ON THE COVER  People gather at a makeshift memorial in El Paso, Texas, on August 7, 2019, four days after a gunman killed 22 people and injured two dozen others. An online manifesto linked to the 21-year-old suspect referred to an immigrant “invasion” of Texas.

GETTY IMAGES/MARIO TAMA
ABOUT THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER

The Southern Poverty Law Center, based in Montgomery, Alabama, is a nonprofit civil rights organization founded in 1971 and dedicated to fighting hate and bigotry, and to seeking justice for the most vulnerable members of society.

For more information about the SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER visit splcenter.org

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Inclusive democracy, America’s greatest challenge and achievement, is currently in the crosshairs of racism, antisemitism and Islamophobia—and the intersection of these toxic belief systems is fueling the rise of hate violence and white nationalism in the United States and around the world. Having moved from the fringes of society to the mainstream, these ideologies now frame national narratives and influence electoral outcomes.

In 2019, the third year of the Trump presidency, data gathered by the Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) documents a continued and rising threat to inclusive democracy: a surging white nationalist movement that has been linked to a series of racist and anti-semitic terror attacks and has coincided with an increase in hate crime. The number of white nationalist groups rose for the second straight year, a 55 percent increase since 2017, when Trump’s campaign energized white nationalists who saw in him an avatar of their grievances and their anxiety over the country’s demographic changes. The numbers are a barometer, though an imperfect one, of the size and growth of the movement.

A series of terror attacks in the United States and abroad—including the mass killings in El Paso, Texas, and New Zealand—have led federal authorities to put more focus on combating terrorism that stems from the movement. FBI Director Christopher Wray told the House Judiciary Committee in early February that the agency had upgraded its assessment of the threat posed by racially motivated extremists to a “national threat priority.” His remarks amplified his message from November, when he told the Senate Homeland Security Committee that a majority of domestic terror attacks are “fueled by some type of white supremacy.”

Wray is right to be alarmed. White nationalism poses a serious threat to national security and pluralistic democracy. It’s a virulent and profoundly undemocratic ideology that infects our political system with hate, fear and resentment. And, as we’ve seen in recent years, the threat of violence is very real. In fact, there’s a growing sector of white supremacists, calling themselves “accelerationists,” who believe mass violence is necessary to bring about the collapse of our pluralistic society.

With heightened attention to the movement since the deadly 2017 “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, internal struggles have surfaced. Some leaders have been kicked off their social media platforms and other internet services they relied on to raise money, recruit new members, and spread racist propaganda. The organization of one of the country’s most recognizable white nationalists, Richard Spencer, appears to have gone dormant.

Despite these developments, the white nationalist movement remains the most mobilized threat from the American radical right. It is not, however, the only one tearing the social fabric of inclusive democracy. Hundreds of hate groups are operating in America, targeting immigrants and refugees, LGBTQ people, Muslims, Jews, Blacks and other people of color.
It is time to move beyond the illusion that hate violence and extremism is merely a criminal crisis in America. It is also a political crisis. Just as there was a national movement against racial segregation in the 1960s, there now needs to be a national movement against hate violence in America.

The alarming rise of hate violence in our communities and bigoted rhetoric within mainstream political discourse has thus far failed to prompt a proportionate response from community leaders and political officials. We are no more prepared for a backlash of hate violence that could surround the coming 2020 election than we were in 2016.

It is time to move beyond the illusion that hate violence and extremism is merely a criminal crisis in America. It is also a political crisis. It has to be engaged politically. Just as there was a national movement against racial segregation in the 1960s, there now needs to be a national movement against hate violence in America.

What would such a movement against organized bigotry look like?

It should include appropriate action on the federal level, of course, as has now begun with the FBI and Department of Homeland Security.

A full defense of inclusive democracy also requires local responses by city, county and state governments; litigation strategies that hold hate groups accountable for the harm they cause; internet companies that enforce their own policies restricting the ability of hate groups to operate online; and support for individuals and organizations willing to courageously reach out, neighbor to neighbor, to stand up for each other’s civil and human rights.

Promising steps are already taking place across the country. In the Pacific Northwest, city councils and county commissions in five municipalities have passed resolutions condemning white nationalist activity and pledging support for all vulnerable residents. More than 8,000 educators, representing every state and a number of other countries, have begun using a toolkit to help them counter white nationalist recruitment in middle and high schools. Dozens of congregations, civic groups and local leaders have come together to form their own community-based responses to organized bigotry.

As detailed in this report’s review of the Year in Technology, there is also progress—though far too slow—in response to the proliferation of hate on the internet. Increased pressure has to be brought to bear on social media platforms to stop prioritizing profit over the safety of our communities and inclusive democracy. Prioritizing profit at all costs continues to have real and tragic results, not only in the United States but internationally.

Through community pressure on elected leaders, media organizations and corporate interests, a broad-based response can be mobilized. Together, we can demand and construct better data collection, improved law enforcement training, stronger prosecutorial and civil litigation strategies, laws that keep guns away from those with violent intent, and upstream interventions that teach tolerance and rebuild community trust.

By educating, training and assisting civil society to effectively respond to social movements that exploit bigotry and intolerance, we can limit the impact of white nationalism, hate violence and authoritarian practices on inclusive democracy. The data on hate groups and extremism provided by the SPLC’s Intelligence Project is an essential tool in that effort.
In 2019, the third year of the Trump presidency, data gathered by the Intelligence Project of the SPLC documents a continued and rising threat to inclusive democracy: a surging white nationalist movement that has been linked to a series of racist and antisemitic terror attacks and has coincided with an increase in hate crime. The number of white nationalist groups identified by the SPLC rose for the second straight year, a 55 percent increase since 2017, when Donald Trump’s campaign energized white nationalists who saw him as an avatar of their grievances and their anxiety over the country’s demographic changes.

White nationalism poses a serious threat to national security and pluralistic democracy. It’s a virulent and profoundly authoritarian ideology that infects our political system with hate, fear and resentment. As this report demonstrates, the threat of increased violence is very real. A growing sector of white supremacists, who call themselves “accelerationists,” believe mass violence is necessary to bring about the collapse of our pluralistic society.

Like the year before, domestic terror attacks by white nationalists and other extremists, at home and abroad, delivered blow after blow in 2019. A synagogue in Poway, California. A rabbi’s home in a New York City suburb. A Walmart in El Paso, Texas. Two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand. Beneath those headlines, underreported hate crimes added to the death toll and reinforced the climate of violence that threatens lives as well as the functioning of inclusive democracy.

Social media and the internet more generally have helped extremists extend the reach of racist ideologies and conspiracy theories. White supremacists, in fact, are increasingly congregating online, often not formally joining hate groups but networking, raising funds, recruiting and spreading propaganda that radicalizes young people and stokes violence against nonwhite immigrants, Jews, Muslims, Black people and others who belong to minority groups.

The man charged with the New Zealand massacre livestreamed part of the assault on Facebook. The El Paso suspect is believed to be the author of a “manifesto” that appeared online just minutes before the shooting began; in it, he praised “the Christchurch shooter and his manifesto.”

The year was also marked by a sharp expansion of anti-LGBTQ hate groups, which rose by nearly 43 percent. The Trump administration has demonstrated a clear willingness to embrace their leaders and their policy agenda.

Alongside the increase in white nationalist and anti-LGBTQ hate groups, 2019 saw the collapse of two neo-Nazi factions riven by leadership turmoil and community pressure. This contributed to a marginal decline in the overall number of hate groups operating across America after a 30 percent rise since 2015.
In 2019, the total number of hate groups tracked by SPLC dipped by about 8 percent—940 compared to the record high of 1,020 in 2018. This decline does not reflect a significant diminishment of the radical right or a fundamental shift in the general trend of the last several years, given the increased activity among white nationalist hate groups.

As the country continues to experience white nationalist terror, extremist ideas long believed outside of the realm of legitimate politics are penetrating deeply into the mainstream, spawning public policies that target immigrants, LGBTQ people and Muslims. The Trump administration has installed members of hate groups into government—particularly those with anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim or anti-LGBTQ animus—and put in place highly punitive policies that seemed unthinkable just a few short years ago. These political moves will far outlast this administration, as Trump and his allies in the U.S. Senate have pushed through hundreds of new federal judges, many of whom are hostile to civil rights concerns and will serve for decades.

Fortunately, some are hearing the alarm bells that the data in this report should be setting off across the country. The FBI upgraded its assessment of the threat posed by racially motivated extremists to a “national threat priority” after Director Christopher Wray acknowledged that a majority of domestic terror attacks are “fueled by some type of white supremacy,” and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) announced a strategic shift toward countering racial hatred. Key arrests may have averted several white nationalist terror attacks.

In California, authorities started a terrorism investigation after a man opened fire with a semi-automatic rifle at the Gilroy Garlic Festival (top), killing three people, on July 28, 2019. Earlier, on April 27, a man fired on participants in a Passover service at the Chabad of Poway synagogue (above) outside of San Diego. A woman was killed and three people injured, including the rabbi.

A full defense of inclusive democracy will require not only appropriate federal action, but local responses by city, county and state governments; litigation strategies that hold hate groups accountable for the harm they cause; technology companies enforcing their own policies that restrict the ability of hate groups to operate online; and support for individuals and organizations willing to courageously reach out, neighbor to neighbor, to stand up for each other’s civil and human rights. This is what must constitute a national movement against organized hate and extremism in America.
Domestic Terror Attacks and Hate Crime in 2019

Like the year before, 2019 saw a spate of domestic terror attacks, both at home and abroad. In Poway, California, a gunman attacked a synagogue, killing a 60-year-old woman and wounding a rabbi and two other people. Also in that state, a man wielding a semi-automatic rifle killed three at the Gilroy Garlic Festival. And three days before the end of the year, in a New York City suburb, a man burst into a rabbi’s home and began slashing people with a machete, wounding five, during a Hanukkah celebration.

By far, the worst carnage wrought by domestic extremists came on Aug. 3 at a Walmart in the border city of El Paso, Texas, a city that is nearly 80 percent Hispanic, when a man opened fire with an AK-47 just as parents and children were taking advantage of a tax-free shopping day before the beginning of the school year. Twenty-two people were killed and another 26 injured.

Hate crimes added further to the toll, though the numbers of the dead and wounded are impossible to determine because of vast deficiencies in the way hate crime statistics are gathered and reported by the government. The victims in 2019 included two gay men and a transgender woman killed in a single shooting in Detroit, where prosecutors said they were targeted because of their sexual orientation and gender identity. GLAAD, the LGBTQ advocacy organization, also reported the names of 20 Black transgender women who were murdered in 2019.

In a shocking and gruesome demonstration of the transnational nature of the white nationalist movement, on March 15 in Christchurch, New Zealand, a man immersed in white supremacist ideology killed 51 people at two mosques—and livestreamed part of the assault on Facebook.

The alleged attackers in El Paso and Christchurch, as in other places, clearly shared a racist ideology and were linked by a central theme that animates the white nationalist movement—the false notion of “white genocide,” also called the “great
replacement” conspiracy theory, the idea that white people of European descent are being systematically displaced in the Western world. Authorities believe the suspect in El Paso, a 21-year-old white man from Allen, Texas, was the author of a 2,300-word “manifesto” that appeared online just minutes before the shooting began. In it, he warned that foreigners are replacing white people and outlined a plan to divide America by race. Tellingly, he nodded to the alleged mosque shooter in New Zealand, writing, “In general, I support the Christchurch shooter and his manifesto. This attack is a response to the Hispanic invasion of Texas.” While Trump blamed the internet and social media for the “racist hate” that led to the attack, The Guardian newspaper pointed out that Trump’s re-election campaign had used the word “invasion” to describe immigration in more than 2,000 Facebook ads in 2019.

In Poway, the attacker referred to a “meticulously planned genocide of the European race” and praised other shooters, including the one in Christchurch.

The number of people killed in white nationalist terror attacks might have been higher if not for several key arrests. In February, a Coast Guard lieutenant—based at the Coast Guard headquarters in Washington, D.C.—was arrested with a stockpile of weapons and a hit list of Democratic politicians and media figures. The FBI said he was a self-identified white nationalist and an admirer of the Norwegian terrorist who killed 77 people during an anti-Muslim rampage in 2011. In addition, a Winter Park, Florida, man with a history of posting racist and antisemitic threats on social media was arrested for plotting to attack a Walmart just days after the mass killing in El Paso. Other white supremacists were arrested for bombing plots that targeted religious institutions, dams and other infrastructure, and law enforcement.

**Fear of Demographic Change Driving Surge in White Supremacist Activity**

The most powerful force animating today’s radical right—and stoking the violent backlash—is a deep fear of demographic change. This fear is encapsulated in the conspiratorial notion that a purposeful “white genocide” is underway and that it’s driving “the great replacement” of white people in their “home” countries by foreign, non-white populations. Antisemitism adds fuel to this fire; some white supremacists claim that Jews—as well as progressive politicians—are helping to facilitate this demographic change.

Since the turn of the millennium, when the Census Bureau first pointed out that white people in the United States would lose their majority status in the 2040s, American racists have fretted over what they fear will be the loss of their place of dominance in society. Now, those fears are shared across borders. The New Zealand mass murderer titled his manifesto “The Great Replacement.”

The Al Noor mosque in Christchurch, New Zealand, was one of two mosques attacked by a white supremacist on March 15, 2019. Fifty-one people were killed in the attacks, parts of which were livestreamed on Facebook.
These extremists are not reluctant to voice their desire for mass violence to counter the demographic changes. “Random violence is not detrimental to the cause, because we need to convince Americans that violence against nonwhites is desirable or at least not something worth opposing,” wrote Andrew “Weev” Aurenheimer, a leading voice on the neo-Nazi Daily Stormer website, last August. “There’s no way to remove a hundred million people without a massive element of violence.”

Such talk might seem absurd. But a growing number of white supremacists are embracing the ideology of “accelerationism.” In their view, political activity is pointless, and escalating violence, on a broad scale, is the only way to bring down the pluralistic, democratic society they want to destroy. The suspect in New Zealand devoted a section of his manifesto to the concept, with the heading “Destabilization and Accelerationism: Tactics for Victory.”

—KEVIN MCALEENAN, FORMER ACTING SECRETARY OF HOMELAND SECURITY

We are acutely aware of the growing threat from enemies, both foreign and domestic, who seek to incite violence in our nation’s youth, disenfranchised and disaffected, in order to attack their fellow citizens and fray at the seams of our diverse social fabric. This awareness, coupled with the history of recent tragedies, has galvanized the Department of Homeland Security to expand its counterterrorism mission focus beyond terrorists operating abroad, to include those radicalized to violence within our borders by violent extremists of any ideology.

The DHS, which for years has underplayed the threat of terrorism from far-right domestic extremists, in September announced a strategic shift toward countering racial hatred. Kevin McAleenan, then its acting head, said recent mass shootings had “galvanized the Department of Homeland Security to expand its counterterrorism mission focus beyond terrorists operating abroad, to include those radicalized to violence within our borders by violent extremists of any ideology.” Under the revised strategy, DHS would seek to better analyze the nature and extent of the domestic terror threat and share information with local law enforcement to help prevent attacks.

At an invitation-only meeting attended by the SPLC in September at the National Counterterrorism Center, leaders of federal law enforcement and intelligence agencies emphasized the white supremacist threat as both a national and a transnational problem. One agency head remarked that it had been much easier, psychologically, to accept terrorism coming from the Middle East than to accept that the United States might soon become a net exporter of terrorism motivated by white supremacy.

Though the experts appear to understand the threat, they remain hamstrung by the Trump administration, which has hired members of hate groups into high-level positions and has on its staff people like Stephen Miller, the senior policy adviser in the White House who has long been allied with anti-immigrant hate groups. In November, the SPLC exposed hundreds of emails that Miller sent to editors at the far-right Breitbart News during 2015 and 2016—including the time he worked on the Trump campaign—that revealed he was steeped in white nationalist literature and ideas. Among other things, he promoted the racist novel The Camp of the Saints and explicitly white nationalist websites like American Renaissance and VDARE.

Trump himself has made light of America’s white nationalist problem—equivocating, at best. After the deadly “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, in 2017, the president declared there were “some very fine people on both sides,” apparently including the racists who were marching and shouting Nazi slogans at night and clashing with anti-racist activists in the daylight hours. After the New Zealand massacre in 2019, Trump said of white nationalists, “I think it’s a small group of people that have very, very serious problems, I guess.”

Trump’s allies in the media also stoke fear of demographic and cultural change among Trump’s base of mostly white supporters. Fox News host Tucker Carlson, who has a cable news audience...
in the millions, spent considerable time in 2019 bashing immigrants and warning of demographic change. He has told his viewers that “the world’s poor”—meaning immigrants—make this country “dirtier and more divided” and that “litter is left almost exclusively by immigrants.” Carlson said that U.S. Rep. Ilhan Omar of Minnesota—one of the first two Muslim women to serve in Congress—“hates” the United States and is “living proof that the way we practice immigration has become dangerous to this country.” Other Fox hosts engaged in similar reactionary rhetoric. Jeanine Pirro was briefly suspended after saying Omar’s religious beliefs were “antithetical” to the U.S. Constitution. The network’s hosts repeatedly used the words “invaders” and “invasion” when speaking of immigration.

This type of rhetoric is not without consequence. After the Walmart massacre, a *New York Times* review of popular right-wing media platforms identified what it described as “hundreds of examples of language, ideas and ideologies that overlapped with the mass killer’s written statement—a shared vocabulary of intolerance that stokes fears centered on immigrants of color.”

**Hate By The Numbers**

The overall number of hate groups active in 2019 dropped from the previous year, from 1,020 to 940—a decrease explained by the loss of two major groups, and their individual chapters, rather than from a reduction in overall white supremacist activity. Meanwhile, organizing continues to move online. Major hate sites like the Daily Stormer have more than 1 million monthly readers. And Gab, the social media network established in 2017 after mainstream social media sites began to remove some bigots from their platforms in the wake of the Charlottesville riots, has reached nearly 1 million users.

Certain sectors of the white supremacist movement did grow in 2019. The number of white nationalist groups was up slightly to 155 from 148 in 2018. Most notably, some are advocating violence and encouraging their foot soldiers to prepare for (and precipitate) a race war or mass civil conflict.

The movement’s followers are breaking into two major strategic camps: so-called accelerationists who wholeheartedly embrace violence as a political tool and “mainstreamers” (or the “dissident right,” as they often call themselves) who are attempting, with a degree of success, to bend the mainstream political right toward white nationalist ideas. Much of the movement’s energy lies in the growing accelerationist wing, which, for the most part, is organized in informal online communities rather than formal groups.

The number of neo-Nazi groups declined from 112 to 59, and activism moved online. Two of the biggest factions (comprising multiple chapters) fell apart in 2019. The Traditionalist Worker Party, which had 12 chapters in 2018, shrank to zero last year, after its leader, Matthew Heimbach, was arrested in a domestic violence incident the year before. And the National Socialist Movement (NSM), long the biggest Nazi formation of all, collapsed after its leader, Jeff Schoep, renounced the movement and reportedly signed papers...
transferring its assets to James Stern, a Black preacher in California who said he would shut down the group. Stern’s death in October threw the NSM further into chaos. Now, longtime member Burt Colucci, the group’s former chief of staff, claims that he has control.

Groups that openly advocate violence, including Feuerkrieg Division and the Base, grew in 2019. Perhaps more importantly, neo-Nazi activity is growing fastest in online forums. Fascist Forge, built in the mold of the forum Iron March (which spawned the group Atomwaffen), saw a large influx of registered users in the past year. The forum gained more than 1,000 registered users from October 2018 to October 2019. Despite disappearing from the web for a short period and changing domains, Fascist Forge had nearly 1,500 members at year’s end. The activity online is much larger than this, and often hidden. The accelerationist groups have moved much of their private communications and recruitment to encrypted web chats and apps.

The Ku Klux Klan, already largely rejected as outmoded by most white supremacists, continued to decline in numbers, though more slowly, with 47 chapters in 2019, down from 51 the year prior. With the exception of the American Christian Dixie Knights, most Klan groups stayed about the same size and held few, poorly attended public events. For example, the Honorable Sacred Knights of Madison, Indiana, held a Memorial Day Weekend rally in Dayton, Ohio, where only nine Klansmen showed up. They were confronted by approximately 1,000 peaceful protesters, and the city held a concurrent peace rally several miles away to divert attention from the Klan event. Such rallies demonstrate the groups’ relative inability to break with their rigid traditions, thus limiting the Klan’s appeal to younger generations of tech-savvy white nationalists.

The same can be said, to some extent, of racist skinheads, who are known for their shaved heads, red suspenders and Doc Martens boots, and whose ranks also continue to fall. There were 63 such groups in 2018 and 48 in 2019.

Other parts of the white supremacist movement have been stagnant or in decline. 2019 had about the same number of Holocaust-denial groups and hate music sellers. Christian Identity churches dropped from 17 in 2018 to 11 in 2019.

Black separatist hate groups declined to 255 chapters in 2019, from 264 the prior year. These groups lag far behind the hate groups fueled by various forms of white supremacy. Typically holding views that are antisemitic, anti-LGBTQ and anti-white, they had been expanding in recent years, perhaps in reaction to rising white supremacy and Trump’s abandonment of police reform and civil rights. Even though they have little to no impact on mainstream politics and no high-level defenders in the media, the two antisemitic terror attacks in the New York City area in 2019 demonstrate that this ideology can influence individuals’ behavior.

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The Anti-LGBTQ Movement Expands
Anti-LGBTQ groups have become intertwined with the Trump administration, and—after years of civil rights progress and growing acceptance among the broader American public—anti-LGBTQ sentiment within the Republican Party is rising.

Groups that vilify the LGBTQ community, in fact, represented the fastest-growing sector among hate groups in 2019—expanding from 49 in 2018 to 70 in 2019, a nearly 43% increase.

Much of this growth has taken place among groups at the grassroots level, a surge possibly fueled by continued anti-LGBTQ sentiment and policy emanating from government officials. They include a network of churches led by Steven Anderson, who once called for President Obama’s assassination and is pastor and head of the Faithful Word Baptist Church—a hate group in Tempe, Arizona—as well as several new chapters of Mass Resistance, based in Waltham, Massachusetts.

Though Trump promised during his campaign to be a “real friend” to the LGBTQ community, President Trump addressed the Values Voter Summit, hosted by the anti-LGBTQ hate group Family Research Council, in October 2019. FRC President Tony Perkins (left) boasted to attendees that, with Trump in the White House, “We’re not on the outside looking in; we’re on the inside working out.”
he has fully embraced anti-LGBTQ hate groups and their agenda of dismantling federal protections and resources for LGBTQ people, while his Department of Justice has filed *amicus* briefs with the Supreme Court in support of anti-LGBTQ lawsuits, some of which were brought by the anti-LGBTQ hate group Alliance Defending Freedom. In October 2019, Trump once again spoke in person to the Values Voter Summit, a gathering of religious-right organizations hosted by the hate group Family Research Council. In May, he announced his opposition to the Federal Equality Amendment, which would add sexual orientation and gender identity to the Civil Rights Act as protected categories regarding employment and housing discrimination.

Staffers from organizations that vilify the LGBTQ community have been hired by the Trump administration and have influenced and written its policies. Numerous protections for LGBTQ people have been removed through executive action, as when the Interior Department stripped “sexual orientation” from its anti-discrimination guidelines this year. In addition, the administration has consistently claimed that laws and regulations that prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex do not apply to LGBTQ people and has worked to install religious exemptions to civil rights laws.

According to a report by Lambda Legal, a third of the more than 50 U.S. circuit court judges nominated by Trump have a “demonstrated history of anti-LGBTQ bias.” Lambda argues that the justice system is “now indisputably in a state of crisis.”

Stephen Miller, the senior White House adviser who oversees immigration policy, has longstanding ties to anti-immigrant hate groups.

**Anti-Immigrant and Anti-Muslim Hostility Reigns**

Anti-immigrant hate groups notched a small increase in their numbers in 2019—from 17 groups in 2018 to 20 in 2019. But their numbers, relative to other categories of hate groups, belie their vast influence and success in bringing what is essentially a white nationalist ideology into the mainstream of politics and policy.

Though Michigan ophthalmologist John Tanton, a white nationalist and the architect of the modern anti-immigrant movement, died in 2019, his ideas are now deeply entrenched in the Trump administration, which has installed numerous people from the network he fathered in key government positions and adopted myriad harsh policies that seek to carry out Tanton’s goal of dramatically curtailting the influx of nonwhite immigrants.

In the third year of the Trump presidency, the movement enjoyed unprecedented access to the corridors of power in Washington, D.C. Nowhere was that more evident than in the White House itself, where senior policy adviser Stephen Miller reigns as the de facto czar of immigration policy. Previously a Senate aide to Jeff Sessions, Trump’s first attorney general, Miller has long been known as a key bridge connecting policy-oriented, anti-immigrant hate groups like the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) to their allies in Congress. But 2019 brought new revelations. The SPLC exposed
hundreds of emails he wrote to editors at the far-right website Breitbart News in 2015 and 2016—including some while he worked for the Trump campaign—that revealed he was steeped in the language, literature and ideology of the white nationalist movement.

As Miller attempted, with great success, to influence Breitbart’s coverage of immigration issues, he frequently forwarded materials from white nationalist websites. He blamed immigrants for bringing violent crime into this country and suggested that Breitbart write an article comparing remarks the Pope made about open borders to the virulently racist French novel *The Camp of the Saints*. The apocalyptic fantasy, beloved by white supremacists, luridly illustrates the “great replacement” theory by depicting a European continent overrun by hordes of disease-ridden, feces-eating Indian migrants. It was published in English by the Tanton-founded hate group Social Contract Press.

To close observers of Trump administration policy, Miller’s animus toward nonwhite people came as little surprise. But it was confirmation that Trump’s policies are rooted in white nationalist ideology. More than two dozen senators, all Democrats, demanded Miller’s removal in a letter to the White House. Among them was Senator Chris Coons of Delaware, who called Miller “a cancer at the very heart of the values of this administration.”

Miller is just one of many Trump officials who have connections with anti-immigrant hate groups. Robert Law and John Zadrozny, two former FAIR staffers, were promoted within U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) to acting chief of policy and acting chief of staff, respectively. Former FAIR lobbyist Elizabeth Jacobs is also at USCIS, working as a senior adviser.

In November, FAIR President Dan Stein told CBS News, “It certainly is delightful to see folks that we’ve worked with in the past advance and contribute to the various efforts of the administration, most of which we support.”

Another FAIR ally, former Virginia Attorney General Ken Cuccinelli, was named in June to head USCIS after former director Lee Francis Cissna was pushed out of the agency. In November, Cuccinelli was named as acting deputy secretary of Homeland Security. He attended FAIR’s annual “Hold Their Feet to the Fire” media conference in September and did a number of interviews with right-wing radio hosts broadcasting from the event. That same week, he spoke at the “Immigration Newsmaker” hosted by the CIS, another hate group founded by Tanton. Other anti-immigrant hate groups have gloated about their influence. ProEnglish announced in fundraising emails that it had met with White House aides six times over the past three years, most recently in July 2019. CIS staff testified at multiple congressional hearings in 2019. Also in July, nativist hardliner, Trump adviser and former FAIR lawyer Kris Kobach announced he was running for U.S. Senate in Kansas. Earlier in the year, Kobach joined the board of We Build the Wall, the GoFundMe campaign to raise private donations for Trump’s border wall.

FAIR and other anti-immigrant groups continued to court local law enforcement. Nearly 200 sheriffs from across the country attended Hold Their Feet to the Fire. In October, Sheriff Chuck Jenkins of Frederick County, Maryland, spoke at the Social Contract Press’s annual writers’ workshop event.

Shake-ups left anti-Muslim groups with fewer allies in the Trump administration. One powerful friend remained: CIA Director Mike Pompeo (left). Ken Cuccinelli (center), who has close ties to anti-immigrant groups, was named deputy secretary of Homeland Security. Nativist hardliner and Trump ally Kris Kobach (right) announced a Senate bid.
The distribution of flyers remained a common tactic employed by groups on the radical right in 2019. The SPLC recorded more than 1,500 flyering incidents during the year.

These flyers are used to recruit new members; intimidate and target individuals; respond to and advertise public events; or simply promote a group's bigotry. The content runs the gamut from mildly offensive to overtly racist.

As in 2018, white nationalist groups posted and distributed more flyers than groups in other sectors of the radical right.

However, while Identity Evropa led the way in flyering efforts in 2018, the number of Patriot Front flyers distributed in 2019 far exceeded any other group.

Members of Patriot Front participated in a campaign to spread their rhetoric in both the collegiate and public spheres. Most notably, the group’s members posted flyers on college campuses at least 335 times, a six-fold increase over the 53 times they posted flyers at academic institutions last year. This jump was augmented by significant flyering efforts in the beginning months of the 2019 fall semester. Overall, Patriot Front flyer drops (including those beyond campuses) rose by roughly 260 percent, reflecting considerable growth in the number of chapters in 2019.

On the other hand, Identity Evropa, which led flyering incidents in 2018, failed to sustain its efforts in 2019. Following the release of its Discord chat logs by the nonprofit organization Unicorn Riot in March, the group rebranded as the American Identity Movement. With the name change also came a change in the aesthetic of its flyers. The group moved away from borderline innocuous slogans superimposed over marble statues of Greek gods into red, white and blue flyers steeped in nostalgia for Cold War propaganda.

In addition, members of Patriot Front nearly doubled the group’s efforts to hang its banners in public places, while the number of banners displayed by members of American Identity Movement was more than halved. Unlike posting flyers, hanging a banner signals a coordinated effort among a small collection of group members, likely illustrating the existence of a chapter in that area.

The number of Ku Klux Klan flyers disseminated in 2019 was significantly lower than the previous year. The Loyal White Knights, based in Pelham, North Carolina, had previously carried out the majority of flyering incidents. However, as the number of its chapters dipped, so did its flyering efforts in 2019. Most notably, the Honorable Sacred Knights, based in Madison, Indiana, distributed flyers several times in advance of a poorly attended public Klan event over Labor Day Weekend.

Flyers were also covertly distributed by members of several neo-Nazi groups. In particular, flyers from the Daily Stormer were used to target specific locations, such as Jewish heritage museums, various religious buildings and Planned Parenthood offices. Members of Patriot Front posted flyers at LGBTQ centers, while American Identity Movement members used these materials to spread anti-trans rhetoric.

![Map showing the distribution of flyers across the United States.](image-url)
While anti-Muslim sentiment remains strong on the radical right—as well as within the Trump administration—the number of anti-Muslim hate groups fell from 100 in 2018 to 84 in 2019, and shake-ups at the White House left the movement with far fewer allies in the halls of power. In August, John Bolton, an ally to anti-Muslim groups, was ousted as national security adviser. Charles M. Kupperman, a top aide to Bolton who previously served on the board of the Center for Security Policy (CSP), was tapped to serve as acting national security adviser but was replaced just eight days later. CSP is known for its conspiratorial warnings that Muslims are trying to overthrow the U.S. government from within and that Shariah law is overriding U.S. law in the courts.

Katharine Gorka, the wife of former White House aide Sebastian Gorka who is also known for her Islamophobic views, left the DHS to take a job as a spokesperson at U.S. Customs and Border Protection but stepped down from that role in August. Frank Wuco, a former radio host who has associated with anti-Muslim figures and peddled Islamophobic conspiracy theories, left a short-lived post as a senior adviser on arms issues at the State Department after previous stints at the White House and DHS.

The movement did retain one powerful friend in Washington: Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, who the hate group ACT for America has called a “steadfast ally.”

**The Rage Will Continue in 2020**

Anxiety over the country’s changing demographics will continue to be the No. 1 factor animating far-right extremists in the year ahead. Trump didn’t create the fear of nonwhite immigrants but rather harnessed it to win the White House in 2016 and continues to nurture it by fanning the flames of resentment within the most extreme elements of the Republican base. Two years after his election, extremist fears were crystallized by the Democratic wave in the midterms, when women of color—including Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Ilhan Omar, Ayanna Pressley and Rashida Tlaib—made historic gains in the House of Representatives.

In the month surrounding the 2018 midterms, there were four domestic terrorist attacks, including a series of malfunctioning pipe bombs mailed to Trump critics by a supporter of the president.

Now, as the 2020 election approaches, many white supremacists see Trump’s re-election as a last stand to stop the impending erosion of a white majority. And there is little doubt that Trump will ratchet up his rhetoric by not only demonizing immigrants but portraying Democrats and progressives as existential threats to America. In what may be a preview of what lies ahead, last July he tweeted that Ocasio-Cortez, Omar, Pressley and Tlaib should “go back” to where they came from (all but Omar were born in the U.S.).

There is little to suggest that the violence that has accompanied the surge in white nationalism in recent years will abate. Last July, a Pew Research Center poll found that 78 percent of Americans believe that aggressive language by politicians makes violence more likely. And in recent months, as the campaign has ramped up, news reports have been replete with references—if not outright threats—of violence by nervous Trump supporters, who have been warned repeatedly by the president of massive voter fraud.

At Trumpstock in Golden Valley, Arizona, last October, an attendee told *The New York Times* he had been stockpiling weapons just in case Trump loses. “Nothing less than a civil war would happen,” he said, reaching for a handgun. “I don’t believe in violence, but I’ll do what I got to do.”

Others might, as well.
Extremists across the United States and the world continued to launch attacks during 2019. But the worst carnage came in Christchurch, New Zealand, on March 15, when a white nationalist gunman attacked two mosques, killing 51 people and injuring 49.

**ATTACKS**

**APRIL 27**

**Poway, California**

A man armed with an assault rifle attacks the Chabad of Poway synagogue on the last day of the Passover holiday, killing a woman and injuring three other people, including the rabbi. Police arrested a 19-year-old man who said, according to a federal affidavit, that “Jewish people are destroying the white race.” An online document under the man’s name is filled with racist slurs and white nationalist conspiracy theories, and the author says he was inspired by the white nationalist terrorist in New Zealand.

**JULY 28**

**Gilroy, California**

A man opens fire with a semi-automatic rifle at the Gilroy Garlic Festival, killing three people—including a 6-year-old boy and a 13-year-old girl—and wounding 17. The attacker, a 19-year-old man, is shot multiple times by police before killing himself at the scene. A social media post attributed to him touted the text Might is Right, widely popular among white nationalists. The FBI opened a domestic terrorism investigation after finding a potential list of targets in his car.
AUGUST 3

El Paso, Texas

A man opens fire with an AK-47 style assault rifle in a Walmart, killing 22 and injuring 26, as parents and children take advantage of a tax-free shopping day before the beginning of school. After surrendering to police, the 21-year-old from Allen, Texas, is charged with capital murder. Authorities believe he was the author of a racist, anti-immigrant screed posted online minutes before the attack. The author expresses white nationalist themes about “ethnic displacement,” expresses displeasure at “race-mixing,” refers to the attack as a response to the “Hispanic invasion of Texas,” and mentions the Christchurch, New Zealand, shooter.

DECEMBER 10

Jersey City, New Jersey

Three people are killed when two assailants open fire at a kosher supermarket, and a police officer is shot and killed moments earlier by the pair at a nearby cemetery. Both attackers, a 47-year-old man and a 50-year-old woman, are killed during a prolonged gunfight with police. News reports link the man to a Black separatist movement and to antisemitic posts online.

DECEMBER 28

Monsey, New York

A man armed with a machete bursts into a rabbi’s home and begins slashing people, wounding at least six, during a Hanukkah celebration. Police charge a 37-year-old man with six counts of attempted murder in what New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo calls an act of “domestic terrorism.” The man pleads not guilty, and his family says he has a history of mental illness and “no known history of antisemitism.” But authorities say they found hand-written journals with “several pages of antisemitic references” at his residence. A criminal complaint says a journal appears to reference the Black Hebrew Israelite movement.
Here are some of the most notable alleged extremist plots that led to arrests in 2019.

**JANUARY 18**  
**Greece, New York**  
Police arrest four young men, some of them teens, who they say are plotting to detonate bombs at a 200-member Muslim enclave in Delaware. They discussed the plot on a social media platform popular among white supremacists. Police uncover a cache of 23 firearms and three explosive devices. All four suspects plead guilty and are sentenced to prison terms.

**FEBRUARY 14**  
**Silver Spring, Maryland**  
The FBI arrests Coast Guard Lt. Christopher Paul Hasson, 50, who was based at Coast Guard headquarters in Washington, D.C., and confiscate a stockpile of weapons—including seven rifles, two shotguns, four pistols, two revolvers and two silencers—from his home. Prosecutors say he is a self-identified white nationalist and describe him in court papers as a “domestic terrorist” who intended “to murder innocent civilians on a scale rarely seen in this country.” They say he had studied the manifesto of the Norwegian terrorist who killed 77 people in 2011 and had been plotting to kill Democratic politicians, professors, Supreme Court judges and “leftists in general.” Hasson pleads guilty to drug and weapons charges.

**AUGUST 8**  
**Las Vegas**  
Following an investigation by the FBI-led Joint Task Force on Terrorism, agents seize bomb-making materials and an AR-15 from the home of Conor Climo, 23, who is charged with a weapons violation. Prosecutors say Climo communicated online with white supremacists, including members of two neo-Nazi groups, and that he used encrypted messages to discuss attacking a Las Vegas synagogue and making improvised explosive devices (IEDs). Investigators say they found sketches portraying IEDs and infantry squads attacking a gay bar in Las Vegas.

**AUGUST 9**  
**Winter Park, Florida**  
Florida state police arrest Richard Dean Clayton, 26, for allegedly threatening on Facebook to attack a Walmart a day after a gunman killed 22 people at a Walmart in El Paso, Texas. Authorities say Clayton had a history of posting threats and racist and anti-Semitic comments, including an image of a swastika and references to an ethnostate.

**AUGUST 17**  
**Youngstown, Ohio**  
Police arrest self-described white nationalist James Patrick Reardon, 20, after searching his parents’ home and finding a cache of weapons, including two assault rifles, a gas mask, bulletproof armor and a large amount of ammunition. Authorities say an Instagram post indicated he might be plotting an attack against a Jewish community center.

**NOVEMBER 1**  
**Pueblo, Colorado**  
In a sting operation, the FBI arrests self-proclaimed white supremacist Richard Holzer, 27, who they say was plotting to blow up a historic synagogue and poison congregants as part of a “racial holy war.” He was taken into custody when he picked up two pipe bombs and 14 sticks of dynamite from undercover agents and was wearing a Nazi armband and carrying a copy of *Mein Kampf*. 
Even as research documented a link between online speech and offline violence, internet companies struggled in 2019 to prioritize public safety over the freedom of their users to post extremist content. At the same time, they dove ever more deeply into questions about whether politicians should have greater leeway than others to promote abusive—even racist—language and the same kind of demonizing falsehoods and memes often disseminated by far-right extremists.

Facebook, YouTube, Twitter and Google all announced new policies involving political content during a year that saw President Trump escalate his attacks on the industry, accusing social media companies of censoring conservative voices and threatening to regulate them in retaliation.

Trump’s threats came as he began to ramp up a re-election campaign that will undoubtedly feature a heavy dose of social media messages that vilify his opponents and rally a largely white base of support. And they came after several years in which the industry has attempted to curtail the use of their services by white nationalists and other extremists.

The strain that Trump’s own rhetoric put on the tech companies did not stop executives like Facebook’s Mark Zuckerberg and Twitter’s Jack Dorsey from meeting privately with him.

In June 2019, in response to mounting criticism, Twitter announced that politicians’ tweets containing threats or abusive language could be slapped with warning labels that would require users to click before seeing the content. But the offensive tweets won’t be removed from the site under the policy, as might those of a normal user. This policy shift, based on the idea that political speech is always a matter of public interest, effectively protects the speech of society’s most powerful figures, no matter whether it otherwise violates Twitter’s rules against abusive language. The policy applies to all government officials, politicians and similar public figures who have more than 100,000 followers. Twitter also said, however, that it would not use its algorithm to promote such tweets.

It wasn’t long before a Trump tweet tested the new policy. In July, Twitter said that the president’s tweet telling U.S. Reps. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Ilhan Omar, Ayanna Pressley, and Rashida Tlaib—all women of color—to “go back” to their countries did not violate its rules against racism. The tweet did not, in fact, get a warning label.

It took a November tweet by Omar’s Republican challenger, Danielle Stella —suggesting that Omar “should be hanged”—for Twitter to take meaningful enforcement action against a political candidate. Twitter said Stella’s account was permanently disabled.

Like Twitter, YouTube struggled to draw the line between public interest and public harm. The video giant announced in September that politicians would be exempt from some of its content moderation rules.

Facebook took a similar tack. Nick Clegg, its vice president of global affairs and communications, announced that it would exempt politicians from its third-party fact-checking program, which it uses to reduce the spread of false news and other forms of viral misinformation. In short, it means Facebook has decided to allow politicians to lie on its platform in their advertisements and other forms of political speech.

We think people should be able to see for themselves what politicians are saying. I don’t think it’s right for a private company to censor politicians or the news in a democracy.

—MARK ZUCKERBERG
In terms of advertisements, Twitter decided to ban campaign ads entirely, while Google opted to severely limit the ability of campaigns to target certain groups of people, a process known as “microtargeting.”

**Research Links Online Speech to Offline Violence**

The new policies came amid mounting evidence linking online speech to offline violence. A study released by New York University researchers in June found a correlation between certain racist tweets and hate crimes in 100 U.S. cities. The research examined 532 million tweets across U.S. cities of varying geographies and populations and found that areas with more targeted, discriminatory speech had higher numbers of hate crimes.

Change the Terms, a coalition of more than 50 civil rights organizations, of which the SPLC is a founding member, is advocating for tech companies to adopt model policies that effectively combat hate and extremism. In September, the coalition convened a town hall in Atlanta that featured top leaders from Facebook, including chief operating officer Sheryl Sandberg.

“People in our communities are dying at the hands of white supremacy—the stakes are that high,” Jessica Gonzalez, vice president of Strategy at Free Press, a member of Change the Terms, told Sandberg and other attendees. “The safety of users must be a priority on the platform.”

**Social Media Platforms Function as Vectors for Hate**

Social media platforms proved to be a vector for the spread of white supremacist ideologies both during and after acts of domestic terrorism in 2019.

On March 15, an extremist attacked two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, killing 51 and injuring another 49. The perpetrator broadcast the attack on Facebook Live, and both the video of the attack and a 74-page manifesto went viral in the immediate aftermath. Facebook reported that 1.5 million copies of the video were uploaded in the first 24 hours, with 1.2 million of those being blocked by Facebook to prevent viewing.

Six weeks later, a 19-year-old man in Poway, California, attacked the Chabad of Poway on the last day of Passover, killing one and injuring three. The perpetrator posted a manifesto to the imageboard 8chan—notorious for its community of far-right extremists—in the moments before the attack. The document included a reference to Facebook, although the stream appears to have failed.

After the attacks, Facebook announced tighter restrictions on its Facebook Live platform, including temporary and permanent bans. It’s unclear, though, whether these new policies would have prevented the viral spread of videos showing the attacks.
This list of 940 active hate groups is based on information gathered by the SPLC’s Intelligence Project from hate group publications, citizen reports, law enforcement agencies, field sources, web postings and news reports. Only organizations known to be active in 2019, whether that activity included marches, rallies, speeches, meetings, flyering, publishing literature or criminal acts, among other activities, were counted in this list. Entities that appear to exist only in cyberspace are not included because they are likely to be web publishers falsely portraying themselves as powerful, organized groups. This list also does not document activism that takes place only online by individuals or groups, whether on Facebook, VK or similar online forums. Major online web forums have in recent years seen their comment sections and registered users grow, but such activity does not occur in real life and thus is not reflected in this count. If the group has a known headquarters, the city appears first in the listing of the group’s chapters and, if there are multiple chapters of the group, is marked with an asterisk.

Groups are categorized as Ku Klux Klan, Neo-Nazi, White Nationalist, Racist Skinhead, Christian Identity, Neo-Confederate, Black Separatist, Anti-LGBTQ, Anti-Muslim, Anti-Immigrant and General Hate. Because skinheads are migratory and often not affiliated with groups, this listing understates their numbers. Christian Identity describes a religion that is fundamentally racist and antisemitic. Black Separatist groups are organizations whose ideologies include tenets of racially based hatred. Neo-Confederate groups seek to revive many of the racist principles of the antebellum South.
White Nationalist groups espouse white supremacism or white separatism as the basis for national identity; while antisemitism is central to the genesis of the movement and to some white nationalist groups, not all white nationalists espouse antisemitism.

Anti-Muslim groups exhibit extreme hostility toward Muslims and attribute to Islam’s followers an inherent set of negative traits. Anti-LGBTQ groups engage in crude name-calling and disseminate disparaging propaganda and falsehoods about this population. General Hate groups espouse various ideologies of hatred and include the sub-categories of Hate Music labels, Holocaust Denial groups, Radical Traditional Catholic groups (which reject core Catholic teachings and espouse antisemitism), and Other (a variety of groups endorsing a hodgepodge of hate doctrines).

What is a hate group?
A hate group is an organization 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. We do not list individuals as hate groups, only organizations. The organizations on the SPLC 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. The FBI uses similar criteria in its definition of a hate crime: [A] criminal offense against a person or property motivated in whole or in part by an offender’s bias against a race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, ethnicity, gender, or gender identity.

A “group” is an entity that has a process through which followers identify themselves as part of the group, such as donating, paying membership dues or participating in activities like meetings and rallies. Individual chapters of a larger organization are each counted separately, because the number indicates reach and organizing activity.

What is the SPLC’s hate group map?
Each year since 1990, the SPLC has published an annual census of hate groups in the United States. The number is a barometer, albeit only one, of the level of hate activity in the country. The hate map, which depicts the groups’ approximate locations, is the result of yearlong monitoring by analysts and researchers. It represents activity by hate groups during the previous year. Tracking hate group activity and membership is extremely difficult. Some groups do everything they can to obscure their activities, while others grossly over-represent their operations. The SPLC uses a variety of methodologies to determine the activities of groups and individuals. These include reviewing hate group publications and reports by citizens, law enforcement, field sources and the news media, and conducting our own investigations.

Why does the SPLC compile a list of hate groups?
Hate groups tear at the fabric of our society and instill fear in entire communities. American history is rife with prejudice against groups and individuals because of their race, religion, disability, sexual orientation or other characteristics. As a nation, we’ve made a lot of progress, but our history of white supremacy lingers in institutional racism, stereotyping and unequal treatment of people of color and others. Hate also plays a particular role in crime, and thus the existence and location of hate groups is important to law enforcement. The U.S. Department of Justice warns that hate crimes, more than any other crime, can trigger community conflict, civil disturbances, and even riots. For all their “patriotic” rhetoric, hate groups and their imitators are really trying to divide us; their views are fundamentally anti-democratic and need to be exposed and countered.

Does violence play a role in designating a hate group?
Vilifying or demonizing groups of people on the basis of their immutable characteristics, such as race or ethnicity, often inspires or is a precursor to violence. But violence itself is not a requirement for being listed as a hate group. A group’s ideology can inspire hate violence even when the group itself does not engage in violent activity. For example, Dylann Roof was not a member of any hate group, but his racist massacre at a Charleston, South Carolina, church in 2015 was inspired by the ideology of the white nationalist group Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), among other hate group websites. The CCC has no track record of leaders or members engaging in violence, but its ideas can clearly prompt hate violence. Conversely, there are some violent groups that are not hate groups. For example, the SPLC does not list racist prison gangs as hate groups, because their goals are primarily criminal, not ideological.
ACTIVE HATE GROUPS

KU KLUX KLAN
NEO-NAZI
WHITE NATIONALIST
RACIST SKINHEAD
CHRISTIAN IDENTITY
NEO-CONFEDERATE
BLACK SEPARATIST
ANTI-IMMIGRANT
ANTI-LGBTQ
ANTI-MUSLIM
GENERAL HATE

940
ACTIVE HATE GROUPS

FOR SPECIFIC DETAILS ABOUT HATE GROUPS IN YOUR STATE, GO TO SPLCENTER.ORG/HATE-MAP
**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, it also has attacked Jews, immigrants, members of the LGBTQ community and, until recently, Catholics.

**TOP TAKEAWAYS** After several years of declining numbers, the Klan experienced relative stability in 2019. While many groups dropped in numbers or shuttered altogether, others re-emerged and gained new chapters. The Tennessee-based American Christian Dixie Knights (ACDK) experienced the largest increase. However, the group has many conflicts with other Klan groups. Most notably, members of the ACDK argued online with members of the Alliance of American Klans, Honorable Sacred Knights and Ron Edwards’ re-established Imperial Klans of America.

**KEY MOMENTS** This year saw few public Klan events. The Honorable Sacred Knights, based in Madison, Indiana, held a Memorial Day weekend rally outside the Dayton, Ohio, courthouse. Nine Klansmen and women demonstrated for two hours, and the event cost the city an estimated $650,000. In an equally paltry, albeit less expensive showing, members of the Honorable Sacred Knights hosted a Labor Day weekend cookout in Madison. The event lasted all of 20 minutes. In another public showing, 10 members of the Loyal White Knights brought their lawn chairs out for a “flash demonstration” at the Hillsborough, North Carolina, courthouse. Community members gathered to protest the event. The Loyal White Knights, while losing members and chapters, remained active by flyering. Outside of these events, the Klan’s activity in 2019 consisted largely of private events structured around Klan traditions like cross lightings.

**WHAT’S AHEAD** After several years of steady decline in membership, the Klan may be at the beginning of somewhat of a plateau. It appears that 2019 efforts to remain relevant, from debuting new websites to content creation in the form of talk shows and flyers, have proven relatively effective in maintaining the Klan’s numbers. Those membership numbers are unlikely to rise in the coming year, due to infighting and difficulty maintaining alliances over the long term.

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**THE COURSE OF THE MODERN KU KLUX KLAN**

- California*
- Alpena, MI
- Oregon
- Patriotic Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- Gladewater, TX*
- Louisiana
- Oklahoma
- South Carolina
- Rebel Brigade Knights True Invisible Empire
- Martinsville, VA
- Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- Florida
- United Dixie White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- Mississippi
- United Klans of America
- Alabama
- Morrison, TN
- United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- Ellijay, GA
- White Knights of Texas
- DeKalb, TX

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**THE COURSE OF THE MODERN KU KLUX KLAN**

- 1990
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**THE COURSE OF THE MODERN KU KLUX KLAN**

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

**American Nazi Party**
- California
- New Hampshire
- Ohio
- South Carolina

**Atomwaffen Division**
- California
- Colorado
- Florida
- Maryland
- New Jersey
- Texas
- Virginia

**Daily Stormer, The**
- Ohio*
- Alabama
- California
- Massachusetts
- Michigan

**Endangered Souls RC/Crew 519**
- Florida
- Idaho

**Feuerkrieg Division**
- California
- Florida
- Kansas
- New Jersey
- New York
- Philadelphia, PA
- Texas
- Washington

**National Alliance**
- Laurel Bloomery, TN*

**National Socialist**
- German Workers Party
- Legion
- Movement

**National Socialist**
- Liberation Front
- Peninsularia*

**National Socialist**
- New Order
- Order
- Resistance

**Third Reich Books**
- Fairbury, NE

**Third Reich Books**
- Kirksville, MO

**White Aryan Resistance**
- San Jacinto, CA

**TOP TAKEAWAYS** The old guard of the neo-Nazi movement struggled under significant setbacks in 2019. The National Socialist Movement, a decades-old group with roots in the American Nazi Party, saw the widely publicized loss of its leader, Jeff Schoep. Groups like the Traditionalist Worker Party and Vanguard America—both of which were influential at the Charlottesville rally in 2017 but lost relevance in the movement during the aftermath—were unable to rebuild their coalitions. But the momentum of the neo-Nazi movement is building behind groups and online communities with a terroristic focus, those who commit themselves to more openly violent messages and strategies in service of their racist worldview.

**KEY MOMENTS** Andrew Anglin, founder of the neo-Nazi website Daily Stormer, lost three lawsuits, including one brought by the SPLC. His site lost DDoS protection from Bitmitigate and is regularly inaccessible on the clear web, though it survives on the dark web. Despite these issues, the neo-Nazi movement was energized by the string of racially motivated mass murders perpetrated around the world in 2019, including the attacks in New Zealand, El Paso, Texas, and Poway, California.

**WHAT’S AHEAD** The frequency and scale of far-right attacks across the world have been celebrated in online neo-Nazi spaces. These spaces have embraced more openly violent messages, including advocating for more terrorism. This rhetoric will continue in 2020.

**IDEOLOGY & WHITE SUPREMACY**

A CLOSER LOOK

The SPLC organizes the hate groups it tracks under 15 different categories based on ideology. A number of those categories, however, could fall under a broader category of “white supremacy.” Those include: Ku Klux Klan, Neo-Nazi, White Nationalist, Racist Skinhead, Christian Identity, Neo-Confederate and Neo-Völkisch.

Beyond a goal of preserving the white race, these groups also share core prejudices against classes of people that white supremacists view as threatening. For instance, antisemitism undergirds every white supremacist ideology.
White nationalist groups espouse white supremacist or white separatist ideologies, often focusing on the alleged inferiority of nonwhites. Groups listed in a variety of other categories—Ku Klux Klan, neo-Confederate, neo-Nazi, racist skinhead and Christian Identity—could also be fairly described as white nationalist.

TOP TAKEAWAYS The white nationalist movement has embraced increasingly extreme rhetoric in 2019. Some in the movement openly advocate violence and terrorism as a way to precipitate a race war. This growing wing refers to itself as “accelerationist.” At the same time, image-conscious groups like the American Identity Movement (AIM)—which refer to themselves as the “dissident right”—spent much of 2019 trying to distance themselves from the more extreme elements within the movement. Patrick Casey, AIM’s leader, accused violence-obsessed white nationalists of having a “dead brand.” He and the like-minded among him have encouraged members of the movement to put their energy toward dismantling the conservative establishment and bending the mainstream political right toward white nationalist ideas.

KEY MOMENTS This year, white nationalist ideas repeatedly inspired extreme acts of violence. After a white supremacist in New Zealand killed 51 Muslim worshippers in Christchurch, New Zealand, in March, shooters in Poway, California, and El Paso, Texas, carried out their own attacks and penned manifestos expressing their support for the Christchurch killer. The suspect in El Paso wrote that his ideas were aimed at stopping the “cultural and ethnic replacement” of white people—the main animating idea of the white nationalist movement.

WHAT’S AHEAD The movement will likely continue to splinter over the issue of violence. While a number of arrests—like that of a member of The Base for conspiring to vandalize synagogues—have caused worry among accelerationists, there is little to suggest that wing of the movement will melt in the coming year. Indeed, white nationalists and neo-Nazis across the movement are more openly expressing their belief that violence is, if not desirable, inevitable. This belief will likely gain further support as political tensions increase surrounding the 2020 election.
Racist skinheads form a particularly violent element of the white supremacist movement and have often been referred to as the “shock troops” of the hoped-for revolution. The classic skinhead look is a shaved head, black Doc Martens boots, jeans with suspenders and an array of typically racist tattoos.

TOP TAKEAWAYS  The racist skinhead movement has almost no young recruits. Image-conscious white nationalist groups and militant neo-Nazi groups are attracting the younger generation, while new racist skinhead groups are emerging only from the fragments of existing groups. No group is recruiting in significant numbers.

KEY MOMENTS  The Hammerskins, among the nation’s most established and most violent hate groups, did not host its annual event, Hammerfest, for the first time in years. The event is the last remaining, large racist skinhead gathering in the U.S., and the group’s failure to hold it is an indication of the movement’s decline. A small concert was held in its place. This movement, while losing momentum, continues to pose a public safety threat. In December 2018, a group of racist skinheads were arrested in Lynnwood, Washington, for allegedly assaulting a black DJ at a bar. Local and federal law enforcement were still reviewing the case and investigating it as a hate crime.

WHAT’S AHEAD  As racist skinheads age and fail to replenish their numbers, the movement will continue to lose relevance. Some older members have left the movement for far-right groups, like the antigovernment “Patriot” group American Guard, that are closer to the mainstream.
26 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 validity of 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.

**CONFEDERATE 901**
Memphis, TN
Dixie Republic
Travelers Rest, SC
Heirs to the Confederacy
Asheboro, NC
Identity Dixie
Cookeville, TN*
Florida
Georgia
Louisiana
North Carolina
Texas
Virginia
League of the South
Killen, AL*
Weogufka, AL
Harrison, AR
Jacksonville, FL
Lake City, FL
Ocala, FL
Panama City, FL
Aragon, GA
Cartersville, GA
Powder Springs, GA
McKee, KY
Holly Springs, MS
Gallatin, TN
Knoxville, TN
Danneville, VA
Southern Revivalism
North Carolina

**TOP TAKEAWAYS**
Neo-Confederate group numbers declined in 2019 as the largest neo-Confederate hate group, the League of the South, lost several chapters. The League has faced recruitment challenges since its presence at the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, in 2017. Ongoing lawsuits related to that event hinder its activities, and challenges to Michael Hill’s fitness as leader have sown divisions among members. Neo-Confederate propaganda group Identity Dixie effectively networked with other groups in the broader radical right but faltered when the SPLC published an expose about the group’s leaders and its structure and history.

**KEY MOMENTS**
In April, two members of the hate group Heirs to the Confederacy were arrested in North Carolina after defacing a slave memorial on the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill campus with urine and racial slurs. They were found guilty of the charge of injury to real property in September. In July, the SPLC published an investigation into Identity Dixie that revealed the names of prominent members along with the group’s structure and influence. Since then, Identity Dixie has severely curtailed its online presence. In October, regional League of the South leader Jessica Reavis was arrested for an alleged firearms violation (and later convicted) at a Confederate monument demonstration.

**WHAT’S AHEAD**
The ongoing debate around public memorials to the Lost Cause has galvanized small groups in rural communities to promote neo-Confederate ideology and spawned pro-monument groups relatively new to the neo-Confederate hate movement. These groups have been willing to stand with explicit white nationalists and fascists from the League at protests against the removal of Confederate iconography. These ongoing protests present a way forward for the neo-Confederate movement: leveraging local, decentralized monument protests and weaponizing public outrage to promote their racist narratives.

255 BLACK SEPARATIST

The Black separatist movement is a reaction to centuries of institutionalized white supremacy in America. Black separatists believe the answer to white racism is to form separate institutions—or even a separate nation—for Black people. Most forms of Black separatism are strongly anti-white, antisemitic and anti-LGBTQ. Some religious versions assert that Black people are the biblical “chosen people” of God.

**Ambassadors of Christ**
Brooklyn, NY
Army of Israel
Missouri*
Cleveland, OH
Black Riders Liberation Party
Los Angeles, CA*
Las Vegas, NV
New York, NY
Portland, OR
Birmingham, AL
Little Rock, AR
Los Angeles, CA
Oakland, CA
Denver, CO
Miami, FL
Tampa, FL
West Palm Beach, FL
Atlanta, GA
Valdosta, GA
Honolulu, HI
Des Moines, IA
Chicago, IL
Indianapolis, IN
Baltimore, MD
Detroit, MI
Mississippi
Kansas City, MO
St. Louis, MO
Charlotte, NC
Omaha, NE
Las Vegas, NV
Cleveland, OH
Memphis, TN
Nashville, TN
Dallas, TX
Houston, TX
San Antonio, TX
Milwaukee, WI
House of David
Brooklyn, NY
House of Israel
New York, NY*
Inglewood, CA
Washington, DC
Atlanta, GA
International Society of Indigenous Sovereigns
Christian Identity is a unique antisemitic and racist theology that rose to a position of commanding influence on the racist right in the 1980s. “Christian” in name only, it asserts that white people, not Jews, are the true Israelites favored by God in the Bible. The movement’s relationship with evangelicals and fundamentalists has generally been hostile due to the latter’s belief that the return of Jews to Israel is essential to the fulfillment of end-time prophecy.

**TOP TAKEAWAYS**  Christian Identity groups declined from 17 to 11 this year, reflecting the continued stagnation of this radical and violent religious sect. Although Christian Identity tenets are becoming more popular with members of neo-Confederate hate groups, there are not enough new churches being founded to slow the decay of organized congregations. The number of groups is down 45 percent over the past three years.

**KEY MOMENTS**  League of the South leader Michael Hill went on a Christian Identity podcast, highlighting Christian Identity’s growing influence in neo-Confederate circles.

**WHAT’S AHEAD**  The growing interest in Christian Identity beliefs among neo-Confederates presents a possible recruitment pool for future pastors. What remains to be seen is whether the doctrine will have to grow and adapt to broaden its appeal beyond the dwindling handful of individuals who have been involved with Christian Identity for decades.
TOP TAKEAWAYS  The activity among Black separatist groups in 2019 did not change much from last year. As in years past, Black separatists had no influence on mainstream politics or policy, unlike the white nationalist movement. Despite a few incidents that garnered national news attention, these groups continued to operate on the fringe of society, and as a reaction to institutionalized white supremacy.

KEY MOMENTS  In January 2019, Black Hebrew Israelites were in the national news after confronting students from Covington Catholic High School and Nathan Phillip, a Native American activist and Omaha elder, during the Indigenous Peoples March in Washington, D.C. The following May, Facebook permanently banned Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan’s Facebook and Instagram accounts, citing his antisemitic rhetoric.

WHAT’S AHEAD  With the onset of the 2020 presidential election season, it is likely Black separatist groups will become more active in both online and offline spaces. If the charged political environment produces more racist rhetoric from the Trump campaign, it will only add fuel to these groups’ recruitment pitches.
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.

**TOP TAKEAWAYS** The anti-LGBTQ movement continued to enjoy success in mainstreaming its agenda in 2019 as the Trump administration pursued anti-LGBTQ policies at the federal level, while state and local lawmakers in many areas followed suit. In the meantime, three cases with implications for the rights of LGBTQ people came before the Supreme Court. One of those is being argued on the side of limiting LGBTQ rights by the Alliance Defending Freedom, an anti-LGBTQ hate group.

**KEY MOMENTS** Mat Staver, leader of the anti-LGBTQ hate group Liberty Counsel, garnered national media attention in January 2019 when he opposed including sexual orientation and gender identity in a federal anti-lynching bill. In April, the Department of Defense implemented Trump’s ban on transgender service members in the military, putting them at risk of discharge if they come out or are found out. And in October, the Supreme Court heard three cases that will have a nationwide bearing on whether it’s legal to fire people for being LGBTQ.

**WHAT’S AHEAD** Anti-LGBTQ lawmakers and federal staff will continue implementing anti-LGBTQ policies, supported by anti-LGBTQ networks. Smaller, more virulent groups will continue to protest school districts and libraries with inflammatory and possibly dangerous rhetoric. We’ll also see more crossover between anti-LGBTQ groups and anti-trans feminist groups in their quest to further marginalize trans people.
Anti-immigrant hate groups are the most extreme of the hundreds of nativist and vigilante groups that have proliferated since the late 1990s, when anti-immigrant xenophobia began to rise to levels not seen in the U.S. since the 1920s.

Anti-Muslim hate groups are a relatively new phenomenon in the U.S., with many appearing after the terrorist attacks on Sept. 11, 2001. They frequently traffic in conspiracy theories involving the infiltration of the government by Islamist extremists, warn that the U.S. legal system is being subverted by Shariah law and portray Muslims in general as potential terrorist threats.

TOP TAKEAWAYS  The anti-Muslim movement has many allies in the Trump White House, though various personnel shakeups, notably the ouster of National Security Adviser John Bolton and his temporary replacement, chief Bolton aide Charles Kupperman, thinned those ranks slightly. An anti-Muslim terrorist attack in New Zealand in March killed 51 people and wounded another 50, and the alleged shooter’s manifesto cited several anti-Muslim talking points. Anti-Muslim hate groups remained active at the state and local level, holding events, lobbying anti-Muslim legislation and harassing mosques.

KEY MOMENTS  Following the March 15 terrorist attack at two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, key figures in the anti-Muslim movement tried to distance themselves from the suspect, despite the fact that his manifesto contained anti-Muslim talking points that these groups have promoted in the past. John Guandolo, a prominent figure in the movement, called the attack “monstrous” but added, “[T]his also highlights the growing frustration in the West by citizens who feel helpless watching their communities being surrendered by their leaders to Islamic jihadis implementing barbaric sharia [law].” Brigitte Gabriel, the leader of the nation’s largest anti-Muslim hate group, ACT for America, undertook a national speaking tour to promote her new book. Her group planned a fundraising gala at President Trump’s Mar-a-Lago resort, but Mar-a-Lago canceled the event after it was publicized by the SPLC.

WHAT’S AHEAD  The Trump administration continues to pursue policies that align with the anti-Muslim movement’s discriminatory agenda. It has set a low refugee cap for 2020, expanded the countries listed in the Muslim travel ban and floated the controversial proposal of designating the Muslim Brotherhood as a foreign terrorist organization. Anti-Muslim hate groups will have an ally in the White House for at least one more year.
TOP TAKEAWAYS  Anti-immigrant hate groups continued to have unprecedented access to the halls of power in 2019. Despite their extremism, hate groups like the Federation for American Immigration Reform and Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) have become go-to resources for immigration policy for the Trump administration. The number of anti-immigrant groups increased from 17 to 20 in 2019. The small jump came from an increase in state-based groups. While the administration was enacting draconian nativist policies at the federal level, local groups were engaging in their own anti-immigrant activism.

KEY MOMENTS In July, John Tanton, the architect of the modern anti-immigrant movement, died at age 85. In August, a gunman killed 22 people and wounded 24 at a Walmart in El Paso, Texas. Authorities believe an anti-immigrant manifesto that denounced the “Hispanic invasion” of Texas is associated with the alleged shooter. News outlets like The Washington Post noted that ideas featured in the manifesto were similar to those promoted by established anti-immigrant groups. Mark Krikorian, executive director of CIS, tried to brush off the connection but also told the Post that the manifesto was “remarkably well-written for a 21-year-old loner.”

WHAT’S AHEAD Anti-immigrant groups have been ecstatic over President Trump’s immigration polices. Emboldened by Trump for at least one more year, they are likely to continue pushing nativist policies at the federal, state and local level. Since immigration will likely be a prominent topic in the 2020 election cycle, these groups will surely attempt to inject their agenda into the mainstream political conversation.
These groups espouse a variety of rather unique hateful doctrines and beliefs that are not easily categorized. Many of the groups are vendors that sell a miscellany of hate materials from several different sectors of the white supremacist movement.

These groups espouse a variety of rather unique hateful doctrines and beliefs that are not easily categorized. Many of the groups are vendors that sell a miscellany of hate materials from several different sectors of the white supremacist movement.
HATE BY STATE
The arrows at right indicate whether the number of hate groups in each state rose or fell in the last year. The four highlighted states saw the steepest decreases.

1. CALIFORNIA
2. FLORIDA
3. TEXAS
4. NEW YORK
5. GEORGIA

TOP FIVE 2019 HATE GROUPS
Though the number of hate groups fluctuates each year, states with large populations like Texas, California and Florida regularly have the most.

1. CALIFORNIA
2. FLORIDA
3. TEXAS
4. NEW YORK
5. GEORGIA

THE YEAR IN HATE AND EXTREMISM 37
The Intelligence Project identified 576 extreme antigovernment groups that were active in 2019, down from 612 in 2018. Of these groups, 181 were militias (marked with an asterisk), down from 216 in 2018. The remainder included “common-law” courts, publishers, ministries and citizens’ groups. Generally, such groups define themselves as opposed to the “New World Order,” engage in groundless conspiracy theorizing, or advocate or adhere to extreme antigovernment doctrines. Listing here does not imply that the groups themselves advocate or engage in violence or other criminal activities or are racist. The list was compiled from field reports, group publications, the internet, law enforcement sources and news reports. It does not document activities that take place only online by individuals or groups, whether on social media, online forums or websites. Groups are identified by the city, county or region where they are located and active.
## Active Antigovernment Groups by State

### Alabama (14)
- III% Security Force*
  - Statewide
- III% United Patriots*
  - Statewide
- American Patriot Vanguard
  - Statewide
- Statewide
- Constitution Party
  - Montgomery
- Freedom Yell
  - Ozark
- John Birch Society
  - Mobile
- LewRockwell.com
  - Auburn
- Medical Kidnap
  - Huntsville
- Oath Keepers
  - Statewide
- Reign of the Heavens Society
  - Statewide
- Republic for the United States of America
  - Dothan
- Statewide
- Three Percenters-
  - III%ers, The

### Alaska (4)
- III% United Patriots*
  - Statewide
- National Assembly
  - Fairbanks
  - South Central Patriots
  - Wasilla
- Three Percenters-
  - III%ers, The
  - Statewide

### Arizona (15)
- III% Defense Militia
  - Phoenix
- III% United Patriots*
  - Statewide
- American Guard
  - Statewide
- American States Assembly, The
  - Statewide
- ARIZONA (15)
- Three Percenters-
  - III%ers, The
  - Statewide
- Southern Arizona Militia*
  - Statewide
- Three Percenters-
  - III%ers, The
  - Statewide

### Arkansas (5)
- III% United Patriots*
  - Statewide
- American Patriots
  - Statewide
- Three Percent*
  - Statewide
- ARKANSAS (5)
- Three Percenters-
  - III%ers, The
  - Statewide
- Arkansas Defense Force*
  - Statewide
- National Assembly
  - Statewide
  - Secure Arkansas
  - Little Rock

### California (46)
- III% United Patriots*
  - Sacramento Valley
- American Guard
  - Statewide
- American Patriots
  - Statewide
- Three Percent*
  - Statewide
- ARIZONA (15)
- Three Percenters-
  - III%ers, The
  - Statewide
- California State Militia*
  - Statewide
- Constitution Club, The
  - Hemet
- DEMOCRATS AGAINST U.N. AGENDA 21
  - Santa Rosa
- Educate Yourself
  - Costa Mesa
- Foundation, The
  - Walnut

### Other Groups
- HISAdvocates.org
  - Costa Mesa
- Jefferson III%
  - Shasta County
- Jeremiah Films
  - Los Angeles
- Liberty Under Fire
  - Taft
- National Assembly
  - Statewide
- Oath Keepers
  - Central
- Northern
- Victorville
- Outpost of Freedom
  - Los Molinos
- Overpasses for America
  - Statewide
- Republic for the United States of America
  - Fullerton
- State of Jefferson Formation
  - Butte County
  - Calaveras County
  - El Dorado County
  - Mariposa
  - Nevada County
  - Placer County
  - Shasta County
  - Siskiyou County

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**ACTIVE ANTIGOVERNMENT GROUPS BY STATE**

The map above shows the distribution of active antigovernment groups across the United States. Each state is color-coded to indicate the number of groups present. The table below provides a detailed listing of the groups by state, along with their locations and affiliations. The groups are categorized based on their political ideologies and activities. The map and table together offer a comprehensive overview of the landscape of antigovernment movements in the U.S., highlighting the diversity and intensity of these movements across different regions.
THREE PERCENTERS
Three Percenterism is one of three core components within the antigovernment militia movement, along with the Oath Keepers and traditional militia groups. The reference to 3 percent stems from the dubious historical claim that only 3 percent of American colonists fought against the British during the War of Independence.

OATH KEEPERS
The Oath Keepers, another core component of the militia movement, was founded in 2009 by Elmer Stewart Rhodes, a veteran army paratrooper, Yale Law School graduate and former Ron Paul congressional staffer. It primarily recruits current and former law enforcement, military and first-responder personnel, though it also accepts civilians. Unlike Three Percenterism, Oath Keepers was conceived as an organization with hierarchical leadership at national, state and local levels, one committed to establishing a network of activists it hopes will lay the groundwork for the creation of state militias.

CONSPIRACY PROPAGANDISTS
The John Birch Society, World Net Daily and InfoWars are crucial to the antigovernment extremist movement in that they help craft and nurture the very conspiracy theories that animate the movement’s activists, such as Oath Keepers and Three Percenters. These conspiracy theories identify grievances, both real and imagined, and demonize groups they deem responsible for them. Conspiracy propagandists often stop just short of offering a solution to the threats, instead leaving action up to movement members while being careful to maintain plausible deniability. These conspiracy theories generate a sense of urgency in the “Patriot” movement that can lead to criminal activity, including terrorism.
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law enforcement agencies. Antigovernment extremists will continue directing their anger at agencies like the Bureau of Land Management, the antigovernment movement during the Trump administration, the movement hasn’t forgotten its usually enemies at federal regulatory and control measures. In addition, while Latin American immigrants, Muslims, “deep state” elites, antifa and other nontraditional targets have incited stage for a resurgence of the Patriot movement, as occurred during the Clinton and Obama eras—in part because of renewed fears about gun con-

WHAT’S AHEAD

The outcome of the 2020 election is the wild card for the movement. A Democratic victory in the presidential race could set the

KEY MOMENTS

In March, after the massacre of 51 worshipers at two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, InfoWars host Alex Jones managed

TOP TAKEAWAYS

Three years into the term of a president who shares its penchant for conspiracy theories—about the “deep state” and Barack Obama’s birthplace, for example—the antigovernment “Patriot” movement has found itself in the odd position of being on the same side of the very federal government it has long professed to despise. Lacking the sort of mortal enemy in the White House that supercharged Patriot groups when Obama was elected in 2008, the movement has gravitated more and more toward the same white nationalist themes—an animus toward nonwhite immigrants and Muslims—that animate the Trump administration. In addition to immigrants, the emergence of anti-fascist activism has provided another timely foe for the movement during this identity crisis. Not coincidentally, antifa is often depicted as the street army of the deep state.

In August, influential Patriot movement activist KrisAnne Hall, a self-described “constitutional attorney,” appeared at an annual conference hosted by the Florida chapter of the neo-Confederate hate group League of the South. Hall advocated for the possibility of secession to a group whose organizing principle is the establishment of a white, Christian ethnostate in the southeastern United States.

WHAT’S AHEAD

The outcome of the 2020 election is the wild card for the movement. A Democratic victory in the presidential race could set the stage for a resurgence of the Patriot movement, as occurred during the Clinton and Obama eras—in part because of renewed fears about gun control measures. In addition, while Latin American immigrants, Muslims, “deep state” elites, antifa and other nontraditional targets have incited the antigovernment movement during the Trump administration, the movement hasn’t forgotten its usually enemies at federal regulatory and law enforcement agencies. Antigovernment extremists will continue directing their anger at agencies like the Bureau of Land Management, the Environmental Protection Agency, the IRS and the FBI.
The overall number of antigovernment “Patriot” groups has dropped by more than half since peaking in 2012 with 1,360 groups. Militias are Patriot groups that actively engage in military-style training. They are shown in the chart above as a percentage of the movement each year from 2014 to 2019.
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**SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER**

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research for this report was conducted by the staff of the Southern Poverty Law Center’s Intelligence Project. They include, among others, Eddie Bejarano, Tracey Gale, Howard Graves, Keegan Hankes, Raven Hodges, Rachel Janik, Caleb Kiefer and Cassie Miller. The report was written by the Intelligence Project staff and Booth Gunter, who also served as the chief editor. Additional editing, editorial support and editorial oversight were provided by Keegan Hankes and Rachel Janik. Michelle Leland designed the layout.

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