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*The Handa Centre for the Study  
of Terrorism and Political Violence*

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**Ideational Variation within the American  
White Nationalist Movement**

**A Framing Perspective**

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# Abstract

Recent research on terrorism and political violence has sought to better conceptualize the far-right. Specifically, various studies have contributed hypotheses regarding the White nationalist movement within the United States. Nevertheless, additional reflection is imperative to ensure the production of resonant counternarratives, the proper implementation of counterterrorism and counterextremism measures, and the overall reduction of racial hate and conflict. As such, this paper will provide further insight into the American White nationalist movement by determining how White nationalist groups differentially frame ideas to mobilize recruits. To address such a topic, this paper will (1) highlight the rise of racially and ethnically motivated violent extremism in the US, (2) outline its framing theoretical and methodological approach, and (3) apply framing theory to the cases of Ku Klux Klan, neo-Confederate, neo-Nazi, racist skinhead, and Christian Identity groups to comparatively analyze their unique activity within the activism realm. The project concludes that White nationalist groups supply divergent frames to radicalize recruits.

*Key Words:* White nationalism, Ku Klux Klan, neo-Confederacy, neo-Nazism, racist skinheads, Christian Identity, framing theory

*Word Count:* 15,000 (including table of contents and figures)

# Dedication

First and foremost, I would like to thank Dr Diego Muro for his advice, guidance, and supervision throughout the process of researching and writing this paper. I would also like to thank the CSTPV staff in its entirety for providing me with the opportunity to pursue this research. I especially thank Dr Akali omeni, Dr Tim Wilson, and Gillian Brunton for their continued support over the course of this year. Last, I thank my peers – including Frida Bergström, Thomas Kane, and Dea Edington – for their enduring kindness and friendship.

# A Note on Language

Please be advised that due to the nature of this project's investigatory focus, a significant amount of offensive language is included. I considered at great length whether to incorporate these derogatory slurs in full. Ultimately, I concluded that the words used *matter*, and it is not within my role as a researcher to alter their original meaning.

# 1 Introduction

Nearly twenty years since al-Qaeda's 9/11 strike against the United States (US) and the subsequent inauguration of 'The War on Terror,' the global system faces a new concern. During the 2000s and 2010s – as governmental and academic circles fixated on al-Qaeda, Daesh, and other *Salafi jihadist* groups – far-right extremism flourished internationally (Ashby, 2021; Blackburn et al., 2019; Hartleb, 2020). Specifically, racially and ethnically motivated violent extremism, extremism which champions White nationalism, poses an increasing threat to public safety and security (Auger, 2020; Mammone et al., 2013). This conclusion has become readily apparent in the wake of the Norway (Berntzen & Sandberg, 2014), Charleston (Chebrolu, 2020a), Québec (Beckett, 2019), Christchurch (Battersby & Ball, 2020), El Paso (Beckett & Wilson, 2019), Hanau (Caniglia et al., 2021), and Halle (Porterfield, 2020) attacks. Despite its transnational orientation, the White nationalist movement is particularly salient within the US (Jipson & Becker, 2019; Younge, 2019).

The significance of White nationalism to the United States' contemporary political climate is best illustrated by the 2017 'Unite the Right' rally, the greatest gathering of White nationalists to date (Amaya, 2018; Peters & Besley, 2017). Throughout the weekend of August 11<sup>th</sup>, White nationalists flocked to Charlottesville, Virginia to protest the removal of a statue of Robert E. Lee, a revered commander of the Confederate forces during the US Civil War (1861-1865) (Blout & Bukrart, 2021; McVeigh & Estep, 2019). In Emancipation Park, under the light of tiki torches, demonstrators chanted: 'Blood and soil! Jews will not replace us! White lives matter!' (ABC News, 2017a; Atkinson, 2018; Kamali, 2021; Neiwert, 2017). On the second day of the riot, James Alex Fields Jr., a member of Vanguard America, drove his car into a crowd of counter protesters – killing a young paralegal, Heather Heyer, and injuring nineteen

others (McVeigh & Estep, 2019). The murder has since been classified as an act of domestic terrorism<sup>1</sup> (Department of Justice, 2019).

In addition to Vanguard America, an array of organizations was present in Charlottesville (Blout & Bukrart, 2021). Such organizations predominantly included Ku Klux Klan, neo-Confederate, neo-Nazi, racist skinhead, and Christian Identity groups (Peters & Besley, 2017). Yet, as Kamali (2021: 2) writes:

Irrespective of their organization affiliation, what the Unite the Right demonstrators had in common was adherence to White nationalism... Militant White nationalism may seem like a one-dimensional racist phenomenon... However, White nationalism is a complex assemblage of organizations, personalities, theologies, credos, and motivations.

As highlighted, scholarship has begun to appreciate the diversity of the White nationalist movement. Nevertheless, additional reflection is imperative for the efficacious development of resonant counternarratives, the successful implementation of the counterterrorism strategy ‘Countering Violent Extremism’ (CVE), and the overall reduction of racial animosity within the United States.

This paper will thus address the following question: *how do White nationalist groups variously frame ideas to mobilize recruits?* To commence, an overview of extant literature on (1) far-right violent extremism in the US and (2) White nationalism as a component of the far-right will be presented to rationalize this project’s exploration. Next, theoretical and methodological considerations will be articulated; adopting a fundamental concept within Social Movement Theory’s (SMT) analytical toolkit, this project will employ framing theory and conduct a frame analysis. Last, the frames of (1) Ku Klux Klan, (2) neo-Confederate, (3) neo-Nazi, (4) racist skinhead, and (5) Christian Identity organizations will be comparatively assessed, thereby illuminating their unique activity within the activism realm. Furthermore, *it*

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<sup>1</sup>The Federal Bureau of Investigation (2020: 1) defines domestic terrorism as “activities that involve acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State; appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population, to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion, or to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping; and occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States.”



*becomes evident that American White nationalist groups divergently frame ideas to radicalize recruits.*

## 1.1 Definitional Clarity

*White nationalism* remains a contested concept. Indeed, several authors<sup>2</sup> have proposed descriptions of White nationalism, with the majority characterizing the phenomenon as an amorphous social movement with origins in White supremacy and contemporary ties to the alternative (*alt-*) and extreme right. To date, internationally recognized expert Leonard Zeskind has produced one of the most comprehensive examinations of White nationalism. Contrary to the aforementioned perspectives, Zeskind (2009) undresses White nationalism through a constructivist lens. Observing studies on nationalism (e.g., Anderson, 1991; Brubaker, 2004; Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990; Smith, 1991), Zeskind (2009: 14) conceptualizes White nationalism as an attempt to fashion a national identity:

For mainstream Americans, the United States is simply a unitary nation-state with a federal form of government and a multirace populace. By contrast, White nationalists turn their skin color into a badge of a distinct national identity, and they exist in a permanent state of self-consciousness about race. They are dedicated to the proposition that those they deem to be ‘White’ own special rights: the right to dominate political institutions, the economy, and culture. They believe that a ‘Whites-only’ nation [an ethnostate] exists in fact, if not in name, and they swear to a duty to create a Whites-only nation-state on soil that once was the United States of America.

For the purpose of this paper, White nationalism can be understood in accordance with Zeskind’s (2009) framework: White nationalists value race as the most pertinent parameter of national identity, and consequently, seek the establishment of a White ethnostate to maintain racial purity and hegemony.

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<sup>2</sup>Amaya (2018: 368), Atkinson (2018: 311), Belew (2018: 8), Berger (2018: 41-2), Chebroly (2020b: 48), Fording & Schram (50-1), Geary et al. (2-3), Hartzell (2018: 10), Hartzell (2020: 131), Hawley (2018: 13), Kamali (2021: 22-25), Kulig et al. (2020: 6), Oh (2018: 2768), Shaw (2019: 80-1), Stern (2019: 15-26), Tenold (2018: 11-12), and Wilkinson (1995: 82).

## 2 Literature Review

*This chapter will delineate scholarship critical to this paper. Two bodies of research will be presented to legitimize the project's investigation: (1) violent far-right extremism in the United States and (2) White nationalism as a component of the far-right. It is concluded from this review that there exists a significant lacuna within the literature: academia has neglected to gauge how White nationalist groups across the far-right spectrum variously frame ideas to mobilize recruits for collective action.*

### 2.1 Violent Far-Right Extremism in the United States

Although not a novel phenomenon (Berger, 2018; Mudde, 2017), governmental<sup>3</sup> and academic<sup>4</sup> communities discern a rising threat of far-right violent extremism within the United States. Broadly speaking, the militant far-right encompasses racially and ethnically motivated violent extremism (RMVE), anti-government or anti-authority violent extremism (AGAAVE), single issue (e.g., abortion) violent extremism, and involuntary celibacy (Federal Bureau of Investigation & Department of Homeland Security, 2021). Current intelligence indicates that far-right attacks and plots account for most terrorist incidents on US soil since 1994 (57%)

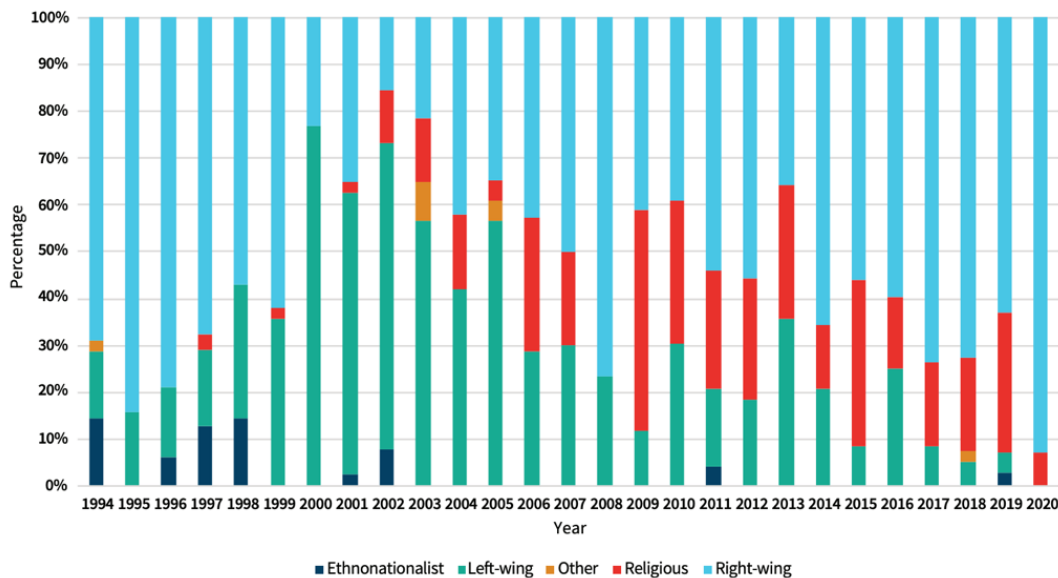
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<sup>3</sup> Department of Homeland Security (2020), Federal Bureau of Investigation (2020), Federal Bureau of Investigation & Department of Homeland Security (2021), and National Security Council (2021)

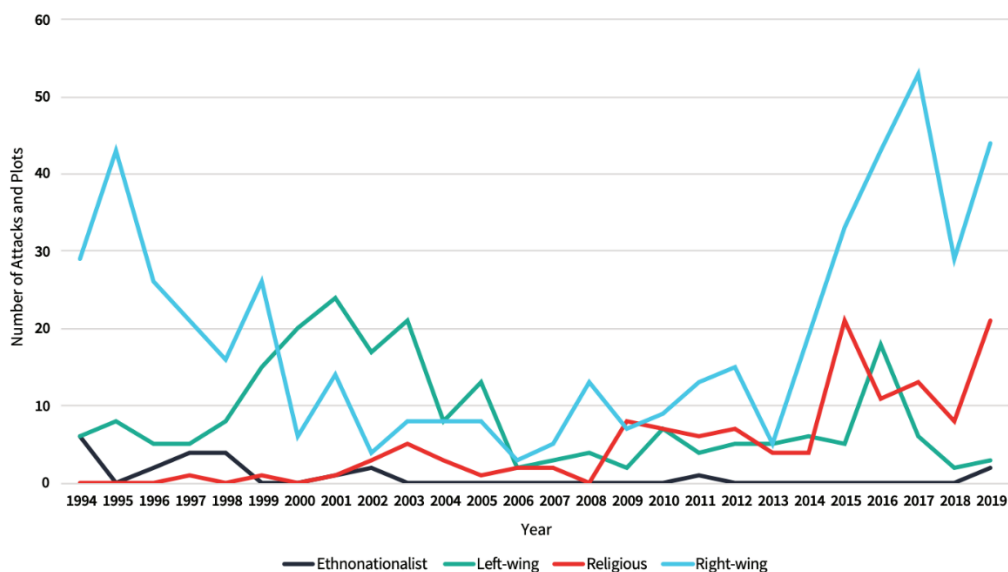
<sup>4</sup> Azani et al. (2020), Bjørge (1995), Bouhana et al. (2018), Chermak et al. (2013), Chermak & Grunewald (2015), Doering & Davies (2019), Fahey & Simi (2019), Jones et al. (2020b), Kaufmann (2019), Kruglanski et al. (2020), LaFree et al. (2018), Lowe (2020), Ong (2020), Panitch & Albo (2015), Saull (2018), Silva et al. (2019), Sprinzak (1995), Stevenson (2019), Taylor (2019), Weinberg (1996), and Weinberg & Eubank (2010).

(Jones et al., 2020a: 2). Further, right-wing extremists perpetrated 66% of attacks and plots in the US in 2019, and over 90% in 2020 (Jones et al., 2020a: 1). The following figures, as developed by Jones et al. (2020a: 3-4), illustrate:

**Figure I:** *Percentage of Terrorist Attacks and Plots by Perpetrator Orientation, 1994-2020*



**Figure II:** *Number of Terrorist Attacks and Plots by Perpetrator Orientation, 1994-2019*



Since 2017, RMVE was the primary source of terroristic violence (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2020) – with the Department of Homeland Security (2020: 18) affirming, “racially and ethnically motivated violent extremists... will remain the most persistent and lethal threat in the Homeland.” Moreover, RMVE continues to advance within the United States.

The growth of the far-right can first be attributed to increased online activity. Since 2000, academic interest in far-right extremism's online dimension has surged (e.g., Bjørge & Ravndal, 2019; Bowman-Grieve, 2009; Durham, 2002; Jones, 2018; Koster & Houtman, 2008; Schafer et al., 2014). Specifically, this research concerns technological development. Baele et al. (2020: 2) highlight its influence on the far-right:

The advent of web 2.0 (allowing for user-generated content and interactions) and social media and the democratization of multimedia content-editing software have significantly altered the way in which far-right adherents and groups engage with new sympathizers and recruits. Indeed, these recent developments in digital technologies have not only resulted in changes in the online-offline interplay of far-right ideas and practices but has also supported the rapid growth and diversification in both these ideas/ practices and the methods with which they are spread.

Popular web 2.0 platforms include *4Chan*, *Facebook*, *Parler*, *Reddit*, *Stromfront*, *Telegram*, *Twitter*, and *Youtube* (Baele et al., 2020; Gaudette et al., 2020b). Additionally, the literature underscores the Internet's mobilization capabilities. For example, Gaudette et al. (2020a: 6) interviewed former far-right extremists on the Internet's potent capacity to radicalize vulnerable individuals:

Study participants overwhelmingly suggested that the Internet played an important role in facilitating their process of radicalization to violence, largely because it provided them with unfettered access to extreme right-wing content and a network of like-minded individuals, which in turn increased their exposure to violent extremist ideologies and violent groups.

Furthermore, it is apparent that technological progress aids the diffusion of far-right ideologies and fuels mobilization to violence.

The growth of the far-right can second be attributed to the language and policies of former President Donald J. Trump (2016-2020). Although 'fringe' narratives entered American politics prior to 2016 (e.g., the Obama Birther Movement<sup>5</sup>), the literature<sup>6</sup> widely attributes the

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<sup>5</sup> A popular conspiracy theory stating that former President Barack Obama (2008-2016) is not a natural-born citizen of the US; rather, Obama was born Kenya, and thus, is ineligible to be President (Fishman, 2013).

<sup>6</sup> Bloch & Myers (2018) Brands (2017), Byrne (2018), Denvir (2020), Grace et al. (2021), Johnson (2017), Major et al. (2018), Merlan (2019), Mondon & Winter (2020), Schertzer & Woods (2021), van Prooijen et al. (2015), and Wendling (2018).

normalization of far-right ideas – including popular conspiracy theories (e.g., QAnon<sup>7</sup>) – to Trump’s notoriously divisive rhetoric. As Barkun (2017: 441) summarizes,

The fringe is being sanitized, stripped of its stigmas and pariah status. What was previously unsayable, at least in polite company and certainly in the public square, is now becoming common discourse.

Additionally, data analysis suggests that the standardization of fringe ideas under Trump is causally associated with an increase in hate crimes and terror, a concept referred to as ‘*the Trump effect*’ (Bieber, 2018; Giroux, 2017; Jones, 2018; Müller & Schwarz, 2019; Newman et al., 2020; Rushin & Edward, 2018; Srikantiah & Sinnar, 2018). The Trump effect is best epitomized by the Charleston Church shooting, where White nationalist Dylann Roof murdered nine Black people during a Bible study and cited Trump as his inspiration (Geary et al., 2020). Moreover, as Trump stroked xenophobic, sexist, and homophobic notions prevalent within a historically prejudiced nation (Behdad, 2005; Bergmann, 2020; Borstelmann, 2020; DeSante, 2020; Hughes, 2018; Lieven, 2012; Shor, 2020; Young, 2018), elements within the American populace began to candidly accept and act upon them.

## 2.2 White Nationalism as a Component of the Far-Right

As previously stated, RMVE constitutes a crucial element of the far-right. The literature recognizes that White nationalist sentiment chiefly sustains contemporary RMVE (e.g., Amaya, 2018; Bhatt, 2021; Feshami, 2021; Hartzell, 2018; Kamali, 2021; Neiwert, 2017; Stern, 2019; Wilson, 2020). Indeed, although the trajectory towards RMVE may involve the adoption of disparate views, “deeply held values with which all components of the network can identify” consolidate the movement (Feshami, 2021: 54). These values are three-fold:

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<sup>7</sup> “A baseless and debunked conspiracy theory... QAnon believers claim that a Satanic cabal of pedophiles and cannibals controls world governments and the media” (Moskalenko & McCauley, 2021: 142).

- 1) A belief that there is a unified White race – a White nation – that transcends ethnolinguistic difference;
- 2) A notion that this race is ‘rooted’ in the soil of particular geographical areas (the ‘blood and soil’ idea), thereby extending the unity of the race to the land itself; and
- 3) A deeply felt sense that the race and its unity with natural space are imperiled and risk extermination at the hands of Jews, capitalists, leftists, liberals, people of color, migrants, and others (Feshami, 2018: 7-9).

Therefore, it is evident that “despite the diversity of ideas, the ideological core to each major far-right tendency is provided by the theme of ‘*White extinction*,’” the principal concept of White nationalist thought (Bhatt, 2021: 31, emphasis added).

The success of White nationalism, and thus RMVE, hinges on the resonance of White extinction as an idea. The US Census Bureau (2020: 7), as exemplified in the following figure, affirms that by 2045 non-Hispanic Whites will no longer make up the majority of the US’ demographic:

**Figure III: Population by Race and Ethnicity: Projections 2030-2060**

Characteristics	Population						Change from 2016 to 2060	
	2016		2030		2060		Number	Percent
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
<b>Total population</b> .....	<b>323,128</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>355,101</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>404,483</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>81,355</b>	<b>25.2</b>
One race								
White .....	248,503	76.9	263,453	74.2	275,014	68.0	26,511	10.7
Non-Hispanic White .....	197,970	61.3	197,992	55.8	179,162	44.3	-18,808	-9.5
Black or African American .....	43,001	13.3	49,009	13.8	60,690	15.0	17,689	41.1
American Indian and Alaska Native .....	4,055	1.3	4,663	1.3	5,583	1.4	1,528	37.7
Asian .....	18,319	5.7	24,394	6.9	36,815	9.1	18,496	101.0
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander .....	771	0.2	913	0.3	1,125	0.3	354	45.9
Two or More Races .....	8,480	2.6	12,669	3.6	25,255	6.2	16,775	197.8
Hispanic .....	57,470	17.8	74,807	21.1	111,216	27.5	53,746	93.5

Hence, the idea of White extinction is grounded in legitimate projections of population change; nevertheless, White nationalists purport further narratives<sup>8</sup> relative to this idea to mobilize potential recruits. First, movement ideologues exploit the anxiety and perceived victimhood of White Americans (Berbrier, 2000; Bloch et al., 2020; Marcks & Pawelz, 2020; Wilson, 2020)

<sup>8</sup> To review the narratives perpetuated by White nationalists, see: ABC News (2017a), ABC News (2017b), Cernovich (2018), DeSilva (2012), Eternal Patriot (2015), Francis (2000), Friberg (2017), Hood (2020), Ingram (2017), Jackson (1993), Jackson (1994), Joyce (2017), Khan (2017), Law (2018a), Law (2018b), Lombroso (2020), Lough (2018), New Century Foundation (2014), Perlman (2017), ProPublica (2018), RADIX Journal (2015), Roberts (2021), Ruptly (2017), Spencer (2012), Spencer (2017), Spraguer (2018), Swain & Nieli (2003), Taylor (2011), Taylor (2015), Taylor (2017) Taylor (2018), Taylor (2019), Williams (2020), and Wolff (2017).

by conspiratorially framing multiculturalism as a ‘*Great Replacement*’ – an unjust attempt to displace America’s hegemonic community, non-Hispanic White people:

This has become more than just immigration with failure to assimilate – this is an invasion. Multiculturalism is just colonialism in reverse. We are being colonized. We are being replaced (Lyons, 2016).

To amplify this claim, movement leaders contend that as the country transitions to a non-White majority, and ergo becomes increasingly polarized, anti-White discrimination will escalate and intensify:

As America becomes more and more nonWhite, everything we think of as the American culture and identity will be either censored, squeezed out or transformed into something else (Auster, 2016).

While the traditional norms that are being attacked and discarded were almost never explicitly racial, the new norms that are being constructed and imposed are, and they are not only explicitly racial but also explicitly and vociferously anti-White (Francis, 1994).

Progressive rhetoric on race has turned an ugly corner and the existence of ‘anti-White’ attitudes can no longer be ignored... What started as irony turned into an actual belief that White people, specifically White men, are more dangerous and immoral than any other people (Marcus, 2016).

Second, the White nationalist movement necessitates a racial and holy war, ‘*(RA)HOWA*,’ to impede these ‘genocidal’ and ‘racist’ trends (Johnson, 2015).

There is a war started, and those sons of bitches [people of color] started the war (Spencer, as seen in ABC News, 2017b).

There is a political revolution. Tomorrow belongs to us. Defeat never, victory forever (Heimbach, as seen in ABC News, 2017b).

RA(HOWA) ultimately serves to establish the ‘*White ethnostate*,’ a nation of and for White peoples, the attainment of which will ‘save’ the White race.

[The ethnostate] is perhaps the only peaceful and sensible means of assuring White survival in an increasingly antiWhite, nonWhite world. Withdrawal and reorganization, devolution to ensure evolution would seem to be the most logical and intelligent road to salvation for a people – and possibly a planet – facing extinction (Robertson, 1992).

Nations must secure their existence and uniqueness and promote their own development and flourishing... Racially or ethnically defined states are legitimate and necessary (Spencer, 2017).

White survival requires creating or restoring White homelands. That requires racial separation (Johnson, 2018: 34).

To motivate collective action, White nationalists advertise ‘*The Fourteen Words*:’ ‘*we must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children.*’ Originally concocted in 1988 by David Lane, the Fourteen Words is crucial to the movement’s mobilization efforts. As Kamali (2021: 42) observes,

This statement is a non-negotiable truth central to the identity, belief system, and political aims of White nationalists. It propounds the concept of White people as a genetically and culturally superior race to all others. It demands militancy to assert this status while maintaining an ethos of victimhood. Not open to internal or external questioning, the Fourteen Words shapes the lens through which White nationalists view themselves. *The Fourteen Words is a battle cry to the vast array of individuals within the ecology of White nationalism* (emphasis added).

Furthermore, White extinction – which is alternatively considered an intentional genocide amongst certain ideological circles who subscribe to the Zionist Occupational Government (ZOG) conspiracy<sup>9</sup> – represents the White nationalist movement’s master frame. Consequently, groups across the movement will espouse a variation of these aforementioned narratives.

## 2.3 Rationale

Considering the preceding insights, there are three justifications for the necessity of this project: (1) although scholarship on far-right violent extremism has burgeoned in recent years, it remains in its initial stages (Baele et al., 2020; Bjørge & Ravndal, 2019; Grosholz & Pieri, 2020; Piazza, 2017; Tschantret, 2020); (2) existent studies of RMVE are largely atheoretical, particularly those which focus on the US, where positivist methodological approaches dominate (Ashe et al., 2021); and (3) though the literature acknowledges that the White

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<sup>9</sup> The Zionist Occupational Government conspiracy asserts that Jewish people control the governments of Western nations (Hellinger, 2019; Sutton & Douglas, 2020).



nationalist movement is “far from a unitary or monolithic phenomenon” (Berbrier, 1998: 432), no research heretofore has examined how White nationalist groups diversely frame their ideas to marshal recruits for collective action.

This paper will remedy this lacuna within the literature by addressing ideational variation across the White nationalist movement through a theoretical lens: SMT’s framing perspective. It will therefore enhance extant research on White nationalism, and further, contribute insight vital to the development of counternarratives, the implementation of CVE, and the reduction of racial and ethnic conflict in the United States.

# 3 Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

*As SMT is germane to research on White nationalism,<sup>10</sup> this paper will assume a social movement theoretical lens via the adoption of its framing perspective. Although the application of SMT's resource mobilization and political process theories would also prove beneficial, it is not within the scope of this project to delineate the tenets of SMT or typify its central approaches in toto;<sup>11</sup> rather, this chapter will provide an extended discussion of framing theory, frame analysis, and research limitations.*

## 3.1 Framing Theory

Contrary to early thought (e.g., resource mobilization and political process theories), framing theory was proposed to expose the impact of culture on collective action. It thus explores how ideational elements influence mobilization by conceptualizing ‘meaning work’ – “the struggle over the production of mobilizing and countermobilizing ideas” (Benford & Snow, 2000: 613). Employing Goffman’s (1974) study, the concept ‘*frame*’ came to characterize the product of meaning work, with a frame generally symbolizing “an interpretive schemata that simplifies and condenses the ‘world out there’ by selectively punctuating events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one’s present or past environment” (Snow & Benford, 1992: 137):

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<sup>10</sup> Ashe et al. (2021), Berger & Nehring (2017), Blee (2017), Cooter (2011), and Gattinara & Pirro (2019).

<sup>11</sup> See: Beck (2008), Crossley (2002), della Porta (2013), della Porta & Diani (2006), Eisinger (1973), Goodwin (2012), Gurr (1970), Jackson et al. (2009), Jasper (2014), Jenkins (1983), Johnston & Klandermans (1995), Klandermans (1984), Le Bon (1895), McCarthy & Zald (1977), Opp (1988), Smelser (1963), Snow & Benford (1988), Snow et al. (1986), Tarrow (2005), Tilly (1978), Traugott (1995), van Stekelenburg & Klandermans (2013), and Zald (1996).

From this perspective, social movements are not viewed merely as carriers of extant ideas and meanings that grow automatically out of structural arrangements, unanticipated events, or existing ideologies. Rather, movement actors are viewed as signifying agents actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for constituents, antagonists, and bystanders or observers (Benford & Snow, 2000: 613).

Therefore, framing represents a continuous method of signification, the output of which are ‘*collective action frames*.’

The prosperity of a social movement organization (SMO) is contingent on the resonance of its collective action frames. Supplying a distinct worldview, collective action frames are deliberately dispensed by movement elites with the intent to marshal recruits to act collectively (Johnston & Noakes, 2005). Snow & Benford (1988) submit three tasks underpinning collective action framing:

- 1) *Diagnostic framing*: involves the identification of unjust problems and the source(s) of blame;
- 2) *Prognostic framing*: involves the proposition of solution(s) to remedy the diagnoses; and
- 3) *Motivational framing*: involves the outlining of justification to inspire collective action.

Additionally, Benford & Snow (2000: 624-5) and Lavine et al. (2017: 276) articulate the procedures involved in ‘*frame alignment*’ – namely, a SMO’s strategic efforts deployed to link its ideas with those held by the public: *frame bridging*, *frame amplification*, *frame extension*, *frame transformation*, and *frame contraction*. Accordingly, although a SMO will invariably perform the preceding tasks to radicalize possible adherents, the fabricated frames may deviate in (1) “problem identification/ locus of attribution,” (2) “the degree of flexibility/ rigidity and inclusivity/ exclusivity,” (3) “interpretive scope and influence,” and (4) “the degree of resonance” (Benford & Snow, 2000: 618-19). Principally, such variation mirrors discrepancies between SMOs’ cultural reservoirs of salient ideas and the quality of their operational environment (Johnston & Noakes, 2005).

## 3.2 Methodology

Using a multiple-case studies design (see Gerring, 2017; Yin, 2014), this paper will conduct a frame analysis. Frame analysis is a qualitative method commonly used to explore how groups and individuals frame contentious ideas through mechanisms of signification (Gamson & Lasch, 1983; Johnston & Noakes, 2005; Schon & Rein, 1994; Vicari, 2010). The aim of frame analysis is ergo to conceptualize how ideational elements are bound together into “packages of meaning” and “deployed in situated discursive activity” (Creed et al., 2002: 37).

First, case studies were chosen based on data summarized by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). The SPLC (2021) considers (1) Ku Klux Klan, (2) neo-Confederate, (3) neo-Nazi, (4) racist skinhead, and (5) Christian Identity groups to be White nationalist; respectively, the (1) Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, (2) the League of the South, (3) the Atomwaffen Division, (4) Hammerskin Nation, and (5) Kingdom Identity Ministries presently wield the greatest influence (SPLC, 2021). Accordingly, these groups were selected for analysis.

Second, primary data was collected. Indeed, although “the reality of all cognitive frames, in the strictest sense, is an individually held mental structure,” Johnston & Noakes (2005: 240) provide guidance for frame analysis. The authors suggest researchers evaluate “social texts that are collectively produced and generally accepted as representing a group’s position” and consider the “narratives of activists and participants, as gleaned from interviews, statements, and written texts” (Johnston & Noakes, 2005: 240). Hence, a variety of sources – including organizational websites, interviews, documentaries, and in the case of Hammerskin Nation, White power music – were utilized to effectively triangulate the data (see Banister, 1994; Flick, 2008). Data concerning this project’s framework – collective action frames – was categorized and coded, thereby ensuring reliability and validity (see Golafshani, 2003; Neuman, 2012; Robson & McCartan, 2016).

### 3.3 Limitations

The limitations of this project are four-fold: First, as a methodological approach, frame analysis has encountered scholarly criticism: (1) there is a neglect of systematic empirical studies (e.g., Benford, 1997; Oliver & Johnson, 2000); (2) research is generally descriptive, reductionist, and static (e.g., Benford, 1997; Lindstedt, 2018; Steinberg, 1998; Walder, 2009); (3) scholarship often overlooks the significance of human agency and emotions (e.g., Benford, 1997; Goodwin & Jasper, 2003); and (4) frame analysis privileges movement elites (e.g., Benford, 1997; Carragee & Roefs, 2004; Hardnack, 2019; Ketellaars, 2016; Luna, 2017; Williams, 2004). Second, due to the clandestine nature of White nationalist organizations, it is challenging to accumulate pertinent primary data, particularly from rank-and-file adherents. Third, given the length of this project, it is unfeasible to assess the frames of all White nationalist groups. Fourth, although this paper strives for intersubjectivity, it is naturally impossible to be purely objective given the implicit bias of the researcher.

Nevertheless, this paper has implemented measures to mediate these issues. Primarily, it has provided a transparent discussion of its theoretical and methodological considerations to guarantee the production of credible, transferable, dependable, and confirmable results (see Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Further, irrespective of these limitations, this paper will enhance extant research on White nationalism, and thus contribute insight vital to the development of counternarratives, the implementation of CVE, and the reduction of racial and ethnic tension in the United States.

## 4 The Ku Klux Klan

*This chapter will expose the frames employed by the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). To commence, a synopsis of the KKK in the United States will be presented. Next, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan's diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames will be articulated, thereby illuminating how the Klan uniquely relates its ideas to White nationalism.*

### 4.1 Describing the Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan is a socio-political militant movement that champions White nationalism and supremacy (National Security Council, 2021). Analyses of the Klan discern three episodes of contention over the course of its protest cycle (Fording & Schram, 2020; Madison, 2020). The KKK first emerged following the Civil War (Parsons, 2015); Protestant, Southern Whites instigated a campaign of terror against the liberated Black freedman to maintain the hierarchical power structure that rendered White people supreme (Blee, 2011; Madison, 2020; McVeigh, 2009; Schaefer, 1971). The second Klan operated during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century segregation era; ideologically, this iteration diabolized all non-Whites and censured leftism (Shaefer, 1971); by 1925, the Klan claimed around two to five million members and millions more supporters (Rothman, 2016). The KKK re-emerged in the 1950s; galvanized by the US Supreme Court's *Brown vs. Board of Education* ruling (1954), the Montgomery bus boycott (1955), and the integration of Little Rock Highschool (1957), the Klan resisted the civil rights movement (George & Wilcox, 1996). In the contemporary day, the Klan operates as a loose network of coalitions disseminating White nationalist and supremacist rhetoric (SPLC, 2021).

Although supplemented by dozens of smaller divisions utilizing the ‘Klan’ moniker, the SPLC (2021) identifies four modern Klan organizations: The Brotherhood of Klans, the Church of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the Imperial Klans of America, and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. This chapter will assess the frames supplied by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKKK), also known as the Knights Party, as it remains the largest and most renowned group (SPLC, 2021). The KKKK – based in Harrison, Arkansas – was founded by David Duke in 1975 as a ‘White civil rights’ organization (SPLC, 2021).

## 4.2 Framing the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan cultivates diagnostic frames in alignment with the idea of White extinction. Although the Klan’s main targets historically were Black Americans (Blee, 2017), similar to other White nationalists, the KKKK now subscribes to the ZOG conspiracy, and thus contends that Jews exploitatively control the American government (Bostdorff, 2004):

In a Country where the Majority rules, you would think that the White Man would be in control and therefore rid this land of the evil that plagues it. But instead, you have the parasitic Jew as the Head of Government (Lee, 2005, as seen in Counter Extremism Project, 2021a: 13).

In addition to this injustice frame, the Knights Party problematizes the racial and ethnic diversification of America (McVeigh, 2009); citing ‘White genocide,’ the KKKK claims that Jewish leaders seek to eradicate the White race by manipulating ‘lesser people of color’ to ‘degrade the White gene pool’ (Berbrier, 1998; Berger & Nehring, 2017; McVeigh, 2009):

The Mexican birthrate in this country is five times that of White people. The Black birthrate is four times larger... the White population in America will be swamped (Duke, 1977, as seen in SPLC, 2021).

We don’t have a future here in America. They [the Jews] are trying to wipe us out... they mean to wipe our heritage out (KKKK member, as seen in Murdoch, 2015).

Yet, contrary to traditional White nationalist thought, the organization augments these frames to include a Christian element. Jews, the organization posits, chiefly seek to decimate the Christian essence of the Homeland:

In modern America, Jews lead the effort to de-Christianize America... As I become more aware of the all-encompassing, world-wide scope of Jewish power, I also learned that Jews have endeavored to undermine the religious foundations of whatever nation they have lived in (Duke, 2002, as seen in Counter Extremism Project, 2021a: 13).

We are under attack. America was founded as a Christian nation, and we're under attack (KKKK member, as seen in Murdoch, 2015).

Each of these diagnoses solidifies the construction of non-Whites as an evil outgroup, worthy of attack (Bostdorff, 2004). Whilst people of color are vilified – rendered “savage, bloodthirsty Satanic beasts” (Foster, 1997, as seen in Counter Extremism Project, 2021a) – adherents to the KKKK transform into angelic heroes of a “patriotic movement... a LOVE group” (Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 2021). Furthermore, the Knights Party frames White extinction based on its unique reservoir of salient ideas.

Relative to its diagnoses, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan advances prognostic frames tailored to safeguard the future of the White race. Although the KKKK publicly claims to be non-violent (Fording & Schram, 2020; McVeigh, 2009), the organization principally obliges RA(HOWA) (Berger & Nehring, 2017); as “God’s chosen people, Jesus Christ’s weapons of war,” it is the divine duty of KKKK members to conduct a revolution, “the bloodiest war this country has ever seen” (KKKK member, as seen in Murdoch, 2015). RA(HOWA) will enable racial separation, the creation of the Christian White ethnostate, and the consolidation of Klan influence:

The only way all races can develop their full potential and culture is through racial separation (Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 2021).

We must take back control of OUR U.S. government. We intend to put Klansmen and Klanswomen in office all the way from the local school board to the White House! WHAT IS OUR GOAL? POLITICAL POWER (Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 2021).



The fulfilment of these requisite aims will metamorphose the US into an epicenter of individual freedom and White hegemony, secure the existence of the White race, and ensure the White race's God-ordained claim to political power (Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 2021).

To incite the adoption of this contentious worldview, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan forwards two motivational frames. First, the organization appeals to potential recruits by amplifying the 'success' of previous Klan iterations in preserving White Christian American identity:

History proves the Klan is America's oldest and most effective White Christian Fraternal organization... Once people understand that the KKKK is simply a movement of White people for the highest standards of Western, Christian Civilization, and that the KKK won its first struggle in the Post-Civil War period, they naturally turn to it as an answer in today's crisis (Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 2021).

Second, the KKKK strategically deploys culturally resonant Christian symbols<sup>12</sup> (Dentice, 2017): (1) the Blood Drop Cross denotes the blood that Jesus Christ shed on the cross as a sacrifice for the White race (Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 2021); (2) the lighting of the cross conveys the ideals of Christian civilization, evokes the "suffering and blood of over 50 million martyrs who died in the most Holy Faith," and "rall[ies] the forces of Christianity against the ever increasing hordes of the anti-Christ and the enemies of America and the White race" (Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 2021); and (3) the Klan robe and hood reflects old Christian ritual wherein it was worn to represent humility, anonymity, and service (Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 2021). Each of these symbols inspires "perseverance" as they highlight adherents' "selfless dedication to our God, our nation, our race, our Klan Brothers and Sisters and our Klan movement" (Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 2021). Moreover, via its motivational frames, the Knights Party arouses collective activism against anti-Christian and anti-White elements within American society.

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<sup>12</sup> For a visual depiction of the Blood Drop symbol, the lighting of the cross, and the Klan robe and hood, see Figures IV, V, and VI in the Appendix, respectively.

### 4.3 Summary

This chapter has assessed how the Ku Klux Klan situates itself within the wider White nationalist movement via an examination of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the presiding Klan organization in the contemporary age. Through frame analysis, it became evident that the Knights Party (1) diagnostically perceives Jewish people to have inaugurated an organized assault on Christianity and Whiteness in the US, (2) prognostically considers RA(HOWA), racial separation, the establishment of a Christian White ethnostate, and the solidification of Klan power to be a divine duty, and (3) motivationally underscores the ‘success’ of previous Klan iterations and tactically utilizes culturally resonant religious symbols.

# 5 Neo-Confederacy

*This chapter will illuminate neo-Confederate collective action frames. To commence, a recapitulation of neo-Confederacy will be provided. Next, the League of the South's diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames will be communicated to reveal the process whereby neo-Confederate groups relate their ideas to the White nationalist movement.*

## 5.1 Describing Neo-Confederacy

The notion of a 'Confederate States of America' has endured for over 150 years (Hague et al., 2008; Maurantonio, 2019). Indeed, "today, its romance, ideology and symbolism still sway millions as Southern White culture continues to wield huge influence, even dominance, over the nation" (Hague et al., 2008: ix). Neo-Confederacy in its present form entered public discourse on 29 October 1995 when *The Washington Post* published Michael Hill's and Thomas Fleming's '*New Dixie Manifesto*:'

The New Dixie Manifesto was a clarion call to arms in which Hill and Fleming described themselves as representing 'a new group of Southerners'... the manifesto charged that the United States had treated 'American Southerners' with 'exploitation and contempt,' and that a 'renewed South' was both necessary and achievable. Among its specific points, the manifesto espoused the following: home rule for Southerners; states' rights and developed political power; local control over schooling, in opposition to federal desegregation decrees; removal of federal funding and initiatives from Southern states; a Christian tradition in opposition to modernity; [and] support for Confederate symbols (Hague et al., 2008: 1-2).

Insofar as neo-Confederacy promotes Southern secession and the establishment of an independent Confederation of Southern States,<sup>13</sup> it subsumes a distinct position within the White nationalist movement (Barnett, 2016; Sebset & Hague, 2002; Kamali, 2021); it represents an interpretation of White nationalism popular in the Southeast United States that consolidates anti-government views, religious aspirations, and Confederate pride.

The current neo-Confederate movement can be characterized as a loose network of organizations. Although supplemental organizations continue to operate (e.g., ACTBAC NC, Confederate 901, Dixie Republic, Heirs to the Confederacy, and Southern Cultural Center), the SPLC (2021) primarily classifies two groups as neo-Confederate: Identity Dixie and the League of the South (LOS). The former originated in 2017 as an offshoot of the White nationalist blog and podcasting site *The Right Stuff* (SPLC, 2021). The League of the South, the presiding neo-Confederate group, arose in Alabama in 1994 under the leadership of Michael Hill and Steven Wilkins (SPLC, 2021). This chapter will unveil the LOS' frames to outline how the group's ideologues mobilize recruits to "accomplish what the Civil War did not – *Southern secession*" (League of the South, as seen in Barnett, 2016: 156).

## 5.2 Framing the League of the South

The League of the South problematizes various issues in American society. First, contrary to traditional White nationalist narratives, the LOS maintains that the South has suffered a long history of mistreatment (Barnett, 2016; Beirich & Potok, 2004); since the Civil War era, the US regime has oppressed Southern communities, and further, this abuse has intensified

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<sup>13</sup> Neo-Confederates envision the Confederation of Southern States to include the following: South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland (Hague et al., 2008).

following the 2015 Charleston church shooting as the North increasingly condemns and stigmatizes Confederate heritage – specifically, the Confederate battle flag:<sup>14</sup>

Now we have the same Establishment politicians and media howling that alleged Charleston AME church shooter Dylann Roof, far from being solely responsible for his own actions, is a product of a dark and horrible culture – the traditional White South (Hill, 2015, as seen in Barnett, 2016: 159).

The events [Charleston church shooting] of the last two weeks provide us with a nice concise view of some of that reality... the denigration and hopeful elimination of all things Southern and Confederate from the public, and perhaps private, sphere (Hill, 2015, as seen in Barnett, 2016: 160).

To sum it up, the Confederate battle flag and all who have ever said a good word for it are collectively guilty for everything that has ever afflicted the Black community (Hill, 2015, as seen in Barnett, 2016: 159-161).

The LOS equates these attacks on Southern states to a “cultural genocide,” a prelude to “physical genocide” (Hill, 2015, as seen in Barnett, 2016: 161). In this way, the organization bridges its idea of anti-South discrimination to the notion of White extinction. Second, in recent years, the League of the South has adopted the anti-Semitic rhetoric characteristic of White nationalists (Barnett, 2016); by highlighting Jews as responsible for the genocidal campaign waged against Christian White Southerners, the organization has transformed its diagnostic frames:

Yes, the South has a ‘Black’ problem. It also has a ‘yankee’ problem. But our biggest problem... is the ‘Jewry’ problem. Indeed, organized Jewry has been at the root of the South’s troubles for the past 100 years (Hill, as seen in SPLC, 2021).

Never underestimate the perfidy of the organized Jew. He is craft enough to manipulate both sides in a conflict for his own advantage... I have come to the conclusion that his main enemy is European man – the inheritors of Christendom – and his main weapons against us are the various Third World peoples (including Muslims) he employs as his street-level foot soldiers, debt, propaganda, and our own guilt (Hill, 2015, as seen in SPLC, 2021).

Over the last half century, the Jew has used every means at hand to foster anti-White hatred and malice in the minds of non-Whites. Slowly, as exemplified by the steady increase across the decades of violent Black-on-White crime, there unfolded an actual physical war against Whiteness (Hill, 2020, as seen in Counter Extremism Project, 2021b: 49).

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<sup>14</sup> See Figure VII in the Appendix for a visual of the Confederate battle flag.

Hence, the LOS constructs a distinct ingroup and outgroup: the former comprises the pro-Confederate community, “the descendants of European, Christian peoples who settled the Southern region of North America in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century” (Hill, 2020b). The latter is inclusive of those in opposition to the organization’s mission, those who perpetuate the “very hostile anti-White and anti-South environment” (Hill, 2015). Moreover, in diffusing these diagnostic frames, the League of the South establishes a narrative of injustice that obliges collective action.

In accordance with the organization’s diagnostic frames, the League of the South prognostically outlines a strategy for the revival of Southern glory. Principally, the organization advises Southerners to (1) reject anti-South, anti-White propaganda, (2) embrace their Southern identity, and (3) recognize the South as a distinct and authentic nation (Barnett, 2016):

Unfortunately, over 140 years of propaganda directed toward a defeated and occupied South has convinced many of our Southern brothers and sisters that the Yankees were right. We believed we were a poor and backwards people, living in a benighted region with no hope for the future. But in reality, nothing was further from the truth. Today, the South... is truly the epitome of an authentic nation. That is, we are a distinct people, steeped in tradition, living in our own lands. We have all that is necessary to offer a bright future of freedom and prosperity to our children and grandchildren (Hill, 2007).

The Southern people – Whites – must come to realize that ‘we’re all in this together.’ The South is the fair homeland a beneficent God has given us, through the blood, sweat, and tears of our ancestors. We must develop among ourselves the old notion of ‘tribe’ once again – the core element of blood-and-soil nationalism... our job is to make Southerners into Southern nationalists. And then, to lead them toward the enemy (Hill, 2020b).

Additionally, the League of the South necessitates a process of complete Southern secession (Hague et al., 2008) as “for the South, cultural as well as political secession is the only practical, the only realistic, and the only moral choice” (League of the South, 2021):

We [must] withdraw our sense of loyalty, as legitimate as it once may have been, as well as our consent, to a criminal regime that has fallen almost completely into the hands of an alien people and ideology... We Southerners can remain with them in the US and be treated as a despised third-class minority or we can do as our ancestors did in 1776 and 1860: we can leave and do things in our own interest on our own historic lands (Hill, 2020a).

Although the LOS (2021) envisions the “States peacefully and lawfully exercising their Right of self-determination,” the organization does not reject the utility of violence (Barnett, 2016). Rather, neo-Confederate ideologues employ violent rhetoric, and further, consider RA(HOWA) a legitimate tactic within the repertoire of contention:

We Southern nationalists do not want a race war (or any sort of war). But if one is forced on us, we’ll participate. ... Southern Whites are geared up and armed to the teeth (Hill, 2015, as seen in SPLC, 2021).

If one largely untrained, but skilled, 17-year-old young White man can cause this much fear & angst among BLM, Antifa and their supporters, think what 1,000 trained, skilled, experienced, and dedicated White men could accomplish. Maybe that’s coming together right now, who knows? If that’s what it takes to preserve our life, liberties, and property – our civilization – then let it be (Hill, 2020, as seen in Counter Extremism Project, 2021b: 48).

With each passing day, we move closer to open conflict in America – civil war... We are in a war for White survival. As Southern nationalists, we will do our work for the survival and prosperity of our people on the lands we love – Dixie. From the plains of Texas, to the hills of Alabama, to the bluegrass of Kentucky, and every place in between, we will defend our patrimony like the blessing it is (Hill, as seen in Counter Extremism Project, 2021b: 50).

Therefore, the League of the South prognostically insists that the establishment of a free and independent Southern republic, a Christian White ethnostate, demands resistance (SPLC, 2021).

To mobilize recruits towards adopting this antagonistic worldview, the League of the South supplies a motivational frame. The LOS utilizes the ‘Lost Cause,’ a pseudo-religious, mythologized interpretation of the Civil War and Southern history. The Lost Cause negates interpretations that highlight the Confederacy’s racialized past, and instead suggests that the cause of the Confederate States during the Civil War was heroic, just, and included no White supremacist motivation (Hague et al., 2008; Loewen & Sebesta, 2010; Maurantonio, 2019; McNutt, 2017); constructing an ahistorical portrait of the slave industry, it too asserts that slavery was a moral, God-ordained practice beneficial to the Confederacy’s economy (Wilkins & Wilson, 1996). Through employing the myth of the Lost Cause, the LOS renders all acts of

contemporary resistance wholly honorable as they transform into an extension of the Confederate soldiers' righteous efforts:

We [will] resurrect, by the Grace of a benevolent God, our traditional Southern Christian culture and all that stems from it... Our noble ancestors, far back into history, knew they were fighting for two fundamental things: 1) their civilization, as tangibly represented by their families and their lands; and 2) their God, who blessed them with that civilization. The love of these things has always been the primary motivating factor. *These are why our people have fought and struggled over the ages. Nothing about that has changed. We would do well to get back to first things. When we do, we shall be unstoppable* (Hill, 2020a, emphasis added).

Further, it fortifies the LOS' ingroup framing as adherents to the movement assume the courage, valor, and gallantry of the South's ancestry (McNutt, 2017). Whilst the League of the South strategically suggests the fulfilment of the Lost Cause will secure the existence of the South's Christian White population and thereby return glory to the Confederacy, it inspires recruits to act collectively.

### 5.3 Summary

This chapter has assessed how neo-Confederacy situates itself within the wider White nationalist movement via an examination of the League of the South, the most influential neo-Confederate group in the contemporary era. Through frame analysis, it became evident that the LOS (1) diagnostically problematizes discrimination against Southern people, attributing such prejudice historically towards the North and now to the Jewish-controlled regime, (2) prognostically considers Southern secession as the only viable solution, and (3) motivates recruits through the myth of the Lost Cause – claiming that activist behavior is just, honorable, and necessary in the battle to secure the existence of and return glory to the South's Christian White population.



# 6 Neo-Nazism

*This chapter will explore the collective action frames produced by neo-Nazi groups. To commence, an overview of neo-Nazism within the United States will be presented. Next, the Atomwaffen Division's diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames will be unveiled, thus exposing the process whereby neo-Nazi groups relate their ideas to White nationalism.*

## 6.1 Describing Neo-Nazism

Embracing the ideology and symbolism of Hitler's Third Reich, neo-Nazism constitutes a distinct camp within the White nationalist movement (Blee, 2011; Blee, 2017). Although neo-Nazism and White nationalism are often considered identical phenomena, neo-Nazism chiefly advocates militant anti-Semitism (Blee, 2011; Blee, 2017). Indeed,

Conflating neo-Nazism with White nationalism paints the former with too wide of brush while also diminishing the depth and breadth of the latter. As a subset of White nationalism, neo-Nazism mainly promotes the antisemitic attitudes and fascist policies of the regime from which it borrowed its name (Kamali, 2021: 74).

American neo-Nazism originated in 1959 with George Lincoln Rockwell's founding of the American Nazi Party (Fording & Schram, 2020). Following the 1967 assassination of Rockwell, the American Nazi Party splintered into a network of groups – the most prominent being the National Alliance, a group led by the author of *The Turner Diaries*,<sup>15</sup> Dr William Pierce (Fording & Schram, 2020). Modern neo-Nazi organizations within the United States act to establish a fascist political state through terroristic measures (SPLC, 2021).

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<sup>15</sup> *The Turner Diaries* (1996) is a widely influential novel in the White nationalist movement that describes a 'White revolution' against America's Jewish-controlled government (Berger, 2016; Fording & Schram, 2020).

In the current American political climate, the threat of neo-Nazi violence continues to amass. While an array of organizations exists – including 14 First, Aryan Nations, Folks Front, The Base, the National Socialist Movement, and the National Social Club – this chapter will examine one of the newest and most popular organizations: the Atomwaffen Division (SPLC, 2021). Founded in 2013 on *Iron March*, a now-defunct online forum, the Atomwaffen Division is comprised of a network of terror cells, each of which employ lethal tactics to ensure civilizational collapse (Counter Extremism Project, 2021b). Ideologically influenced by the work of Louis Beam, James Mason, Charles Manson, Joseph Tommasi, and William Pierce, Atomwaffen Division members subscribe to accelerationism and therefore consider a White revolution to be the sole method whereby a National Socialist government can be enacted (SPLC, 2021; Counter Extremism Project, 2021b).

## 6.1 Framing the Atomwaffen Division

The Atomwaffen Division proposes a variety of diagnostic frames through a National Socialist lens. As the organization is accelerationist, the Atomwaffen Division first portrays the current political system as inherently corrupt, flawed, and anti-White, thus nullifying the possibility of a political solution (SPLC, 2021).

We scorn and reject the current political system, and all notions of working with the left-right framework cultivated by the Jew (NSO Program, 2020, as seen in Counter Extremism Project, 2021b: 21).

This system is beginning to suffer the consequences of its corruption. The failure of democracy and capitalism has given way to the Jewish oligarchies and the globalist bankers resulting in the cultural and racial displacement of the White race... there is nothing that can be fixed in a system so inherently flawed (Atomwaffen Division, 2021).

Second, as evidenced by the aforementioned quotations, the organization endorses the ZOG conspiracy and thus claims that Jewish people wage an intentional genocide to decimate the Aryan race:

The White race is in danger and it's not by accident. Its driven. Its planned [by the Jews] (Mason, as seen in Rowley, 2018).

We all understood the kike plan to destroy the Aryan race. It burned in our hearts. We all came to the same conclusion: this cannot last, and it cannot continue! Otherwise, the Aryan race would be destroyed for all time... We needed to reawaken an Aryan race of strength, honor, passion, and greatness, by any means necessary (Arthur, 2020, as seen in Counter Extremism Project, 2021b: 21).

Through these diagnoses, the Atomwaffen Division constructs ingroup and outgroup collectives. The ingroup, though inclusive of neo-Nazi sympathizers, predominantly encompasses members prepared to operate within the activist sphere: “we have absolutely no room for moderates and cowards. We wish to appeal to the radical in this struggle, as it is the radical that etches their place into history” (Atomwaffen Division, 2021); consequently, the organization values “men who are willing to be boots on the ground... [those] dedicated not only to the Atomwaffen Division and its members, but to the goal of Total Aryan Victory” (Atomwaffen Division member, 2018, as seen in Counter Extremism Project, 2021b: 22). Contrary to other White nationalist organizations, the Atomwaffen Division perceives Jewish people as the primary threat: “Jews are the number-one enemy. We would say the Jews are the virus, and the people of color, the homosexuals, they are the symptoms” (Atomwaffen Division member, as seen in Rowley, 2018). Hence, the Atomwaffen Division bridges its acutely anti-Semitic ideas to the White nationalist idea of White extinction.

The Atomwaffen Division has developed prognoses relative to its diagnostic frames. Equating its adherents to a “killing machine” (Atomwaffen Division member, as seen in Counter Extremism Project, 2021), the group disparages the utility of “keyboard warriorism” (Atomwaffen Division, 2021). Instead, it regards a race war to be the sole method capable of securing the existence of the White race:

Let's bring a new image of terror and dread to the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Dark Foreigner, 2018, as seen in Counter Extremism Project, 2021b: 22).

Politics are useless. Revolution is necessary – race war now! (Denton, as seen in ProPublica, 2018).

Through war and violence, we can see the betterment of our race and the proper and healthy growth of our race... my point is this, through the rivers of war and violence, we can clean our race (Turtle, 2020, as seen in Counter Extremism Project, 2021b: 21).

Further, through violence and terror, the organization aims to establish a pan-Aryan National Socialist state, as originally envisioned by the *Führer* Adolf Hitler (Blee, 2017; Fording & Schram, 2020; Lowe, 2020):

A new world order will rise from the ashes of the kike system (Atomwaffen Division, as seen in Counter Extremism Project, 2021: 23).

National Socialism is the only solution to reclaim dominion over what belongs to us. The west cannot be saved, but it can be rebuilt and even stronger without the burdens of the past (Atomwaffen Division, 2021).

We are strict followers of the worldview established by our *Führer*, Adolf Hitler... we believe that the earth should be solely populated by the Aryan race... we will build an Aryan, National Socialist world by any means necessary (NSO Program, 2020, as seen in Counter Extremism Project, 2021b: 21).

Therefore, the Atomwaffen Division views terrorism as the sole tactic within its contentious repertoire apt to (1) save the White race and (2) create the pan-Aryan National Socialist state.

To justify the costs of such radical action, the Atomwaffen Division purports two motivational frames. First, the organization amplifies a frame of threat; those who neglect to participate in violence will not survive the imminent race war, and further, “will get the rope first” upon Aryan victory (Atomwaffen Division member, as seen in Counter Extremism Project, 2021b: 22):

You guys can get all moralistic if you want about satanism but at the end of the day when the fuckin’ race war comes, morals aren’t going to do anything but get you fuckin’ killed (Atomwaffen Division member, as seen in Counter Extremism Project, 2021b: 23).

Second, the organization glorifies those who die or are imprisoned for the National Socialist cause. To exemplify, consider the following statements – the former of which was released to honor the death of Robert Jay Matthews (1953-1984), an American neo-Nazi activist who led The Order, and the latter of which was diffused following the arrest of the Atomwaffen Division’s co-founder, Brandon Russell:

On this day 36 years ago, Robert Jay Matthews fought bravely and died for his race... in the bleak face of comrade betrayal and overwhelming ZOG forces his resolve never weakened, for love of the Aryan race and hatred of all opposed burned in his heart so brightly that the insidious influence of fear could never take foot. He courageously took up the banner of our Racial Holy War just as the transcendental warriors of old did. Through the revolutionary life he led he proved himself a worthy successor of the Kshatriyas, Knights, and SS [*Schutzstaffel*] which came before him (Atomwaffen Division member, as seen in Counter Extremism Project, 2021b: 20).

I have become a prisoner of war in this war against society... to all the outsiders who tried to hinder our efforts, I say this to you: I created something beautiful. Beautiful things scare people. You just don't like it because it doesn't like you. Night shall turn to day as flames burn brilliantly. The sword has been drawn. There is no turning back (Russell, as seen in Counter Extremism Project, 2021b: 22).

Through supplying these inspirational narratives, the Atomwaffen Division mobilizes recruits as warriors for its race war, a war which will engender the inauguration of a National Socialist state for the liberated Aryan race.

## 6.2 Summary

This chapter has assessed how neo-Nazism situates itself within the wider White nationalist movement via an examination of the Atomwaffen Division, the newest and most popular neo-Nazi group in the contemporary era. Through frame analysis, it became evident that the Atomwaffen Division (1) diagnostically problematizes the corruption of the current political system and the Jews' genocidal efforts, (2) prognostically considers violence and terror as necessary to save the White race and to establish the pan-Aryan National Socialist state, and (3) motivationally inspires recruits by accentuating the threat of death and by glorifying all those who serve its race war.

# 7 Racist Skinheads

*This chapter will illuminate racist skinhead groups' collective action frames. An overview of skinhead activity in the United States will first be presented. Next, the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames of Hammerskin Nation will be investigated to unveil the process whereby racist skinhead groups relate their ideas to White nationalism.*

## 7.1 Describing Racist Skinheads

Racist skinheads represent a core component of the White nationalist movement. Originating in 1960s Britain, the skinhead movement shares a similar ideology to that perpetuated by neo-Nazi groups (Fording & Schram, 2020). Nevertheless, racist skinheads and neo-Nazis differ along several parameters: (1) skinheads are typically younger, working class males; (2) skinheads, while usually abstaining from organized domestic terror tactics, perpetrate greater violence; and (3) skinheads have cultivated their own youth subculture, favoring a certain dress style (Fording & Schram, 2020). Notably, music represents a defining feature of the racist skinhead movement (Pollard, 2016). This music, coined 'White power rock and roll,' enables movement ideologues to frame their agenda and thereby spark mobilization and incite violence (Grosholz & Pieri, 2020).

While racist skinhead groups flourished in the 1980s and 90s, the movement's influence within the United States has decreased in recent years (Travis & Hardy, 2012). However, this chapter will address Hammerskin Nation, alternatively referred to as 'the Hammerskins,' as it has continued to threaten public safety and national security since its founding in the late 1980s (SPLC, 2021); indeed, although additional racist skinhead groups continue to operate (e.g.,

Keystone United, Blood & Honour, and the Vinlanders Social Club), Hammerskin Nation remains one of the most established and violent hate groups within the United States (Pollard, 2016; Counter Extremism Project, 2021b; SPLC, 2021). Given the organization's clandestine nature and the role of music in the skinhead movement, this chapter will primarily evaluate Hammerskin Nation's frames through an examination of White power songs produced by its record label, 9% Productions, and performed at Hammerfest, its annual music festival.

## 7.2 Framing Hammerskin Nation

Hammerskin Nation problematizes various issues in American society via its diagnostic frames. In contrast to other White nationalist groups, the Hammerskins' diagnostic frames incorporate neither religious nor antigovernmental themes; instead, the organization opts to maintain a rigid White supremacist orientation, with its diagnostic frames chiefly relating to the presence of foreigners on American soil (Grosholz & Pieri, 2020; Pollard, 2016). The Hammerskins perceives the presence of foreigners to be an injustice for two reasons:

First is a material objection, where immigrants are accused of stealing increasingly scarce jobs, government transfers or housing from the hard-working native White populations, considered the legitimate consumers of these benefits the Western world has to offer (Cotter, 1999: 124).

The following excerpt from a White power song illustrates this frame:

They all come here from distant lands  
Well, it seems to me that it has all been planned...  
Refugee, you're not fooling me.  
*Refugee you just want a jobs monopoly*  
*We got no money, we got no home*  
*Yet they're arriving in their droves*  
If violence happens, that's a shame  
Politicians and their games  
*Everyone chose to fill their hand*  
*What about the people of our own land?*  
(Ian Stuart, as seen in Cotter, 1999: 124, emphasis added).

Second, Hammerskin Nation incorporates a cultural dimension wherein it highlights the desecration of society (Grosholz & Pieri, 2020); foreigners introduce ‘alien elements’ to American society, elements which “destroy the cultural purity” of the White race and “contribute to the current state of moral decadence and cultural decay common in Western states” (Cotter, 1999: 125):

Looking through the window at my street  
Times have changed and the people you meet  
Where have all the old faces gone?  
The ones who were born and belong...  
Where are the folk who built this up?  
Brick by brick  
Block by block  
Who stood for a decent neighborhood, not an alien brotherhood?  
(Blue Eyed Devils, as seen in Grosholz & Pieri, 2020: 9).

They tell our kids to just say ‘No’  
And then some out of touch Judge  
Lets a drug pusher go...  
Well, you know what’s wrong  
With the world today  
People have gone  
Thrown their morals away  
They’re living by the Law of the jungle  
Not the Law of the Land  
(No Remorse, as seen in Cotter, 1999: 125).

The melting pot is getting heavily overcooked,  
One-way  
Tickets to the abyss are booked. There’s riots  
In our  
Town – the streets are burning, into the  
Nightmare our  
Lullaby’s turning. We are sentenced to suffer  
From this  
Massive immigration, our government’s  
Punishment to our  
Nation.  
From all the misery in the world – we’re not to  
Blame!  
But we do have the power to unlock – the  
Chains of  
Shame!  
(Mistreat, as seen in Grosholz & Pieri, 2020: 8).



Additionally, the Hammerskins embraces the quintessentially White nationalist narrative of White extinction. Subscribing to the ZOG conspiracy, the organization claims that Jewish people have initiated an intentional genocide against White Americans: “it was White people creating a country for White people... now, we’re being controlled by the Zionists” (Hammerskins member, as seen in Cookson, 1993). By emphasizing these frames, the Hammerskins constructs distinct ingroup and outgroup collectives: the former comprises “the 24-hour [skinhead] soldier” (Hammerskins member, as seen in Cookson, 1993) whilst the latter includes foreigners, ethnic minorities, race-traitors, anti-racists, Marxists, liberal politicians, homosexuals, and feminists (Cotter, 1999). Moreover, Hammerskin Nation frames injustices – namely, foreign immigration and Jewish control – to serve as a call for action against the American system, a system that ‘neglects’ the working class White youth.

Relative to these diagnoses, the Hammerskins purports prognostic frames. To combat the moral desecration of society, the organization advocates vigilantism (Cotter, 1999; Pollard, 2016); indeed, Hammerskin Nation disregards legal proceeding, claiming ‘street justice’ is imperative to expel alien elements from society and to maintain law and order:

I’ve heard it said  
And I know it’s the truth  
An eye for an eye  
And a tooth for a tooth...  
Better watch where you’re going  
Remember where you’ve been  
That’s the way I see it  
I’m a simple man...  
As far as I’m concerned  
There ain’t no excuse  
For the raping and killing  
and the child abuse  
I’ve got a way  
To put an end to all those things  
You take that scum  
And put a bullet in their heads  
Or hang’em from a tree  
Until they drop down dead  
(No Remorse, as seen in Cotter, 1999: 125).

Additionally, the Hammerskins frames the perpetration of excessive violence conducted during “an all-out race war” to be essential to maintain racial purity, hegemony, and “White power”

(Hammerskins member, as seen in Cookson, 1993):

Hail and thunder, we're not afraid to die  
Our mighty fearless warriors marching on  
With high ideals we make our stand  
To cleanse the poison from our lands  
We fight the evil and the greed...  
They spread a flame, a wicked spell  
To keep our people locked in Hell  
(Skrewdriver, as seen in Cotter, 1999: 131-132).

I'm a soldier of the revolution  
Electing bullets for ballots is my solution  
And with this hollow-point round  
I'm going to take you down.  
Tell me how's the view  
From six-feet underground  
One shot, one kill, your blood is mine to spill  
(Bound for Glory, as seen in Grosholz & Pieri, 2020: 11).

We say 'fetch the noose'  
We say 'hang em high...'  
We need some public lynchings  
Watch the dirty bastards die  
See 'em swing  
Watch 'em quiver  
As the noose makes 'em fly  
(Whitelaw, as seen in Grosholz & Pieri, 2020: 12).

Repatriate, ship them out, send the bastards back  
If they don't fucking like it, they'll be in body bags  
(Fortress, as seen in Cotter, 1999: 125).

These prognoses serve to fulfil the Hammerskins' paramount mission – the inception of an ethnostate for White native-born Americans:

We want a White homeland. We've taken certain sections of the country, and we've designated those as White homelands. We're going to show them this is our state, and those nigger-lovin' race traitors can go move to San Francisco or somewhere else where they might feel more welcome among its large gay population (Hammerskins member, as seen in Cookson, 1993).

Furthermore, Hammerskin Nation necessitates vigilantism and excessive violence as it argues that these tactics are necessary to uphold the ideals salient to the skinhead subculture – namely, working class ethic, White supremacism, and White nationalism (Pollard, 2016).

To mobilize recruits for collective action, Hammerskin Nation bestows several motivational frames. As the Hammerskins underscores violence as requisite for the survival of Western civilization, it frames its members as the saviors of the White race, glorious warriors:

Being a Hammerskin is the distinct feeling of being set apart from the entire planet. And of knowing we will conquer and overcome all obstacles to achieve our goals and accomplish our great work, knowing that if we fail, all is lost forever, and the west will perish (Matchette, as seen in Counter Extremism Project, 2021b: 31).

Second, the group endows all those who have given their life to further the White cause – including Adolf Hitler, Ian Stuart, Robert Matthews, and Wade Michael Page – with martyr status:

My race is my nation. *I swear my loyalty to the immortal leader of my race, Adolf Hitler.* I will die before betraying him. White victory! White power! *Sieg Heil!* (Hammerskins member, as seen in Cookson, 1993, emphasis added).

Third, the Hammerskins deploys culturally resonant symbols insofar as it embraces them as central to the racist skinhead subculture (Pollard, 2016). Principally, group members will adorn shaved heads, Doc Marten boots, and tattoos of the number 88 (*Heil* Hitler), Swastikas, and the Celtic cross.<sup>16</sup> In particular, the group venerates the Swastika as it emblematically unifies skinheads with historical White power activism:

When I see a Swastika, I get chill bumps on me because it represents the sum total of everything I fight for... it represents the struggle of my people (Hammerskins member, as seen in Cookson, 1993).

Each of these symbols deliberately empowers the racist skinhead group as they manage to attract disaffected White youth in their search for a community (Cotter, 1999; Kamali, 2021).

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<sup>16</sup> See Figure VII in the Appendix for a visual of typical skinhead dress.

Hence, through promoting these motivational narratives, the organization nullifies the costs of self-sacrifice and thereby seduces recruits for violent collective action.

### 7.3 Summary

This chapter has assessed how racist skinhead groups operate within the White nationalist movement via an examination of Hammerskin Nation, the most established skinhead organization in the historical and contemporary era. Through frame analysis, it became apparent that the Hammerskins (1) diagnostically problematizes foreign invasion and Jewish control through a youthful, working class lens (2) prognostically considers vigilante justice and excessive violence as vital to White survival and the establishment of the White ethnostate, and (3) motivates recruits by highlighting skinheads as the saviors of Western civilization, martyring those who die for the White cause, and co-opting culturally salient symbols such as the Swastika into racist skinhead subculture.

# 8 Christian Identity

*This chapter will investigate the collective action frames of Christian Identity groups. To commence, American Christian Identity will be described. Next, the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames of Kingdom Identity Ministries will be determined to reveal the process whereby Christian Identity groups relate their ideas to the White nationalist movement.*

## 8.1 Describing Christian Identity

Christian Identity is a crucial element of American White nationalism (Barkun, 1994; Barkun, 1997; Dobratz, 200; Goldberg, 2006; Kaplan, 1993; Michael, 2014; Quarles, 2004; Sharpe, 2000; Whitehead & Perry, 2020). Bowman-Grieve (2009: 991) outlines the intricate theological development of the Christian Identity movement within the United States:

The Christian Identity movement evolved from the theology of British Israelism, which claims that Anglo-Saxons are the direct descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel. The transformation of British Israelism to Christian Identity was the result of a complicated process blending a number of components including British Israelism, fundamentalist Christianity, anti-government/ survivalist mentalities (based primarily on fear of the elimination of the White race), a polygenist view of the origins of humanity, and the notion of White supremacy. The modern form of Christian Identity places its primary doctrinal focus on the ‘Two Seeds Doctrine,’ which postulates that the Bible is the history of only one people, the descendants of the race of Adam, the true Israelites, the White race.

Hence, in brief, Christian Identity is a complex theology, based on a racial interpretation of Christianity, that champions White supremacist and nationalist beliefs through espousing the Two Seeds Doctrine. The Two Seeds Doctrine, a doctrine which is not explicitly identifiable within Christian text, reconstructs biblical narrative. It recenters Genesis’ focus away from God’s initial interaction with man and earth, exegeting its meaning to include a racial component. It postulates that Jewish people follow along the line of Satan’s genealogy, with

Satan being the Serpent in the Garden of Eden (Belew, 2018). In contrast, Adam is considered the Father of the Ten Lost Tribes – with the Ten Lost Tribes representing the true Israelites, God’s chosen people, the White race (Berry, 2017; Bowman-Grieve, 2009; Dentice, 2017; Kamali, 2021).

Although the significance of Christian Identity has waned since the 1990s, various organizations continue to operate in the contemporary day. These organizations include Christogenea, Covenant People’s Ministry, Euro Folk Radio, Fellowship of God’s Covenant People, Kingdom Identity Ministries, Mission to Israel, Sacred Truth Publishing & Ministries, and Scriptures for America Worldwide Ministries (SPLC, 2021). Founded in 1982 in Harrison, Arkansas by Mike Hallimore, Kingdom Identity Ministries maintains the greatest influence:

Kingdom Identity Ministries is the largest supplier in existence of materials related to Christian Identity... it functions primarily as a publishing house, churning out Identity Bible study courses, tracts and books, including foundational texts by early Identity leaders like Wesley Swift (SPLC, 2021).

Consequently, this chapter will evaluate the collective action frames diffused by Kingdom Identity Ministries to determine how Christian Identity groups situate themselves within the wider White nationalist movement.

## 8.1 Framing Kingdom Identity Ministries

Kingdom Identity Ministries develops various diagnostic frames through a pseudo-theological, heretical lens. Chiefly, these frames relate to the overthrow and elimination of the White race, as described by the White nationalist movement’s idea of White extinction. Indeed, the organization cites anti-White trends as unjustly propelled by the Sons of Satan, the Jews (Belew, 2018; Berger & Nehring, 2017; Blee, 2017; Dentice, 2017; Goldberg, 2006):

WE BELIEVE in an existing being known as the Devil or Satan and called the Serpent (Gen. 3:1; Rev. 12:9), who has a literal "seed" or posterity in the earth (Gen. 3:15) commonly called Jews today (Rev. 2:9; 3:9; Isa. 65:15). *These children of Satan* (John

8:44-47; Matt. 13:38; John 8:23) through Cain (I John 2:22, 4:3) *have throughout history always been a curse to true Israel, the Children of God, because of a natural enmity between the two races (Gen. 3:15), because they do the works of their father the Devil (John 8:38-44), and because they please not God, and are contrary to all men (I Thes. 2:14-15) (Kingdom Identity Ministries, 2021a, emphasis added).*

Your battle has constantly been with Satan's sons who are here to charge and to fight against the Sons of God... We have troubles with this seed. They worship devils and many gods. And they wage war against you. But then the MOST HIGH said – 'this evil power which seeks to do all these things, we know who they are... They carry the mark of the serpent, the sting of the Asp, and the venom of the viper – so we recognize them' (Swift, as seen in Konda, 2019: 223).

Specifically, Kingdom Identity Ministries perceives Jewish malice as currently exemplified by their control of the media and American government, arguing that the Jews serve the Devil by sanctioning amoral practices such as abortion, socialism, and homosexuality (Perlinger, 2020). In this way, the organization perceives a genocide against the Christian White world (Perlinger, 2020). As evidenced, Kingdom Identity Ministries constructs distinct ingroups and outgroups through its diagnostic frames. The former includes White Christians, believed to be God's chosen peoples:

WE BELIEVE God chose unto Himself a special race of people that are above all people upon the face of the earth (Deut. 7:6; Amos 3:2) (Kingdom Identity Ministries, 2021a).

WE BELIEVE the White, Anglo-Saxon, Germanic and kindred people to be God's true, literal Children of Israel. Only this race fulfils every detail of Biblical Prophecy and World History concerning Israel and continues in these latter days to be heirs and possessors of the Covenants, Prophecies, Promises and Blessings YHVH God made to Israel (Kingdom Identity Ministries, 2021a)

Although the outgroup collective mainly consists of Jewish people, Kingdom Identity Ministries further considers people of color, "mud people," to be sub-human (Goldberg, 2006: 45). Moreover, Kingdom Identity Ministries diagnostically frames White extinction through a pseudo-biblical, heretical perspective: the Satanic Jews have initiated a war against the Sons of God, the White race, to rid the earth of God's influence and impede the realization of His divine word.

In accordance with its diagnostic frames, Kingdom Identity Ministries proposes routes for successful activism. First, the organization argues that American White Christians must embrace “the Gospel of the Kingdom,” and thus avoid sinful behavior (Kingdom Identity Ministries, 2021a):

WE BELIEVE sin is transgression of God's Law (I John 3:4; Rom. 3:31, 7:7) and that all have sinned (Rom. 3:23). Only through knowledge of God's Law as given in His Commandments, Statutes and Judgments, can we define and know what sin is. *We are to keep and teach the laws of God (Matt. 5:17-19) on both a personal and national basis* (Kingdom Identity Ministries, 2021a, emphasis added).

Second, Kingdom Identity Ministries (2021a) advocates racial separation to fulfil the word of God:

WE BELIEVE that as a chosen race, elected by God (Deut. 7:6, 10:15; I Peter 2:9), we are not to be partakers of the wickedness of this world system (I John 2:15; James 4:4; John 17:9, 15, 16), but are called to come out and be a separated people (II Cor. 6:17; Rev. 18:4; Jer. 51:6; Exodus 33:16; Lev. 20:24). This includes segregation from all non-White races, who are prohibited in God's natural divine order from ruling over Israel (Deut. 17:15, 28:13, 32:8; Joel 2:17; Isa. 13:14; Gen. 1:25-26; Rom. 9:21). Race-mixing is an abomination in the sight of Almighty God, a satanic attempt meant to destroy the chosen seedline, and is strictly forbidden by His commandments (Exo. 34:14-16; Num. 25:1-13; I Cor. 10:8/ Rev. 2:14; Deut. 7:3-4; Joshua 23:12-13; I Kings 11:1-3; Ezra 9:2, 10-12; 10:10-14; Neh. 10:28-30, 13:3, 27; Hosea 5:7; Mal. 2:11-12).

Although Kingdom Identity Ministries (2021b) does not explicitly recognize the utility of violence, it argues that the complete annihilation of evil forces is requisite to “establish God’s heavenly Kingdom upon this earth” and thusly sanctions any effort to “defend the true faith.”

Third, upon successful segregation, Kingdom Identity Ministries (2021a) seeks the establishment of a blessed ethnostate for White Christians on US territory:

WE BELIEVE that the United States of America fulfils the prophesied (II Sam. 7:10; Isa. 11:12; Ezek. 36:24) place where Christians from all the tribes of Israel would be regathered. It is here in this blessed land (Deut. 15:6, 28:11, 33:13-17) that God made a small one a strong nation (Isa. 60:22), feeding His people with knowledge and understanding through Christian pastors (Jer. 3:14-15) who have carried the light of truth and blessings unto the nations of the earth (Isa. 49:6, 2:2-3; Gen. 12:3). North America is the wilderness (Hosea 2:14) to which God brought the dispersed seed of Israel, the land between two seas (Zech. 9:10), surveyed and divided by rivers (Isa. 18:1-2,7), where springs of water and streams break out and the desert blossoms as the rose (Isa. 35:1,6-7).



Furthermore, the enactment of the organization's prognostic frames will save the White race, restore White Christian dominance, and further, allow adherents to "inherit the Kingdom of God" (Kingdom Identity Ministries, 2021a).

To inspire recruits to embrace activism, Kingdom Identity Ministries proposes motivational frames. First, as evidenced in their construction of ingroup and outgroup collectives, the organization perpetuates a narrative of an apocalyptic war between the forces of good and evil, God and the Devil (Barkun, 1997; Bowman-Grieve, 2009); indeed, White Christians must battle a Jewish conspiracy to try and save the world from its eventual destruction. Second, the organization ensures Salvation on the Day of Judgement to all those who subscribe to its mission.

WE BELIEVE individual Israelites are destined for judgment (II Cor. 5:10; Heb. 9:27) and must believe on the only begotten son of God, Yahshua the Messiah (Jesus Christ), in whom only there is salvation (Acts 4:12), that they be not condemned (John 3:18; Mark 16:16) (Kingdom Identity Ministries, 2021a).

When our Savior returns to restore righteous government on the earth, there will be a day of reckoning when the kingdoms of this world become His (Rev. 11:15; Isa. 9:6-7) and all evil shall be destroyed (Isa. 13:9; Mal. 4:3; Matt. 13:30, 41-42; II Thes. 2:8). His elect Saints will be raised immortal at His return (I Cor. 15:52-53; I Thes. 4:16; Rev. 20:6) to rule and reign with Him as kings and priests (Rom. 8:17; II Tim. 2:12; Rev. 5:10; Exodus 19:6; Dan. 7:18, 27) (Kingdom Identity Ministries, 2021a).

Moreover, those who do not accept Kingdom Identity Ministries' mission, the sinners, will face "an ultimate end" during Divine Judgement (Kingdom Identity Ministries, 2021a). Furthermore, the organization purports a highly Manichean and millenarian worldview and thereby seduces potential recruits to join its radical efforts.

## 8.2 Summary

This chapter has assessed how Christian Identity groups situate themselves within the wider White nationalist movement via an examination of Kingdom Identity Ministries, the most

established Christian Identity organization in the contemporary day. Through frame analysis, it became evident that Kingdom Identity Ministries (1) diagnostically problematizes Jewish control and influence by portraying Jews as the Sons of Satan to wage a war against the White race as God's chosen people, (2) prognostically considers adherence to its pseudo-religious tenets, racial separation, and the establishment of a Christian White ethnostate as necessary for the survival of the true Israelite people, and (3) motivates recruits by amplifying a narrative of an apocalyptic war between the forces of good and evil and guaranteeing Salvation on the Day of Judgement in exchange for adopting its Manichean and millenarian worldview.

## 9 Discussion

Far-right violent extremism, specifically RMVE advocating White nationalism, poses an increasing threat to public safety and national security in America (Auger, 2020; Byrne, 2018; Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2020; Department of Homeland Security, 2020). Although scholarship has begun to address White nationalism, this research is in its initial stages, remains largely atheoretical, and has neglected to consider intra-movement diversity (Ashe et al., 2021; Baele et al., 2020; Berbrier, 1998; Bjørge & Ravndal, 2019; Grosholz & Pieri, 2020; Piazza, 2017; Tschantret, 2020). Consequently, this paper explored ideational variation within American White nationalism by exploring how groups across the far-right spectrum divergently frame their ideas to mobilize recruits; through comparatively analyzing the narratives espoused by (1) Ku Klux Klan, (2) neo-Confederate, (3) neo-Nazi, (4) racist skinhead, and (5) Christian Identity organizations, it became apparent how each uniquely engages with and operates within the American White nationalist movement.

To unveil the process whereby the Ku Klux Klan aligns its ideas to White nationalism, the frames of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were assessed. In contrast to dominant White nationalist thought, the Knights Party augments its frames to incorporate a religious dimension. Indeed, diagnostically, the organization attributes White extinction to the Jews' alleged genocidal efforts, contending that the Jewish population aims to decimate the Christian essence of the Homeland. Accordingly, the Knights Party prognostically obliges RA(HOWA) to erect the Christian White ethnostate. To motivate recruits, the organization strategically relies on the Klan's previous 'success' and on culturally resonant religious symbols (e.g., the Blood Drop symbol, the lighting of the cross, and the Klansman robe and hood). Furthermore, Ku Klux

Klan groups uniquely relate their ideas to those of the White nationalist movement by portraying pro-White activism to establish the ethnostate as a divine duty.

An analysis of the League of the South's collective action frames revealed how neo-Confederate groups assume a distinct position within the White nationalist movement. Employing a Southern lens, the League of the South maintains that the South has historically suffered hostility and discrimination; Northern 'aggressors' have promoted an anti-South narrative whilst Jewish people have cultivated an anti-White environment. According to the League of the South, these efforts constitute a cultural genocide, a prelude to physical genocide. The group thus compels a potentially violent and terroristic process of fostering Southern pride, rejecting Federal rule, and creating an autonomous Southern republic for the South's Christian White demographic. To encourage recruits to adopt this contentious worldview, the organization employs the myth of the Lost Cause and thereby renders all acts of contemporary resistance justifiable, honorable, and God-ordained. Therefore, neo-Confederate groups relate their ideas to the White nationalist movement's by highlighting the realization of a Christian White ethnostate, reminiscent of the Confederate States of America, as the South's unfulfilled destiny.

To garner a greater understanding of how neo-Nazism situates itself within the White nationalist movement, the frames supplied by the Atomwaffen Division were revealed. Frame analysis indicated that, contrary to other White nationalist ideological camps, neo-Nazis (1) embrace an accelerationist perspective and (2) champion the anti-Semitic attitudes and fascist policies imposed under Adolf Hitler's Third Reich. Indeed, the Atomwaffen Division diagnostically asserts that the current political apparatus is inherently corrupt, thus negating the possibility of a democratic solution; further, it contends that the American system is controlled by Jewish people endeavoring to exterminate the Aryan race. Hence, the Atomwaffen Division prognostically frames a racial revolution as the sole method whereby the pan-Aryan ethnostate

can be established; through extreme violence and terror, the National Socialist state can be resurrected. To legitimize the costs of radical action, the organization amplifies a trope of threat, claiming that all those who neglect to partake in the race war ‘will get the rope first’ upon Aryan victory. Additionally, it glorifies all those who die for the National Socialist cause. Ergo, although neo-Nazi groups embrace White nationalist narratives, they uniquely incorporate ideas of accelerationism, anti-Semitism, National Socialism, and fascism in their collective action frames. In this way, the establishment of the ethnostate for Aryan peoples is rendered the attainment of Adolf Hitler’s ‘illustrious’ mission.

To conceptualize racist skinheads as a subset of the White nationalist movement, this paper exposed Hammerskin Nation’s collective action frames. Assuming a discrete position on the far-right spectrum, racist skinheads purport neither religious nor anti-government frames. Rather, the Hammerskins first diagnostically problematizes three issues: (1) foreigners steal jobs, government transfers, and housing from deserving White native-born Americans; (2) immigrants introduce ‘alien elements’ that destroy the cultural purity of the White race and contribute to trends towards cultural decay prevalent in Western societies; and (3) the desecration of society is the ultimate product of Jewish control and genocidal initiatives. Accordingly, the Hammerskins prognostically necessitates the creation of a White ethnostate through vigilantism and a race war, the former being necessary to expel alien elements and the latter to maintain racial purity and hegemony. Hammerskin Nation’s motivational frames partially resemble those of other White nationalist groups insofar as they construct adherents as courageous warriors and advocates who die as martyrs; however, the organization too fosters a skinhead subculture – inclusive of a dress code, tattoos, and genre of music. Hammerskin Nation thereby nurtures intragroup relations and increases adherence to its mission. Furthermore, through frame analysis, it became evident that racist skinheads adopt narratives typical of White nationalist groups; nevertheless, they additionally incorporate lower working

class, youthful ideas to their collective action frames and thus shape their activism to resemble that of a street gang's or cult's.

The frames purported by Kingdom Identity Ministries were examined to address the alignment process whereby Christian Identity groups bridge their ideas with those of the White nationalist movement. Contrary to other White nationalist organizations, Christian Identity ideologues diffuse highly unusual pseudo-religious collective action frames based on the Two Seeds Doctrine. Indeed, as the Two Seeds Doctrine proposes that Whites are God's chosen people whilst Jews are the literal spawn of Satan, Kingdom Identity Ministries diagnostically frames the overthrow and elimination of the White race as an injustice, the work of the Devil. Accordingly, Kingdom Identity Ministries prognostically necessitates adherence to the Gospel of the Kingdom, complete racial separation, and the creation of a blessed ethnostate for White Christians on US territory. To motivate recruits towards embracing such a radical worldview, the organization constructs a narrative that accentuates an apocalyptic struggle between the forces of good and evil, God and the Devil. Additionally, it ensures Salvation on the Day of Judgement; those who subscribe to its mission will inherit the Kingdom of God. Hence, Christian Identity groups, while utilizing the fundamental narratives of the White nationalist movement, further integrate their millenarian and Manichean ideas in a manner which renders the inauguration of the ethnostate to be requisite for the Day of Reckoning, the return of the Savior Jesus Christ.

# 10 Conclusion

White nationalism continues to threaten public safety and national security in the United States. Consequently, this paper assessed ideational variation within the American White nationalist movement by exploring how White nationalist groups differentially frame their ideas to mobilize recruits. To commence, an outline of literature germane to this project was presented. Specifically, research relating to (1) the rise of far-right violent extremism in the US and (2) White nationalism as a component of the far-right was reviewed to rationalize this paper's investigatory focus. Next, theoretical and methodological considerations were discussed; framing theory, frame analysis, and pertinent research limitations were explicated. Subsequently, the frames of (1) Ku Klux Klan, (2) neo-Confederate, (3) neo-Nazi, (4) racist skinhead, and (5) Christian Identity groups were exposed to unveil their ideational engagement with the White nationalist movement. Thereafter, results were comparatively analyzed. Through this project, it became apparent that significant ideational differences characterize the White nationalist movement; the examined groups produced radically different frames insofar as they problematized disparate issues within society, proposed distinct routes for activism, and employed unique motivational tools.

This is not to suggest that the project is without limitation. First, the literature has criticized frame analysis as a methodological approach – namely, it has a propensity to produce static and descriptive research, overlook the influence of human agency and emotion, and privilege movement elites. Second, due to the clandestine nature of White nationalist organizations, primary data was not readily accessible, particularly from rank-and-file adherents. Third, it was not within the scope of this paper to explore the frames diffused by every White nationalist group. Fourth, intersubjectivity was naturally unfeasible given the

implicit bias of the researcher. This paper, however, mediated these issues as it provided a transparent discussion of its theoretical and methodological considerations.

Despite these limitations, this paper holds implications for academics, policymakers, and society. First, this project furthers academic research on White nationalism and the far-right more broadly. Additionally, it highlights the applicability of framing theory to research on racially and ethnically motivated violent extremism. Second, this project is imperative for counterterrorism. Indeed, through appreciating the inherent diversity of the White nationalist movement, it is possible to devise targeted counter narratives to promote deradicalization and disengagement; in this way, the project facilitates the effective implementation of CVE. Third, these efforts may reduce racial animosity within the United States, and further, may be applicable to the European context.

The significance of these implications hinges on the fulfilment of additional research. First, although this project has contributed to scholarship on American White nationalism, due to the movement's transnational orientation, it would be beneficial to conduct a similar analysis on European groups. Second, while this project did include several narratives from adherents, it still primarily assessed the frames diffused by the groups' elites. Accordingly, to effectively counter White nationalism, it is imperative for future research to uncover the adopted frames of rank-and-file members. Third, considering the movement does not operate within a political vacuum, future research must consider how oppositional movements, including Antifa and BLM, impact White nationalist activism.

Furthermore, as the United States becomes increasingly polarized along political, ethnic, racial, and religious parameters, it is imperative to understand each sides' perspective. Through understanding, it may be possible to impede the perpetuation of extremist values and the perpetration of extremist violence, particularly as the United States transitions to a majority non-White demographic.

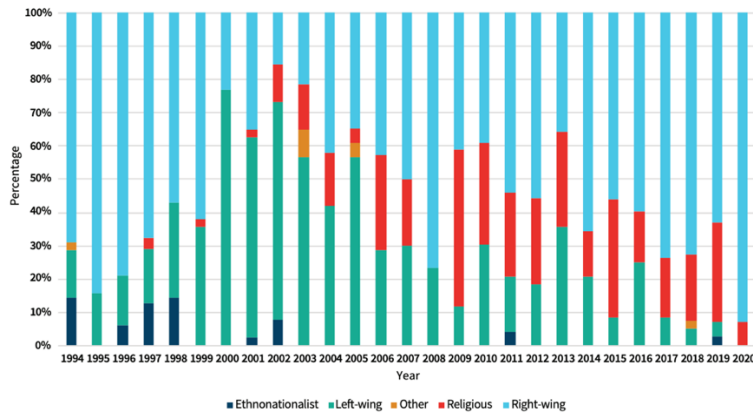


# Abbreviations

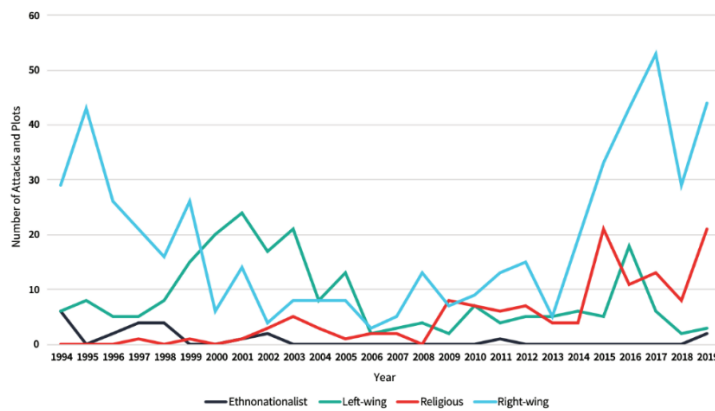
AGAAVE – anti-government or anti-authority violent extremism  
CVE – countering violent extremism  
KKK – Ku Klux Klan  
KKKK – Knights of the Ku Klux Klan  
LOS – League of the South  
RA(HOWA) – racial and holy war  
RMVE – racially and ethnically motivated violent extremism  
SMO – social movement organization  
SMT – Social Movement Theory  
SPLC – Southern Poverty Law Center  
US – United States  
ZOG – Zionist Occupational Government

# Appendix

**Figure I: Percentage of Terrorist Attacks and Plots by Perpetrator Orientation, 1994-2020,** (Jones et al., 2020a)



**Figure II: Number of Terrorist Attacks and Plots by Perpetrator Orientation, 1994-2019,** (Jones et al., 2020a)



**Figure III: Population by Race and Ethnicity: Projections 2030-2060** (US Census Bureau, 2020)

Characteristics	Population						Change from 2016 to 2060	
	2016		2030		2060		Number	Percent
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
<b>Total population</b> .....	<b>323,128</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>355,101</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>404,483</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>81,355</b>	<b>25.2</b>
One race								
White .....	248,503	76.9	263,453	74.2	275,014	68.0	26,511	10.7
Non-Hispanic White .....	197,970	61.3	197,992	55.8	179,162	44.3	-18,808	-9.5
Black or African American .....	43,001	13.3	49,009	13.8	60,690	15.0	17,689	41.1
American Indian and Alaska Native .....	4,055	1.3	4,663	1.3	5,583	1.4	1,528	37.7
Asian .....	18,319	5.7	24,394	6.9	36,815	9.1	18,496	101.0
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander .....	771	0.2	913	0.3	1,125	0.3	354	45.9
Two or More Races .....	8,480	2.6	12,669	3.6	25,255	6.2	16,775	197.8
Hispanic .....	57,470	17.8	74,807	21.1	111,216	27.5	53,746	93.5

Figure IV: *Blood Drop Cross* (ADL, 2021)



Figure V: *Lighting of the Cross* (ADL, 2021)



Figure VI: *Klan Robe and Hood* (ADL, 2021)



Figure VII: *Confederate Battle Flag* (ADL, 2021)



Figure VIII: *Skinhead Dress* (The Guardian, 2014)



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