URBAN GEOGRAPHY
2019, VOL. 40, NO. 1, 104–127
https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2018.1500247

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Whiteness or Resilience? Placing Terror by Studying the Charleston, South Carolina Mother Emanuel Church Shooting

Kevin Keenan [a] and Anthony Greene [b]

[a]Department of Political Science, College of Charleston, Charleston, USA; [b]Department of African American Studies, College of Charleston, Charleston, USA

ABSTRACT

How do ideas of place support the development of racialized identities in times of terror violence? We situate this paper in the "deep" south via the shooting of 9 black churchgoers by a white supremacist. We explore how the community mobilized after the massacre, and in what ways it relied on ideas of place. While many claimed that the community exemplified resilience, we demonstrate a process of re-racialization. We analyzed local media to document place framing. This frame was recirculated in reporting of residents' expressions about the tragedy. We conducted interviews with community leaders to deepen our understanding. We find that while place played a powerful role in the resilience narrative, the resilience was ultimately one of a city of whiteness. We advance several points: (1) whiteness adapts in times of terror; (2) place is important in the security studies; and (3) place also plays a role in attenuating fear.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 31 May 2017
Accepted 29 May 2018

KEYWORDS
Terrorism; race; place; resilience; whiteness

Terrorism is commonly defined as being divorced from humanitarian rules, seeking publicity, and intimidating a civilian population. It is extra-legal violence, unsanctioned by the state, and it is often described as a weapon of the weak (Laqueur, 1987). With predictability, terrorism is applied to the usual suspects, such as Omar Mateen – an American born Muslim of Afghani heritage who murdered dozens of people in the Pulse Nightclub in Orlando, FL, or to Syed Farook and Tashfeen Malik, a couple of Pakistani descent, who went on a rampage in San Bernardino, CA. As brown-skinned Muslims, these people "looked" like terrorists, and their murderous activities were classified according to the U.S. Code. Yet, on 17 June 2015 Dylann Roof, a white Christian in the "deep south," murdered 9 black parishioners with a gun, sought to advance a Confederate ideology to overthrow the government, and sought publicity. He was not labeled a terrorist. Federal prosecutors considered Roof's violence to be a hate crime instead. The failure to classify Roof's obvious terrorism – a failure challenged by at least one geographer (Derickson, 2016) – illustrates the much broader cultural and political processes involved in defining violence in the contemporary moment.

CONTACT Kevin Keenan KeenanKP@rowan.edu Present address is Department of Geography, Planning, and Sustainability, Rowan University, 201 Mullica Hill Road, Glassboro, NJ 08028

These cultural and political processes create the context through which an act of terrorism is interpreted (Crenshaw, 1995). In the City of Charleston, South Carolina – the most celebrated southern city on the eastern seaboard – these processes entwine with 4 centuries of white-black violence,[1] an agrarian economy transforming in the face of globalization, and a political system still predicated on racial imaginaries of white perfection along with violence to keep blacks in place. In the midst of these powerful forces, each enshrined in the built form of the City of Charleston, terrorism seemed an inapposite label when Roof murdered. Both blacks and whites – who comprise the most numerous racial groupings in Charleston – interpreted this violence not through the lens of terror violence, but through uniquely American racial violence emplaced within the South.

These interpretations, which are rooted simultaneously in both the places of the South and in its most celebrated city, link the experience and interpretation of terrorism to the experience and interpretation of place, signaling the need for geographical analyses of both. In Charleston, both the terrorist (Dylann Roof) and the community response invoked subjective ideas of place. Roof chose Charleston as the site for his massacre as he perceived the city to be a racialized place whose inhabitants he could prompt to riot. The mayor and several black leaders, however, relied on other place-based ideas of Charleston to initiate conformity to a different racial narrative – one of Roof's exceptionalism, and the need to preserve Charleston's image as a "Holy City" of peace and prosperity. In effect, the Charleston narrative was kept local, understood within a uniquely American frame of the south as a place where exceptional racial violence occurs and is named, but in so doing, a more pervasive everyday violence against people of color is ignored.

This paper addresses the need for a tripartite analysis of terrorism, place, and race. Within geography, Kobayashi and Peake (2000) showed that the creation of race relies on spatially delimited backgrounds and processes that emplace discourses of what empowered societies consider to be normal racial identity, such as being white. These same spatial processes are also used to create new racial categories, while subjugating an entire population in a particular place (Anderson, 1987). In addition, the construction of racial ideas – particularly the creation of whiteness as a pervasive yet almost invisible structure – can be flexible, adapting to changing circumstances to maintain power (Shaw, 2007). Further still, Tyner and Inwood (2014) argue that these very same spatial processes obscure both individual and community level understandings of who is violent and to whom that violence is directed. In such instances, a nuanced, particularized approach vis-à-vis a specific place and moment is needed to unearth the persistence of an inequitable power structure. By drawing on local and national media coverage of the Charleston shootings, as well as interviews with several key stakeholders, we explore the disparate application of the terrorism label and the resulting community responses when terrorism occurred. We answer the following question in this paper: How do ideas of place support the development of particular racialized identities in times of terror violence?

We begin by reviewing the literature on terrorism and securitization, and we outline the deficiencies regarding conceptualizations of place. We link this literature to geographical theories of race, particularly vis-à-vis urban places. We then present a framework for interpreting the terror violence in Charleston that focuses on understanding race and place. By reviewing the conditions in Charleston in light of the proposed framework, we demonstrate a powerful analytical role for place in fostering community

resilience in times of heightened terror violence, but we raise caution about its effect after the shooting.

Place-limited paradigms in terrorism and securitization literature

The U.S. code defines terrorism as "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents" ("U.S. Code,")("U.S. Code,")("U.S. Code,")("U.S. Code,")("U.S. Code,")("U.S. Code,")("U.S. Code,")("U.S. Code,")("U.S. Code,")[2]. The CIA defines international terrorism as meeting the criteria specified in the U.S. Code, but also involving "the territory or citizens of more than one country" (CIA, 2017). These definitions do not reflect evolving theory about what constitutes terror violence.

Hoffman (1998) explains that the threat of violence, rather than its actuality, can constitute terrorism. Further, he argues that terrorism is conducted by groups with an identifiable chain of command, even if they wear no uniforms. Individuals acting alone, such as Timothy McVeigh, would not qualify as a terrorist. Other scholars have presented an expansive understanding. Laqueur (1996) conceptualized postmodern terrorism in which the form of violence is divorced from previous concepts. Laqueur documents the increasing scale and intensity of terrorism, its randomness and its occurrence in ordinary places, rather than military or political targets. He laments the attacks against people in their everyday lives, rather than those engaged in government activity. Hoffman also recognizes the changing nature of terrorism, and he calls for research on forms of terrorism that have not happened as well as what has happened. In so doing, societies might prepare for the unexpected evolution of this violence.

To understand terrorism in this moment, as well as to comprehend what forms of terror are possible but have not yet occurred, Crenshaw (1995) recommended studying context. By understanding local and global arrangements of power, connectedness, and culture, evolving forms of terror can be mapped. Janz (2008), on the other hand, argued that the effect of terror is inherently place-based, as people craft their personal interpretation of risk of terrorism through experiencing the places of their lives. Further still, all acts of violence are ultimately located somewhere. This condition has not been lost on terrorists, as Hewitt (1983) theorized the power of violence to influence a society by annihilating or alienating people from place. Yet, despite the significance of place to understanding terrorism, many researchers are silent on this concept. The reason for this silence derives from an early emphasis on understanding the place in which a hazard occurs, a conceptual orientation imported from the environmental risk-hazards frameworks in the post-9/11 moment.

As early as 1945, White (1945) conceptualized a risk-hazards research paradigm informed by the spatial predictability of environmental hazards. White documented how people built homes in areas prone to flooding, and he outlined ways to halt such behavior. Subsequent risk-hazards researchers carried forward his conceptualization of the spatial delimitation of environmental hazard. For example, a half-decade later, Cutter (1996) offered the following assessment of hazards and place: "Vulnerability is conceived as both a biophysical risk as well as a social response, *but within a specific area or geographic domain* [emphasis added]. This can be geographic space, where vulnerable people and places are located, or social space, who in those places are most

vulnerable." In this scholarship, place provided an organizational concept that echoes White, rather than an analytical one.

This conceptualization facilitated an emphasis on the phenomena found in any place that amplified a person's risk perception (Kasperson, 1988), rather than an exploration of what might reduce those same perceptions. This is a somewhat counter-intuitive paradigmatic orientation: understanding why people *don't perceive a risk* and thus do nothing to mitigate a hazard (such as not moving into a floodplain) might help generate policies to prevent undesirable outcomes. However, the early emphasis on understanding response (rather than non-response) is associated with the perception of something risky in a place, and so the conceptual framework was developed to understand how the perception of risk is amplified, rather than attenuated.

This framework is found in the study of terrorism. Medina and Hepner (2013, pg. 196), for example, conceptualize place in a similar spatially delimited format:

> "The concept of social vulnerability, *being a function of the geographic place* that is under threat, has provided a valuable approach to assessing vulnerability of urban places beyond the more engineering-focused infrastructure vulnerability assessment…
>
> The variables used in assessing social vulnerability include the various infrastructure systems and critical facilities (hospitals, schools), *but also include population density, ethnicity and race, socioeconomic status, and employment – all georeferenced*." [emphasis added]

This place-limited paradigm informs the broader securitization literature. Conceptualizing place as the location around which to organize research has led scholars to design out the possibility of variation in the experience of fear from terrorism. For example, both Woods, Eyck, Ten, Stan, and Shlapentokh (2008) and Fischhoff, Gonzalez, Small, and Lerner (2003) conceptualized the city and the region, respectively, as simply large points, the distance from which determined decreasing terror fear. These conceptualizations, however, prevented the authors from capturing what actually happens inside those big points (i.e., the city or region itself). Place is more than just a location. It is also a background for human action, and it is a subjective human experience (Agnew, 1987). Recognizing this condition helps scholars excavate the deeply spatial processes that induce a variety of terrors, many of which are not scrutinized (Tyner & Inwood, 2014). Such an ontological starting point reveals the obfuscation in labels such as terrorism: all violence induces some degree of terror.

In this section, we outlined the deficiencies in conceptualizing place within the risk-hazards frameworks along with the reliance on these frameworks to interpret terror violence. We will now use Deleuzian concepts to link place with the articulation of race after terror violence occurs.

Deleuzian contributions to understanding space, race, and place

Geographers have documented the role that place plays in constructing race (Inwood & Yarbrough, 2010; Schein, 2012), particularly with regard to whiteness and systemic racism. Societies produce social geographies that help define racial categories, and these geographies have usually privileged those who claim, visualize, and enact whiteness. Usually, whiteness is presumed as a normalizing background that requires no specific naming (Anderson, 1987). This situation is particularly pronounced in cities. In fact, the very existence of the city as the

outgrowth of capitalist urbanization depends in part on the exploitation of the segregated black economy (B. Wilson, 2010, 2012a). The proximity of people and conditions of difference found in cities often facilitate the enactment of policies, such as historical preservation ordinances and redevelopment initiatives (D. Wilson & Sternberg, 2012), that in effect systematically preserve the status quo and reinforce white privilege (Shaw, 2007). This occurs even in times of crisis, when other social arrangements are disrupted (MacKinnon & Derickson, 2012). Importantly, these local instances of racial construction must have a national audience to be effective (Anderson, 1987). In short, place plays an integral role in the construction of race – as a location and as a background for human actions. As noted in Wilson's (2012b) introduction to a special issue in *Urban Geography* on racialization and the U.S. city and Kobayashi's (2014b) historical review, urban geography has only recently recognized this situation. In an ongoing effort to build on the work that blossomed in the 1990s, Shaw (2007) argues that review of both the general conditions of racialization but also its specific, context dependent manifestations are needed.

The context of Charleston facilitated the preservation of whiteness as purely American in both local and national contexts after Roof murdered, and it revealed the dependence of whiteness on the incessant articulation of place. Charleston's population is 134,385, and it is an historic colonial-era port along the Atlantic coast. It exists in a relatively remote section of the country, separated from Atlanta, GA, a metropolis of not even 500,000 in a region of 6 million, by 319 miles of mostly rural areas.[3] The relative insularity of Charleston allowed the fermentation of a deeply embedded sense of place – precisely what Dylann Roof and the local community invoked to invent pre- and post-terror ideas of security. In Deleuzian fashion, this sense of place allowed the people in Charleston, particularly those in power, to articulate their identity vis-à-vis their connection to the land (Colebrook, 2005). The fantasy about who these people are is inherently unstable, with holes presenting for escape to other ways of being (Saldanha, 2017). Roof's action and the disruption it caused was certainly one such escape hole, but so too are the broader economic, social, and environmental destabilizations occurring in this place. The response to this instability, however, is the heightened attention to an imagined unchanging landscape vis-à-vis historic preservation along with attempts at stasis in an existing ontological order of understanding place. Dylann Roof's murder de-territorialized the dream of peaceful white people in the south, a necessary precondition for this same group's reproduction (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). The aftermath was an attempt to restore that territory and reproduce this fantasy.

The city of Charleston effectively functioned as the epicenter of a regional plane within which a variety of forces collected. These forces generated from the increasing connectedness of place long found in more globalized areas (Severson, 2011) and the deterritorialization processes that they unleash. As a privileged white identity found itself under increased scrutiny in a south no longer spatialized around white supremacy and an agrarian economy, it sought to establish signs of its own perseverance in a new era. The response to the changes were most visible in the resurgence of historical order via fanatical preservation of colonial history – a process documented elsewhere in the face of globalization (Shaw, 2007). For example, the South Carolina State Legislature passed the "Heritage Act" in the year 2000 that requires a two-thirds vote of both houses of the general assembly before any historical monument statewide can be removed or altered (including street names), many of which are confederate symbols meant to celebrate the plantation and colonial past (Behre, 2015).

In Charleston, whiteness was preserved and strengthened by implicitly underscoring the "otherness" (outside of whiteness) of those who enacted violence. Dylann Roof, though Caucasian, was othered as an outsider who was not from Charleston and did not reflect the new South's whiteness. This Deleuzian process of reterritorialization allowed the white community to reassert its fantasy of itself. Indeed, even the community's mobilization for political change in the attack's aftermath was directed outside of Charleston – to the Statehouse grounds where the Confederate Flag flew. The celebrations and protections of colonial power and slave society within Charleston were left unscathed, allowing the continued project of preserving a City that enshrines a memory of the past Roof so tragically sought to restore. In muted effect, the goals that he sought in Charleston have already been achieved, and so defining him as outside of whiteness was a community adaptation that allowed the preservation of such "accomplishments."

In this section, we reviewed the geographical theories that demonstrate the necessity of emplacing racial categories, along with the assumption of whiteness everywhere else. We introduced Deleuzian concepts of territorialization, community identity and fantasy, and the roles of signs in this process to help explain the connection between the multiple communities in Charleston and the land they occupy both before and after terror violence.

Towards a theory of how place can attenuate fear of terror violence

Understanding terror violence faces two obstacles. First, the securitization literature is informed by a place-limited paradigm despite theory (Janz, 2008) and evidence (Keenan, 2016) that place plays a substantial role in understanding human responses. This condition has led to a focus on risk amplification. Second, acts of terrorism are racialized, and these racializations rely on implicit ideas of place. Yet, the prevalence of the place-limited paradigm has caused researchers to overlook the connection between place, race, and the possible attenuation of fear. By exploring how race and place are co-constituted in the interpretation of terror violence, we show that place can attenuate fear of terror rather than the more common amplification of risk.

First, place is more than a location within which to collect data to understand vulnerability. Place is also a background for human action which can lead to a foundational human feeling and emotion that generates subjective meaning in the environment (Tuan, 1977-2014]). The ontology of place is shaped by a person's unique life situation, and through this situation a person interprets his or her risk from terrorism. These interpretations need not always amplify fear. While it is true that individuals may report heightened fear of terror in the abstract, it is unknown how they might respond when that risk is emplaced within their own locales. Pain and Smith (2008) have shown that people have many different perceptions of what is risky, and these perceptions often exist independently of a globalized, abstracted threat. Though people may recognize abstract risk, they may also interpret it through familiar places, leading them to believe terrorism won't occur near them.

Second, just as Laqueur (1996) theorized the postmodernization of terrorism, so too has there been a postmodernization of security. People have a variety of ways of experiencing security. People engage security along multiple dimensions of their lives (Mitchell, 2016), and each of these components relate to their risk and fear. Recognizing that one of these dimensions is the familiar places where people live their lives, risk

perception and fear cannot simply be calculated using frameworks of representation and recollection – common in the risk-hazards tradition. A place that is similar to where terrorism occurred may represent familiarity and enjoyment to a person, muting the connection to terrorism. Similarly, the ability to recollect a terrorist attack in a place may be diminished by recollections of other events, such as a joyful moment. In short, places offer reminders of experiences that may lead a person to a more accurate understanding of his or her likelihood of being in a terrorist attack, and place may thereby counter phenomena (e.g., news reports) that otherwise amplify risk perceptions.

Third, West and Orr (2005) demonstrated that the more people talk about terrorism, the more rational they become about policy responses. They then theorized that government leaders should encourage conversations about terrorism to reduce fear, yet they do not specify how to do so. Caldeira (2000) came to a similar conclusion about general crime: people deepen their understanding of structural causes of crime when they discuss the reasons why crime is occurring rather than only that it is occurring. Because discussions are shown to produce more rational outcomes, and because people have more realistic assessments of risk in places with which they are familiar, one strategy for diminishing fear is to encourage people to assess and discuss security with reference to their neighborhoods. By reflecting on everyday experiences within places – experiences that will, for most people, be free from the type of terrorism popularly depicted in the media – we surmise that these people will come to diverse conceptualizations of terror violence that reflect the uniqueness of their lives. These understandings will prioritize personalized, place-based assessments of risk, and they will diminish the power of an overarching discourse of what constitutes terrorism. Such discourses cause people to demand radical departures from constitutional governance that threaten civil freedoms (Mueller, 2006).

Finally, because racialization necessarily involves place, we recognize that not everyone experiences places in ways that reduce fear. For example, black people in the U.S. may experience some places as particularly risky. However, this condition actually underscores exactly the ontologies of place that were exploited by Roof in Charleston. He selected the precise place where blacks in the South would feel relatively empowered. He sought to disrupt the ontological security provided by the church as a place, for both whites and blacks. For whites, the black churches create an ontology of security through perceptions of innocuous segregation, and a particular kind of "acceptable" black institution in a largely white empowered society. For blacks, however, the churches create an ontology of empowerment and political mobilization, in addition to security, which was particularly evident around the Mother Emanuel Church in Charleston (Eaves, 2016). Similarly, the mayor and various other political leaders sought to re-establish the ontology of this micro-place by reasserting it as a place of power, but also momentarily claimed it as a white space. While blacks led the services, the mayor claimed that the community "should throw its arms around the church" and various discourses of "one Charleston" and "Holy City" ensued. The City of Charleston is 70% white, and the discourse of need for black protection and support – in effect the visual racialization of blacks through the place of the church – only naturalized the dominance of whiteness in the City.

This momentary white washing of the church and the linkage to the place of Charleston allowed the broader community's place-based ontology of security to be mobilized. Roof was easily defined as an "outsider," with specific reference to his rural hometown 100 miles away. This allowed the Charleston community to feel secure both in the place of Charleston, but also in the larger structural arrangements that necessitated the existence of the Mother Emmanuel Church. Hanna (2016) documented a similar problematic result elsewhere: in plantation museums, there is usually a failure to put slavery and its aftermath into a broader relationship context that made white wealth and success possible. In Charleston, political mobilization was thus directed *outside* of the city (reinforcing Charleston as a location, as a background, and as an idea), towards the Statehouse grounds where the Confederate Flag still flew. Though problematically achieved, this outcome attenuated fear of the kind of terror violence that Roof represented – both to the blacks, but also to the whites.

A new framework for studying the attenuation of fear of terror violence must explore people's subjective attachments to place, the diverse ways that people experience places and risks within them, how they express these risks, and how this process is racialized. Our exploration of the Charleston terror violence applies and advances this framework.

Method

Overview

We collected data in Charleston, as that community mobilized after terror violence. As theorized above, we believe that the dramatic community mobilization occurred in Charleston as a result of the intertwining dimensions of race and place.

There are two primary data sets: news coverage drawn from *The Post and Courier*, the mainstream newspaper, and interviews with community leaders who managed the City's response. The media analysis allows us to explore the creation of place-based processes in Charleston post-attack, while the interviews provide evidence regarding how leaders wanted the post-attack city to be understood. In addition, we document how race is presented differently in the news media with regard to terror violence. Such representations bear directly on pre- and post-attack interpretations of security.

We utilized purposive sampling to select the media sources, and we performed a content analysis with a coding scheme to examine the sampled material. We selected the interviewees to represent core communities, and we used a standard coding scheme for the interview analysis.

Qualitative media analysis

To provide proper context, we first conducted a qualitative media analysis reviewing the ways news media outlets chronicle various stories on mass killings. From these representations, we demonstrate the pattern of racial disparities in how the media highlights terror. Hsieh and Shannon (2005) point to three theoretical approaches to content analysis: conventional, directed, and summative. For the purposes of our inquiry, we

conducted a summative content media analysis. Summative analyses highlight the counting and comparisons of keywords within content, which is then evaluated and interpreted (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Our focus on local and national news outlets is structured to uncover racial disparities in language, if any, when news reports discuss high-profile incidents of terror.

To understand what happened specifically in Charleston, we conducted a qualitative media analysis using the news stories appearing in *The Post and Courier*. We located all stories from 17 June until 30 June 2015 that covered news related to the shooting (n = 124). It includes the reporting of the "unity march" across the Ravenel Bridge which occurred on 21 June and President Obama's eulogy for the slain church pastor on 26 June. We did not include editorials and op-eds in the analysis for several reasons. We utilized Scott's (1990) criteria to determine which components of the newspaper to analyze. Scott recommends including documents in an analysis that are "typical of its kind," a principle known as representativeness. The news articles provided substantial evidence regarding how ordinary people in Charleston (who were interviewed and quoted) interpreted the violence, usually absent any formal preparation beforehand. The editorials and commentary, on the other hand, are the product of careful thought, structured by research and rhetoric, and they usually present explicit arguments written by well-educated people. Such tactics establish positions of authority that have come under scrutiny elsewhere (Hodder, 2003); they usually don't unearth the positions others already hold. Because we could not access the editorial board or those people writing commentary, but we were able to access the public figures who were also being quoted in the news stories, we created a rare opportunity to move beyond a latent content analysis and engage the elites directly.

We used a purposive sampling strategy, selecting only articles that covered the Mother Emanuel Church shooting, and not related issues such as gun violence. We analyzed a sample of 160 news articles. We coded all stories for themes and concepts, utilizing Gaber and Gaber (2007) strategy. We investigated patterns related to race and place, and we paid particular attention to the context, process, and emergence of post-terror violence racialization in Charleston (Altheide, 1996).

Interviews with select community leaders

We interviewed four leaders of the City for this project: former Charleston Mayor, Joe Riley, former Deputy Chief of Police, Tony Elder, AME Church Elder and former Pastor of Mother Emmanuel Church, Norvel Goff, and Pastor and co-founder of The Coalition: People United to Take Back Our Community, Thomas Dixon. Riley and Elder are white, while Goff and Nixon are black. PI conducted an in-person, in-depth interview with each of these leaders. The interviews lasted for one hour, and they were audio-recorded. The interviewees gave the authors permission to quote them by name.

The goal was to understand how these leaders perceived Charleston as a community and as a place, and how they interpreted the violence. We selected them because they represent established sections of the Charleston community; their views both reflect and helped shape representations of the community's response. We wanted to include their perspectives in the "particular" approach that is needed to excavate an understanding of

how whiteness adapts when it is challenged in a crisis, as well as the role that place plays in this process. The interviews were semi-structured and we followed a funnel sequence. We began the interview with open-ended questions to warm up the interview. We then asked questions about the concept of community, and we concluded the interview with a series of specific questions about place – the core concept in the project as determined from the newspaper reporting. All questions were asked in a way that avoided any assumptions about how the respondent should answer. The questions prompted the respondent to answer as the respondent saw fit. Examples of questions include the following: How would you define place? What does place mean to you? How do you define Charleston as a place? What makes Charleston a place? Do you think that the response to the massacre in Charleston has positioned the City to better implement community resilience than it was before the massacre? PI probed respondents as they mentioned topics that offered new insights on race and place in Charleston.

PI transcribed each interview, imported each into Nvivo, and coded using an open-coding procedure. Open-coding allows concepts to emerge from the data (Bohm, 2004). We analyzed both the content and the omissions, as what is not said is often as important as what is said when interpreting a narrative (Riessman, 1993).

Ethics

We adopted a critical urban epistemology to reveal the adaptations of racialized power structures in times and places of terror violence. Following the recommendation of Boudreau (2010), we document different acts that cumulated into different political moments that have repercussions for American society. We recognize Charleston to be primed for a reorganization of power, and our analyses document how this reorganization might be facilitated or hampered by the political mobilizations of place and race. We hope to disrupt the return to pre-disaster conditions because that often reestablishes oppressive social arrangements (MacKinnon & Derickson, 2012). To this end, we recognize that research is not innocent (Denzin, 2003), and that our project has political goals.

We believe that Roof was correct in identifying the power of racialized places to spark change, though we uncompromisingly seek a different outcome. Roof's belief that place would play an integral role in starting a race war points to the possibility that place itself might be used for greater oppression. This is exactly how the Israeli government deployed ideas of place to subjugate Palestinians (Weizman, 2007, 2011). We must grapple with the possibility that our work will be used for nefarious goals.

We respond by pointing out that traumatic events and their media coverage very often prevent – rather than foster – social change (Kobayashi & Peake, 2000). We acknowledge that there is a risk of nefarious application of our work, but there may perhaps be a greater risk in doing nothing. Further still, race is a fractured concept (Kobayashi, 2014a), signaling the possibility of multiple openings to diminish it as an organizing framework. It is the particular operations of race – especially of whiteness – that must be unearthed in order to diminish its power (Shaw, 2007). Our project contributes to the deconstruction of a narrative of whiteness, and this contribution might also be used to deconstruct post-disaster responses that assume race neutrality and thereby prevent social change.

Analysis and discussion

Understanding the resilience of whiteness in charleston

> I know there is a national interest in what happened in Charleston, and how in the world did we come through that without the city facing turmoil. You know, whether it be a riot, as we've seen, destruction as we've seen. We didn't see that, so there is a national interest in what is it that Charleston has, what is it that the Charleston people have? What is it that the Charleston community did? What is it that the Charleston leadership did, that resulted in everyone coming together as one?
>
> Tony Elder, former Deputy Chief of Police, City of Charleston

After Dylann Roof murdered 9 black people in order to start a race war, many wondered why Charleston did not experience riots similar to those that had rocked the country after other high-profile incidents of racial violence. The assumption that large-scale violence would occur, coupled with the remarkability that it did not, echoes a condition of race unearthed by Kobayashi and Peake (2000). The exceptionalism of Charleston's "peaceful" response begs the question of what American society, as reflected through the interpretive lens of national and local media, understands racial violence to be as well as who or what is "normal" when it comes to race. In the examples of Michael Brown's death in Ferguson and Freddie Gray's in Baltimore, media attention on the subsequent rioting within impoverished black communities rendered the direct institutional violence against black men almost beside the point. In these cases, American media and the society to which it reports both mostly ignored the longstanding, slow violence that resulted in vast, impoverished urban populations that were always about to boil over while simultaneously yielding reports of the outrageousness of those communities' own outrage that deflected attention from the irreversible fact of black death.

Shaw (2007) theorizes the shiftiness of whiteness, and its capacity to utilize opportunities from within a range of subject positions. This condition necessitates a review of the particularities of racial empowerment, especially the intricacies of local manifestations. In Charleston, the mobilizations that occurred after the massacre facilitated ideas of community cohesion in place while simultaneously leaving unaddressed the simmering inequalities that have resulted in violence elsewhere. In this case, the local manifestation of whiteness was rooted in the place of the City itself, with both community leaders and local media mobilizing these ideas to forward a micro narrative of white compassion. This micro-narrative was sutured to broader, entrenched racial narratives that reinforce a racial hierarchy by leaving unchallenged the idea of innate tendencies of black violence.

As several scholars have shown (Anderson, 1987; Chauncey, 2010), the construction of oppressive identities often needs a national audience to become entrenched. The Charleston case established the idea of a modern south with a compassionate white racial system, while simultaneously defining Dylann Roof as outside of that whiteness. This idea is illustrated in the response from former Mayor Riley, who served the City for 40 years and managed the response to the shooting, when questioned about why the community responded the way that it did:

> I think the fact that we called it a hate crime, not. . .the legal term or not. . .just that it was clear, you know, that this was what it was, which was a bigot, hateful bigot from *away*, but that didn't lessen anything that happened. But, the fact that *it wasn't. . .uh the most grievous injury to the whole community from someone within us, from one of us. . .it wasn't* [emphasis added].

He goes on to explain the absence of violence:

> I think maybe what it [the shooting] did for the community was to reinforce, or to thankfully and with admiration acknowledge what we have, and that we have a community that was challenged with this most unspeakable of all acts, we had the capacity as a people to, so lovingly, respectfully respond.

At the same time, Pastor Dixon, a local black activist, explained the situation differently:

> There is still an underlying caste system here. It's not overt; it's very covert. It's not even covert, it's subliminal. Many who don't even realize the racism that exists in the day-to-day lives that are here. So for the whites. . .there was this remorse in their hearts that led them to pray and hold hands on the bridge, and things of that sort. But for the African American community, where the outrage should have been, it's been what I've seen much in this community, it was sort of suppressed, that anger and that rage was suppressed. And I believe that that is a throwback actually to the slave codes and the way that ancestors of those here were treated. They were beaten and whipped into submission, and I believe that that same submissive behavior has been passed down from generation to generation here. Was that the overall cause of why the African American community didn't react with violence and burning down and things like that, I think that was a contributing factor.

By underscoring the lack of black violence in response to the unequivocal white hatred expressed by Roof, the post-massacre response telegraphed to the nation an answer to the question about what American society might currently understand racial violence to be that was not possible in the cases where rioting occurred. The unique dimension of the Charleston crime was its immediacy and unequivocal origin in racial hatred, which made non-response by the white community – which has been the norm in the other incidents where racial hatred and slow violence was more easily obfuscated – almost impossible. Presiding Elder Norvel Goff of the Mother Emanuel Church, who led the congregation after the tragedy, linked Roof's actions to a broader southern racial system:

> I think that racism and bigotry are learned behaviors; it's a conditioning and a response. And, to terrorize or bring about fear, to be placed upon one segment of the community, in this case the black community, something that was planned out. Carried out by an individual who harbored these thoughts, this was learned. This took root in an environment where one would be an impressionable young man, hearing it, being exposed to it, and practicing it in some way, form, or fashion

Given these conditions, Pastor Dixon explained the impossibility for the white community to ignore the connection between Roof's act and the same racial system identified by Goff:

> The blatant racism involved in the connections to. . .the confederacy, and the protection of slavery that happened during that time, connected with the White Knights of the KKK, and things of that sort, it was easy to see, to understand, for us as African Americans, o.k. now, what's the argument now? We've been saying that racism is alive and well and living in America. Now it has shown, it has really shown how vicious it is. What do you say, or what do we do now?

Mayor Riley offers a response to Pastor Dixon's question:

> Well, the, um, the community came together. They were heartbroken …those who didn't know the victims could put themselves in the shoes of someone who did. And, so they felt that they truly felt their pain and their heartache…They wanted to do something positive themselves, to respect, or show sympathy for, or assist the families in some way personally.

The outcome makes "real" the idea of white compassion and non-violence, with the presence of a white response and the subsequent celebration of black people not rioting implies the inherent violence of blacks had they been left to their own response (as occurred in the other cities). In Charleston, it was the circumstance of an adapting whiteness that prevented black people from being violent and destroying the city. Charleston itself became the place in which to enact collective white goodness, while the individual fault of the murderer was implied as was the collective moral suspicion of an inherently violent black population. What was again left invisible to a national audience was the idea of riotous violence as a last resort in a dire, longstanding condition.

The process of re-racialization and its implications

A process of re-racialization occurred in Charleston. Though many lauded the massacre as a turning point, in actuality little changed in the racial dynamic of a southern city founded on slave labor. There was little institutional response both locally and nationally to transform the everlasting inequality found in this place, but also found in other American cities. Though there was a successful mobilization to remove the Confederate Flag from the South Carolina Statehouse grounds 100 miles away, the removal of a 150 year-old relict from a failed separatist government ideology flying over U.S. soil cannot seriously be viewed as a racial breakthrough in 2015. Though many fantasized the flag's removal to be the hallmark of progress, it actually allowed the community of Charleston – which was under national scrutiny – to externalize the process of racial justice. Inwood and Alderman (2016) have claimed that this was a political act of "erasure," substituting for a more difficult process of racial justice. Simultaneously, the ideology that Dylann Roof represented was also externalized to the same area (Roof's home was just a few miles from the state capital, a fact that was constantly repeated), making it much easier for people in Charleston – and those who watched across the nation – to adopt the fantasy that racism comes from somewhere else and not from within. In effect, Charlestonians avoided any examination of their complicity in city systems and wealth founded on and perpetuated by racial injustice; by othering Dylann Roof the goodness of Charleston – and by extension its mostly white power structure – was left intact. The local media was quick to adopt this frame, strengthening the idea of racism as an external condition, as demonstrated in statements chosen for publication similar to the following:

> I'd like to think that a native Charlestonian could never do something so ghastly as what happened eight nights ago. Of course, there are bad people everywhere and that may be wishful thinking, but I'm relieved that the suspect is from the Lexington area and that, as Charleston Mayor Joe Riley said, he didn't learn to hate in Charleston (Gilbreth, 2015)

The depiction of large groups of white people expressing compassion in post-massacre Charleston reinforced the idea of a turning point in racial progress. Yet, the almost complete absence of these same people at the funerals for those lost, including the one for the Mother Emanuel Church Pastor that was held in a 5,100 seat athletic complex and that President Obama attended, only underscored the reality not found in the fantasy of post-massacre Charleston. The depiction was one of peaceful togetherness and resilience in the face of tragedy, rooted in the shared ideals of the "Holy" City. The conspicuousness of this compassion whitewashed the history of activism and mobilization that the Mother Emanuel Church fostered (McCutcheon, 2016), along with the very real difference in the experience of fear felt by the black community in Charleston to this day. Mayor Riley recognized this fear differential:

> I think that the African Americans had to have, just in thinking about, why wasn't it me… the thought that because of their color, their skin, that someone would kill them. Just because of that. I'm sure being an African American, you had an extra feeling of… "but for the grace of God there went you."

The dimensions of crime, racism, fear, and death that led to Dylann Roof and the situation in Charleston were whitewashed into a focus on fleeting expressions of compassion, togetherness, and progress. This occurred at a time when the nation's attention was poised to rethink the multiple dimensions of racial empowerment and disempowerment, particularly in the South, including the political agency of black people that has often gone unheeded in American politics. As Pastor Dixon observed, in the absence of "burning down a city" black people often don't "get the help that you need in order to uproot the problem." The processes that unfolded in Charleston help us understand why this is the case.

The local media's emphasis on the "otherness of racism" existed within a pervasive media environment that broadly shapes society's view of terror and violence. Americans are accustomed to stories of crimes that attach race. Although white males commit the most violent crimes in the U.S.,[4] there are racial stereotypes fueled by media portrayals (Hurwitz & Peffley, 1997; Welch, 2007). For instance, most stories reported about serial killers are often white males who experienced trauma in their childhood (Bonn & Diamond, 2014). African Americans and Latinos are disproportionately reported when referencing drugs and gangs (Tamborini, Mstro, & Chory-Assad, 2000), despite whites overwhelmingly using drugs at higher rates than minorities (Ingraham, 2014). This social belief pattern mirrors what the news, television, and film depict. In the majority of movies dealing with foreign terrorism, the terrorists are from the Middle East and are Muslim; many crime shows racialize their criminals so much that the storyline predicts who will be the victim and who will be the criminal. There is a link between what people see and the realities they subsequently construct. As such, the San Bernardino shooting was exclusively an act of terror, yet Dylann Roof's actions were categorized as a hate crime. Former FBI Director, James Comey reiterated Dylann Roof committed a hate crime, not terrorism when he stated he was "unsure whether the shooting was a 'political act.'" Even after Roof's manifesto emerged in which he outlined his intentions of "protecting the White race" and "had no choice but to kill worshippers", Comey stated, "I'm not sure this is an act of terrorism." However, contrary to Comey, former US Attorney General Eric Holder stated, "clearly this was an act of terrorism. It was a political-

violent act." Holder further stated, "With a different set of circumstances, and if you had dialed in religion there, Islam, that would be called an act of terror" (Holloway, 2015).

In instances of mass shooting crimes, when the criminals are black they are thugs, when they are Muslim they are terrorists, but when they are white they have mental/psychological issues, as was the case with narratives about Dylann Roof. The media helps create empathy for whites by focusing on their mental (in)stability, and in the case of Charleston, by also focusing on the outpouring of white compassion and empathy. More importantly, media reports often describe white criminals who commit heinous crimes by reproducing endearing quotes from friends and neighbors, such as "he was a good kid" or "he was a strong student" or "we never thought he would do something like this." In addition to creating an empathy narrative, the media often searches the past of white murderers to find images of them as a kid (or young), often smiling with an air of innocence (see Stanford rapist Brock Turner's original photo posted[5]).

Positive descriptive characteristics are used when reporting tragedies committed by white males. For instance, words of empathy and unrelated details about the shooters upbringing found their way into both the Sandy Hook and Aurora Colorado shootings. CNN described Adam Lanza, the Sandy Hook shooter who killed 28 people, 20 of whom were children, as a "socially awkward kid" and "shy and quiet" (CNN, 2012). These words seem innocuous when describing describe the person who, at the time, committed the second deadliest shooting in U.S. History. In 2012, James Holmes killed 12 people and injured 70 others at a Dark Knight Rises film in Aurora, Colorado. Gembrowksi, Bello and Hughes of USA Today wrote that Holmes "grew up in an upper middle-class community of 'picturesque' hacienda-style homes (2012)." The reporters chose to publish comments about Holmes offered by his childhood neighbors, who stated he had "a good demeanor." The elegant, detailed description of his neighborhood coupled with fond memories of his neighbors had little relevance to the crimes he committed, yet its inclusion reminded audiences of the normalcy of privileged white environments and that Holmes was simply not representative of "normal" whites. It subconsciously reinforced the empathy narrative of "we would never believe he could do something like this" and the fantasy of white non-violence. Despite the tragic nature of their crimes and their lack of empathy, the media neither depicted Lanza or Holmes as thugs, nor described them as terrorists. At both national and local scales, such outcomes obfuscate the reality of slow violence in American society. In moments of crisis, such interpretations redirect attention from a deep analysis of systems of violence – which an outburst like a mass shooting represents – to the contexts of white normalcy and perfection as an underlying frame.

The powerful role of place

In an analysis of Deleuze's philosophy, Colebrook (2005) explains that the "dreaming of space" transcends present individuals and opens to the future, continuing a project whereby a people becomes "a people" by their presumed connection to the land. This process unfolds via a constant repetition of signs that sustains particular gestures or activities that create the idea of a place (Saldanha, 2017). The post-massacre response in Charleston involved gatherings of thousands of people – along the street in front of the church, in a spontaneously organized march across a bridge,

or at smaller events held throughout the city. While the witnesses to these events described them as a testament to resilience that should be modeled elsewhere, we raise the question regarding what exactly mobilized the community (most of whom are white) and for what exactly did they mobilize? This question is important, as Shaw (2007) cautions that colonial cities often enshrine in the landscape the normative frameworks of whiteness that make it impossible to understand racialized alternatives outside of that norm.

Charleston is a colonial city, founded in 1670. It was the first municipality in the U.S. to adopt an historical preservation ordinance, and it has stringent rules to preserve the built legacy. This legacy is one of white empowerment and black subordination via Colonial England, and that condition was not lost on either Dylann Roof or the community that responded to his atrocity. Roof wrote in a manifesto that he chose Charleston as the site for his violence "because it is the most historic city in my state, and at one time had the highest ratio of blacks to whites in the country." Roof celebrated white control of blacks under harsh slave codes. To Roof, and to the many who support the ideology that he represents, Charleston itself is a reminder of white domination, and the powerful preservation community within the city constantly reinforces this condition. Given the city's remote location, at least 100 miles from another city of comparable size and 500 miles from a major urban center (i.e., Atlanta, GA) and its existence within a region that has only recently begun to experience integration into a global society, a powerful sense of place has deeply fermented. This sense of place is articulated around whiteness, as Pastor Dixon acknowledged, grounded in colonial legacy.

After the attack, politicians and community leaders mobilized this same idea of place to direct the response all the while reestablishing the security found in understanding the city as a safe space. Invoking "Charleston" and the "Holy City," leaders repeated ideas that the threat was not from within Charleston. At the same time, state leaders, such as Governor Nikki Haley, "othered" the violence statewide in statements such as: "As all eyes of this country are on our state and our city, what happened in that church is not the people of South Carolina" (Broughton & Parker, 2015). Haley recognized the national spotlight and used it to minimize any perception of Roof's hatred being commonplace. The leaders also mobilized these same sentiments to shun "activists" that arrived in Charleston from elsewhere to demand racial justice. Residents, institutions, and the media then picked up and repeated these ideas, as the following reporting demonstrates. In the first quotation, the religious institutions selectively highlight Charleston's past (i.e., forgetting that it was founded on human misery as a slave port), and root the community's response in the City as a place.

> More than three centuries ago, Charleston was founded on the principle of religious tolerance. As a result, we live, work and raise our families in a historically strong and welcoming community. We now call upon our collective strength to renew Charleston's unity and compassion in the wake of the nine shooting deaths at Mother Emanuel AME Church" (Wise, 2015)

The following resident articulates the strength of the community through Charleston as a place, and she asks for this recognition to inform the nation as a whole. The news reporter accentuates and emphasizes Charleston as a place worth emulating.

> "This was just over and beyond [referring to a large march across a major bridge]. It just shows you the strength of this city, and that's a lesson I'm going to take back to Durham." Angie Brose of Charleston said she thought the gathering was a great way to show America what the city is made of. "It's a showing of how amazing Charleston has been," she said (Boughton, 2015).

The mobilization of such ideas of Charleston as a place created an environment that allowed people to make sweeping statements that the local media quickly recirculated, such as the following: "The people raised in Charleston are not raised knowing hate – they're raised in love, and that was obvious tonight. . .." (Boughton, 2015). But there is no evidence that such statements are grounded in any reality, nor that resilience of the *entire* community was demonstrated in Charleston. Rather, in the aftermath of the massacre, the ideal of Charleston as a place – a colonial city built on slave labor that is preserved by a powerful preservation movement – demonstrated its resilience. In a Deleuze and Guattari (1987) sense, the rupture in the dominant narrative of Charleston required a reterritorialization by the established society, one that transformed the emergent alternative signs that pointed the way to a new order in to ones that essentially preserved the status quo. Rather than challenging a power structure predicated on historical patterns, the threat of any ontological insecurity posed by Roof's actions that would have necessitated addressing Pastor Dixon's question of "What do you say, or what do we do now?" dissipated. The role of Charleston as a place of harmony and holiness remained intact, as do the implications of this place for those who live here and those in the broader Atlantic south who experience it as the elite representation of modern southern life.

Conclusion: placing terror

The goal of this paper was to answer the following question: How do ideas of place support the development of particular racialized identities in times of terror violence? Our analysis employs a Deleuzian perspective to understand the "hole in space" (Saldanha, 2017) opened up by Roof's actions, which created a momentary passageway to a new geography of racial justice. In studying this passageway, we seek to understand how and why it closed. By using a case study of the Mother Emanuel Church shooting that occurred on 15 June 2015, we argued that the post-massacre moment yielded an enhancement of whiteness in the deep south – and in the nation – rather than any significant change. Broadly circulating, racialized media narratives about blacks as criminals were sutured to a local narrative of white compassion and non-criminality, which became the dominant explanation for the absence of riots by outraged black people. The white criminal at the core of this tragedy was deftly "othered" from whiteness, as if he came from another planet, and this process was facilitated as community leaders and residents (both white and black) invoked powerful ideas of the place that Charleston represents within the Atlantic south.

The resilience of whiteness as an organizing framework was reinforced in the weeks after the shooting when the nation's attention was poised to look, in the words of Pastor Dixon, at how vicious racism really is in the U.S. Spatial metaphors abounded to deflect any deeper analysis of the origins of both Dylann Roof as an ideology as well as the exceptionalism of Charleston's non-riotous black people. These metaphors relied on

positing the origins of hate somewhere other than Charleston itself while simultaneously invoking Charleston as a place of holiness and compassion and by ignoring the colonial lineage of whiteness and domination. This outcome represents exactly what Tyner and Inwood (2014) warned against: spatial processes deflecting attention from ongoing everyday violence towards the momentary actions of one murderous individual. Malpas (2012) theorizes that the multiple, indeterminate senses of place that exist in Charleston (and in all places) can generate an emancipatory ethics of place. However, in this moment, that ethics was not fostered via the careful examination of the engagements amongst people and things that Malpas recommends. The process was subdued by an adaptive racial structure based in inequality.

By drawing on qualitative media analysis of national and local news sources that covered the Mother Emanuel Church shooting and other acts of violence, as well as interviews with key leaders of the post-massacre response in Charleston, this paper advances several theoretical points. First, our primary objective was to explore the adaptations and shiftiness of racial structures, as recommended by Shaw (2007). To do this, the study of particular places and conditions is needed. From our work, we hope to add to theory of cities of whiteness an understanding of how race is articulated in the deep South of the U.S., particularly after violence occurs, and how spatial metaphors, in this case of place, are used in the process. Second, we link this work to broader literature on security, and we seek to outline a place-based framework that has heretofore been overlooked. While place as a location has certainly been integral to risk-hazards analyses, our paper seeks to articulate a deeper understanding of place as subjective human understanding that can affect how communities interpret and respond to disasters (in this case, terror violence). We situated this work at the intersection of race, place, and hazards. Finally, our analysis of Charleston suggests that the idea of place can also be used to attenuate fear and mobilize a community in the aftermath of a disaster. The leaders of Charleston mobilized the residents by invoking place, and this was done to restore a place-based ontology of security predicated on a careful racial order.

Roof momentarily disrupted this order: he punctured a hole in the space of Charleston and the black church, which signaled a new geography of racial justice. However, nearly everyone – blacks and whites alike – sought to seal that hole. This is not surprising, as Malpas (2012) theorized the tendency to think of place with regard to notions of security, sameness, and determinacy, rather than to take responsibility for uncertainty and "fragile locatedness" in the world. Such responsibility means giving up privilege and power to create an ethics in place. However, people will not initiate these sacrifices if they cannot understand such an ethics and what it will mean for advancing their society. What became "discussable" in the immediate aftermath of murder in Charleston was public memory not of centuries of violence, but rather of forgiveness and racial harmony. The Deputy Chief of Police explained that ruptures in this narrative were not tolerated: "The way that we responded to it as a community as a whole, I mean, even the people that I described to you earlier pulled people aside and said that's not what we do here. You need to go." While this outcome was valued by many community leaders in their efforts to avoid violence and unflattering depictions of the city, Casey (2007) writes that in between public memory and place lie the private feelings and the overtness of what is considered discussable linked by words. Pastor

Dixon provides some insights regarding what some of those private feelings rooted in place might be:

> "If we're going to really give an honest presentation, we can't just present the white part of it [referring to the history of Charleston]. I don't have any problem with John C. Calhoun standing lord over Marion Square the way he does [referring to a statue of the former U.S. vice president and ardent supporter of slavery], but let's present in the tour the real John C. Calhoun. The racist John C. Calhoun. Let's present that information out also. Because it's valid. It's real. Let's give real history."

At a moment when Charlestonians were poised to look at the systematic racism of their colonial era slave port city, which is evidenced in the dramatic contemporary inequality between blacks and whites (Pan, 2017), their gaze was directed elsewhere. Some 100 miles away, the state legislature voted to remove the Confederate flag from the capital grounds in Columbia. Charleston thus avoided confronting its own past, a big part of which is represented by the political history of the Mother Emanuel Church (McCutcheon, 2016). As Inwood and Alderman (2016) remind us, that fostered amnesia vis-à-vis the geographies that made Roof possible. One possible solution is recommended by Alderman, Butler, and Hanna (2016): bring the anti-racist narrative front and center, as this may allow a recovering of the African-American sense of place, rather than its destruction. This narrative may have involved the telling and re-telling of the Mother Emanuel Church story of over 150 years of political mobilization rather than prioritizing white compassion.

Consciousness is needed in Charleston. Three years after the tragedy, little has changed in this historic city. Perhaps the most dramatic example of this stasis is the shocking inability of the Charleston City Council to address the enormous statue of John C. Calhoun in Marion Square in the heart of the historic district. The council fractured along racial lines as several white councilors refused to endorse a lengthy statement that was generated by a community advisory committee to be placed next to the statue. Several councilors stated that the plaque included too much "opinion" and not enough "historical fact." The black councilors, on the other hand, suggested that they would refuse to vote for any statement as they sought to have the council take a stand on removing the statue altogether (which is prohibited by state law) (Darlington, 2018). We believe the fact that the majority white council could not take this stand belies the celebrations of statue removal that swept the country after the violence in Charleston and Charlottesville, VA. Given protective cover from a higher-level of government (e.g., South Carolina's state-level "Heritage Act"), the real whiteness in Charleston quietly stood up. This occurred in the absence of the glare from national media. This whiteness simply refused to take any stand against a racist landscape, even if only symbolic, which raises the question of whether or not the much more difficult work of justice will ever occur in Charleston. While it is certainly necessary to address the landscape, the outcome in Charleston when political cover was given causes us to speculate that the statue-removal activities that occurred elsewhere are simply manifestations of an adapting racial structure with little real change intended. The fact that the few relatively tiny markers of the black heritage within Charleston are relegated to the peripheral areas of the historic district, or outside of it altogether, often behind overgrown bushes and that calls to change this situation have not yet been heeded, underscores our point.

The case in Charleston reminds us that real change is desperately needed. The lineage of slavery and centuries of white empowerment at the expense of non-white lives cannot be clearer than it is here. Ironically, in 2015, the year Roof murdered, the College of Charleston's Avery Research Center published a report titled "The State of Racial Disparities in Charleston County, 2000 to 2015".[6] This report collects a trove of data that demonstrates double-digit disparities between whites and blacks on nearly every dimension of well-being. In some instances, these disparities reach 50%. While the city of Charleston struggles to fund and build an *International* African American museum (emphasis added), we wonder how this addition to the landscape will capture the roiling gentrification processes that are currently sweeping black people off the peninsula and out of site. We wonder how the community will react to and fund the 51 policy recommendations from the Avery Research Center's report that are rooted in a comprehensive, documented approach to reversing lineages of discrimination and subordination. The response, or lack thereof, provides a clear roadmap for future inquiry.

That the outcome in Charleston was problematic does not negate the relevance of this finding to resiliency studies. Future work will need to explore more deeply the role of subjective human understanding of place in shaping post-disaster responses. In particular and quite unfortunately, there is now a plethora of ghastly, recent murders similar to the one we have studied here. A comparative analysis of the Pulse Nightclub shooting in Orlando, FL, the Route 91 Harvest music festival in Las Vegas, NV, and the First Baptist Church shooting in Sutherland Springs, TX is warranted. The Pulse Nightclub shooting adds the dimension of gender and heteronormativity to the questions of race raised by this project, while the latter two shootings provide control cases to explore the use of spatial metaphors and race when the shooter's motives are ambiguous. It is possible that people will mobilize around place simply to preserve the representations of their character. Raising questions about a place can be interpreted by some as raising questions about the character of the people that live there, regardless of the racial implications. In addition, the prevalence of Latino victims in the Pulse shooting may allow an analysis sensitive to the growing diversity of the South which may affect how whites and blacks mobilize the past and for what purposes (Winders, 2011).

Notes

1. Charleston has long been a city concerned with preventing black violence and protest. The Citadel, the military college of South Carolina, has its origins in response to a slave revolt organized by Denmark Vesey in 1822. The forerunner to the Citadel College, known as the Arsenal, was constructed in the center of Charleston, just feet from where Vesey was hanged for his "crimes" (National Park Service. Description of the South Carolina State Arsenal. Retrieved from https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/charleston/ssa.htm. Last accessed 12 January 2018.)
2. U.S. Code, Chapter 38 C.F.R. § 2656f.
3. Data obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts and the American Factfinder for the metropolitan statistical areas (or regions). The QuickFacts are available searching on the U.S. Census Bureau Web site using each city's name. The MSA data table is available at the following U.S. Census Bureau Web site: https://census.gov/data/tables/2016/demo/popest/total-metro-and-micro-statistical-areas.html#tables last accessed 15 May 2018.

4. US Department of Justice: 84% of Whites killed every year are by other Whites; from 1980 to 2008, a majority (53.3%) of gang-related murders were committed by Whites; in 2013, Whites led all groups in aggravated assault, larceny theft, arson, weapons-carrying, and vandalism.
5. Brock Turner Mugshot: https://thinkprogress.org/the-brock-turner-mug-shot-the-police-really-didnt-want-you-to-see-35d884d30f67.
6. The report is available from the Avery Research Center at the following Web site: http://rsji.cofc.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/The-State-of-Racial-Disparities-in-Charleston-County-SC-Rev.-11-14.pdf . Last accessed 19 May 2018.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

ORCID

Kevin Keenan http://orcid.org/0000-0001-7477-3434

References

Agnew, John. (1987). *Place and politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society*, MA: Allen & Unwin.

Alderman, Derek, Butler, David, & Hanna, Stephen. (2016). Memory, slavery, and plantation museums: The river road project. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, *11*(3), 209–218.

Altheide, David L. (1996). *Qualitative media analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Anderson, Kay. (1987). The idea of chinatown: The power of place and institutional practice in the making of a racial category. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *77*(4), 580–598.

Behre, Robert. (2015, July 18). Heritage Act isn't likely to go the way of the Confederate flag. *The Post and Courier*.

Bohm, Andreas. (2004). Theoretical coding: Text analysis in grounded theory. In U. Flick, E. Von Kardoff, & Ines Steinke (Eds.), *A companion to qualitative research* (pp. 270–275). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Bonn, S., & Diamond, Diane. (2014). *Why we love serial killers: The curious appeal of the world's most savage murders*. New York: Skyhorse Publishing.

Boudreau, Julie-Anne. (2010). Reflections on urbanity as an object of study and a critical epistemology. In Jonathan S Davies & David L Imbroscio (Eds.), *Critical urban studies: New directions* (pp. 55–72). Albany, NY: State University of New York.

Boughton, Melissa. (2015). Thousands gather for bridge to peace event: 'We will rise above the hate'. *The Post and Courier*. Retrieved from http://www.postandcourier.com/news/thousands-gather-for-bridge-to-peace-event-we-will-rise/article_4dc86dc1-125e-514c-9083-7237e5c7666e.html

Broughton, Melissa, & Parker, Adam. (2015). Prayer vigils bring community together after church shootings. *The Post and Courier*. Retrieved from http://www.postandcourier.com/archives/prayer-vigils-bring-community-together-after-churchshootings/article_ca53c171-c933-5674-afe6-5f39439ffe51himI

Caldeira, Teresa. (2000). *City of walls: Crime, segregation, and citizenship in Sao Paulo*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Casey, Edward. (2007). Public memory in the making: Ethics and place in the wake of 9/11. In Gregory Caicco (Ed.), *Architecture, ethics, and the personhood of place* (pp. 69–90). Lebanon: University Press of New England.

Chauncey, George. (2010). Building gay neighborhood enclaves: The village and Harlem. In Gary Bridge & Sophie Watson (Eds.), *The blackwell city reader* (pp. 243–249). Malden, MA: Wiley & Sons, Inc.
CIA. (2017). How do you define terrorism? Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/news-information/cia-the-war-on-terrorism/terrorism-faqs.html
CNN, 2012. Adam lanza: school gunman 'socially awkward'. Retrieved from https://news.sky.com/story/adam-lanza-school-gunman-socially-awkward-10460591
Colebrook, Claire. (2005). The space of man: On the specificity of affect in Deleuze and Guattari. In Ian Buchanan & Gregg Lambert (Eds.), *Deleuze and Space* (pp. 189–206). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Crenshaw, Martha. (1995). Thoughts on relating terrorism to historical context. In Martha Crenshaw (Ed.), *Terrorism in context* (pp. 3–24). University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Cutter, Susan. (1996). Vulnerability to environmental hazards. *Progress in Human Geography*, *20* (4), 539.
Darlington, Abigail. (2018, January 12). Black Charleston city council members unlikely to support Calhoun plaque, regardless of what it says. *The Post and Courier*.
Deleuze, Gilles, & Guattari, Felix. (1987). *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Denzin, Norman K. (2003). The Practice and Politics of Interpretaton. In Norman K Denzin & Yvonna S Lincoln (Eds.), *The practice and politics of interpretation* (pp. 458–498). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
Derickson, Kate Driscoll. (2016). The assassination of clementa pinckney. *Southeastern Geographer*, *56*(1), 38–44.
Eaves, Latoya. (2016). We wear the mask. *Southeastern Geographer*, *56*(1), 22–28.
Fischhoff, Baruch, Gonzalez, Roxana, Small, Deoborah, & Lerner, Jennifer. (2003). Judged terror risk and proximity to the world trade center. *The Journal of Risk and Uncertainty*, *26*(2/3), 137–151.
Gaber, John, & Gaber, Sharon. (2007). *Qualitative analysis for planning & policy: Beyond the numbers*. Chicago, IL: American Planning Association.
Gilbreth, Edward. (2015, June 24). Astounding model of peace, grace, forgiveness. *The Post and Courier*. Retrieved from http://www.postandcourier.com/archives/astounding-model-of-peace-grace-forgiveness/article_15c93f47-aa9b-5a37-b00c-431fd5ce6269.html
Hanna, Stephen P. (2016). Placing the enslaved at Oak Alley Plantation: Narratives, spatial contexts, and the limits of surrogation. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, *11*(3), 219–234.
Hewitt, Kenneth. (1983). Place annihilation: Area bombing and the fate of urban places. *Annals of the Association of Americann Geographers*, *73*(2), 257–284.
Hodder, Ian. (2003). The interpretation of documents and material culture. In Norman K Denzin & Yvonna S Lincoln (Eds.), *Collectin and interpreting qualitative materials* (pp. 155–175). Thousan Oaks: Sage Publications.
Hoffman, Bruce. (1998). In *Inside terrorism*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
Holloway, Lynette (Producer). (2015, May 25). FBI director unsure if dylann roof's charleston attack was act of terrorism. Retrieved from https://newsone.com/3149745/fbi-dylann-roof-charlestonattack-act-of-terrorism/
Hsieh, H., & Shannon, S.E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, *15*(9), 1277–1288.
Hurwitz, J., & Peffley, M. (1997). Public perception of race and crime: The role of racial stereotypes. *American Journal of Political Science*, *41*(2), 375–401.
Ingraham, C. (2014). White people are more likely to deal drugs, but black people are more likely to get arrested for it. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2014/09/30/white-people-are-more-likely-to-deal-drugs-but-black-people-are-more-likely-to-get-arrested-for-it/?utm_term=.55aeb3d68faf

Inwood, Joshua, & Alderman, Derek. (2016). taking down the flag is just a start: Toward the memory-work of racial reconciliation in white supremacist America. *Southeastern Geographer*, *56*(1), 9–15.
Inwood, Joshua, & Yarbrough, Robert. (2010). Racialized places, racialized bodies: The impact of racialization on individual and place identities. *GeoJournal*, *75*, 299–301.
Janz, Bruce. (2008). The terror of the place: Anxieties of place and the cultural narrative of terrorism. *Ethics, Place and Environment*, *11*(2), 191–203.
Kasperson, R.E. (1988). The social amplification of risk: A conceptual framework. In R. Löfstedt & L. Frewer (Eds.), *The Earthscan reader in risk and modern society* (pp. 149–162). London: Earthscan.
Keenan, Kevin. (2016). Rethinking place in the study of societal responses to terrorism: Insights from Boston, Massachusetts. *Urban Studies.55*(2), 461–480.
Kobayashi, Audrey. (2014a). The dialectic of race and the discipline of geography. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *104*(6), 1101–1115.
Kobayashi, Audrey. (2014b). Neoclassical urban theory and the study of racism in geography. *Urban Geography*, *35*(5), 645–656.
Kobayashi, Audrey, & Peake, Linda. (2000). Racism out of place: Thoughts on whiteness and an antiracist geography in the New Millenium. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *90*(2), 392–403.
Laqueur, Walter. (1987). Reflections on terrorism. In Walter Laqueur & Yonah Alexander (Eds.), *The terrorism reader* (pp. 24–36). New York, NY: Signet.
Laqueur, Walter. (1996). Postmodern terrorism: New rules for an old game. *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 24–36.
MacKinnon, Danny, & Derickson, Kate Driscoll. (2012). From resilience to resourcefulness: A critique of resilience policy and activism. *Progress in Human Geography*, *37*(2), 253–270.
Malpas, Jeff. (2012). Is there an ethics of place? *Localities*, *2*, 7–31.
McCutcheon, Priscilla. (2016). The 'radical' welcome table: faith, social justice, and the spiritual geography of mother emanuel in Charleston, South Carolina. *Southeastern Geographer*, *56*(1), 16–21.
Medina, Richard, & Hepner, George. (2013). *The geography of international terrorism: An introduction to spaces and places of violent non-state groups*. New York: CRC Press.
Mitchell, James K. (2016). *Encounters with Hazards in Context*. New Brunswick, NJ: Hazards in Context, the 9th MaGrann Symposium. Geography. Rutgers University.
Mueller, John. (2006). *Overblown: How politicians and the terrorism industry inflate national security threats, and why we believe them*. New York: Free Press.
Pain, Rachel, & Smith, Susan. (2008). Fear: Critical geopolitics and everyday life. In Rachel Pain & Susan Smith (Eds.), *Fear: Critical geopolitics and everyday life* (pp. 1–24). Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
Pan, Deanna. (2017, November 13). Poverty, unemployment disproportionately affect Charleston County's black residents, report says. *The Post and Courier*.
Riessman, Catherine. (1993). *Narrative analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
Saldanha, Arun. (2017). *Space after deleuze*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
Schein, Richard. (2012). Urban form and racial order. *Urban Geography*, *33*(7), 942–960.
Scott, J. (1990). *A matter of record: documentary sources in social research*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Severson, Kim. (2011,November 1). A last bastion of civility, the South, sees manners decline. *The New York times*.
Shaw, Wendy. (2007). *Cities of whiteness*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
Tamborini, R., Mstro, D.E., & Chory-Assad, R.M. (2000). The color of crime and the coure: a content analysis of minority representation of television. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *77*(3), 639–653.
Tuan, Yi-Fu. (1977-2014]). *Space and place: The perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Tyner, James, & Inwood, Joshua. (2014). Violence as fetish: Geography, Marxism, and dialectics. *Progress in Human Geography*, *38*(6), 771–784.
Weizman, Eyal. (2007). *Hollow land: Israel's architecture of occupation*. New York: Verso.
Weizman, Eyal. (2011). *The least of all possible evils: Humanitarian violence from Arendt to Gaza*. New York: Verso.
Welch, K. (2007). Black criminal stereotypes and racial profiling. *Journal of Contempoary Criminal Justice*, *23*(3), 276–288.
West, Darrell M., & Orr, Marion. (2005). Managing citizen fears: Public attitudes toward urban terrorism. *Urban Affairs Review*, *41*(1), 93–105.
White, Gilbert F. (1945). *Human Adjustment to Floods*. (Ph.D.), The University of Chicago, Chicago. (Research Paper No. 29)
Wilson, Bobby. (2010). Postbellum race relations in commodity exchange. *GeoJournal*, *75*, 273–281.
Wilson, Bobby. (2012a). Capital's need to sell and black economic development. *Urban Geography*, *33*(7), 961–978.
Wilson, David. (2012b). Introduction-Racialization and the U.S. City. *Urban Geography*, *33*(7), 940–941.
Wilson, David, & Sternberg, Carolina. (2012). Changing realities: The new racialized redevelopment rhetoric in Chicago. *Urban Geography*, *33*(7), 979–999.
Winders, Jamie. (2011). Re-placing southern geographies: The role of latino migration in transforming the South, its identities, and its study. *Southeastern Geographer*, *51*(2), 342–358.
Wise, Warren. (2015). Churches to ring bells in unity. *The Post and Courier*. Retrieved from http://www.postandcourier.com/archives/churches-to-ring-bells-in-unity/article_6a65821e-f1dd-50ff-ab72-43af6568d544.html
Woods, Joshua, Eyck, Toby A, Ten, Kaplowitz, Stan, A., & Shlapentokh, Vladimir. (2008). Terrorism risk perceptions and proximity to primary terrorist targets: How close is too close? *Human Ecology Review*, *15*(1), 63–70.