

## **The Non-Racist Beliefs of White Nationalists: A Key to Understanding the Permanence and Adoption of Racist Ideologies**

### **Introduction**

Over the past few decades the United States has experienced a growth in organized resistance to non-white peoples. The Southern Poverty Law Center asserts that for the first time since the count began, hate groups topped 1000 in 2010 (Southern Poverty Law Center 2011a). While hate groups can take many forms, this study will focus on the growth of white supremacist groups.

One locus of the growth in white supremacy is on the Internet. The Internet acts as both a social space, in the form of websites that house racist content, and as a medium, where producers and consumers of content can communicate. As white supremacy continues to expand, scholars have documented its growth and explored its content. Research coalesces around one of three themes: the racial ideology of white supremacists (Adams and Rosicigno 2005, Brown 2009, Meddaugh and Kay (2009), the forging of a white identity (Melucci 1995, Bostforff 2004, Campbell 2008, De Kouster and Houtman 2008) and the recruitment of new members to the movement (Back 2002, Gerstenfeld et al. 2003, Daniels (2009).

This study will work within this body of research and contribute to all three themes. However, the primary purpose of this study is to expand our understanding of the ideology of online white supremacy. Specifically, the *non-racist* beliefs of white supremacists will be explored. This study will make the argument that exploring key non-racist beliefs of white supremacists can augment our understanding of the movement in at least three ways. First, non-racist beliefs may act within a belief system as reinforcements, or internal validations, for racist beliefs. Second, non-racist beliefs may act as a means for those not holding racist beliefs to derive them. Third, and probably most important for scholars interested in white supremacy online as a growing social movement, non-racist beliefs may act as bridges over which potential recruits may migrate into the movement.

I focus on beliefs because although scholars use various types of symbolic representations (movies, discourse, text) to define the contours of a given ideology, beliefs are

the foundation upon which these symbolic representations rest (Shelby 2003). Or, “belief systems [are] the primary objects of ideology-critique, since speech acts and cultural products can be viewed as ideological insofar as they represent, transmit, or reinforce ideological beliefs.” (2003: 158). This study will follow Shelby's assertion that beliefs form the foundation for other symbolic representations. I will support my arguments primarily by looking at beliefs as expressed in online communities.

## **Theoretical Background**

### Racial Ideology

Scholars have conceptualized racial ideology as a "particular" ideology used to justify discrimination or ignore its effects in circumscribed contexts. Other scholars take the approach that racial ideology is a "total" ideology that informs myriad spheres of social life. These two conceptualizations of racial ideology parallel Mannheim's dichotomy of particular ideologies and total ideologies (1936[2008]). Particular and total racial ideologies take different stances towards racism, and may apply to different moments in history (Solomos and Back 1996). I discuss each approach in turn.

Scholars using particular racial ideologies focus on racial beliefs about specific life situations. The racism in one area of life may not extend to other areas. Thus, in an effort to explain why whites espouse racial equality, but continue to vote against government policies that would redress the discriminatory practices of the past, some scholars argue that whites see blacks as being culturally and morally deficient. The most prominent collection of theories that make this argument fall under the heading of “symbolic racism” studies (Kinder and Sears 1981, Sears and Henry 2003, Tarman and Sears 2005, Rabinowitz et. Al 2009) or “laissez-faire racism” (Bobo and Smith 1988). In another example, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (1996, 2006) explains the paradox of outward signs of racial equality, but covert racism and discrimination as “color-blind racism”. The spoken narratives of whites illustrate how whites justify their position in the racial hierarchy while avoiding race or simply denying its effect in everyday life (Bonilla-Silva et al. 2004). However, these explanations for racism do not necessarily assert that whites believe in the total inferiority of blacks in every instance of life. Thus, whites may feel as if blacks are morally inferior, but believe that blacks deserve equality under the law.

Other scholars take the approach that if and when beliefs are racist, these beliefs are all-

encompassing, and inform the majority of a society's or groups thoughts and actions. In this view, racial beliefs are systemic, and affect understandings of politics (blacks should not vote), marriage and family (blacks and whites should marry within their own race), and religion (blacks have the Curse of Ham). Thus, Fredrickson's (2002) description of the “racist regimes” of Nazi Germany and the American South in the first half of the twentieth century would best be understood through a total ideological approach: “White supremacy attained its fullest ideological and institutional development in the southern United States between the 1890's and the 1950s...antisemitism reached its horrendous climax in Nazi Germany between 1933 and 1945.” (99). Feagin (2000) argues that contemporary racism is systemic and total: “...antiblack ideology links in so many ways to so much of white thought and behavior that we might speak of it as a broad worldview. Seen comprehensively, all the mental images, prejudiced attitudes, stereotypes, fictions, racist explanations, and rationalizations that link to systemic racism make up a white racist worldview, one deeply embedded in the dominant culture and institutions” (99). Similarly, Mills (2003) argues that white supremacy should be viewed as a sociopolitical system where notions of white superiority infuse a myriad of “spheres”. These spheres include institutions such as the judiciary and government, but also how we see the body (somatic sphere) and our evaluation of scientific facts and moral judgments (cognitive-evaluate sphere).

### The Importance of Non-racial Beliefs to Racial Ideology

However one approaches the analysis of racial ideology, I suggest that both approaches often neglect *non-racist* beliefs. Clearly, beliefs about the government's role in economic development or what types of families are morally acceptable are not explicitly about race and can be defined as non-racist. But even beliefs specifically about racial groups need not be racist. This is an important point, given the context in which I am working where race is one of the primary fulcrums upon which discussions pivot. Beliefs can exhibit a form of "racialism", in which a group of people who share a phenotype share heritable characteristics, both moral and intellectual, that others of a different phenotype do not share is not in itself racist (Appiah 1990). These beliefs only be describe as racism when these heritable characteristics are used as a basis to construct a racial hierarchy where one racial group is categorically superior to others and that racial groups deserve special treatment because of their race. Scholars who neglect non-racist beliefs by focusing solely on racism may ignore important keys to understanding the permanence of racist ideology as well as its adoption and spread.

Non-racist beliefs may act as reinforcements for racism by serving as internal validations for racist beliefs. For example, the scientific racism of the late 19th and early 20th century was buoyed by the general belief in western civilization in empiricism and scientific progress (Fredrickson 2003). Non-racist beliefs may also act as means to adopt or derive racist ideologies. Moral, political, and religious beliefs may lead groups to accept that one race is superior to another in specific situations. For example, a belief in self-determination may lead people to interpret government efforts to assist minorities as a sign of their inferiority. A third reason why non-racist beliefs should be explored is because they can act as bridges, or gateway beliefs, by which new members can be recruited. There may be an assumption that those who browse these websites identify as white supremacists. Yet visitors to these websites do not always identify themselves as white supremacist, or holding racist beliefs of any sort (Campbell 2006). For those casual participants, issues can be framed using non-racist beliefs that nevertheless produce racist conclusions (Entman 1993). Or, non-racist beliefs can construct frames that are comparable to frames constructed in other contexts or other media outlets.

### White Supremacy Online

Under the umbrella of white supremacy are numerous groups that have different orientations to the political system and exhibit different levels of extremism. Three of the most prominent are the Ku Klux Klan, neo-nazis, and white nationalists. The differences in these groups are real enough that research has tended to focus on one group or the other. Indeed, I will eventually focus my attention on white nationalists. However, the similarities amongst them, mainly their racist beliefs, a desire to cultivate a white racial identity, and an aggressive use of the Internet for recruitment and organizing, suggest that initially these groups can be understood as a whole.

The bulk of the studies on white supremacist organizations focus on websites based in the United States. However it is important to point out that this is a phenomenon prominent in European nations that have absorbed large amounts of non-white immigrants in recent decades. This is illustrated in Atton's (2009) study of the racism of the British National Party, Hearn's (2007) study of white supremacy in Australia, and De Kouster and Houtman's (2008) study of Dutch extremism. Below I discuss three themes in the research on white supremacy online. These three themes are: (1) the racial ideology of white supremacists, (2) the forging of a white identity, and (3) recruitment.

One theme is the construction of racial ideology. Brown (2009) identified two themes of

white supremacist discourse online: biological determinism and threat to white dominance by blacks. Adams and Rosicigno (2005) performed a quantitative textual analysis of white supremacist websites. The authors, analyzing Klan and Neo-Nazi websites separately, argue that the Klan embodies a Christian, old-guard form of white supremacy, while Neo-Nazi groups work to articulate a newer supremacy grounded in pseudo-scientific explanations. Meddaugh and Kay (2009), using the website *Stormfront*, explored the construction of the “other”. Through their analyses of the discussions on *Stormfront*, they argue that the other is constructed in five ways: genocidal, tyrannical, a manipulator, a false martyr, and inferior. Their research highlights the prominence of anti-Semitism in white supremacy, as Jews are often cast as the primary manipulators and false martyrs.

A second theme is the building of white identity and community. White supremacists work to produce a “unified empirical actor” (Melucci 1995) in an online environment for the purpose of making political gains in the offline environment. For example, Campbell (2008) focuses on how community is forged through a newsgroup for skinheads, while Bostforff (2004) explore how Ku Klux Klan sites foster community, and suggests that the Internet allows for the creation of a virtual tribal identity. De Kouster and Houtman (2008), through both a qualitative analysis of the popular white supremacist website *Stormfront* and a series of interviews of its users, suggest that users who face severe sanctions in the offline world for their beliefs are more likely to find community in online environments than those who face less severe sanctions.

A final theme is the use of the Internet as a recruitment tool. In a content analysis of 157 websites, Gerstenfeld et al. (2003) argue that white supremacist sites have as a primary goal recruiting new members. Daniels (2009) highlights how white supremacists use the anonymity of the Internet and lack of user knowledge of the legitimacy of the sources of Internet content to publish “cloaked websites” that argue for white superiority. In one of the earlier studies of online white nationalism, Back (2002) suggested that while racism was being spread online, the diffuse nature of cyberspace suggests that any potential white nationalist movement may remain fragmented.

### White Nationalists

I focus on one group of white supremacists – white nationalists. Swain (2002) describes white nationalists in this way:

“Contemporary white nationalists draw upon the potent rhetoric of national self-determination and national self-assertion in an attempt to protect what they believe is their God-given natural right to their distinct cultural, political, and genetic identity as white Europeans. This identity, they believe, is gravely threatened in contemporary America by the rise of multiculturalism, affirmative action policies that favor minorities, large-scale immigration into the United States from non-white nations, racial intermarriage, and the identity politics pursued by rival racial and ethnic groups” (16 – 17).

Often, white nationalists are discussed in the same breath as other supremacists groups.

However, white nationalists eschew the pre-civil rights tactics of fear exemplified by the Ku Klux Klan. Unlike skin-heads and neo-Nazis they do not advocate violence to achieve their goals. White nationalists are, relatively speaking, a less extreme white supremacist organization that employs logical arguments and science to support their views (Zeskind 2009). Scholars argue that white nationalism appeals to, and is composed of, whites with relatively high social status (Novobatzky 2000, Swain 2002, Swain and Nieli 2003). Many professed white nationalists are lawyers, academics, and community leaders (Zeskind 2009). Given their higher social status and their attempts to move into mainstream political discourse, white nationalists are a group within the supremacy that deserves a great deal of scholarly attention.

### **Research Question**

With the parameters of this study in place, I focus now on the research question: *What are the non-racist beliefs of white nationalists?* Clearly, scores of beliefs can be identified. However, I will attempt to delineate those that are most likely to act as reinforcements for racism, a means to derive racism, or as a means of recruiting of new members.

### **Methods and Data**

#### Analytic Plan

One challenge that did not appear until after the research had begun, was finding the appropriate nomenclature and conceptual framework. All participants on white nationalist websites produce content and contribute to the discourse. Even those who do not make comments and are only lurking contribute by increasing the amount of traffic directed towards the site. However, there is a difference between those who have the privilege of writing original articles, starting discussion boards and making blog posts, and those who respond to the initial content. In

general, when distinctions are not needed between users, I label all participants as white nationalist netizens, or just netizens. When distinctions need to be made, I term those who begin discussions as "primary producers", and those who respond by making comments as "secondary producers". These distinctions have conceptual import. Primary producers set the parameters of the discourse by choosing the topic of discussion, whereas it is the secondary producers who produce most of the online discourse. Primary producers tend to be more consistent, while secondary producers offer more varied opinions. I consider the collection of websites that I explore, and the producers who participate on these websites as being one analytical site - a white nationalist blogosphere. Thus, when I use the term blogosphere I am referring to all the websites that are interlinked and share the common theme of espousing white nationalism.

Another challenge is wading through the vast amounts of text, audio, and video that is generated online. The trend has been to study these websites through some variation of content analysis. The images and text of the producers of the websites are analyzed (Back 2002, Daniels 2009), as well as the discussions amongst users on community boards and forums (De Kouster and Houtman 2008). Further, aside from Klein (2009), scholars have managed the sprawling nature of the web by doing qualitative work on one or two websites (Campbell 2006, De Kouster and Houtman 2008, Brown 2009, Daniels 2009, Meddaugh and Kay 2009).

Compared to previous studies, my analysis is slightly more expansive. I believe that by expanding the analysis beyond that of past studies, a more accurate modeling of a white nationalist netizen's experience is possible.

First, I will explore the discourse on a larger collection of websites. Given the heavy amount of interconnection between websites - websites with common themes frequently link to pages on each other's websites - my research question could be more accurately answered by gathering data from an array of websites. In the early days of the World Wide Web research focused on one website. Some of the early, iconic studies, including Rheingold's (1993) study of the Whole Earth 'Lectronic Link [WELL] online community, or Baym's (2000) ethnography of an online soap opera discussion group have taken this approach. However, focusing on one website does not square with a contemporary netizen's experience of traveling within a series of websites that share a similar topic. The understanding that users traverse a very several websites does not mean that one cannot cordon off a series of websites that are more representative than others. Hindman (2008) has shown empirically that for any one topic or issue, the bulk of users tend to cluster around a handful of popular sites. My aim is to work within the popular sites for

white nationalists. Second, a deliberate effort was made to explore audio and video content, as well as the text on websites. Most research on racism online has focused on text (for an exception, see Back 2002, Josey, 2010). I wanted to incorporate experiences that may reflect to a greater degree the average web netizens experience. Third, I took into account the context of online discussions. The majority of the text that I use to answer my question comes from threads on discussion boards. To a large extent, online discussion threads are heavily influenced by the initial posting (audio, text, and video) of the primary producer.

I restricted my involvement to that of an observer, or lurker. I wished to observe this community as it exists without my presence (Paccagnella 1997). I made general field notes, and on occasion recorded entire discussions into coding software. Making my presence known as a non-white researcher would significantly change the discussion on any community board or blog.

I first entered into the white nationalist blogosphere through *Stormfront*. This website is arguably the most researched, and I decided to begin there. After lurking for some time, I began following three other sites: *Occidental Dissent*, *Occidental Observer*, and *National Alliance*. These websites were listed high in the search results for the term "white nationalism". High rankings in search results is a sign that the site is more central to a (Hindman 2008). I was also able to find multimedia through various links on these initial websites. David Duke's YouTube channel was frequently linked to, as well as a radio show based in Memphis, Tennessee called *The Political Cesspool*. These early stages were used to familiarize myself with the language and references used in the white nationalist blogosphere. After these early stages, I consulted the Southern Poverty Law Center (2011b) to provide a list of white nationalist organizations and their concomitant websites. Several groups were listed:

*American Renaissance*  
*Barnes Review*  
*EURO*  
*Pioneer Fund*  
*Occidental Quarterly*

*Council of Conservative Citizens*  
*Stormfront*  
*VDARE*  
*American Third Position*

From these, I then selected the groups that had active blogs or community boards. I also decided to incorporate some the websites that I had been studying in my beginning exploration. In sum, I analyzed ten websites from February 2010 until September 2011:



*American Renaissance*  
*The Occidental Quarterly*  
*Council of Conservative Citizens*  
*Stormfront*  
*National Alliance*

*American Third Position*  
*Occidental Dissent*  
*The Political Cesspool*  
*YouTube's David Duke Channel*  
*VDARE*

## **The Non-Racist Beliefs of White Nationalists**

### The Naturalness of a Racial Order

The first belief is a collection of three interrelated beliefs: (1) races are real, (2) racial groups identify with each other and self-segregate, and (3) people help those of their own racial group. I discuss these three beliefs together as a set because they narrate a progression of racial dynamics. These dynamics cannot be engineered by government policy, religion, or any form of socialization. These dynamics are understood to be healthy and natural. I call this battery of beliefs the naturalness of a racial order.

This battery of beliefs begins with the assumption that races are real. In a thread entitled "Bad Arguments by White Nationalists" on *Stormfront*, a discussion developed on how best to argue genetic endowments to those not in the movement (Stormfront 2011a). In the discussion, a secondary producer, MiamiGirl, posted these comments:

"Clearly, each race evolved independently under vastly different conditions, and the results manifests these differences: Whites and Asians developed greater intellect, for example, while Blacks developed greater physical prowess. In their individual environments, each race developed the adaptations that suited them best. I do not doubt that Whites have made tremendous contributions to humanity --that is indisputable. This does not, however, make us utterly "superior" --This simply means that we are more intelligent, on average than some other races. Likewise, Blacks are not "superior" because they are, on average stronger than some other races. My belief in WN stems from the conviction that each race is uniquely valuable and that miscegenation destroys true diversity..."

MiamiGirl's comments are indicative of many white nationalists. While asserting the white race's uniqueness and intelligence, she writes that all groups have unique qualities. Somewhat stereotypically, but not in a racist fashion, she uses the example of black's perceived superior strength to illustrate the unique talents of racial groups.

A second component of the naturalness of a racial order is the belief that racial groups identify with each other and self-segregate. Races are best understood as tribes. In an *American Renaissance* (2010a) article entitled "The Rise of Asian Race Consciousness: The One Group That Tried to Assimilate is Giving Up", the author, an unnamed history instructor in California writes:

"There is no doubt that Asians are drawn to other Asians. Irvine, California, which used to be a typical white, conservative suburb, was 37 percent Asian in 2006, and has become a place where one need never speak English. Chinese are the most numerous Asian group, but Irvine also attracts Koreans, Japanese, and Vietnamese. Asians continue to increase in numbers and many schools have become heavily Asian. The University of California at Irvine (UCI) was 40 percent Asian in 2007 and sometimes jokingly referred to as the University of Chinese Immigrants."

The writer uses the group assumed to be assimilating the most, "model-minority" Asian-Americans, to show that no group is immune to natural racial processes. The idea that racial groups want to be with their own kind powers much of the animosity towards Latino immigrants. Latino immigrants are understood to be entering the United States with the sole intention of remaking Latin America within the United States' borders.

*VDARE* is an intellectual white nationalist website that focuses heavily on issues of immigration. In a blog post entitled "Tribe Loyalty Trumps Assimilation", a primary producer highlights Hispanic responses to a survey administered by the Pew Hispanic Center (Walker 2010). The blogger highlights survey responses where Hispanics supported a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants and disapproved of border fences - sentiments that run opposite to white conservatives. These types of responses led to the conclusion for this primary producer that:

"The poll draws a disturbing picture of a growing ethnic group that is opposed to fundamental American interests...They [Hispanics] come for the money only, and it shows. There is no discernible sentiment toward patriotic assimilation" (Walker 2010).

The third component of the belief in a natural racial order is that racial groups inevitably support and protect one another. This is exhibited often when the political process is discussed. Non-white politicians are believed to inevitably work to advance the causes of their own racial group, usually at the expense of whites with no race consciousness. Jewish groups tend to get the most attention, but the NAACP and La Raza are also mentioned frequently. One commenter named An Engineer replying to a posting on *Occidental Dissent* (2010a) entitled "Revitalize

Industrial Production for the Benefit of the Western Man" remarked that "Whites need to create pro-white job-advocacy groups...advocating for jobs for whites...as do the NAACP, La Raza, USINPAC and others for their co-ethnics." Also on *Occidental Dissent* (2010b) a post entitled "None Dare Call it White Genocide" reads:

"To deny White citizens of White nations the right to preserve themselves- biologically, ethnically, and culturally- is the true example of racism and hatred. Genocide is never acceptable. What can be more racist than the systematic eradication of an entire race? White Americans need not be ashamed of identifying on a racial basis, as every other race in America has a political license to do so. La Raza, the League of United Latino American Citizens, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith are all bound by racial or ethnic ties."

White nationalists believe that when these natural processes of racial differentiation, self-segregation, and in-group loyalty are disturbed, conflict inevitably occurs. Prominent white nationalist Jared Taylor (2009) posted an article written by him on the *American Renaissance* website entitled "The Danger of Diversity, Part III" (the final installment of a series), arguing that forced diversity is seen as a distortion of the natural order, and as a consequence the generator of a myriad number of social ills:

"The sad truth is that conflict can break out when virtually any ethnic group contacts another. In South Boston in 2004, hostility between white and Southeast Asian teenagers built up over a period of weeks and climaxed in what was to be a one-on-one fist fight between single combatants from each group. The fight degenerated into a brawl, leaving 16-year-old Bang Mai fatally stabbed. In 2002 in Brooklyn, New York, a group of young Dominicans ventured into a Bangladeshi neighborhood looking for a bicycle to steal, but a group of Bangladeshis ran them out. The Dominicans returned with reinforcements and began attacking anyone who looked Bangladeshi..."

David Duke is a well known contributor to the white supremacist movement. Because of his stint as a congressman in the late 1980's and several runs for president thereafter, he is arguably the most well known white nationalist. Within the context of this study, he is a primary producer as he produces videos for his own channel on YouTube and builds frames within the blogosphere. Duke (2010a), in a video segment entitled "Race is More Than Skin Color", says to the viewer:

"Ultimately if you deny the diversity and distinctions among the differences among mankind, we

deny their human rights. This is true for all people on the earth, understanding reality ultimately leads to solving real problems. Believing in ridiculous superstitions like the only differences between races is the color of their skin ultimately leads to human conflict rather than human understanding. There are many more differences among people than the color of skin. Let us celebrate them and let us preserve them and preserve human rights and freedom."

By keeping racial groups separate, he argues, we respect and honor them. Regardless of whether Duke is sincere in his comments, secondary producers of his website echo this ostensibly benign racialism without being a racist. In a discussion from an *American Renaissance* (2011a) post entitled "Norman Rockwell Painting Sends Rare White House Message on Race" a white nationalist netizen named Schmataskopf remarks:

"Since I'm old, I remember VERY well what it was like in the 1960's. Life in the South was scary for black AND white. I hate how things have evolved, and I am not willing to associate with ghetto blacks. But, if us Southerners had had the foresight to make "separate but equal" actually EQUAL, then things might have not taken the evil turn that they have. I believe segregation is the natural way humans live - and if we'd have taken the hatred out of the equation, perhaps we'd still be living with our own kind without any stigma attached."

This secondary producer's denigration of African-Americans as "ghetto blacks" appears to be an afterthought. Instead, Schmataskopf focuses on the notion that if southerners had invested the same amount of tax money into institutions patronized by blacks, both groups would have been satisfied and the natural racial structure would have been preserved, and whites could be "living with our own kind" without any stigma.

### Cultural Marxists are Destroying Society

There are many "others" in white nationalist discourse. Non-whites, especially blacks, Muslims, and Jews are all constructed as the "other". Macmaster (2001) argues that modern western racism rests on the twin pillars of anti-black racism and anti-Semitism. Blacks continue to be the supreme "other" (Lee and Bean 2007) and are used most often when a primary producer's intention is to elicit moral outrage for transgressions against whites or as scapegoats for the decline of white society. However, online white nationalists have constructed another "other" that is the *main* enemy. This is the cultural Marxist, and their ideas are destroying white society. In online white nationalist discourse cultural Marxists are depicted as attempting to interfere with natural racial processes.

A blog posting from a primary producer the political website *American Third Position* (2011a), entitled "Major Corporations Line up to Promote Hispanics above Whites at College", discusses the creation of an Hispanic scholarship fund. The fund is operated by a private organization, but receives funding from major corporations. The primary producers at *American Third Position* are critical of this fund, arguing that:

"The American Third Position has no problem with Hispanics organizing their own college funds. What we do have a problem with is the failure of these major corporations to set up such funds for white American kids."

The critique is not with the establishment of the fund itself - racial groups helping others in their race is natural. The argument lies in whites not being able to establish an analogous fund solely for whites. The belief that whites must play by a different set of rules will be discussed below. Here, I focus on the group blamed for this double standard. JamesinUSA, the first person to comment on the posting, blames cultural Marxists:

"If your Hispanic or Black and you're poor ,than it's automatically considered the fought [fault] of white society and a legacy of discrimination which according to the Cultural Marxist must be rectified even if it's at the expence [sic] of white people in general."

In the next comment, Markus adds:

"Look at their track record. "Multiculturalism" and "Integration" are their stock in trade. "Equality" is their buzzword. At least until their wire-pullers step from the shadows and into overt power, at which point we will be equally destitute, enslaved, or dead."

This comment depicts Jews as a group working behind the scenes to oppress whites – they are the “wire pullers”. On the websites that I explored, Jews were seen as the main disseminators of cultural Marxism. As James Edwards (2011), co-host of *The Political Cesspool*, and prominent white nationalist, writes in the blog that accompanies his radio show:

"...they [Jews] are the yeast that makes the dough rise in liberalism. Without Jewish power and influence in media control, organizational ability, intelligence, zeal and wealth, among other things, the triumph of the various egalitarian movements that have transformed America over the past 70 or more years would never have gotten off the ground."

As is usually the case, the ideas of primary producers are reflected in the comments of secondary producers. In a thread about multiculturalism called "Cosmic America" from the website *Occidental Dissent* (2010c), a secondary producer called Joanne Dee writes:

"Forced diversity, multiculturalism = Washington, DC (Jew influence)  
Army of white enablers = Marxist, higher-education system (Jew influence)  
Clandestine brainwashing = Hollywood & Madison Avenue (Jew influence)  
Clandestine dispossession = Wall Street (Jew influence)  
Clandestine mass distraction = Sports (Jew influence)

See, we really only have one problem."

Joanne Dee is echoing a belief that has resurfaced throughout the history of the Western world that Jewish people work behind the scenes to destroy Christian white people.

Without diminishing the strong anti-Semitic connotations, I wish to emphasize that this othering is not catalyzed by racial or ethnic differences, but primarily ideological ones. As the narrative goes, Jewish people work to develop the ideas used to destroy white civilization, and then work with whites and minorities to turn these ideas into law. All persons working for this goal are cultural Marxists. Thus, in a response to an article posted on *American Renaissance* (2011b) entitled "White Nationalists as the New Queers", an anonymous secondary producer writes:

"...remember that with the Cultural Marxists, they vowed to enter, and then destroy, all of our Institutions that were at the center of White American Christian life in the US. The Marxists got into the Public High Schools and Colleges and warped young American minds, as far back as the 1950s, but it really showed itself during the 1960s."

#### Whites Face a Double Standard in Society

White nationalists believe that whites must live under a different set of rules than non-white peoples. This belief coincides with the findings of Adams and Roscigno (2005), who argue that white supremacist groups "generally present a series of causal arguments relating to perceptions of injustice" (772). Mainstream conservative leaders often reference the climate of political correctness and the many programs focused on providing resources to minorities as evidence of this double standard. However white nationalists add another layer of injustice by arguing that

minorities are able to live naturally and support each other, while whites are prevented from doing so.

In a video entitled "Black Panthers, Obama, and White Civil Rights", David Duke (2010b) tells the viewer:

"The fact is, in America today there is not equal rights for all but a systemic and endemic racial discrimination going on against European Americans. In jobs, promotions, college admissions, scholarships, and contracting millions of better qualified white Americans are being systematically discriminated against in so called affirmative action programs."

Duke produces several examples of what he sees as discrimination against whites. Duke argues that while whites are 70% of the population, they are only 20% of the population at Harvard, and that blacks are overrepresented in the postal service in Chicago, with blacks at 18% of the workforce but 80% of the postal worker population.

Another example, a posting from the political website *American Third Position* (2011b), entitled: "The Hypocrisy of Modern Liberals: Obama Administration 'Recognizes Israel's Right to be Jewish'", reads:

"The utter hypocrisy which engulfs the politicians in Washington DC was illustrated once again with the announcement by U.S. State Department Spokesman Philip J. Crowley that Israel had the right to be a state for the Jewish people... There is, of course, nothing wrong with a demand by Jews for their own state. Such a demand is perfectly *natural* [emphasis by author] and a right which should be accorded to all people on earth.

The actual mechanics of Jews exercising that right in Israel is the cause of the dispute with the Arab world. But that, as far as the American Third Position is concerned, is another matter entirely...

We are interested in the concept of a "state for Jews" as, we argue, this justifies the creation of a state for all other ethnic groups as well. After all, if Jews have the right to their own state, then why do European Americans not have that same right?"

Another example, illustrating the notion that other races are able to live naturally but not whites, comes from a posting "None Dare Call it White Genocide" from *Occidental Dissent* (2010b). MossadDid911 remarks:

"I have found that comparing the islands of Britain to Japan to be a very effective technique for discussing race replacement. Britain is an island nation of British (white) people, and Japan an

island nation of Japanese people. Yet only Britain is expected to be “non-racist” and bring in as many non-British as they can. While there’s constant talk about “non-European British” there’s no talk about “non-Asian Japanese”. The double standard is so obvious it usually sets off a light bulb and/or cognitive dissonance.”

The article discusses how government policies on immigration and welfare are ultimately diminishing the white population. MossadDid911's remarks are common among white nationalist netizens, pointing out the double standard in which historically white countries are expected to embrace diversity and multiculturalism, while other non-white countries are not.

### Government Working at two Levels Hinder White Progress

The understanding that whites view themselves as being oppressed by the government is a common theme in white nationalist research (Adams and Roscigno 2005, Klein 2009). In my exploration I experienced a slightly more nuanced interpretation. In online white nationalist discourse, this oppressive government is believed to be working simultaneously at two levels – federally and internationally.

Critiques of the federal government are common. The white race is perceived to be in steady decline since the 1960's, and the primary reason is the laws passed by the federal government. In a *Political Cesspool* (2011a), podcast entitled “Dates that Destroyed America”, one of the co-hosts, Keith Alexander, details several laws passed by the federal government that damaged white society. Almost all of these dates, except for the day in which Robert E. Lee surrendered (April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1865) are dates in which laws were passed. Some of these dates were July 9<sup>th</sup>, 1868 (14<sup>th</sup> amendment), April 8<sup>th</sup>, 1913 (17<sup>th</sup> amendment – Alexander argues that this amendment changed the way we vote for the US senate making them “taxing districts”), and Dec. 23<sup>rd</sup>. 1913 (the federal reserve act, which Alexander argues placed finance into a “cabal of private international banks”). The date that is the most important, he argues, is May 17<sup>th</sup>, 1954, (the Brown versus Board of education decision that ended *de jure* segregation in public school) a date he calls “Black Monday”.

While Alexander sees 1954 as the most important date, my analysis of white nationalist discourse suggests that netizens place the turning point generally around 1964 or 1965. A primary producer on the intellectual website *Occidental Quarterly* (2011a) writes in an article entitled “Taxes and the Distribution of Political Power”:



“After thirty years, the shift in financial and political power had reached a climax as the cultural revolution hit with full force in the mid 1960's and Lyndon Johnson, backed by tribal money, would enact non-White race preferences with the Civil Rights acts of 1964 and 1965, bust up White urban neighborhoods, and trigger white flight to suburbs with the Open Housing Act of 1965, and open the flood gates for a rising tide of color into our country as a result of the Immigration Act of 1965.”

The term “tribal money” most likely denotes anti-Semitism, and Jews are seen as the main catalysts of cultural Marxism, giving rise to the idea amongst many white nationalist netizens that the United States is a Zionist occupied government (ZOG).

The same critique extends to an international government composed of international bodies including the World Trade Organization, the United Nations, and wealthy cultural Marxists. This international government is often labeled the New World Order (NWO). A primary producer from *American Third Position* (2011c) posted an article entitled “Time to Get Rid of the United Nations Parasite”, detailing what they see as the hypocrisy of a United Nations report discussing various human rights violations of the United States:

“The report claimed that America discriminates against Muslims. In fact, the treacherous vermin infesting Washington DC are doing all they can to promote the Muslim invasion of our country, as evidenced by the disgraceful plot to import thousands of Somalis into Minnesota, previously one of our whitest states.

The report also claimed that American police are barbaric. This is rich coming from a county like Saudi Arabia, whose police regularly publicly behead people for crimes such as extramarital affairs...The American Third Position is sick and tired of these miscreants using our money to lie and hypocritically attack America. Let them be gone and use their own tax money to spew their hatred elsewhere. They are not welcome in our country.”

Echoing sentiments of the double standard toward whites, an anonymous secondary producer responds by writing:

"These non-white countries have become very adept at using the UN and other organizations of the New World Order to try to manipulate the U.S. into giving them an even greater advantage, by using noble words such as CIVIL RIGHTS ,TOLERANCE, FAIRNESS, all the while ignoring any sense of fairness or tolerance toward our RIGHTS! Well, that's about too change" (American Third Position 2011c).

## **Discussion**

Above I delineated four non-racist beliefs. These four beliefs are (1) a natural racial order, (2) cultural Marxists are destroying society, (3) whites face a double standard, and (4) white progress is stymied by government at two levels. I suggest that delineating these beliefs can contribute to the understanding of racial ideology in three ways: (1) they are reinforcements of racist beliefs, (2) they act as a means of deriving racist beliefs, and (3) they can be bridges over which potential recruits may migrate into the movement.

### The Belief in a Natural Racial Order Forms the Foundation for Racist Ideologies

The belief in a natural racial order is composed of three interrelated beliefs: (1) races are real, (2) racial groups identify with each other and self-segregate, and (3) people help those of their own racial group. I suggest that the belief in a natural racial order is a starting point for racist ideology, but not racism proper. However, racist ideologies must begin with beliefs from a natural racial order. For example, the ideologies that may fall under classical racism - the Curse of Ham (Smith 1996, Feagin 2000, Whitford 2009) and scientific racism - ultimately begin with the first component of this belief. A theory of racism that acknowledges the importance of these beliefs is Blumer's theory of group position (1968). Blumer identified four elements of this theory. These elements are (a) a belief about in-group superiority, (b) a view of out-groups are alien and different, (c) members of the in-group believe they have a right to certain resources, and (d) out-group members are making claims to these resources. Central to Blumer's theory is the assumption that in-groups and out-groups are created based on race, and that these groups jockey for resources. Turning to contemporary debates about immigration in the United States, Americans who adhere to this belief will find it difficult to accept that non-white immigrants will assimilate. As the logic goes, Hispanics are not like previous immigrants in that they are not of the same "tribe" as the host nation. Thus, they cannot assimilate and will inevitably attempt to siphon resources away from whites and funnel these resources to their own kind.

### The Non-Racist Narrative Produced in White Nationalist Discourse Leads to Racist Conclusions

The final three non-racist beliefs: cultural Marxists are destroying society, whites are mistreated, and that government at two levels is harming whites, are means through which specific racist ideologies can be derived. In order to illustrate this, I turn to some contemporary explanations of racism that in the main take a specific ideological approach.

The main assumption underlying symbolic racism is that whites believe that blacks are not genetically inferior, but culturally inferior (Kinder and Sears 1981, Sears and Henry 2003, Tarman and Sears 2005, Rabinowitz et al. 2009). Specifically, “racial discrimination is no longer a serious obstacle to blacks’ prospects for a good life, so that blacks’ continuing disadvantages are largely due to their unwillingness to work hard enough” (Tarman and Sears 2005: 733). The beliefs I delineate here are nearly synonymous with people who would be labeled symbolic racists. The emphasis in symbolic racism studies is on the policies voted through by whites that effect blacks unfavorably. However, my analysis suggests that for some whites who would be deemed symbolic racists, their symbolic racism is more of an indicator of the injustice they feel and the belief that the government works against them than direct anti-black racism.

This same relationship may hold for people deemed “color-blind” racists. For example, the belief that the government hinders white progress is similar to sentiments expressed by whites in Bonilla-Silva’s study of colorblind racists (2006). The respondents in Bonilla-Silva’s study often argued against government intervention in matters of racism and discrimination because “nothing should be forced upon people” (34). In this study, I observed these same sentiments. It is tempting to assume that the vitriol aimed at the government is due to Barack Obama's time in office (Klein 2009). However, in my observations both republican and democratic leaders receive harsh treatment in the white nationalist blogosphere.

#### The Non-Racist Narrative Produced in White Nationalist Discourse Leads to Recruitment

The final three non-racist beliefs also produce a non-racist storyline through which people who can be recruited into the movement. In this narrative, whites are being mistreated in most domains of society, often by a two pronged government machine with cultural Marxists at the levers. The belief that whites are not treated fairly is expressed throughout the white nationalist blogosphere, but most often on the two political organization websites I followed, *Council of Conservative Citizens* and *American Third Position*. The small pockets of differential treatment that minorities receive in the media, public policy, and public opinion are invariably viewed as systematic preferential treatment.

The interpretation of these events as either isolated and differential or preferential and systematic hinge on the willingness to use historical and social context in the former and the willingness to disregard it in the latter. In my experience in the white nationalist blogosphere this willingness to ignore history is not a convenient memory loss employed to advance a white

agenda. It appears that this view of minority-majority relations is a genuine belief that whites are not treated fairly. These three non-racist beliefs can construct a frame that is very similar to the frames produced in conservative discourse and uttered by white working class Americans. For this reason, these non-racist beliefs act in concert as recruiting tools. A visitor to these websites may find this frame compelling enough to participate in the community, and may eventually decide to adopt other elements of white nationalist ideology – specifically racist elements.

### **Conclusion**

Society often characterizes the people who participate in the websites I have explored as members of “hate groups” and the language they use as “hate speech” (Brown 2009, Klein 2009, Josey 2010, Southern Poverty Law Center 2011a). However, my explorations of these websites reveal a complexity of beliefs that suggest that more than hate for non-whites is powering the proliferation of these groups. Sociological discussions of ideology often take a Marxian approach and assume that ideology is employed by people to justify their dominant position in society (Lukacs 1972, Boudon 1989, Eagleton 1991, Shelby 2003). I argue that the racial ideology of online white nationalist discourse needs to be studied from a Geertzian angle, where ideology is a meaning making endeavor, used to make sense of the world (Gertz 1964, Shils 1968). My exploration of the white nationalist blogosphere suggests that many white nationalists are trying to understand what appears to them to be obvious distinctions between people. They are also trying to understand the negative experiences they have had with racial others, both directly through cultural conflict in social spaces, or indirectly through a perception that these racial others have taken away resources from them. Finally, they trying to understand the perceived loss of power and prestige both nationally and internationally of whites, a group that they identify with.

The primary producers of white nationalist content are constructing a political project aimed at “creat[ing] or reproduce[ing] structures of domination based on essentialist categories of race” (Omi and Winant 1994:71). But the explicitly racist views of these leaders may be of far lesser import than non-racist beliefs. In an era of political correctness where conversations about race tend to be policed to the point where they are devoid of real content, people may find that the only place where they can air their grievances is on white supremacist websites. They may not wish to identify themselves as racist, but their views on immigration, affirmative action, the family, and religion may be discussed in ways that they find amenable. The danger with

white nationalist discourse online is not their racist views, but that the non-racist beliefs these groups produce speak to a disgruntled electorate looking to make sense of their plight and for a way to do something about it. I suggest that it is through the non-racist discourse of white supremacist websites that racist ideologies will spread in the United States.

## References

- Adams, Josh and Vincent J. Roscigno. 2005. "White Supremacists, Oppositional Culture and the World Wide Web." *Social Forces* 84(2): 759-778
- American Renaissance. 2010a. "The Rise of Asian Race Consciousness: The One Group That Tried to Assimilate is Giving Up." Retrieved March 3, 2010 (<http://www.amren.com/ar/2009/09/index.html>).
- American Renaissance. 2011a. "Norman Rockwell Painting Sends Rare White House Message on Race." Retrieved September 2, 2011. ([http://www.amren.com/mtnews/archives/2011/08/norman\\_rockwell.php](http://www.amren.com/mtnews/archives/2011/08/norman_rockwell.php)).
- American Renaissance. 2011b. "White Nationalists as the New Queers." Retrieved September 2, 2011. ([http://www.amren.com/mtnews/archives/2011/08/white\\_nationali\\_7.php](http://www.amren.com/mtnews/archives/2011/08/white_nationali_7.php)).
- American Third Position. 2011a. "Major Corporations Line up to Promote Hispanics above Whites at College." Retrieved July 25, 2011. (<http://american3p.org/establishment-news/major-corporations-line-up-to-promote-hispanics-above-whites-at-college/>).
- American Third Position. 2011b. "The Hypocrisy of Modern Liberals: Obama Administration "Recognizes Israel's Right to be Jewish." Retrieved July 25, 2011. (<http://american3p.org/establishment-news/the-hypocrisy-of-modern-liberals-obama-administration-%E2%80%9Crecognizes-israel%E2%80%99s-right-to-be-jewish%E2%80%9D/>).
- American Third Position. 2011c. "Time to Get Rid of the United Nations Parasite." Retrieved July 25, 2011. (<http://american3p.org/establishment-news/time-to-get-rid-of-the-united-nations-parasite/>).
- Appiah, Kwame A. 1990. "Racisms." pp. 3 - 17 In *Anatomy of Racism*, David Goldberg (ed.) Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.
- Atton, Chris. 2006. "Far-right Media on the Internet: Culture, Discourse and Power." *New Media and Society* 8(4): 573 – 587.
- Back, Les. 2002. Aryans reading Adorno : cyber-culture and twenty-firstcentury racism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25(4), 628-651.
- Baym, Nancy. 2000. *Tune In, Log On: Soaps, Fandom and Online Community*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Blumer, Herbert. 1958. "Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position." *Pacific Sociological Association* 1: 3 – 7.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 1996. "Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation." *American Sociological Review* 62: 465 – 480.

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo, Amanda Lewis, and David G. Embrick. 2004. "I Did Not Get That Job Because of a Black Man...": The Story Lines and Testimonies of Color-Blind Racism." *Sociological Forum* 19: 555 – 581.

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2006. *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.

Bostdorff, Denise. M. (2004). The Internet rhetoric of the Ku Klux Klan: A case study in Web site community building run amok. *Communication Studies*, 55(2), 340–361.

Boudon, Raymond. 1989. *The Analysis of Ideology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Brown, Christopher. 2009. WWW.HATE.COM: White Supremacist Discourse on the Internet and the Construction of Whiteness Ideology. *Howard Journal Of Communications*, 20 (2): 189-208.

Byrne, Dara. 2008. "Public Discourse, Community Concerns, and Civic Engagement: Exploring Black Social Networking Traditions on BlackPlanet.com", *Journal of Computer Mediated Communication* 13(1): 319 – 340.

Chiapello, Eve. 2003. Reconciling the Two Principal Meanings of the Notion of Ideology: The Example of the Concept of the 'Spirit of Capitalism'. *European Journal of Social Theory* 6(2): 155–171.

Campbell, Alex. 2006. The search for Authenticity: An exploration of an online skinhead Newsgroup. *New Media and Society*, 8(2): 269 – 294.

Daniels, Jessie. 2009. "Cloaked Websites: Propaganda, Cyber-Racism, and Epistemology in the Digital Era." *New Media and Society*. 11(5): 659 – 683.

De Koster, William and Houtman, Dick. 2008. "Stormfront Is Like a Second Home To Me." *Information Communication Society*, 11(8): 1155 – 1176.

Duke, David. 2010a. "Race is more Than Skin Color." Retrieved November 17, 2010. (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EU4cvmk44MQ>).

Duke, David. 2010b. "Black Panthers, Obama, and White Civil Rights." Retrieved November 17, 2010. (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EU4cvmk44MQ>).

Eagleton, Terry. 1991. *Ideology: An Introduction*. New York: Verso.

Edwards, James. 2011. "Am I Missing Something." *The Political Cesspool*. Retrieved September 9<sup>th</sup>, 2011. (<http://www.thepoliticalcesspool.org/jamesedwards/2011/09/07/am-i-missing-something/>).

Entman, Robert M. 1992. "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." *Journal of*

*Communication* 43(4): 51 – 58.

Eyerman, Ron. 1981. "False Consciousness and Ideology in Marxist Theory." *Acta Sociologica*, 24(1 -2): 43 – 56.

Feagin, Joe. 1975. *Subordinating the Poor*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Feagin, Joe. 2000. *Racist America: Roots, Current Realities, and Future Reparations*. New York: Routledge.

Fredrickson, George. 2002. *Racism: A Short History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Geertz, Clifford. 1964. "Ideology as Cultural System", pp. 47 – 76 in *Ideology and Discontent*. David E. Apter, editor. London: The Free Press.

Hearn, Mark. 2007. "Cultivating an Australian Sentiment: John Christian Watson's Narrative of White Nationalism" *National Identities*, 9(4): 351 – 368.

Hindman, Matthew. 2008. *The Myth of Digital Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Huaco, George A. 1971. "On Ideology." *Acta Sociologica*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1971), pp. 245-255

Hunt, Matthew. 2004. "Race/Ethnicity and Beliefs about Wealth and Poverty", *Social Science Quarterly* 85(3): 827 – 853.

Hybel, Alex R. 2010. *The Power of Ideology: From the Roman Empire to Al-Qaeda*. London: Routledge.

Josey, Christopher. 2010. "Hate Speech and Identity: An Analysis of Neo Racism and the Indexing of Identity." *Discourse & Society*, 21(1), 27-39.

Kinder, Donald R. and David O. Sears. 1981. "Prejudice and Politics: Symbolic Racism Versus Racial Threats to the Good Life." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 40: 414-431.

Klein, Adam G. 2009. *A Space for Hate: The White Power Movement's Adaptation into Cyberspace*. Duluth, Minnesota: Litwin Books.

Kluegel, R. James, and Eliot R. Smith. 1986. *Beliefs about Inequality*. New York: Aldine De Gruyter.

Lee, Jennifer, and Frank D. Bean. 2007. "Reinventing the Color Line Immigration and Americas New Racial/Ethnic Divide." *Social Forces* 86(2):561-86.

Lukacs, Georg. 1972. *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics*. Cambridge: MIT Press.



- MacMaster, Neil. 2001. *Racism in Europe: 1870 - 2000*. New York, NY: Palgrave.
- Mannheim, Karl 1936[2008]. *An Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*. London: Harcourt.
- Meddaugh, Priscilla M. and Jack Kay (2009). Hate Speech or “Reasonable Racism?” The Other in Stormfront. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 24 (4):251-268.
- Melucci, Alberto. 1995. “The Process of Collective Identity.” Pp. 41-63 in *Social Movements and Culture*. H. Johnston and B. Klandermans, editors. University of Minnesota Press.
- Mills, Charles. 2003. “White Supremacy as Sociopolitical System: A Philosophical Perspective.” Pp. 35 – 49 in *White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism*. Ashley Doane and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, editors. Routledge: New York & London.
- Novobatzky, Peter. 2000. “Bigots in Jackets and Ties: The 2000 American Renaissance Conference.” *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*. 28: 117 – 121.
- Occidental Dissent. 2010a. “Revitalize Industrial Production for the Benefit of the Western Man.” Retrieved August 23, 2010 (<http://www.occidentaldissent.com/2010/07/26/revitalize-industrial-production-for-the-benefit-of-western-man/>).
- Occidental Dissent. 2010b. “None Dare Call it White Genocide.” Retrieved December 3, 2010 (<http://www.occidentaldissent.com/2010/09/16/none-dare-call-it-white-genocide/>).
- Occidental Dissent. 2010c. “Cosmic America.” Retrieved December 3, 2010. (<http://www.occidentaldissent.com/2010/07/16/cosmic-america/>)
- Occidental Dissent. 2010d. “White Zion” Retrieved December 3, 2010. (<http://www.occidentaldissent.com/2010/11/22/white-zion/>).
- Occidental Quarterly. 2011a. “Taxes and the Distribution of Political Power.” Retrieved March 11, 2011. (<http://www.toqonline.com/blog/taxes-and-the-distribution-of-political-power/>).
- Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. 1994. “Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990’s.” New York, NY: Routledge.
- Paccagnella, Luciano. 1997. “Getting the Seat of Your Pants Dirty: Strategies for Ethnographic Research on Virtual Communities”, *Journal of Computer Mediated Communication*, 3(1). <http://jcmc.indiana.edu/vol3/issue1/paccagnella.html> (Accessed July 7, 2011).
- Political Cesspool. 2011a. “The Political Cesspool Sat, 2010-08-28.” Retrieved December 3, 2010. (<http://www.libertyroundtable.com/content/political-cesspool-sat-2010-08-28-0000>).
- Rabinowitz, Joshua, David O. Sears, Jim Sidanius, and Jon A. Krosnick. 2009. “Why Do White Americans Oppose Race-Targeted Policies? Clarifying the Impact of Symbolic Racism.” *Political Psychology* 30: 805 – 828.

Rheingold, Howard. (1993) *The Virtual Community: Homesteading on the Electronic Frontier* (Revised Edition). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Sears, David O., and P. J. Henry. 2003. "The Origins of Symbolic Racism." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 85: 259 – 275.

Shelby, Tommie. 2003. "Ideology, Racism, and Critical Social Theory." *Philosophical Forum*. 34(2): 153 – 188.

Shils, Edward. 1968. "The Concept and Function of Ideology," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 7, pp. 66-76. Crowell: Collier and Macmillan.

Smith, Robert. 1996. *Racism in the Post Civil Rights Era*. Albany, NY: State University Press.

Solomos, John and Les Back. 1996. *Racism and Society*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Southern Poverty Law Center. 2011a. "The Year in Hate & Extremism." Retrieved June 2, 2011 (<http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2011/spring/the-year-in-hate-extremism-2010>)

Southern Poverty Law Center. 2011b. "Intelligence Files". <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-files/ideology/113/groups> (Accessed January 18, 2011)

Stormfront. 2011a. "Bad Scientific Arguments Used by White Nationalists." Retrieved June 15, 2011 (<http://www.stormfront.org/forum/t120656/>)

Swain, Carol M. 2002. *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Swain, Carol M., and Russ Nieli. 2003. *Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Tarman, Christopher, and David O. Sears. 2005. "The Conceptualization and Measurement of Symbolic Racism." *The Journal of Politics* 67: 731 – 761.

Thompson, John B. 1984. *Studies in the Theory of Ideology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Taylor, Jared. 2009. "The Dangers of Diversity, Part III". *American Renaissance*. Retrieved March 6<sup>th</sup>, 2011. (<http://www.amren.com/ar/2009/05/index.html>).

Walker, Brenda. 2010. "Pew Hispanic Report: Tribe Loyalty Trumps Patriotic Assimilation." *VDARE*. Retrieved September 24th, 2011. (<http://www.vdare.com/posts/pew-hispanic-report-tribe-loyalty-trumps-patriotic-assimilation>).

Whitford, David. 2009. *The Curse of Ham in the Early Modern Era: The Bible and Justifications*

*for Slavery*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing.

Zeskind, Leonard. 2009. *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux.