey European

Heritage Association

New Jersey*

Northwest Front

Seattle, WA*

Occidental Dissent

Eufaula, AL*

Occidental Observer

Medford, OR*

Patriot Front

Texas*

Arizona

Arkansas

California

Colorado

Connecticut

Delaware

Washington

Florida

Georgia

Idaho

Illinois

Indiana

Kansas

Kentucky

Louisiana

Maine

Maryland

Massachusetts

Michigan

Minnesota

Missouri

Nebraska

Nevada

New Jersey

New York

North Carolina

Ohio

Oklahoma

Oregon

TOP TAKEAWAYS The number of white nationalist groups continues to decline after their numbers peaked at 155 in 2019. Many nationwide networks have contracted or entirely fallen apart, marking a movement away from sprawling membership organizations and toward groups that are highly centralized. The movement’s energy shifted into more mainstream spaces in the aftermath of Jan. 6. Many white nationalist groups and individuals are trying to harness the grievances of Trump supporters into an openly ethnonationalist political movement – one they hope will become the core of the GOP.

KEY MOMENTS White nationalists were present at the Jan. 6 insurrection, including livestreamer Nick Fuentes, who rallied his followers outside the Capitol. In February, Rep. Paul Gosar, R-Arizona, spoke at Fuentes’ America First Political Action Conference.

The National Justice Party convened several meetings this year where white nationalist groups – including Patriot Front, Media2Rise and Antelope Hill – met to network. Patriot Front held its own demonstrations throughout the year in cities including Chicago, Philadelphia and Washington, D.C.

In a major rebuke to the racist right, the jury in *Sines v. Kessler* found that some of the most prominent figureheads and groups in the white nationalist movement conspired to intimidate, harass, or commit harm during the 2017 Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia.

WHAT’S AHEAD As the Republican Party moves to embrace extremist ideas like the “great replacement,” barriers between the white nationalist movement and the mainstream right will likely continue to erode. We will also see continued attempts by white nationalists to convince white Americans they are persecuted by “anti-white” ideas and policies – talking points that political candidates could repeat. With the 2022 midterms, we could see further mobilization and even violence from the white nationalist movement, especially at the local level.

17 Racist Skinhead

Racist skinheads have long been among the most violent-minded elements of the white power movement. Often referred to as the “shock troops” of the hoped-for white revolution, this movement flourished during the 1980s through the 1990s and into the mid-2000s, particularly through the lucrative international hate music scene.

Pennsylvania
Rhode Island
South Carolina
South Dakota
Tennessee
Texas
Utah
Vermont
Virginia
Washington
West Virginia
Wisconsin
Wyoming

Patriotic Flags

Summerville, SC*

Political Cesspool, The

Bartlett, TN*

Racial Nationalist party of America

Lockport, NY*

Radix Journal

Alexandria, VA*

Red Ice

Harrisonburg, VA*

Renaissance Horizon

Summerville, SC*

Revolt Through Tradition

Massachusetts*

School of the West

Page, AZ*

Scott-Townsend

Publishers

Washington, DC*

Shieldwall Network

Mountain View, AR*

Stormfront

West Palm Beach, FL*

The Base

Washington*

Indiana

Wisconsin

The Right Stuff

Pennsylvania*

VDARE Foundation

Berkeley Springs, WV*

White Rabbit Radio

Dearborn Heights, MI*

Will2Rise

Lakeland, FL*

AC Skins

Atlantic City, NJ*

California

American Defense

Skinheads

Illinois

Pennsylvania

American Front

California

Montana

Washington

Firm 22

Florida

Keystone United

Pennsylvania*

Old Glory Skinheads

North Carolina

United Skinhead Nation

Florida*

Tennessee

Wisconsin

Vinland Clothing

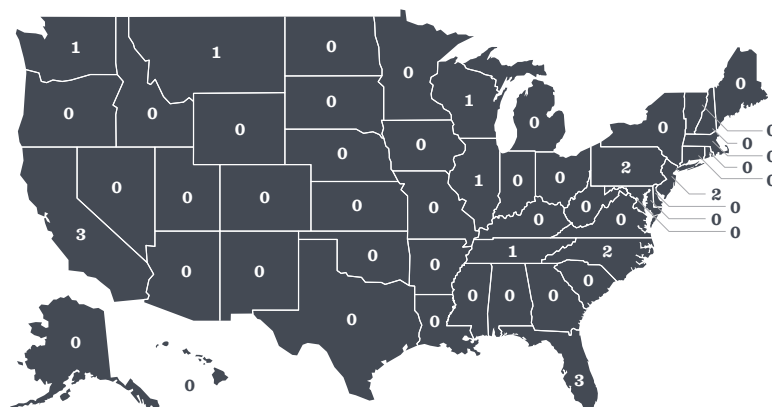
California

Vinlanders Social Club

Florida

New Jersey

North Carolina



TOP TAKEAWAYS With almost no young recruits, the racist skinhead movement’s prominence within this country’s white power movement has diminished steadily for years. In 2020, the SPLC listed 36 racist skinhead chapters, down from 48 in 2019. SPLC recorded another multi-year decline in 2021, registering just 17 chapters. Image-conscious white nationalist groups and militant neo-Nazi groups are attracting the younger generation, while new racist skinhead groups are exceedingly rare and generally emerge from the fragments of existing groups. No group is recruiting in significant numbers. Some of the movement’s former leaders have migrated into other far-right groups, such as the Proud Boys.

KEY MOMENTS For the second year running, the American Defense Skinheads (ADS) helped organize a small concert in Pennsylvania in October. The show attracted a few dozen attendees and was co-organized by Keystone State Skins, or Keystone United. Bands associated with ADS and the Atlantic City Skinheads (ACS) performed. Also in November, individuals associated with the Atlantic City Skinheads traveled to Mexico City, Mexico, for a concert.

WHAT’S AHEAD In 2022, individuals associated with ACS are already connecting with people booking concerts featuring a range of subcultural musical styles also co-opted by racists, including electronic, industrial, black metal, neo-folk, noise and hardcore. Overall, the movement will continue to stagnate and slowly lose relevance in this country. White nationalist groups and milieus like that of white power accelerationism have replaced the racist skinhead movement among younger recruits, both in posture and intent.

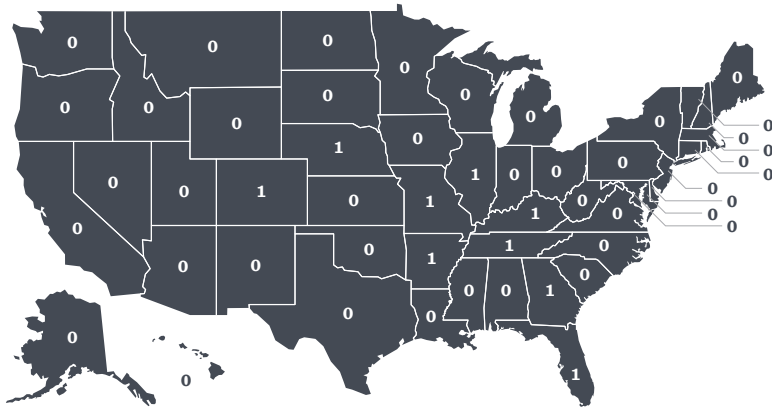
9 Christian Identity

Christian Identity is an antisemitic and racist ideology that became influential on the far right in the 1980s. “Christian” in name only, the ideology claims that white people, not Jewish people, are favored by God as the true Israelites in the Bible. With similarly archaic and rigid belief systems, Ku Klux Klan and neo-Confederate hate groups have occasionally formed symbiotic relationships with Christian Identity groups and adherents.

Christogenea
Panama City, FL*
Church of Israel
Schell City, MO*
Covenant People’s Ministry
Brooks, GA*
Euro Folk Radio
Chicago, IL*

Fellowship of God’s Covenant People
Union, KY*
Kingdom Identity Ministries
Harrison, AR*
Mission to Israel
Scottsbluff, NE*

Sacred Truth Publishing & Ministries
Mountain City, TN*
Scriptures for America Worldwide Ministries
Laporte, CO*



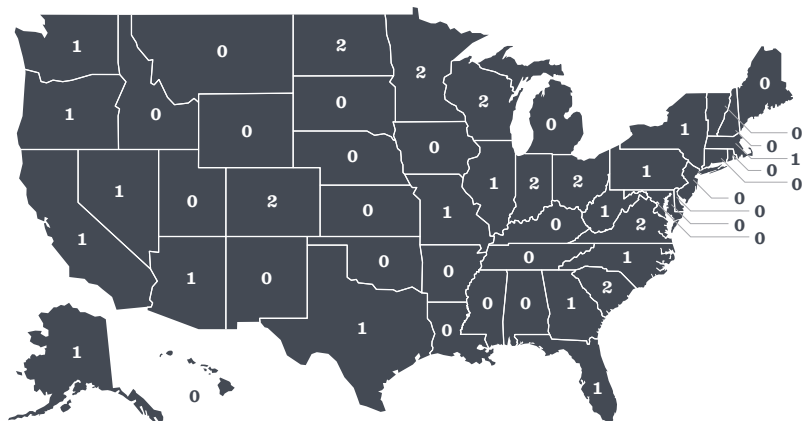
TOP TAKEAWAYS The number of active Christian Identity groups dropped to nine in 2021 after remaining steady at 11 in both 2019 and 2020. Such a decline reflects the instability of this radically racist religious sect and the lack of appeal to younger far-right adherents.

KEY MOMENTS In 2021, SPLC analysts noted a slight uptick in interest in Christian Identity beliefs among a smattering of neo-Confederate adherents. However, such minimal attention will do little to mitigate the decline of active Christian Identity hate groups. The movement’s lack of significant influence shows its lack of relevance within today’s organized white power movement.

WHAT’S AHEAD The dwindling handful of individuals who have been involved with Christian Identity for decades will likely still struggle to reinvigorate interest in their efforts. All signs point to the belief system remaining niche within the organized white power movement, with its present-day influence paling in comparison to its influence across the 1980s to early 2000s.

32 Neo-Völkisch

Neo-Völkisch adherents base their spirituality on the survival of those descended from white Europeans and the preservation of what they claim are dead or dying cultures. Members of these groups couch their bigotry in baseless claims that bloodlines ground the superiority of one’s white identity. To maintain this perceived superiority, neo-Völkisch adherents maintain rigid gender roles, largely reducing women to their reproductive functions. The foundations of this ideology emerged in the mid-19th century racist movements in what is now present-day Austria and Germany.



16 Neo-Confederate

Neo-Confederacy is a reactionary, revisionist branch of American white nationalism typified by its predilection for symbols of the Confederate States of America, typically paired with a strong belief in the failed doctrines of nullification and secession – in the specific context of the antebellum South – that rose to prominence in the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

ACTBAC NC

Snow Camp, NC*

Dixie Republic

Travelers Rest, SC*

Identity Dixie

North Carolina

League of the South

Alabama*

Arkansas

Florida

Georgia

Louisiana

Mississippi

North Carolina

Oklahoma

South Carolina

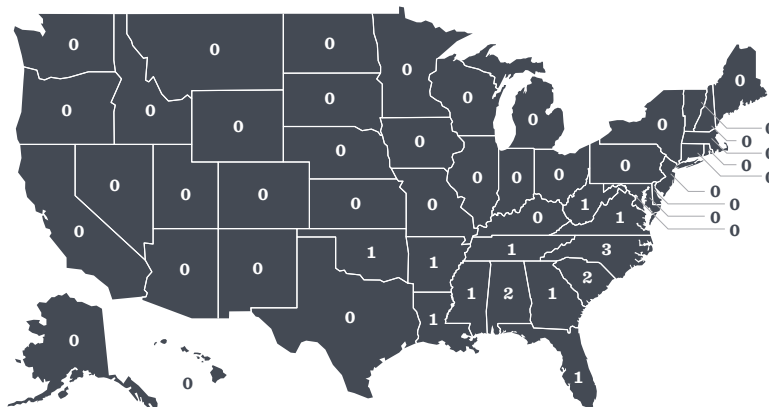
Tennessee

Virginia

West Virginia

Southern Cultural Center

Weogufka, AL



TOP TAKEAWAYS Neo-Confederate group numbers declined between 2019 and 2020 when the largest neo-Confederate hate group, the League of the South, lost several chapters. Neo-Confederate group Identity Dixie also faltered, in 2020, still reeling from revelations about the group’s leaders that the SPLC exposed in 2019. Today, Identity Dixie is down to one chapter. In 2021, SPLCs analysts documented a significant decrease within the neo-Confederate category.

KEY MOMENTS In November 2021, the jury in the long-running *Sines v. Kessler* civil case against the organizers of the deadly 2017 “Unite the Right” rally found the League of the South and two of its leaders, Michael Hill and Michael Tubbs, liable on charges of a civil conspiracy under Virginia state law. The jury ordered the League of the South to pay \$1 million in punitive damages and Hill and Tubbs to pay another \$500,000.

WHAT’S AHEAD In recent years, ongoing debates around public memorials to the Lost Cause galvanized small groups that have promoted neo-Confederate ideology and spawned pro-monument groups relatively new to the neo-Confederate hate movement. SPLC analysts have worked to recognize whether this debate may present a way forward for the neo-Confederate movement through the leveraging of local, decentralized monument protests within the broader right-wing’s weaponizing of public discourse. Indeed, facing the financial burden following the conclusion of the *Sines v. Kessler* civil case, the League of the South may attempt to reassert itself again through public rallies, as well as use misinformation about the pandemic, critical race theory or other conservative moral panics to stay relevant in the radical right.

Asatru Folk Assembly

California*

Alaska

Arizona

Colorado

Florida

Georgia

Illinois

Indiana

Massachusetts

Minnesota

Missouri

Nevada

Linden, NC

North Dakota

Northern Ohio

Southern Ohio

Oregon

Pennsylvania

South Carolina

Texas

Virginia

Washington

West Virginia

Wisconsin

Black Sun Tribe Project, The

Minnesota*

Dakota Prairie Asatru

Hettinger, ND*

Easter Tidings/Carolyn Emerick

Rochester, NY*

Rearth & Helm LLC

Nashville, IN*

Wolves of Vinland

Lynchburg, VA*

Colorado

South Carolina

Women for Aryan Unity

Wisconsin*

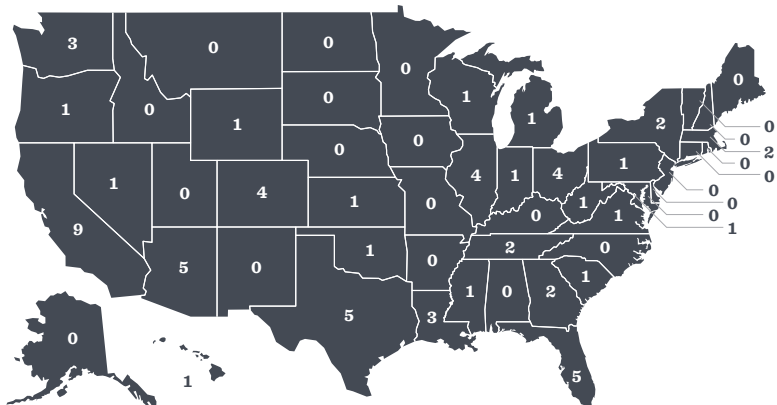
TOP TAKEAWAYS From 2020 to 2021, the number of active neo-Völkisch hate groups remained relatively stable, declining from 33 active groups in 2020 to 32 in 2021. The Ásatrú Folk Assembly (AFA) – the largest neo-Völkisch group in the country – saw a slight increase in the number of active chapters in 2021, from 21 to 24. Similar to hate groups across the far right, in 2021 neo-Völkisch adherents homed in on contrived issues regarding critical race theory, anti-mask campaigns and anti-COVID-19 vaccine conspiracy theories.

KEY MOMENTS Again in 2021, the Ásatrú Folk Assembly hosted numerous events at each of their three hofs (meeting spaces), located in Brownsville, California; Linden, North Carolina; and Murdock, Minnesota. The group hosted their largest event to date in Brownsville with 153 guests for Midsummer.

WHAT’S AHEAD Neo-Völkisch hate group activity will most likely remain relatively stable in 2022. Per the Ásatrú Folk Assembly’s January 2022 newsletter, the group has settled on north Florida as the location of their fourth hof. As the largest neo-Völkisch hate group, most, if not all other groups within this ideology have current or prior associations with the Ásatrú Folk Assembly. Establishing a fourth hof in another region of the United States will further coalesce neo-Völkisch groups around the messaging and aesthetic of the AFA.

65 Anti-LGBTQ

A central theme of anti-LGBTQ organizing and ideology is the opposition to LGBTQ rights, often couched in demonizing rhetoric and grounded in harmful pseudoscience that portrays LGBTQ people as threats to children, society and often public health.



All Scripture Baptist Church
Knoxville, TN*

Alliance Defending Freedom
Scottsdale, AZ*

American College of Pediatricians
Gainesville, FL*

American Family Association
Tupelo, MS*
Franklin, PA

American Vision
Powder Springs, GA*

Americans for Truth About Homosexuality
Naperville, IL*

ATLAH Media Network
New York, NY*

Campus Ministry USA, The
Terre Haute, IN*

Center for Family and Human Rights (C-FAM)
New York, NY*

Chalcedon Foundation
Vallecito, CA*

Church Militant/St. Michael's Media
Ferndale, MI*

Concerned Christian Citizens
Temple, TX*

D. James Kennedy Ministries
Fort Lauderdale, FL*

Faith Baptist Church
Violet, LA*
Baton Rouge, LA

Faithful Word Baptist Church
Tempe, AZ*

Tucson, AZ

Family Research Council
Washington, DC*

Family Watch International
Gilbert, AZ*

First Works Baptist Church
El Monte, CA*

Generations
Elizabeth, CO*

Heterosexuals Organized for a Moral Environment (H.O.M.E.)
Downers Grove, IL

Illinois Family Institute
Tinley Park, IL*

Liberty Baptist Church
Rock Falls, IL*

Liberty Counsel
Orlando, FL*

Mass Resistance
Waltham, MA*

California
California (two chapters)
Colorado
Texas
West Virginia
Wyoming

Mission: America
Columbus, OH*

Pacific Justice Institute
Sacramento, CA*
Salem, OR
San Jose, CA
Santa Ana, CA
Seattle, WA

Pass the Salt Ministries
Hebron, OH*

Pilgrims Covenant Church
Monroe, WI*

Pray in Jesus Name Project, The
Colorado Springs, CO*

Probe Ministries
Plano, TX*

Public Advocate of the United States
Merrifield, VA*

Revival Baptist Church
Clermont, FL*
Jacksonville, FL

Ruth Institute
Lake Charles, LA*

Save California
Sacramento, CA*

Scott Lively Ministries
Springfield, MA*

Stedfast Baptist Church
Fort Worth, TX*
Oklahoma City, OK

Strong Hold Baptist Church
Norcross, GA*

Sure Foundation Baptist Church
Vancouver, WA*
Honolulu, HI
Spokane, WA

Tom Brown Ministries
El Paso, TX*

True Light Pentecost Church
Spartanburg, SC*

United Families International
Gilbert, AZ*

Verity Baptist Church
Sacramento, CA*

Warriors for Christ
Mount Juliet, TN*

Westboro Baptist Church
Topeka, KS*

World Congress of Families/International Organization for the Family
Rockford, IL*

TOP TAKEAWAYS While staying at 65 groups, the movement saw one of the most successful years of anti-LGBT legislation. With this hike in anti-LGBT legislation, specifically anti-trans legislation, we also saw an extreme increase in this past year, as fatal violence against trans and gender non-conforming individuals numbered into the 50s. Despite the violence and restricting legislation against the LGBTQ community, which continues to climb, anti-LGBTQ groups continue to peddle pseudoscience, spew demonizing rhetoric and further attack LGBTQ community through legislation under the guise of “religious liberty.”

KEY MOMENTS This past year on the federal level we saw the Equality Act get blocked by the Senate. We also saw the decision of *Fulton v. City of Philadelphia*, allowing exemptions with city child welfare organizations to continue to deny foster status for LGBTQ individuals, alongside Jewish and Mormon individuals. During Dr. Rachel Levine’s confirmation hearing for U.S. assistant secretary for health, **Sen. Rand Paul** quoted pseudoscience-based statistics by the American College of Pediatricians as he attempted to derail her confirmation hearing with transphobic remarks. Anti-LGBTQ groups were deeply involved in overturning *Roe v. Wade*.

On the state level, over 250 anti-LGBTQ bills introduced, many of which were to deny transgender youth from participating in sports. These bills were predominantly introduced by anti-LGBTQ groups, according to a Human Rights Campaign **report**. However, 15 of the bills were successfully enacted, more than the total of the past three years.

WHAT’S AHEAD The anti-trans movement has renewed their push for “Parental Rights” already this year as a “Don’t Say Gay” bill has been passed in Florida, which restricts teachers from mentioning anything to do with the LGBTQ community or history. We can expect to see more legislation that continues to restrict and deny affirming care for transgender youth and further demonize at-risk LGBTQ youth. And we have not seen the end of the effort to **ban books** on LGBTQ issues at the state and local level.

50 Anti-Muslim

Anti-Muslim hate groups are a relatively new phenomenon in the U.S., with many appearing after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001. They broadly defame Islam and traffic in conspiracy theories portraying Muslims as a subversive threat to the nation. This gives rise to a climate of fear, hate and intimidation directed toward Muslims, or those perceived to be.

ACT for America

Washington, DC*
Tucson, AZ
San Fernando, CA
San Gabriel, CA
Laguna Woods, CA
Santa Clarita, CA
Los Angeles, CA
Mission Viejo, CA
Corona, CA
Cheshire, CT
Connecticut
Bear, DE
Heathrow, FL
Viera, FL
Des Plaines, LA
Metairie, LA
Baton Rouge, LA
Hopkinton, MA
Hollis, NH
Houston, TX
Vancouver, WA
Spokane Valley, WA
Alert America.news
Hauppauge, NY*
American Freedom Alliance
Encino, CA*
American Freedom Defense Initiative
New York, NY*

American Freedom

Law Center
Ann Arbor, MI*
Bureau on American Islamic Relations
Irving, TX*
Center for Security Policy
Washington, DC*
Counter Jihad Coalition
Santa Monica, CA*
Cultures in Context Incorporated/Turning Point Project
Immokalee, FL*
David Horowitz Freedom Center
Sherman Oaks, CA
Florida Family Association
Tampa, FL*
Fortress of Faith
Bellingham, WA*
Foundation for Advocating Christian Truth
Bronx, NY*
G416 Patriots
Meridian, ID
Glasov Gang Productions
Los Angeles, CA*

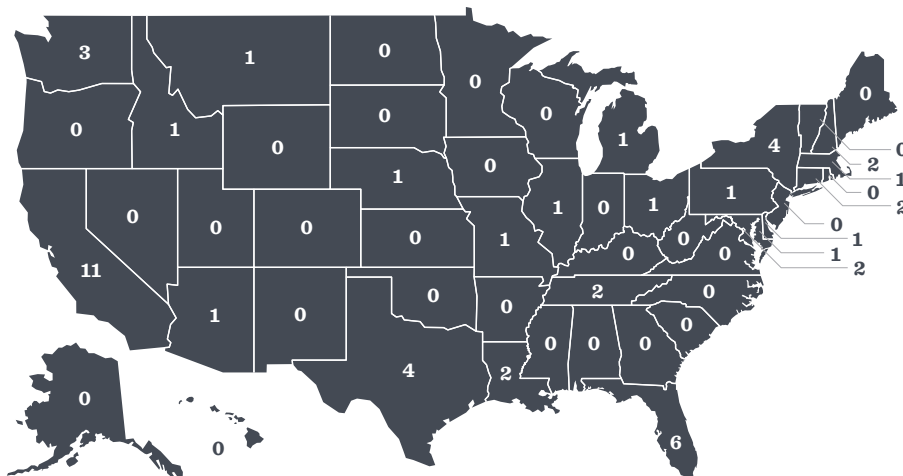
Global Faith Institute

Omaha, NE*
Jihad Watch
Manchester, NH*
Last Chance Patriots
Dayton, MT*
Political Islam
Nashville, TN*
Radio Jihad/Global Patriot Radio
New York County, NY*
Red-Green Axis Exposed
Brecksville, OH*
Refugee Resettlement Watch
Fairplay, MD*
Shoebat Foundation, The
Newtown, PA*
Straight Way and More, The
Marble Hill, MO*
Truth in Love Project
Maryville, TN*
Truth in Textbooks
Boerne, TX*
Understanding the Threat
Dallas, TX*
United West, The
Palm Beach County, FL*

TOP TAKEAWAYS

Anti-Muslim hate groups dropped to 50 active groups in 2021, from 72 in 2020. Despite diminishing in sheer numbers, these groups remain a political force in the United States, particularly within right-wing media and politics. The drop was largely from inactivity from ACT for America chapters and other local groups. **KEY MOMENTS** 2021 marked the 20th anniversary of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. The attacks spurred an organized network of groups devoted to vilifying Islam, a network that still thrives today. In 2021, President Biden rescinded Trump's discriminatory travel ban restricting visitors from predominantly Muslim countries, to the dismay of anti-Muslim hate groups. In the post-Trump era, some anti-Muslim groups are expanding their focus from single-issue Islamophobia to other hot-button conservative causes such as manufacturing hysteria around critical race theory, China, the U.S. Southern border and the government's response to the coronavirus. But anti-Muslim groups' wholesale opposition to resettling Afghan refugees in the U.S. underscores that they remain Islamophobic at their core.

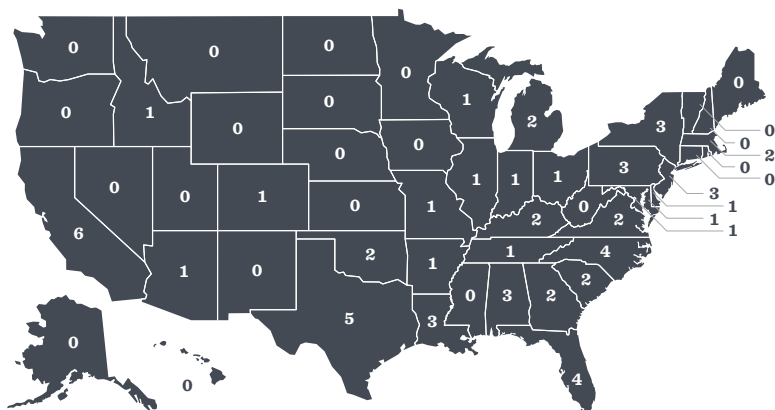
WHAT'S AHEAD National and local opposition to refugees is likely to continue into 2022. Anti-Muslim groups will also try to build and fortify their political connections. ACT for America's Brigitte Gabriel was pictured with right-wing Reps. Marjorie Taylor Greene and Lauren Boebert at an invite-only radio event in Washington, D.C., hosted by an anti-immigrant hate group. Gabriel and other Islamophobic figures are members of the secretive and influential right-wing coalition Council for National Policy.



61 Antisemitism

As a standalone ideology, adherents to antisemitic hate groups seek to racialize Jewish people and vilify them as the manipulative puppet masters behind an economic, political and social scheme to undermine white people. Antisemitism also undergirds much of the far right, unifying adherents across various hate ideologies around efforts to subvert and misconstrue the collective suffering of Jewish people in the Holocaust and cast them as conniving opportunists.

- Carolnyeager.net**
Kerrville, TX*
- Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust**
York, PA
- Goyim Defense League**
Petaluma, CA*
- Independent History & Research**
Coeur d'Alene, ID*
- Institute for Historical Review**
Newport Beach, CA*
- Nation of Islam**
Chicago, IL*
Atlanta, GA
Birmingham, AL
Brooklyn, NY
Brunswick, GA
Charlotte, NC
Cleveland, OH
Columbia, SC
Compton, CA
Dallas, TX
Denver, CO
Detroit, MI
Dorchester, MA
Durham, NC
Fort Worth, TX
- Grand Rapids, MI
- Greensboro, NC
- Greenville, SC
- Houston, TX
- Indianapolis, IN
- Jacksonville, FL
- Lexington, KY
- Los Angeles, CA
- Louisville, KY
- Memphis, TN
- Miami, FL
- Milwaukee, WI
- Mobile, AL
- Monroe, LA
- Montgomery, AL
- New Orleans, LA
- New York, NY
- Newark, NJ
- Norfolk, VA
- North Little Rock, AR
- Oakland, CA
- Oklahoma City, OK
- Philadelphia, PA
- Phoenix, AZ
- Pittsburgh, PA
- Richmond, VA
- Rochester, NY
- San Antonio, TX
- Shreveport, LA



- Springfield, MA
- St. Louis, MO
- St. Petersburg, FL
- Tampa, FL
- Trenton, NJ
- Tulsa, OK

TOP TAKEAWAYS In 2020, the SPLC first began designating hate groups based solely on their antisemitism. 2021 is the first year that those groups have been pulled out from under the General Hate ideology umbrella and featured on their own exclusive map. Made up largely of hate groups that deny and obscure facts about the Holocaust, as well as chapters of the Nation of Islam, the number of antisemitic hate groups dropped from 74 in 2020 to 61 in 2021. However, a decline in the number of active hate chapters doesn't necessarily evidence a drop in the prevalence of antisemitism in the United States.

KEY MOMENTS Throughout 2021, the imagery and history of the Holocaust was invoked and manipulated by figures on the far right seeking to spread anti-mask and anti-COVID-19 vaccine conspiracy theories. Those seeking to exploit the genocide for their own political gain exemplify the insidious nature of Holocaust denial.

More broadly, antisemitism reached far beyond the confines of hate group membership in 2021. As the backbone of many political, social and public health-related conspiracy theories, **early reports** on antisemitic hate crimes across the country are high. Similarly, a recent **study** from the Center to Counter Digital Hate found that social media platforms failed to act on 84% of antisemitic posts that were flagged using the companies' own user-reporting tools.

WHAT'S AHEAD As in years past, antisemitic hate groups that specifically propagate disinformation about the Holocaust will remain relatively stagnant in 2022. The Nation of Islam – which makes up the bulk of active antisemitic hate groups – experienced a decline in the number of chapters in 2021, most likely due to fewer in-person gatherings during the COVID-19 pandemic. However, firm in their anti-vaccine stance, the Nation of Islam will most likely shirk COVID-19 cautionary measures in 2022 and remain relatively stable in terms of chapter activity.

295 General Hate

Groups listed under the General Hate category defy simple categorization. They embrace a broad range of bigotries, including misogyny, antisemitism, and anti-Black, anti-immigrant, and anti-Muslim views.

HATE MUSIC (11)

A.D.S. Services

Pennsylvania*

BeaSSt Productions

Roanoke, VA*

Black Metal Cult

Records

Phoenix, AZ*

Brotherhood of Light

Recordings

California*

H8 Propagand Art

Ohio

ISD Records/NS88

Video

Denison, TX

MSR Productions

Gering, NE*

Tightrope Records

Arkansas*

United Riot Records

New York *

Vinlandic Werwolf

Distribution

California*

Winter Solace

Productions

Wausau, WI*

Realist Report, The

Long Beach, CA*

The Barnes Review

White Plains, MD*

MALE SUPREMACY (1)

A Voice for Men

Roanoke, VA

RADICAL TRADITIONALIST

CATHOLIC (9)

Catholic Apologetics

International

Greencastle, PA*

Catholic Family News/

Catholic Family

Ministries, Inc.

Niagara Falls, NY*

Christ or Chaos

Corsicana, TX*

Culture Wars/Fidelity

Press

South Bend, IN*

Fatima Crusader, The/

International Fatima

Rosary Crusade

Buffalo, NY*

In the Spirit of Chartres

Committee

Glennel, MD*

Remnant, The/The

Remnant Press

Forest Lake, MN*

Slaves of the

Immaculate Heart of

Mary

Town of Richmond, NH*

Tradition in Action

Los Angeles, CA*

OTHER (274)

Ambassadors of Christ

Brooklyn, NY*

Chicago, IL

American Free Press

Upper Marlboro, MD*

American Reformation

Front

Texas

Army of Israel

Missouri*

Bill Keller Ministries

St. Petersburg, FL

Black Riders Liberation

Party

Los Angeles, CA*

Bomb Islam

Phoenix, AZ

Brother Nathanael

Foundation, The

Priest River, ID

Chick Publications

Ontario, CA

Dixie Giftshop

Tennessee

European-American

Evangelistic Crusade

Sheridan, CA

Great Millstone

New York, NY*

Birmingham, AL

Little Rock, AR

Los Angeles, CA

Denver, CO

West Palm Beach, FL

Miami, FL

Tampa, FL

Valdosta, GA

Atlanta, GA

Honolulu, HI

Chicago, IL

Indianapolis, IN

Des Moines, IA

Louisiana

Baltimore, MD

Detroit, MI

Mississippi

Kansas City, MO

St. Louis, MO

Omaha, NE

Las Vegas, NV

Charlotte, NC

Cleveland, OH

Nashville, TN

Memphis, TN

San Antonio, TX

Dallas, TX

Houston, TX

Milwaukee, WI

House of David

Brooklyn, NY*

House of Israel

New York, NY*

Inglewood, CA

Washington, DC

Atlanta, GA

Detroit, MI

Buffalo, NY

Philadelphia, PA

Insight USA

Altamonte Springs, FL

International Society of

Indigenous Sovereigns

Atlanta, GA*

Israel United in Christ

Mount Vernon, NY*

Mobile, AL

Adamsville, AL

Phoenix, AZ

North Little Rock, AR

Bakersfield, CA

Sacramento, CA

Los Angeles, CA

Centennial, CO

Pompano Beach, FL

Jacksonville, FL

Apopka, FL

Tallahassee, FL

Riverdale, GA

Savannah, GA

Honolulu, HI

Chicago, IL

Kansas City, KS

Louisville, KY

Lafayette, LA

New Orleans, LA

Upper Marlboro, MD

Brockton, MA

Grand Rapids, MI

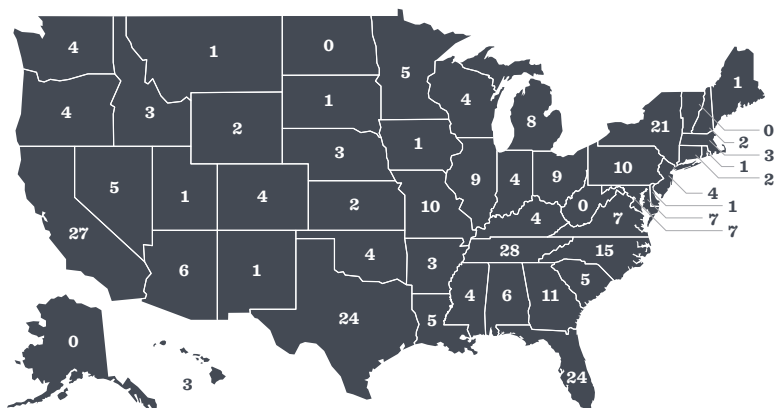
Detroit, MI

Minneapolis, MN

Jackson, MS

St. Louis, MO

Las Vegas, NV



TOP TAKEAWAYS The Proud Boys ramped up their activity this year after a brief hiatus following the Jan. 6 insurrection. The group was present at more than 100 public events throughout the year, and their chapters jumped from 43 in 2020 to 72 in 2021.

KEY MOMENTS Roughly 100 Proud Boys were present at the Jan. 6 insurrection and, according to prosecutors, members of the group were among the first to enter the Capitol. Roughly 40 members were charged with crimes related to their participation in the insurrection, including leaders Joseph Biggs and Ethan Nordean.

Beginning in July, then-Proud Boys leader Enrique Tarrío was imprisoned for **setting fire** to a Black Lives Matter banner in December 2020 in Washington, D.C. He was **released** in January 2022.

WHAT'S AHEAD Though the Proud Boys continue to fight legal battles, the group will remain mobilized in 2022. As Republican politicians use **more openly violent rhetoric**, the Proud Boys' brand of authoritarian politics is shifting further into the political mainstream. The threat the group poses is likely to elevate during the 2022 midterms and the 2024 presidential election.

Newark, NJ
Rochester, NY
Mount Vernon, NY
Raleigh, NC
Concord, NC
Heath, OH
Tulsa, OK
Oklahoma City, OK
Philadelphia, PA
Turtle Creek, PA
Columbia, SC
Nashville, TN
Memphis, TN
Lubbock, TX
White Settlement, TX
Houston, TX
Killeen, TX
Corpus Christi, TX
San Antonio, TX
Newport News, VA
Tacoma, WA
Alabama
**Israelite School of
Universal Practical
Knowledge**
Upper Darby, PA*
Phoenix, AZ
Oakland, CA
Los Angeles, CA
Hartford, CT
Wilmington, DE
Washington, DC
Jacksonville, FL
Atlanta, GA
Chicago, IL
Indianapolis, IN
Louisville, KY
Louisiana
Baltimore, MD
Boston, MA
Detroit, MI
Minneapolis, MN
Mississippi
Kansas City, MO
St. Louis, MO
Trenton, NJ
Newark, NJ
Rochester, NY
Syracuse, NY
New York, NY
Fayetteville, NC

Durham, NC
Greenville, NC
Greensboro, NC
Charlotte, NC
Las Vegas, NV
Dayton, OH
Cincinnati, OH
Oklahoma City, OK
Pittsburgh, PA
Upper Darby, PA
Simpsonville, SC
Memphis, TN
Nashville, TN
Killeen, TX
Austin, TX
Dallas, TX
Houston, TX
Norfolk, VA
Milwaukee, WI
**Israelites Saints of
Christ**
Richmond, VA*
Birmingham, AL
North Carolina
Jewish Task Force
Fresh Meadows, NY
**Last Frontier
Evangelism**
Texas
**Lion of Judah –
Jeshurun Lions**
Chicago, IL*
Lordship Church
Bonners Ferry, ID
Luxor Couture
Atlanta, GA*
**Masharah Yasharahla
– Government of
Israel**
Raleigh, NC*
**Masjid al Islam – As
Sabiqun**
Washington, DC
**Nation of Kings and
Priests**
Orlando, FL*
**New Black Panther
Party**
Houston, TX*
Atlanta, GA
Baton Rouge, LA

**New Black Panther
Party for Self Defense**
Washington, DC
Tampa, FL
Jacksonville, FL
Mississippi
St. Louis, MO
Charlotte, NC
Memphis, TN
**Northern Kingdom
Prophets**
Pueblo, CO*
**Official Street
Preachers**
Los Angeles, CA
**OneBody in
Yashawashi**
Dallas, TX*
Power of Prophecy
Spicewood, TX
Proud Boys
Alabama
Arizona
Redding, CA
Placerville, CA
San Francisco, CA
Bakersfield, CA
Modesto, CA
Orange County, CA
Fresno, CA
Los Angeles, CA
Sacramento, CA
Colorado
Connecticut
Washington, DC
Fort Myers, FL
Tallahassee, FL
Sarasota, FL
Orlando, FL
Tampa, FL
Jacksonville, FL
Miami, FL
Hawai'i
Idaho
Crystal Lake, IL
Chicago, IL
Indiana
Kansas
Kentucky
Maine
Massachusetts

Michigan
Minnesota
Neosho, MO
Kansas City, MO
St. Louis, MO
Montana
Nebraska
Carson City, NV
Las Vegas, NV
New Hampshire
New Jersey
New Mexico
Rochester, NY
Syracuse, NY
Albany, NY
Rockville Center, NY
New York, NY
Wilmington, NC
Hillsborough, NC
Kernersville, NC
Toledo, OH
Dayton, OH
Columbus, OH
Oklahoma
Creswell, OR
Salem, OR
Portland, OR
Harrisburg, PA
Philadelphia, PA
Rhode Island
Charleston, SC
Columbia, SC
South Dakota
Tennessee
Austin, TX
Houston, TX
Dallas, TX
Utah
Virginia
Spokane, WA
Seattle, WA
Wisconsin
RAIR Foundation USA
New Fishkill, NY
Rense Radio Network
Ashland, OR
**Revolutionary Black
Panther Party**
Louisville, KY
Rooshv.com
Silver Spring, MD*

Sicarii 1715
San Diego, CA*
Phoenix, AZ
San Francisco, CA
Long Beach, CA
Tampa, FL
Miami, FL
Orlando, FL
Atlanta, GA
Illinois
Dallas, TX
Seattle, WA
**Sons of Liberty Media
(formerly You Can
Run But You Cannot
Hide)**
Annandale, MN*
**Thomas More Law
Center**
Ann Arbor, MI
**True National Israelite
Congregation**
Los Angeles, CA*
TruNews
Vero Beach, FL
**United Nuwauapians
Worldwide, The/All
Eyes on Egypt**
Washington, DC
Lithonia, GA
Chicago, IL
Detroit, MI
Charlotte, NC
Cleveland, OH
Philadelphia, PA
Charleston, SC
**War On The Horizon/
Straight Black Pride
Movement**
Washington, DC
Watchmen for Israel
Baltimore, MD*
**United Sabaeans
Worldwide, The**
Brooklyn, NY*

**Real Three Percenters
Idaho, The**

Idaho*

**Reapers Constitutional
Militia of Ohio**

Cortland, OH*

**Southeast Michigan
Volunteer Militia**

Michigan

Southern Arizona Militia

Arizona

Stokes County Militia

King, NC*

This Is Texas Freedom

Force

Texas*

**Three Percent of
Washington**

Washington

Vermont State Militia

White River, VT

Veterans on Patrol

Pima County, AZ

Watchmen

Concord, NC*

Buffalo, NY

West Ohio Minutemen

Lima, OH

TOP TAKEAWAYS The militia movement is primarily driven by fear of gun confiscation, globalization and antigovernment conspiracy theories; though these are perennial fears, the urgency to organize outside of legitimate channels increases during liberal administrations. Over the past few years, these groups have primarily rallied around former President Donald Trump and continue to propagate “The Big Lie” that Trump actually won the 2020 presidential election. Fears activating these groups include conspiracies around the Black Lives Matter movement and antifa, COVID-19 health guidelines, and immigration.

KEY MOMENTS Various antigovernment militia groups were present at the Jan. 6 insurrection. Following the attack, several members of the Oath Keepers have been charged for their role in storming the Capitol. The leader of the group, Stewart Rhodes, is currently being held without bail. In 2021, militia groups near the Arizona border mobilized and formed networks to detain migrants in the Sonora Desert. The group Veterans on Patrol has been leading the charge, along with several other armed militants. The Southern Poverty Law Center alerted the Department of Homeland Security about the detainments in July and continues monitoring the situation on the ground.

WHAT'S AHEAD The investigations into the Oath Keepers' role in the Jan.6 insurrection will continue to reveal details about the group's activities. With Rhodes under detention and his legal future uncertain, the group appears to be in disarray, shutting down much of their public messaging. With antigovernment rhetoric ramping up around the immigration debate, militias appear to be responding and coordinating missions on such platforms as Telegram. If the government continues to fail to address the interactions between militias and U.S. Customs and Border Protection, the presence of border vigilantes will grow in the coming year. After a year of reorganization and public scrutiny, militia groups will likely look to reemerge at the local level.



Thousands of people gathered at the Virginia State Capitol in Richmond on Jan. 19, 2021, to promote lax gun regulations. Among them were at least 18 militias and 34 hate and extremist groups tracked by the SPLC.

52 Conspiracy Propagandists

Conspiracy propagandists exist as a subcategory under the antigovernment extremist designation. This subcategory is made up of organizations that, as the name implies, deploy conspiracy theories and falsehoods to delegitimize government institutions or government officials. A few examples of these conspiracy theories include ideas about door-to-door gun confiscations, martial law, supposed takeover of the U.S. by the “New World Order” and demonization of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA).

Alt-Market.com
Pittsburgh, PA*

American Freedom Network
Johnstown, CO*

Citizen Review
Sequim, WA*

Connecting the Dots
Chicago, IL

Genesis Communication Network
Saint Paul, MN

InfoWars
Austin, TX*

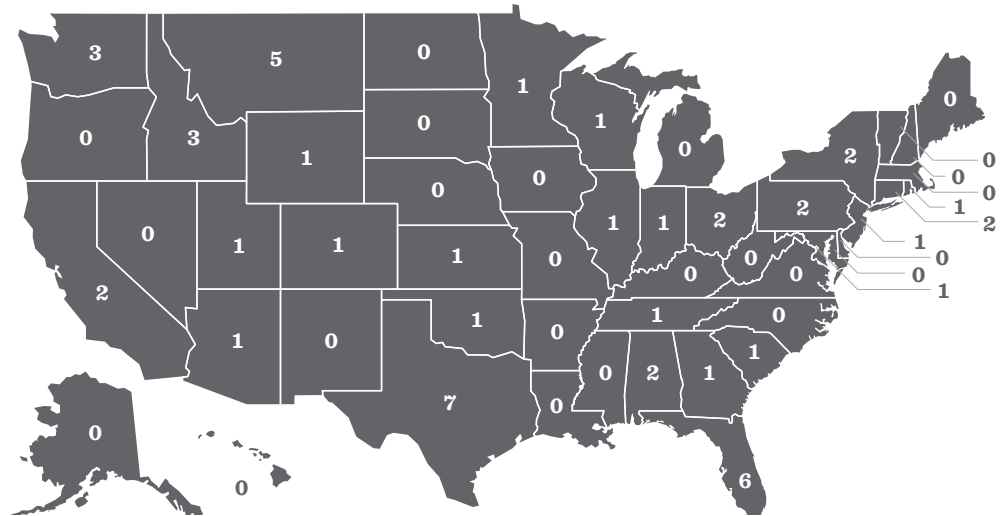
Jeremiah Films
Los Angeles, CA*

John Birch Society
Appleton, WI*
Huntsville, AL
Mobile, AL
Mesa, AZ
Norwich, CT
Auburndale, FL
Florida
Barnesville, GA
Preston, ID
Boise, ID
Billings, MT
Lincoln County, MT
New Jersey
Albany, NY
Saratoga Springs, NY
Ohio
Tulsa, OK
Lancaster, PA
South Carolina

Tennessee
Houston, TX
American Fork, UT
Tacoma, WA
Medical Kidnap
Huntsville, AL*
Natural News
Cody, WY
North Western Research Institute
Washington*
Now the End Begins
Jacksonville, FL
Post and Email, The
Canterbury, CT
Prophecy Club Resources, The
Topeka, KS

Redoubt News
Priest River, ID*
Montana
Redpill Roadshow
Cape Coral, FL
Republic Broadcasting
Round Rock, TX
Rule of Law Radio
Austin, TX
Silver Bear Café
Garland, TX
Silver Shield Xchange
Cleveland, OH*
Stand Up America U.S.
Bigfork, MT*
Texans4Truth
Georgetown, TX*

Texas Eagle Forum
Dallas, TX
The Healthy American
San Clemente, CA*
TruthRadioShow.com
Hope, RI*
Uncle Sam’s Misguided Children
Sarasota, FL*
What Really Happened
Santa Claus, IN*
Women Fighting for America
Jacksonville, FL*
WorldNetDaily
Washington, DC*



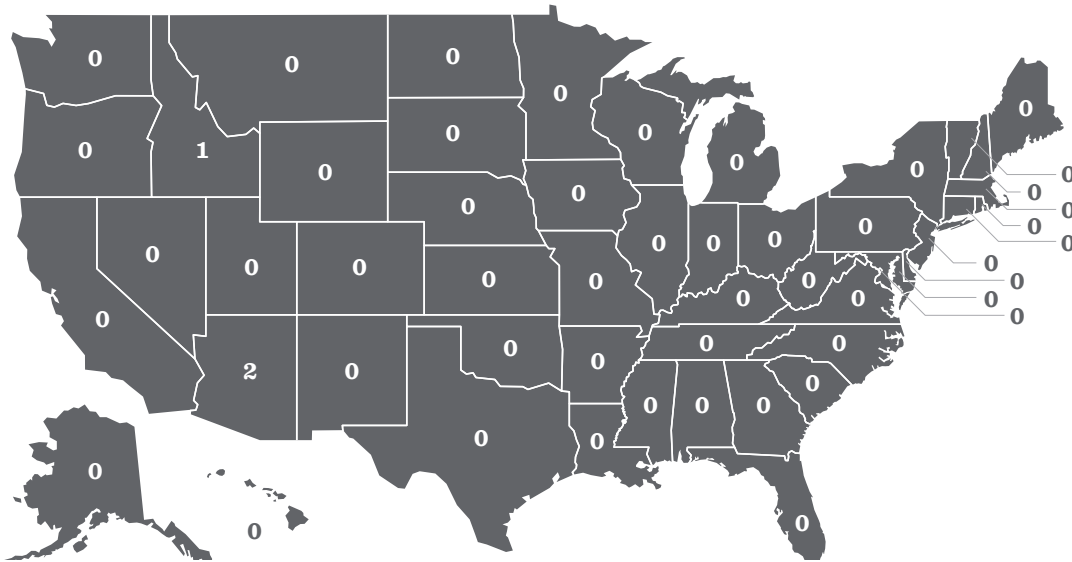
TOP TAKEAWAYS Extremists under the antigovernment conspiracy propagandist designation focus on presenting false, sometimes even deliberately fabricated information, as fact. With the emergence of social media, propagandists have leveraged the ability to reach large numbers of uninformed people and flood online spaces with wild unsubstantiated claims decrying government institutions and key figures as “tyrannical.”

KEY MOMENTS Today, many Trump loyalists continue pushing the false narrative that the 2020 general election was stolen, despite exhaustive evidence to the contrary. Rioters from the Jan. 6 insurrection, many of whom were inspired by popular antigovernment conspiracy theories, are still being identified and apprehended. Additionally, as the COVID-19 pandemic continues to ravage the country, antigovernment extremists are peddling the notion that civil liberties are being eroded with mask and vaccine mandates. Narratives labeling the virus a Chinese bioweapon continue to circulate in extremist circles and have contributed to the vaccine hesitancy in some communities.

WHAT’S AHEAD As in previous years, antigovernment activity has increased during liberal administrations. With concerns over inflation, the delay of goods and services due to the pandemic, a growing concern over the immigration crisis at the border, and a growing mistrust in the mainstream media, it is likely that conspiracy theories will continue to flourish and adapt to current social anxieties.

3 Constitutional Sheriffs

The constitutional sheriff concept is a subset of antigovernment ideology. Its origins are in the two concepts of the county supremacy movement: The county and not the state or federal governments should control all land within its borders, and the county sheriff is the ultimate law enforcement authority in the U.S. This idea, known as Posse Comitatus, was pioneered by Christian identity minister William Potter Gale in the 1970s.



Protect America Now Tempe, AZ*	Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association Higley, AZ
Idaho Constitutional Sheriffs Idaho	

TOP TAKEAWAYS In 2021 there were three active groups adhering to constitutional sheriff ideology. The COVID-19 crisis spurred growth as many sheriffs equated government-enacted health guidelines regarding masks and vaccines with tyranny. Some fringe sheriffs who refused to enforce public health rules were constitutional sheriffs.

KEY MOMENTS Throughout 2021 Constitutional Sheriffs and Peace Officers Association (CSPOA) held trainings that radicalized sheriffs as “America’s last hope.” Over three dozen sheriffs attended an event hosted by CSPOA and the Montgomery County, Texas, sheriff’s office in February. Leader Richard Mack went on a speaking junket alongside a list of extremists. This included the Red Pill Expo hosted by conspiracy theorist G. Edward Griffin, a QAnon sovereign citizen rally in Hawaii, the Rod of Iron Ministries Freedom Festival and the Arise USA tour hosted by the late antisemitic conspiracy theorist Robert David Steele. A new national constitutional sheriff group emerged in 2021. The product of Republican political consultant Nathan Sproul, the Arizona-based Protect America Now has an advisory board including constitutional sheriffs from states including Arizona, Florida, Nevada, Virginia and Massachusetts.

WHAT’S AHEAD Constitutional sheriffs will likely continue to confuse personal beliefs with constitutionality, using their elected positions as law enforcement to pick and choose laws. With several active constitutional sheriff groups trying to recruit members, and antigovernment conspiracy theories running rampant, more sheriffs may become radicalized, leading to a power struggle between their counties and the state or federal government.

**Constitutional
Education & Consulting,
KrisAnne Hall**

Wellborn, FL

**Constitutional Rights
PAC**

McLean, VA*

**Cowboys Motorcycle
Club**

Idaho

Defense Distributed

Austin, TX*

**Democrats against U.N.
Agenda 21**

Santa Rosa, CA*

Eagle Forum

Alton, IL*

Dothan, AL

Birmingham, AL

Sacramento, CA

Orange County, CA

Santa Rosa, CA

Missouri

Nebraska

Elko, NE

Bergenfield, NJ

Uniontown, OH

South Jordan, UT

Educate Yourself

Costa Mesa, CA

Faith Education

Commerce (FEC United)

Parker, CO*

Denver, CO

Colorado Springs, CO

Grosse Pointe, MI

First State Pathfinders

Odessa, DE*

Free North Carolina

Cape Carteret, NC*

Freedom Coalition

Live Oak, CA*

Freedom First Society

Colorado Springs, CO*

Freedom Law School

Spring Hill, FL

Freedom Rising Sun

Logan, UT*

Garden State 2A

Grassroots Organization

Mulica Hill, NJ*

Gideon Knox Group, MT

Daily Gazette

Sidney, MT

GraniteGrok

Gilford, NH*

Gun Owners of America

Springfield, VA*

Florida

Harrisburg, PA

Heartland Defenders

Ohio*

III% United Patriots

Missouri

Texas

Illinois Sons of Liberty

Illinois*

Institute on the

Constitution

Delaware

Hawai'i

Evansville, IN

Caroline County, MD

Minnesota

Nebraska

New Hampshire

Ohio

Tennessee

Institution on the

Constitution (aka

American View), The

Pasadena, MD*

LewRockwell.com

Auburn, AL

Liberty First University

Wellborn, FL

Liberty Under Fire

Taft, CA

Long Island Loud

Majority

Lindenhurst, NY*

Long Island Mutual

Assistance Group

Nassau County, NY*

Madison's Militia

New Lebanon, NH*

Maine Volunteer

Responders

West Gardiner, ME*

Mamalitia

Stockton, CA*

San Bernardino, CA

Marching Patriots, The

East Aurora, NY*

Maulitia Motorcycle

Club, The

Dauphin, PA*

Micro Effect, The

Kamiah, ID

My Brother's Threepers

Smithsburg, MD*

National Constitutional

Coalition of Patriotic

Americans

Bridgeport, WV*

Connecticut

Kansas

Kentucky

Maine

Missouri

New Jersey

Pennsylvania

Tennessee

News with Views

Bowie County, TX

Next News Network

Northbrook, IL*

Oath Keepers

Alabama

Arizona

Orange County, NY

Swan Lake, NY

Bayville, NY

New York

Zuni, VA

Goochland, VA

Blackstone, VA

Norfolk, VA

Hanover County, VA

Bedford, VA

Fredericksburg, VA

Washington

Georgia

Woodstock, IL

Iowa

Ware, MA

Michigan

Ohio

Utah

Randolph, VT

Wakefield, VA

Ohio Patriots Alliance

Newark, OH*

Outpost of Freedom

Los Molinos, CA

Overpasses for America

Illinois

Panhandle Patriots

Riding Club

Idaho*

Patriot America

Middletown, OH*

Patriot Depot, The

Powder Springs, GA

Patriot Party of AZ

Glendale, AZ*

Patriot Shit Outfitters

Bethel, OH*

Patriots at Large

Texas*

Patriots for Delaware

Georgetown, DE*

Patriots for Ohio

Marysville, OH*

Pennsylvania Homeland

Shield

Clarksburg, PA*

Pennsylvania Patriots

United

Oley, PA*

Pennsylvania State

Militia

Pennsylvania*

People's Rights

Emmett, ID*

Arizona

California

Colorado

Florida

Kansas

Kalispell, MT

Nebraska

Nevada

Oregon

Texas

Utah

Washington

Renew America

Provo, UT*

Rhode Island Patriots

Rhode Island*

Riders United for a

Sovereign America,

Corp.

Tempe, AZ*

Rolling Patriots, The

East Aurora, NY*

Sarasota Patriots

Sarasota, FL*

Secure Arkansas

Little Rock, AR

Sons of Liberty Survival

Outfitters

Sparta, NJ*

Southern Ohio

Outdoorsmen

Peebles, OH

State of Jefferson

Formation

Shasta County, CA*

Mariposa, CA

Stanislaus County, CA

Sonora, CA

Tehama County, CA

Siskiyou County, CA

Harney County, OR

TEA New York

Grand Island, NY*

Tea Party of Kentucky

Louisville, KY

Tenth Amendment

Center

Los Angeles, CA*

Three Percent Liberty

Defenders

Pennsylvania*

Timber Unity

Oregon*

True Texas Project

Texas*

Union of Three

Percenter American

Patriots

Phoenix, AZ*

United States Justice

Foundation

Riverside, CA

Utah Citizens Alarm

Utah*

Utah Constitutional

Militia

Salt Lake City, UT*

Voices Against Tyranny

Ohio*

Lansing, MI

Watchmen of America

Mississippi

We Are Change

New York, NY*

San Dimas, CA

Fresno, CA

Los Angeles, CA

Walsenburg, CO

Denver, CO

Waterbury, CT

Orlando, FL

Tampa, FL

Rockford, IL

Chicago, IL

Big Rapids, MI

Minnesota

Las Vegas, NV

Reno, NV

New Jersey

New York

Raleigh, NC

North Carolina

Pennsylvania

Texas

Corpus Christi, TX

Blacksburg, VA

West Coast Patriots

Nevada*

Wild Bill for America

South Daytona, FL

Endnotes

1. Igor Derysh, "Conservative Groups Are Writing GOP Voter Suppression Bills — and Spending Millions to Pass Them," Salon.com, March 27, 2021, <https://www.salon.com/2021/03/27/conservative-groups-are-writing-gop-voter-suppression-bills---and-spending-millions-to-pass-them/>.
2. "Voting Laws Roundup: December 2021," Brennan Center for Justice, accessed February 23, 2022, <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/voting-laws-roundup-december-2021>.
3. "This Record-Breaking Year for Anti-Transgender Legislation Would Affect Minors the Most," CNN.com, April 15, 2021, <https://www.cnn.com/2021/04/15/politics/anti-transgender-legislation-2021/index.html>.
4. Elizabeth A. Harris and Alexandra Alter, "Book Ban Efforts Spread across the U.S.," *The New York Times*, January 30, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/30/books/book-ban-us-schools.html>.
5. Hannah Gais, "Far-Right Extremists Gather in Florida for CPAC Spinoff alongside Sitting Congressman," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed February 23, 2022, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2021/03/11/far-right-extremists-gather-florida-cpac-spinoff-alongside-sitting-congressman>.
6. Paul Bedard, "Half Agree: Jan. 6 Suspects Are 'Political Prisoners,'" *Washington Examiner*, September 14, 2021, <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/washington-secrets/half-agree-jan-6-suspects-are-political-prisoners>.
7. Larry Buchanan, Quoc Trung Bui, and Jugal K. Patel, "Black Lives Matter May Be the Largest Movement in U.S. History," *The New York Times*, July 3, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/07/03/us/george-floyd-protests-crowd-size.html>.
8. Ian Kullgren, Brian Eckhouse and Deena Shanker, "U.S. Labor Unions Are Having a Moment," Time.com, October 17, 2021, <https://time.com/6107676/labor-unions/>.
9. Tressie McMillan Cottom, 2021. "What's Better Than Charity?" *The New York Times*, December 17, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/17/opinion/charity-philanthropy-mutual-aid.html>.
10. "Remarks by President Trump at the White House Conference on American History," U.S. National Archives, September 17, 2020, <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-white-house-conference-american-history/>.
11. "Massive Resistance," *Virginia Museum of History and Culture* 307 (5706): 13m–13m, <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.307.5706.13m>.
12. Chip Berlet and Matthew N. Lyons, "Right-Wing Populism in America," in *Power and Inequality*, 333–49. London, England: Routledge, 2021.
13. Carol Anderson, *White Rage: The Unspoken Truth of Our Racial Divide*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2017.
14. Robert A. Pape, "The Jan. 6 Insurrectionists Aren't Who You Think They Are," *Foreign Policy*, January 6, 2022, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/01/06/trump-capitol-insurrection-january-6-insurrectionists-great-replacement-white-nationalism/>.
15. Alan Feuer, "Fears of White People Losing out Permeate Capitol Rioters' Towns, Study Finds," *The New York Times*, April 6, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/06/us/politics/capitol-riot-study.html>.
16. Aaron Blake, "How Republicans Learned to Stop Worrying and Embrace 'Replacement Theory' — by Name," *Washington Post*, September 27, 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/09/27/how-republicans-learned-stop-worrying-embrace-replacement-theory-by-name/>.
17. Freddy Cruz, "In Plain Sight: Uncovering Border Patrol's Relationship with Far-Right Militias at the Southern Border," Southern Poverty Law Center, July 29, 2021, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2021/07/29/plain-sight-uncovering-border-patrols-relationship-far-right-militias-southern-border>.
18. Justin Baragona, "Texas Lt. Gov Spews Racist 'Great Replacement' Theory on Fox: 'A Revolution Has Begun,'" *The Daily Beast*, September 17, 2021, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/texas-lt-gov-dan-patrick-spews-racist-great-replacement-theory-on-fox-news>.
19. Hannah Gais, "Far-Right Extremists Gather in Florida for CPAC Spinoff alongside Sitting Congressman," Southern Poverty Law Center, March 11, 2021, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2021/03/11/far-right-extremists-gather-florida-cpac-spinoff-alongside-sitting-congressman>.
20. Lisa Lerer and Astead W. Herndon, "Menace Enters the Republican Mainstream," *The New York Times*, November 12, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/12/us/politics/republican-violent-rhetoric.html>.
21. "Competing Visions of America: An Evolving Identity or a Culture under Attack? Findings from the 2021 American Values Survey," Public Religion Research Institute, November 1, 2021, <https://www.prrri.org/research/competing-visions-of-america-an-evolving-identity-or-a-culture-under-attack/>.
22. Thomas Massie (@RepThomasMassie), "Must Watch. There Is Hope for This Country," Twitter, November 19, 2021. <https://twitter.com/RepThomasMassie/status/1461763089876017152?s=20>.
23. Tess Owen, "The Proud Boys Changed Tactics After Jan. 6. We Tracked Their Activity," Vice.com, January 5, 2022, <https://www.vice.com/en/article/z3n338/what-the-proud-boys-did-after-jan-6>.
24. "'It's Time to Ramp up Pressure.' Why the Proud Boys Say They Showed up to a New Hanover School Board Meeting," *Port City Daily*, November 10, 2021, <https://portcitydaily.com/local-news/education/2021/11/10/its-time-to-ramp-up-pressure/>.
25. Tom Schuba and Nader Issa, "Proud Boys Join Effort to Ban 'Gender Queer' Book from School Library — Rattling Students in Suburban Chicago," *Chicago Sun-Times*, November 21, 2021, <https://chicago.suntimes.com/education/2021/11/21/22789363/gender-queer-proud-boys-downers-grove-north-south-culture-wars-school-board-illinois>.
26. Brian MacQuarrie, "'Proud Boys Started Showing up.': N.H. Government Roiled by Protests Over COVID Mandates," *The Boston Globe*, October 14, 2021, <https://www.bostonglobe.com/2021/10/14/metro/new-hampshire-protests-over-covid-mandates-roil-state-local-governments/>.
27. Office of the Director of National Intelligence, "Domestic Violent Extremism Poses Heightened Threat in 2021." U.S. Department of Justice, March 1, 2021, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/press-release/file/1376981/download>.
28. Michael Kunzelman, "2 Neo-Nazi Group Members Sentenced to 9 Years in Prison," ABC News, October 28, 2021, <https://abcnews.go.com/US/wireStory/neo-nazi-group-member-sentenced-years-prison-80839543>.
29. Chris Joyner, "Hate Group Member Pleads Guilty in Georgia Murder Plot," *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, November 17, 2021, <https://www.ajc.com/news/hate-group-member-pleads-guilty-in-georgia-murder-plot/CJ4FCZSS2BDF5JML-GW2K7APX7A/>.
30. Cassie Miller and Hannah Gais, "Texas Man Arrested on Charges of Terroristic Threats Ran White Power Telegram Channel," Southern Poverty Law Center, June 16, 2021, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2021/06/16/texas-man-arrested-charges-terroristic-threats-ran-white-power-telegram-channel>.
31. "Patriot Front," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed February 25, 2022, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/patriot-front>.
32. "Patriot Front Fascist Leak Exposes Nationwide Racist Campaigns," Unicorn Riot, January 21, 2022, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2022/patriot-front-fascist-leak-exposes-nationwide-racist-campaigns/>.
33. Meg Anderson, "Antifa Didn't Storm the Capitol. Just Ask the Rioters." NPR, March 2, 2021, <https://www.npr.org/2021/03/02/972564176/antifa-didnt-storm-the-capitol-just-ask-the-rioters>.
34. Jason Wilson and Megan Squire, "Revealed: Startup Creates Streaming Platform for Extremists on Big-Tech Infrastructure." Southern Poverty Law Center, December 19, 2021, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2021/12/19/revealed-startup-creates-streaming-platform-extremists-big-tech-infrastructure>.
35. Sarah Mae Saliong, "Christian CEO Announces 'Beginnings of a Parallel Economy' Free from Big Tech and Other Like Systems," *Christianity Daily*, September 24, 2021, <https://www.christianitydaily.com/articles/13389/20210924/ceo-announces-beginnings-of-a-parallel-economy-for-christians.htm>.
36. Megan Brennan, "Americans' Trust in Government Remains Low," Gallup, September 30, 2021, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/355124/americans-trust-government-remains-low.aspx>.
37. Schaeffer, Katherine, "Key Facts about Americans and Guns," Pew Research Center, September 13, 2021, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/09/13/key-facts-about-americans-and-guns/>.
38. Heath Druzin, "Frustrated by Congress, 'Absolutist' Gun Rights Groups Focus Efforts on States," NPR, March 15, 2020, <https://www.npr.org/2020/03/15/815368808/frustrated-by-congress-absolutist-gun-rights-groups-focus-efforts-on-states>.
39. Joe Walsh, "Gun Sales near Record Levels as U.S. Grapples with Another School Shooting," *Forbes*, December 1, 2021, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/joewalsh/2021/12/01/gun-sales-near-record-levels-as-us-grapples-with-another-school-shooting/?sh=65dc75bc672e>.
40. Ben Collins and Brandy Zadrozny, "In Trump's 'LIBERATE' Tweets, Extremists See a Call to Arms," NBC News, April 17, 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/tech/security/trump-s-liberate-tweets-extremists-see-call-arms-n1186561>.

41. Janet Reitman, "I Helped Destroy People." *The New York Times*, September 1, 2021. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/01/magazine/fbi-terrorism-terry-albury.html>.
42. Michael German and Harsha Panduranga, "How to Combat White Supremacist Violence? Avoid Flawed Post-9/11 Counterterrorism Tactics," Brennan Center for Justice, September 2, 2021. <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/how-combat-white-supremacist-violence-avoid-flawed-post-911>.
43. "Leader of Neo-Nazi Group Sentenced for Plot to Target Journalists and Advocates," U.S. Department of Justice, January 11, 2022. <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/leader-neo-nazi-group-sentenced-plot-target-journalists-and-advocates>.
44. Megan Squire, "Can Alt-Tech Help the Far Right Build an Alternate Internet?" *Fair Observer*, July 23, 2019. <https://www.fairobserver.com/business/technology/alt-tech-far-right-online-extremism-hate-speech-technology-news-19919/>.
45. Hannah Gais, "YouTube Takes down Red Ice's Main Channel," Southern Poverty Law Center, October 21, 2019. <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2019/10/21/youtube-takes-down-red-ices-main-channel>.
46. Megan Squire, "Alt-Tech & the Radical Right, Part 2: Inside the Radical Right's Video Addiction," Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right, September 24, 2019. <https://www.radicalrightanalysis.com/2019/09/24/alt-tech-the-radical-right-part-2-inside-the-radical-rights-video-addiction/>.
47. Hannah Gais, "White Nationalist Who Met with Peter Thiel Admired Terroristic Literature," Southern Poverty Law Center, March 18, 2021. <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2021/03/18/white-nationalist-who-met-peter-thiel-admired-terroristic-literature>.
48. "Re: Vaccine Disinformation," Office of the Attorney General of the State of Connecticut, March 24, 2021. https://portal.ct.gov/-/media/AG/Press_Releases/2021/AG-Letter-to-Tech-CEOs.pdf.
49. Michael Edison Hayden, "Meet DLive: The Livestreaming Platform Used by Trump's Capitol Insurrectionists," Southern Poverty Law Center. Accessed February 23, 2022. <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2021/01/07/meet-dlive-livestreaming-platform-used-trumps-capitol-insurrectionists>.
50. Hannah Gais and Michael Edison Hayden, "Extremists Are Cashing in on a Youth-Targeted Gaming Website," Southern Poverty Law Center, November 17, 2020. <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2020/11/17/extremists-are-cashing-youth-targeted-gaming-website>.
51. Megan Squire, "Monetizing Propaganda: How Far-right Extremists Earn Money by Video Streaming," for WebSci '21: 13th International ACM Conference on Web Science in 2021, June 21–25, 2021. ACM, New York.
52. Alex Kaplan, "Subscribestar Is Profiting from Conspiracy Theorists, QAnon Influencers, and White Nationalists Using Its Platform — Despite Its Rules," *Media Matters for America*, December 1, 2021. <https://www.mediamatters.org/white-nationalism/subscribestar-profiting-conspiracy-theorists-qanon-influencers-and-white>.
53. Shawn Boburg, "From Corporate America to Conspiracy Theory Promotion: How a Minnesota Man Made a Career out of Anonymously Amplifying Dark Plots," *The Washington Post*, July 7, 2021. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/investigations/2021/07/07/sean-turnbull-sgtreport-social-media/>.
54. Rebecca Lewis, "Alternative Influence: Broadcasting the Reactionary Right on YouTube," *Datasociety.Net*, accessed February 23, 2022. https://datasociety.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/DS_Alternative_Influence.pdf.
55. Megan Squire, "Monetizing Propaganda: How Far-right Extremists Earn Money by Video Streaming," for WebSci '21: 13th International ACM Conference on Web Science in 2021, June 21–25, 2021. ACM, New York.
56. Ciaran O'Connor, Ciaran, "The Extreme Right on Twitch," 2021, Institute for Strategic Dialogue, accessed February 23, 2022. <https://www.isdglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/05-gaming-report-twitch.pdf>.
57. Will Sommer, "Neighbors Fear Bear-Themed Compound Will Be next Ruby Ridge," *The Daily Beast*, June 1, 2021. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/neighbors-fear-bear-themed-compound-will-be-next-ruby-ridge>.
58. Jason Wilson, "Video Platform Chief Says Nazi Posts on White Superiority Do Not Merit Removal," *The Guardian*, May 14, 2021. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/may/14/odysee-video-platform-nazi-content-not-grounds-for-removal>.
59. Jason Wilson and Megan Squire, "Revealed: Startup Creates Streaming Platform for Extremists on Big-Tech Infrastructure," Southern Poverty Law Center. December 19, 2021. <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2021/12/19/revealed-startup-creates-streaming-platform-extremists-big-tech-infrastructure>.
60. Hannah Gais, "Meet the White Nationalist Organizer Who Spewed Hate against Lawmakers," Southern Poverty Law Center, January 19, 2021. <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2021/01/19/meet-white-nationalist-organizer-who-spewed-hate-against-lawmakers>.
61. Michael Edison Hayden, "Meet DLive: The Livestreaming Platform Used by Trump's Capitol Insurrectionists," Southern Poverty Law Center, January 7, 2021. <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2021/01/07/meet-dlive-livestreaming-platform-used-trumps-capitol-insurrectionists>.
62. Hannah Gais and Megan Squire, "Inside the Far-Right Podcast Ecosystem, Part 1: Building a Network of Hate," Southern Poverty Law Center, September 29, 2021. <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2021/09/29/inside-far-right-podcast-ecosystem-part-1-building-network-hate>.

Acknowledgments

The research for this report was conducted by the staff of the Southern Poverty Law Center's Intelligence Project: Lydia Bates, Eddie Bejarano, Rachel Carroll-Rivas, Freddy Cruz, Hannah Gais, Tracey Gale, Rachel Goldwasser, Raven Hodges, Rachel Janik, Caleb Kieffer, Cassie Miller, Ev Schlatter and Megan Squire. The report was written by the Intelligence Project staff. Policy recommendations were created by Intelligence Project staff in collaboration with Senior Policy Counsel Michael Lieberman. Intelligence Project Deputy Director for Research and Analysis Nate Schenkkan oversaw the report production process. Additional editing, editorial support and editorial oversight were provided by Rachel Janik and Angela Tuck, along with Intelligence Project Director Susan Corke. Copy editing was provided by Chris Heller. Ethan Harfenist and Cameron Koob provided fact-checking. Sunny Paulk designed the layout.

CREATIVE

CREATIVE DIRECTOR Chris Mihal

DEPUTY CREATIVE DIRECTOR Scott Phillips

SENIOR CREATIVE LEAD Kristina Turner

DESIGNERS Shannon Anderson, Hillary Andrews, Cierra Brinson, Sunny Paulk, Jacob Saylor, Alex Trott, Claudia Whitaker



CREATIVE ASSOCIATE Angela Greer

SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER
400 Washington Avenue
Montgomery, AL 36104

Non Profit Org.
U.S. Postage
PAID
Southern Poverty
Law Center

For more information, visit splcenter.org/hate-map

Get the latest news and join the conversation.

 @Hatewatch  SPLCenter

SPLC  Southern Poverty Law Center