

STARS

University of Central Florida
STARS

Electronic Theses and Dissertations, 2020-

2020

(Main)streaming Hate: Analyzing White Supremacist Content and Framing Devices on YouTube

Christopher Charles
University of Central Florida

 Part of the [Race and Ethnicity Commons](#)

Find similar works at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/etd2020>

University of Central Florida Libraries <http://library.ucf.edu>

This Doctoral Dissertation (Open Access) is brought to you for free and open access by STARS. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations, 2020- by an authorized administrator of STARS. For more information, please contact STARS@ucf.edu.

STARS Citation

Charles, Christopher, "(Main)streaming Hate: Analyzing White Supremacist Content and Framing Devices on YouTube" (2020). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations, 2020-*. 27.

<https://stars.library.ucf.edu/etd2020/27>



(MAIN)STREAMING HATE: ANALYZING WHITE SUPREMACIST CONTENT AND
FRAMING DEVICES ON YOUTUBE

by

C. DOUG CHARLES

B.A. University of Central Florida, 2014

M.A. University of Central Florida, 2016

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Sociology
in the College of Sciences
at the University of Central Florida
Orlando, Florida

Spring Term
2020

Major Professor: J. Scott Carter

ABSTRACT

The emboldening of white supremacist groups, as well as their increased mainstream presence in online circles, necessitates the creation of studies that dissect their tactics and rhetoric, while offering platform-specific insights. This study seeks to address these needs by analyzing white supremacist content and framing devices on the video hosting website, YouTube. Data were collected through a multi-stage sampling technique, designed to capture a ‘snapshot’ of white supremacist content on the platform during a 45-day period in 2019. After line-by-line coding and qualitative thematic analysis, results showed that sampled channels varied between different levels of color-blindness and overt racialization in their framing. Furthermore, channels containing more color-blind approaches yielded higher subscriber counts than their counterparts. What this indicates is that sampled channels use framing to both activate racial threat and minimize race, attempting to reproduce racism while avoiding coming off as racist in the color-blind, mainstream political climate. Secondary findings also show how sampled channels (a) rhetorically bridge the gap between fascism, nationalism, hegemonic gender roles, and mainstream conservative thought; (b) reconcile the idea of political action within a perilous and conspiratorial worldview; (c) leverage interactive, visual media to engage, manage, and collect funding from their audiences. This study is unique because it unpacks the discursive intricacies of white supremacist messaging, while showing the processes by which a racist society is reproduced in the cosmopolitan, digital hub that is YouTube. It sets precedent and opens doors for future inquiry into how social media platforms are used as tools to mainstream white supremacist ideas.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation would not be possible without the help of my committee chair, Dr. J. Scott Carter, whose mentorship and excellent advice proved invaluable at every stage of this process. Thank you, Dr. Shannon Carter, for your continued help as far back as my undergraduate years. You truly inspired me to find my passion as a sociologist. Thank you, Dr. Michael Armato, for your equally energizing and insightful discussions about politics and sociology. Finally, thank you, Dr. Cameron Lippard, for your expertise and excellent feedback.

I would also like to thank family and friends, who have encouraged and supported me — in particular, my mother and academic role model, Bonnie Swan. All of you have shaped me into the person I am today, and for that I am deeply grateful.

My gratitude especially goes out to those who had the willingness, patience, and stomach to act as sounding boards for the countless interpretations and frames I went through before landing on the ones you see here. I am particularly indebted to my friend, David Parchment, whose late-night skype calls and political insight helped with some of the most critical questions in my research. Also, Trisha Whitmire, whose bottomless love and understanding helped me pull through, even when things seemed bleak.

Impending Doom is overrated.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	viii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Rationale/Purpose	3
Theory	6
Chapter Overview	9
CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY	12
Stage One	17
Stage Two	25
A Treatise on Terminology	29
CHAPTER THREE: THE MANIFEST.....	31
White Supremacy Online.....	33
Impacting ‘Neutral’ Online Space	35
The “Alt-right”	37
Fundraising and the Suitability of YouTube as a Platform.....	40
White Supremacist Video Content and its Role as ‘Alternative’ Media	43
Findings.....	44
Monetizing the Message	45

Presentation Styles	47
Comments	49
Ideology Through Aesthetics: Idyllic Nature and the Hauntology of Fashwave.....	53
Conclusion	57
CHAPTER FOUR: FRAMING HATE	58
Defining Frames.....	59
Racism with a Smile	61
Color-Blind Frames	65
Findings.....	67
Don't Scare Away the Normies	67
The JQ and Saying it Without Saying it	71
CHAPTER FIVE: CAPITALIZING ON CONSERVATISM.....	80
The Perversity Thesis and Iron Laws of Hierarchy	81
Justifying Homogeneity	85
Degeneracy and the Fascist Return to Purity	90
Myths and Fascism	94
Myths and White Nationalism	98
CHAPTER SIX: COMFORT	104
Comfort Frames	107

The Ugly Truth	108
Guilt Management	112
Victory and Supremacy.....	119
CHAPTER SEVEN: THREAT.....	126
Appropriation of Victimhood	126
Appropriation of Victimhood: Censorship and the Theft Of Joy	128
Appropriation of Victimhood: White Victimhood	132
Impending Doom	136
Impending Doom: Selling the Apocalypse	137
Impending Doom: The Black Pill, the Honk Pill, and the Question of Activism.....	139
Conspiracy	143
Conspiracy: The Chimera	145
Conspiracy: A Taxonomy of Foes	151
CHAPTER EIGHT: GENDER AND SEXUALITY	157
Entitlement to Women	158
Joining Hegemonic and Fascist Models of Masculinity	163
Findings.....	165
Kinder, Küche, Kirche	169
Findings.....	172

CHAPTER NINE: LIMITATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS	177
Limitations	177
Conclusions.....	179
APPENDIX A: CHANNELS ANALYZED DURING STAGE ONE.....	186
APPENDIX B: VIDEOS ANALYZED DURING STAGE TWO	190
LIST OF REFERENCES.....	207

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Example network with two generations.	15
Figure 2: Diagram showing conspiracy hierarchy, as described in videos across the sample....	152

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Common white supremacist themes, as described by the literature.	19
Table 2: Common white supremacist frames, as described in the literature.	21
Table 3: Stage two channels, classified by emergent categories	23
Table 4: List of channels analyzed during stage one.	187
Table 5: List of videos analyzed.	191

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

On April 23rd, 2017, 28-year-old James Jackson was arrested for allegedly murdering Timothy Caughman, a 66-year-old black man with a sword. The killing, which was designed to be a preliminary test before a larger Times Square massacre, was found to be racially motivated after Jackson stated that he was committing violence in the name of making sure that black men did not date white women (Zavadski, 2017). An investigation later found he was subscribed to number of “alt-right” and white nationalist channels on YouTube, where he viewed videos such as *Adolf Hitler You Said I Was a Dreamer*, *Germany Hard Facts After WW2*, and *I Want a Fascist Ethnostate for Christmas*. Anders Breivik uploaded a video on YouTube professing his beliefs in white nationalist conspiracy theories before conducting a 77-person killing spree in 2011 (Stevens, 2011). Nancy Van Vessem and Maura Binkley were both killed during a yoga class by Scott Bierle, uploader of misogynistic and racist videos on YouTube, such as *The Dangers of Diversity* (Zaveri et al., 2018). The current suspect awaiting trial of the Christchurch mosque shootings allegedly also cited several white nationalist YouTube channels as inspiration for his mass murder (Darby, 2019). The shooting was streamed to social media websites like YouTube and continued to be uploaded there even after it was taken down (Dvoskin & Timberg, 2019).

Not only do these atrocities reflect the rise of racist animosity and nationalism in the current political climate (Edwards & Rushin, 2018; Bjork-James & Maskovsky, 2017), but they illustrate the role that social media platforms—particularly YouTube, play in disseminating extremist content and reproducing a racist society. YouTube’s popularity, ease of use, recommendation system, comments section, search engine, and lucrative ad revenue appear to

have attracted a sizeable white supremacist presence in recent years (Cox, 2018; Delventhal, 2018). For instance, YouTube channel, Black Pigeon Speaks, boasts over half a million subscribers and regularly uploads videos, such as *Why the West HATES and is DESTROYING Itself, and Multiculturalism FAILS*. Similarly, tens of thousands of viewers tuned in to a livestream of white nationalist Richard Spencer debating YouTuber Carl Benjamin in early 2018, catapulting the video to YouTube's front page. This proliferation of online white supremacy has not gone unnoticed by the companies who advertise on YouTube, and many have boycotted the platform for fear of their products potentially appearing seconds before a neo-Nazi speech (Lomas, 2017). YouTube has since doubled down on attempts to restrict videos deemed sufficiently problematic, but so far, these efforts have yielded mixed results (YouTube, 2018; Lewis, 2018).

The purpose of this project is twofold: to unpack both the nature of white supremacist content and communities on YouTube, and how their messaging is framed and deployed in this cosmopolitan space in order to reproduce racist ideology. To accomplish this, I analyzed videos collected through a multi-stage sampling technique, designed to capture a 'snapshot' of white supremacist content on the platform. Using in-platform recommendations, I constructed a typology of YouTube channels that contain white supremacist messaging, organizing them by framing techniques and various degrees of racialized messaging. Next, I sampled from every video uploaded to the most popular channels in each category, over a period of 45 days. Finally, I transcribed and subsequently analyzed each video via qualitative thematic analysis (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Throughout this paper, I will address the following research questions: How do creators of white supremacist content on YouTube frame and normalize their messaging? How

do creators of white supremacist YouTube content interact with and attempt to mobilize viewers politically?

Rationale/Purpose

As I will discuss in later chapters, the affinity that white supremacists have for using online space to organize, fund, and recruit for their efforts is nothing new (Berlet, 2001; Adams & Roscigno, 2005; Gerstenfeld et al., 2013). Furthermore, eminent race scholars argue that the perceived emergence of right-wing extremism in the past two years could better be described as an emboldened form of already-existing white supremacy, rather than something new (Bonilla-Silva, 2018; Bobo, 2017). In light of these points, my study seemingly begs the question: Why study white supremacist communities on YouTube in particular?

YouTube is worthy of investigation because the platform is a uniquely powerful tool for creating, disseminating, discussing, and monetizing white supremacist content. It functions as a cosmopolitan space, where neo-Nazi and non-extremist alike share the same search bar, and whose interests overlap in the auto-generated recommended section of each video. Recent research suggests YouTube's recommender algorithm can inundate unsuspecting users in right-wing extremist content within just a couple clicks (O'Callaghan et al., 2015). Considering the sheer popularity of the platform (Dogtiev, 2019)—coupled with the burgeoning number of people who use it as a source of political news (Smith et al., 2018), it is highly likely that YouTube facilitates public exposure to white supremacist content. Furthermore, while user-generated political content thrives mostly downstream of mainstream news outlets, it is not beholden to the same formal gatekeeping or accountability. Instead, YouTube videos are prized

on their enchanting aura of authenticity and DIY (do-it-yourself) realness (Tolson, 2013; Morris & Anderson, 2015) that lends them their own sort of legitimacy for the viewers that choose to get their political content through them. As result, research has found that public interest has been trending towards these qualities in political media for quite some time now (English et al., 2011).

Unlike the long-running white nationalist hub Stormfront.org, YouTube's homepage is not adorned with recognizable supremacist symbols—nor does it unabashedly declare “white pride worldwide” and “every month is white history month” across the top of the screen. There is no blatant indication that a user's most recent sequence of curious click-throughs has landed them in a white supremacist community space. Furthermore, the person vlogging or delivering a video essay in this format is not wearing a white hood or a swastika-embroidered Wehrmacht uniform—stereotypically recognizable markers of white supremacism. Instead, they are delivering white supremacist messaging that has been carefully refined over the past decades to appear as reasonable and appealing as possible (Berbrier, 1999; Hartzell, 2018). The value in using YouTube as an induction point for radicalization has not gone unnoticed by these hate groups, with prominent white nationalist leadership figure, Richard Spencer, claiming YouTubers are “great entry points” into white nationalism (Spencer, 2016).

Although news journalists (Solon, 2018; Broderick, 2017; Miller, 2017), companies who advertise on these platforms (Lomas, 2017), and the platforms themselves (Hogan, 2017), have acknowledged this rising white supremacist presence in these spaces, only a handful of researchers have taken an in-depth look at these developments (King & Leonard, 2016; Rash, 2017; Lewis, 2018). Studies that specifically analyze YouTube content of this nature are either preliminary forays (Lewis, 2018) or focus on elements of the user interface, rather than the content itself (O'Callaghan et al., 2015). This study addresses the need for a scientific

investigation that reveals the methods by which white supremacist groups use YouTube as a platform to produce, discuss, monetize, normalize, and disseminate extremist video content to mainstream audiences and hate group members alike. It also unpacks the frames they use to both simultaneously activate and deemphasize race, reinforcing racial power in a way that still passes in a color-blind (Bonilla-Silva, 2016, 2017) political climate.

Using literature on white supremacist themes and user-interface snowball sampling, forty-nine different YouTube channels containing white supremacist content were identified and sorted into five emergent categories, based on content and framing. The top five most popular channels of each category were selected for deeper analysis, and every video uploaded to them during a 45-day period were transcribed for thematic content analysis (Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

The results show how creators of white supremacist content both activate and deemphasize race in their frames in an attempt to reproduce a racist society. Their rhetoric appears designed to market racism in a palatable way, appealing to post-racial mainstream politics, hegemonic attitudes regarding gender, and reactionary/conservative intellectual traditions alike. Content creators both demonstrated, and outright explained, how they regularly avoid overt references to race to evade negative sanctions from YouTube and to recruit ‘normies’ (less-radicalized folks) for their political movements. While different channels varied in their degree of racialized framing (sometimes sparking disagreements), this sample can be understood wholly as a virtually and ideologically connected network of media outlets that advance the interests of white supremacist groups and assist in the reproduction of racial inequality.

Theory

Since this study has a dual focus on how racism is reproduced through ideology and how it is discussed in contemporary political discourse, it draws heavily from Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's work—primarily his concept of a “color-blind” society (Bonilla-Silva, 2017, pg. 2). According to him, the end of the Jim Crow era signaled the beginning of a new racial ideology that whites now use to justify racial inequality in society. Rather than openly declaring that racial minorities are biologically or morally inferior, whites now claim that they do not ‘see color’. In this color-blind society, overt forms of discrimination and prejudice (such as racial slurs and de jure segregation) are now widely frowned upon. Racism is routinely pathologized and dismissed as a character flaw possessed only by a few bad eggs (The ‘Racists’). Thus, the prevailing belief among whites is that racism is a relic of a bygone era—largely irrelevant and only brought up by those arguing in bad faith (‘race-baiting’ or ‘playing the race card’).

This narrative within color-blind ideology stands in remarkable contrast to reality. There is an abundance of evidence, indicating that racial inequality still remains a pervasive problem in the United States and elsewhere. For instance, black people today still experience discrimination at the hands of law enforcement (Legewie, 2016) and other facets of the criminal justice system (Siegel, 2017). They still face discrimination in housing and mortgage lending (Schafer, 2017), healthcare (Roberts, 1997, Paradies, Truong, & Priest, 2014), hiring practice (Zschirnt & Ruedin, 2016; Quillian et al., 2017), economic opportunity (Chetty et al., 2018), and political representation (Lam, 2016), to name only a few. Thus, Bonilla-Silva posits that color-blindness as an ideology is remarkably pernicious because it acts as “ideological armor” (2017, pg. 3) for institutional racism to continue to invisibly operate in a society where racists—and therefore

racism, is supposedly inconsequential. This “New Racism” (2017, pg. 3), as Bonilla-Silva calls it, is much more subtle and protects whites from having to acknowledge and surrender the systemic privileges they continue to benefit from at the expense of racial minorities.

In their 2002 study, Eliasoph & Lichterman (2003) expand upon Alexander (2001) and Alexander & Smith’s (1993) concept of cultural codes in politics. They claim that political discourse revolves around specific cultural “codes” (2002, pg. 769) that underpin what types of speech and argumentation are appropriate in discussions. Much like other structural forms of culture, these are acquired through representations/group interaction, have a great deal of bearing on how political actors act, and can be reinforced or challenged by the actor as well. Furthermore, Eliasoph & Lichterman (2003) acknowledge that these culture structures can reproduce inequality by influencing the types of interactions that take place between individuals. Color-blindness can be understood as one of these culture structures; both encouraging individuals to downplay the existence of race/racism in their political discussions and preemptively defusing attempts to pose racial inequality as a legitimate problem that needs to be addressed. This code reproduces inequality between the dominant racial group and minorities, granting power and privilege to whites who, in turn, reinforce this culture structure of color-blindness.

These theoretical frameworks fit this study because political actors within the color-blind era have, over time, cultivated and perfected an array of rhetorical tools that allow them to reproduce racial inequality while avoiding charges of bigotry. Color-blind framing devices indirectly ‘activate’ race, playing into existing anti-minority sentiments and stereotypes while still downplaying race *just enough* to offer plausible deniability (Bonilla-Silva, 2018). For instance, claiming that any signs of racial inequality are actually black people’s own fault

because of ‘their culture’ or supposed proclivity to blame others for their lot in life justifies existing anti-minority sentiments and stymies policy efforts towards racial justice, like affirmative action (Carter & Lippard, 2020). Yet, it does so in a way that attempts to appear more reasonable by avoiding the hallmarks of ‘old’ racism, such as open displays of hatred and/or claims of biological superiority (Bonilla-Silva, 2016). In analyzing arguments against affirmative action, Carter & Lippard (2020) found that, through what they termed *Racialized Framing*, social authorities attempted to both minimize race through color-blind discourse while concomitantly activating race through threat frames in debates presented to the US Supreme Court. They posed that such a multi-framing technique served the purpose of minimizing the role of race and racism in reproducing inequality in society while also infusing racial animosity among whites. As such, racialized framing attempts to use emotions among the dominant group to eliminate important Civil Rights initiatives and, thus, protect the racial status quo.

These powerful frames have not gone unnoticed by white supremacist groups, who, after being newly cast in the color-blind era as the Few Remaining Racists, had to fall back and dramatically rethink the way they approached political discourse (Dobratz & Shanks-Meile, 2006; Daniels, 2009). Claims of supremacy would now, more than ever, have to don the impersonal, “objective” trappings of scientific authority (Krieger, 2005, p. 2155). Any tracks that could be followed back to well-known, pre-color-blind era villains (such as Neo-Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan) had to be sufficiently covered with newly named organizations, costume changes, disavowals, dog whistles, and new, cryptic ways of communicating the language of white power (Berlet & Vysotsky, 2006; Futrelle & Simi, 2017).

Yet, with all the difficulties this new rebranding brought, white supremacist groups found that claims of white victimhood and “reverse racism” have remarkable traction in a political

landscape where everyone now (supposedly) starts on equal footing (Lyons, 2017). In fact, the rising call for racial justice (by activism and movements, like Black Lives Matter) has been met with a backlash from whites, whose frustration at having to suffer such a clamor in their color-blind world is gleefully validated by far-right groups painting their insecurities in vivid, panic-soaked relief (Michael, 2016; Pelts, 2018). In addition to victimhood, the instant, anonymous, long-distance power of The Internet has also proven to be a favored tool of white supremacists, with some of The Internet's earliest users being white supremacist organizations and communities (Daniels, 2009). A recent convergence of these two factors can be seen in the rise of the so-called "alt-right", a loosely bound cluster of online, far-right, political groups that function as a "rhetorical bridge" (pg. 6) between white nationalism and mainstream politics (Hartzell, 2018).

Through this theoretical framework, I argue that YouTube is a digital, cosmopolitan space where white supremacy is mainstreamed into political discourse and racist ideology is reproduced. Videos I observed used color-blind framing to both activate and downplay race in their messaging. They attempt to present racism in a much more 'reasonable' manner in the context of a color-blind political climate. Some channels were more overtly racialized than others, and the underlying conflicts and popularity differences between them are indicative of the dynamics between color-blind ideology and white supremacy.

Chapter Overview

Chapter two covers the methodology used to conduct this investigation, including the two-stage sampling method, analytical strategies, the classification charts developed from the

literature, and the categorization schema that emerged from these data. I also clarify the definitions and use of terms like “white supremacist” and “alt-right” for the purposes of this dissertation.

Chapters three through eight discuss the findings of the dissertation. Due to the large number of frames and themes I observed in the sample, I have elected to place both the relevant results and literature in each section. Chapter three describes the ways white supremacists have benefited from the Internet’s (and more recently, YouTube’s) power to effectively disseminate propaganda, recruit, and fund their organizations. Rhetorical devices, like framing, can successfully be implemented on YouTube because it functions as a cosmopolitan space, where every day users may unwittingly click-through into white supremacist content and not immediately recognize it as such. User-made videos can be quickly created then uploaded, and stylized to convey messaging with sheens of authenticity, intellectualism, grandeur, authority, or innocent humor. I discuss the aesthetic trends, mechanics, and community interactions observed in the sample, aiming to shed light on the peculiarities of YouTube as a platform for hate.

In chapter four, I explain what frames are, and the ways white supremacists use them to avoid charges of racism. I argue that white supremacist content on YouTube continuously switches between ‘reasonable’ color-blind frames and racialized threat/victimhood frames. This rhetorical ‘dance’ produces racial prejudice in a seemingly neutral manner that is more likely to appeal to the mainstream viewership. I also cite instances in the sample where content creators discuss intentionally masking or holding back racialized language in an effort to attract wider audiences and avoid negative social sanctions from YouTube.

Chapter five deals with common themes in conservative and white supremacist thought; their various symbioses, frictions, and the different historical mutations of them. I argue that

there are both digital and ideological pathways between these layers of politics, and that videos in the sample used both color-blind and racialized frames in an attempt to mainstream ideas of exclusion, prejudice, and racial superiority.

Chapters six and seven not only dissect the most commonly used frames in the sample but examine them through a lens of emotional timbre. In addition, both color-blind and racialized ‘versions’ of these frames are compared and contrasted, showing the synergies and tensions between content creators who opt for one style over the other.

Chapter eight breaks down the role gender played in both racialized and color-blind frames that appeared in the sample. Fear of minorities, conspiracies of white genocide, and threats to the existing social order were commonly leveraged in a gendered way. The manner in which these frames are used not only comports with hegemonic ideals of masculinity/femininity, but also white supremacist and fascist models as well. Finally, chapter nine sums up the major findings from this study and touches on any relevant limitations in this project.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

Recent shifts in the ways that extremist groups conduct their online activity (through social media or new methods by which to infiltrate mainstream online discourse) have opened the door for more up-to-date investigations. My aim with this study is to both contribute to an ever-evolving understanding of these groups and understand how specifically YouTube as a platform empowers their ability to spread propaganda, recruit members, network with others, and fund themselves.

In their study on what defines a YouTube community, Rotman & Preece (2010) reflect on the challenges of conducting a limitation-free sampling of the platform's content. For one, interaction between users on the platform is mostly limited to within comment sections beneath videos, each acting like their own discussion thread on a web forum. As a result, ways of grouping "related" videos is limited to tags (which are determined by the channel owner) and YouTube's aggregation of how users click "into and off-of" different videos. Because there is a lack of transparency on YouTube's part for how exactly they work, appropriating these categorizations for the purposes of research can be difficult without extensive understanding of the platform's sorting mechanism (O'Callaghan et al., 2015).

In addition, reliance on YouTube's search engine can be problematic as well. For one, the search function omits content that is less popular, making random sampling impossible. Also, the platform's recommendations tend to conform to what it can learn about the user's previous watch history, meaning any videos viewed by the researchers may affect future search results. Lastly, because over 400 hours of content are uploaded each minute, taking a snapshot of the platform's contents can be difficult without the aid of large-scale sampling (Tran, 2017). That, in itself, is a

challenging proposition considering the immense number of hours of sorting and tagging that would be required. While other researchers have accomplished studies of this scale with text/image-based forums (Finkelstein et al., 2018), the exceptionally unorganized and informationally dense nature of content on YouTube makes such an approach even more daunting.

In light of these limitations, Rotman & Preece (2010) recommend opting for a small, carefully selected, purposive sample when conducting research on YouTube. Other scholars who have studied loosely bound online communities have also opted for similar relevance sampling methods, be it across Google searches (Schmitz & Kayzak, 2016; Sugiura et al., 2012) or online message boards (Steinmetz, 2012; Kim et al., 2010).

In an effort to emulate these methodologies, this study used a two-stage approach. The first step was to identify a network of channels containing white supremacist content on YouTube, and then to analyze a representative sample of the themes, rhetoric, messaging, presentation in the videos uploaded to those channels. In the first stage, I gathered channels via user interface snowball sampling, using the ‘related channel’ feature on each channel—as well as any cross-channel appearances by content creators. Channels were tagged and categorized, then ranked by subscriber count within those categories. For stage two, the five most popular channels in each category were chosen for thematic content analysis (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). For 45 days, every video uploaded to those channels was transcribed into text and analyzed. Additionally, field notes on the appearance and stylistic choices in the videos were taken, and the top comments under each video were recorded for purposes of analysis.

As shown in the literature, white supremacist groups vary in levels of extremism, particulars of ideology, and rhetoric. Traditionally, those differences have been delineated

between membership to archetypical groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan, the National Socialist Movement, or the White Aryan Resistance (Blee, 2002; Adams & Roscigno, 2005; Burris et al., 2000). However, although these groups have much in common, they may have different membership requirements, slogans, and explicitly stated goals. They may or may not meet in physical locations, with or without set hierarchies among members. Virtual white supremacist communities may also have all of those things, but the scholars who study them argue they are less structured than their brick-and-mortar brethren, due to the decentralized nature of virtual space (Lyons, 2017; Hawley, 2017). Therefore, there appears to be little evidence of a singular, cohesive white supremacist community on YouTube, but instead a loosely bound cluster of communities that use YouTube as a platform to disseminate white supremacist messaging.

While several channels openly identified themselves as “alt-right” or white nationalist, they eschewed any direct references to neo-Nazi iconography, Klan iconography, or Christian identity theology. There is a case to be made for whether or not this represents a ‘non-denominational’ approach to messaging, but the evidence I will show you in later chapters suggests that the wider viewership they are attempting to cater to exceeds already-devout members. In fact, it is possible that the reason explicit invocations of well-known white supremacist organizations are avoided is because it appears that YouTube (at least at the time of this study) is being used an induction point—a site where white supremacist ideas are ‘mainstreamed’ or normalized to the wider public. Because they are so decentralized, I used snowball sampling via YouTube’s Related Channels feature and cross-channel appearances to construct new categories and build a network of channels featuring white supremacist content. This process is visualized in Figure 1, below. Nodes each represent channels associated through

the related channels feature. Crossed out nodes are those that are excluded from the sample pool because they did not possess any white supremacist themes¹.

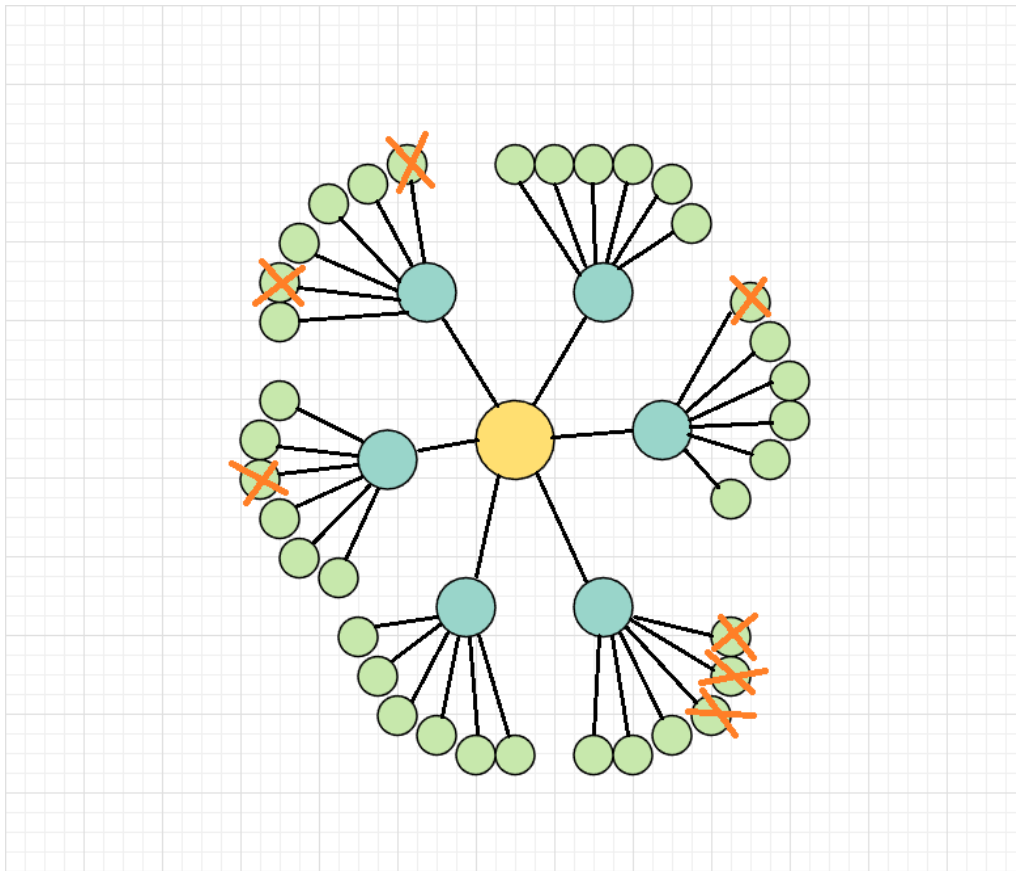


Figure 1: Example network with two generations.

I used themes discussed in the literature during my initial stages of this methodology to identify suitable channels for study and snowballing. Once identified, the analysis process brought forth new categories that better captured their various rhetorical stylings and the nuances

¹ For a full list of channels analyzed, generations, and which ones contained white supremacist themes and were snowballed, consult Table 3 in Appendix A

of this particular online social environment. I used Gubrium and Holstein's methodological strategy called 'analytic bracketing', where the researcher can "move back and forth between discursive practice, discourse-in-practice, and discursive conditions, documenting each in turn and making informative references to the others in the process." (2008, p. 391). Discourse in this sense is understood as the interactive rules and means through which subjects "construct and objectify social reality" (Gubrium & Holstein, 2008, pg. 377). Rather than approach the text with ontological assumptions, they maintain that the researcher should suspend their own common knowledge in order to understand how others construct theirs. This was a critical technique for untangling frames and understanding their internal logic as rhetorical justifications of prejudice.

This study leaned heavily on this strategy during the categorization process, stopping periodically to reorient discursive 'what's with discursive 'how's. An example of this was when Mark Collett's content in the sample advocated for the creation of a white ethnostate by using racialized frames of white victimhood, while presenting the ethical implications of such a move as an egalitarian effort to ensure that "every race—including whites, gets a homogenous nation to call their own." Other videos opted to promote white ethnostate formation, but framed it as a solution to perceived threats, such as white genocide and crime. Analytic bracketing was used to disentangle the ways content creators discursively constructed problems like these. This was vital because qualitative methodology that studies political movements must be able to oscillate between analyzing discursive practices and the discourse itself.

Stage One

The first stage of this study used a modified style of snowball sampling, called user interface snowball sampling (UISS), to build a repository of YouTube channels for stage two's analysis. Snowball sampling is a technique where the researcher uses chain referrals from gatekeepers to other members of the communities, who refer more members for sampling; and so on (Goodman, 1961). Rather than using recommendations from gatekeepers, this study uses the 'related channels' bar to find similar channels, as well as channels whose content creators appear in the videos of that channel. As more channels were found, I stopped periodically to analyze each channel for white supremacist themes (see Table 1). In order to be considered for analysis, the channel had to include at least one of the themes from Table 1.

The initial categorization was performed using six sampled videos: the two most viewed, the two most recently uploaded, and two randomly selected from the hundred most recent uploads (using a random number generator). This approach aimed to represent the nature of the content on that channel, determining whether it contains any of the white supremacist themes described in the literature. Channel samples that did not contain any of these themes were excluded from analysis and their related channels were not snowballed. The process was repeated until the point of data saturation (Schensul & LeCompte, 2010). This was apparent by generation four when already-sampled channels began to dominate the related channels sections and when the few, new channels were so low in subscribers that they would not make the final cut in stage two.

Due to the lack of traditional "gatekeepers" in this methodological approach, the study started with avowed white nationalist Richard Spencer's YouTube channel, AltRight.com and

proceeded from there, using YouTube's related channel feature and cross-channel appearances to approximate the size and composition of white supremacist communities on YouTube. Sampling was conducted on a new YouTube account, used only for this experiment. Measures were taken to clear the browsing computer of any prior search history that may affect results and hinder replicability.

Table 1: Common white supremacist themes, as described by the literature.

Theme	Description	Source(s)
Neo-Nazi	Includes references to Hitler, national socialism, WWII, Nazi iconography.	Adams & Roscigno, 2005; Dobratz & Shanks-Meile, 2000; Burke & Goodman, 2012.
Nationalism	Civic nationalism in terms of nation, or broader geopolitical entities—such as ‘The West’. Ethnic nationalism in terms of identifying a national entity as the sovereign domain of whites/Europeans.	Gerstenfeld et al. 2003; Brubaker, 1999.
Genocide	Includes calls for mass killings, sterilization/eugenics, or deportation of racialized others.	Gerstenfeld et al., 2003; Prichard & Starr, 1994; Burke & Goodman, 2012.
Christian Identity/Racist Asatru	Divine endowment of a racial order. Religious racial othering. Christian or Asatru/Odinist iconography in combination with other signifiers of white supremacy.	Barkun, 1994; Jones, 1999; Sharpe, 2000; Simonelli, 1996; Whitsel, 2001.
Interracial Marriage	Any opposition towards interracial marriage—especially between whites and non-whites.	Perry & Whitehead, 2015; Hughey, 2011.
White Pro-natalism	Conflict over white/non-white birth rates and fertility. Specifically, pro-natalist for whites and anti-natalist for non-whites. Includes eugenics when described in the context of race.	Adams & Roscigno, 2005; Perry & Whitehead, 2015; Hughey, 2011.
Islamophobia	Vilification and racialization of Muslims.	Joshi, 2006; Sharma, 2006, pp. 130–134.
Anti-Feminism	Strong anti-feminist sentiments and strict relegation of women to more ‘traditional’ roles, such as housekeeping and parenting.	Ferber, 2000; Keskinen, 2013; Frankenberg, 1993.
Nonwhite Criminality	Claims about racialized others being more prone to crime or dangerous.	SPL Center, 2014; Fraiman, 1994; Ferber, 2007.
Anti-Immigrant	Any narrative about immigrants ‘swarming’ or ‘taking over,’ as a threat or simply expressed as in excess.	Adams & Roscigno, 2005
White Supremacy	Includes scientific racism and/or claims about racial or white ‘cultural’ superiority.	SPL Center, 2014; Zeskind, 2009, p. 393; Berlet & Vysotsky, 2006.
Anti-Semitism	Anti-Semitic imagery or words. Includes conspiracies about Jewish people (ZOG)	Fiske, 1994; SPL Center, 2014; Caren et al. 2012.
Conspiracies	Umbrella term that includes cultural Marxist conspiracies, globalists, new world orders, communist plots from within, and distrust of ‘Marxist academia’.	Fiske, 1994; Mirrlees, 2018; Gray, 2018
Apocalypticism	A ‘Second Coming’ in the context of Christian Identity, imminent collapse of civilization, extinction, or any other prophetic statements about large-scale annihilation.	Sharpe, 2000; Whitsel, 2001; Barkun 2013, p. 179.

After channels were tagged for themes, they were sorted into categories. Previous studies have distinguished white supremacist groups into different categories, including Skinheads, Christian Identity adherents, Ku Klux Klan, and neo-Nazis (Blee, 2002; Adams & Roscigno, 2005; Burris et al., 2000). However, due to the literature's assertion that contemporary virtual white supremacist communities are much more loosely bound (Lyons, 2017; Hawley, 2017), I chose to use the initial stage of this methodology to work with emergent categories. Because many content creators are posting this type of content on YouTube, which is a cosmopolitan space, I expected that emergent categories would likely be divided by styles of rhetoric (see Table 2) used to mask white supremacist messaging. This, in addition to the themes in the videos, were a factor as well when it came to categorization. The reason Table 2's white supremacist frames were used for channel categorization but were not a necessary criterion for snowball sampling was because analyzing new frames is one of the primary goals of this study.

Table 2: Common white supremacist frames, as described in the literature.

Frame	Description	Source(s)
Reasonable Racist	An umbrella term used to describe rhetorical attempts to present racial prejudice as “reasonable” or rational. This can be assuaging ideological dilemmas (‘I’m not racist, but...’ or ‘I have a black friend’), appealing to abstract liberalism, ‘innocent’ appeals to humor, or ambivalence when expressing racial prejudice.	Billig et al., 1988, pp. 100–118; Wetherell & Potter, 1993; Bobo, 2000; Billig, 2001
Color-blind Ideology	Discursive deracialization of a topic concerning race. Racism “no longer exists”, or is confined to “just a few bigots”, rather than macro processes. Erasing the prevalence or effects of racial discrimination and reframing it as meritocracy, freedom of speech, and/or banal nationalism.	Gotanda 1991; Doane, 2006; Every & Augoustinos, 2007, p. 133; Bonilla-Silva, 2003, 2016, 2017; Hughey, Embrick, & Doane, 2015; Carter & Lippard, 2015; Carter & Lippard 2020; Carter, Lippard & Baird 2019.
White Crisis	Declarations of white victimhood, such as whites going extinct, being in danger, attacked, or victims of an anti-white agenda.	Adams & Roscigno, 2005; Dobratz, Shanks-Meile, 2000; Bobo, 2000; Caren et al. 2012
War on Political Correctness	Strong malcontent towards notions of political correctness. This can include disdain towards specific terms, yearning for earlier times when specific terms could be more freely expressed, or lamentation of hate speech laws and other social sanctions against problematic speech.	SPL Center, 2014; Ohlheiser, 2016; Bjork-James & Maskovsky, 2017; Mirrlees, 2018; Topinka, 2018.
Call for Infiltration	Any call to action that involves infiltration of the mainstream through rhetoric or deception.	SPL Center, 2014; Dobratz & Shanks-Meile, 2000; Berlet & Vysotsky, 2006.
Historical Revisionism	Revisionist rewritings of history framed to admonish or glorify whites. Includes holocaust denial.	Adams & Roscigno, 2005; Blazak 2001; Gerstenfeld et al., 2003; Burris et al., 2000; Cohen-Almagor, 2011.
White Pride	Explicit endorsements of being proud to be white. Also includes slogans like “it’s okay to be white” and other forms of rhetorical equivalence when discussing issues of race.	Dobratz & Shanks-Meile, 2000; Futrell et al., 2006.

In addition to differing subject matter and frames, emergent categories varied in levels of extremism, popularity, and number of videos. Graham (2016) asserts that white supremacists and white nationalists all qualify as extremist political groups, but distinctions between subgroups may be pertinent characteristics for purposes of analysis. Political extremism can be relatively

defined, according to time, culture, and place, but Downs et al. (2009, p. 153) assert that it has three main components: “extraordinary, excessive, and intolerant political opinion, belief, or activity; violent political activity; and activity aimed against the democratic constitutional state”. Therefore, channels that openly promoted genocide, violence, or a revolutionary approach (rather than a covert or mainstream one) were categorized as more politically extreme. Categorizing by extremism was initially vital to analysis because it confirmed what the literature showed—that more extreme strains of political groups tend to have smaller “membership pools” (Bjørgero, 2008) than their less extreme counterparts, due to the numerous dynamic processes typically required before individuals become radicalized (Borum, 2011). Hawley (2017) has found a distinction between “alt-right” and “alt-lite” groups in terms of how extreme (and by extension, how popular) the content they promote is. Similarly, I found that less politically extreme channels were over-represented in terms of popularity within the sample, so the stratified approach was useful in ensuring a representative sample.

However, while extremism initially served as a powerful distinguishing feature, once framing techniques had further been teased apart, a set of more cogent patterns emerged in the data. Table 3 shows channels organized around different framing styles—namely the degrees to which they racialized their frames, whether they focused on gender as a chief political frame, or whether or not they attempted to market their messaging as something other than political commentary.

As a side note, it is important to emphasize that these categories are not declarative statements regarding the political positions of the content creators who are assigned to them. Divining the authentic intentions or beliefs of content creators is not in the purview of this study.

Instead, these should be understood as categorization of the *content* collected during the 45-day sample window, as informed by the existing body of literature on white supremacy.

Table 3: Stage two channels, classified by emergent categories

Emergent category	Description	Top 5 most popular channels	Subscriber count
Gender traditionalist content	Channels whose white supremacist messaging focuses on promoting “traditional” gender roles. This includes white pro-natalism, restricting women to the domestic sphere, and embodying the male (soldier) and female (procreator) ideals of the fascist state. Each contains white supremacist content but can vary in the degree to which they overtly align gender roles with the formation of a white nationalist state.	Blonde in the Belly of the Beast	131,061
		Brittany Pettibone	119,786
		The Golden One	93,374
		Ayla Stewart	11,651
		Lacey Lynn	5,904
“Color-blind” nationalist content	Channels that discuss politics through a civic-style nationalist lens. Ingroups and outgroups are almost always described in terms of national origin, religion, or vague geopolitical terms (the West) rather than overtly by color. Similarly, claims of supremacy (IQ, criminality, culture) are made across these lines. These channels also focus heavily on “culture wars”-style content, covering news related to feminists, college campuses, SJWs, and racial justice activism.	Stefan Molyneux	913,531
		Black Pigeon Speaks	485,645
		James Allsup	440,692
		Computing Forever	394,157
		RamZPaul	59,497
White nationalist content	Channels that discuss politics in terms of ethnic (white) nationalism. Unlike the color-blind category, these channels overtly fuse national identity with race. Certain nations are characterized as for whites only, and demographically must be majority or exclusively white. Claims of supremacy (IQ, criminality, culture) are overtly racialized. Whites as a group are consistently portrayed as under existential threat—either through outright persecution or replacement via birth rates.	Red Ice TV	310,661
		The Iconoclast	208,982
		American Renaissance	109,627
		Alternative Hypothesis	54,932
		Laura Towler	24,731
Anti-Semitic white nationalist content	Channels with anti-Semitic white nationalist content are similar to channels with white nationalist content, in that, their content focuses on creation and maintenance of a majority or exclusively white state. However,	ThuleanPerspective	250,231
		Mark Collett	86,680
		Millennial Woes	54,238

Emergent category	Description	Top 5 most popular channels	Subscriber count
	while channels from that category may make veiled references to anti-Semitic conspiracies, these channels overtly mention Jewish control of the state, media, and international politics. In their own parlance, they openly confront the “JQ”. “JQ” stands for the “Jewish Question”, and is a term used among channels from the sample to describe belief in a hidden, global Jewish threat actively working against whites.	Jean-François Gariépy	47,032
		TRS Radio	10,849
Entertainment media	This category contains channels with white supremacist content that were divergent from the more typical video essay, political news commentary, or streaming formats seen in the sample. These include original music, cooking, reading literature out loud, or full-length documentaries.	Lauren Southern	701,376
		Xurious Music	22,904
		Dancing Dove	8,709
		TheBlondeButterMaker	2,286
		Leiptr	479

Three of the five categories focus primarily on the dimensions of white supremacy and nationalism in the sample. This is important because the goal is to create a typology and then assess how these channels use frames to promote white nationalist and white supremacist messaging through activation and deemphasis of race. In addition, this study focuses on the ways white supremacists frame racism in a cosmopolitan space, since the degree to which race is activated is particularly relevant in a political environ that many scholars argue postures itself as ‘color-blind’² (Gotanda, 1991; Bonilla-Silva, 2016, 2017; Hughey et al., 2015).

Race was also activated through proxy identifiers, such as gender. A sizeable portion of the sampled channels centered on gender role commentary and use gender as a proxy for race

² This is covered more in depth within chapter four.

and national identity. This framing approach had so many unique particularities that it warranted its own category in data collection and its own chapter in this paper.

The Entertainment Media category was developed to account for the handful of channels that did not fit the mold of video essays, news updates, and political commentary streams. For instance, videos collected from The Blonde Butter Maker's channel modeled themselves as home cooking recipes and crafts projects, with political messaging as an undertone. Leiptr and Xurious Music uploaded music with white supremacist themes in the form of music videos, while Lauren Southern's uploads revolved around creation and promotion of a full-length documentary. These channels stand out in such a large way that they warranted their own category as well.

While there is admittedly a fair bit of overlap between these categories, this schema proved to be a far more accurate way of understanding the trends and differences between various styles of white supremacist messaging than extremism was.

Stage Two

Once channels were organized into categories and ordered by number of subscribers, stratified sampling placed the five most popular channels in each category for stage two of the analysis. Stratified sampling is a technique used to ensure that different categories within the population are adequately represented for analysis (Neyman, 1934). The rationale behind using stratified sampling by popularity is to attempt to capture the most representative but manageable data set. While popularity can be represented numerous ways, subscriber count is a strong metric

by which to estimate “influence and standing” among YouTube’s virtual community (Rowe, 2011).

This method accommodated the pattern that rhetorical devices and messaging tended to change, depending on how popular the channel is. Channels whose rhetoric used more color-blind language tended to yield more subscribers than those that openly professed racial superiority or anti-Semitism. Furthermore, some styles of framing were more common, leading to bloated categories. As a result, stratifying them on both of these axes ensures that data collection does not potentially favor one style over the other.

Once each channel was chosen for analysis, they were observed for 45 days. This was done with a new YouTube account that had a subscription to each channel. Each video uploaded during this time (along with any accompanying channel announcements posted to the feed) was transcribed and analyzed.

Videos were transcribed by copying YouTube’s automated transcripts to a word processor and then listening back to them to check for mistakes. Videos that did not have an automated caption service were transcribed by using Google text-to-speech in the Google Docs app. The computer’s voice recognition transcribed videos in real-time by ‘listening to itself.’ With the aid of YouTube’s line-by-line timestamps, multiple read-throughs were conducted.

Transcriptions were coded and broken down using thematic data analysis. In their work on conceptual framework design, Marshall & Rossman (1999) describe six different stages to thematic data analysis:

1. Organizing the data
2. Generating codes and themes
3. Coding the data

4. Testing emergent understandings of the data
5. Searching for alternative explanations
6. Creating the data analysis.

Data were first organized by arranging text in such a way that they could be coded, line-by-line. Once the data were organized, the generation of codes and themes began. Multiple read-throughs of the transcriptions were required, and coding was broken down into different stages (Charmaz, 2006).

Initial coding involved attempting to break down sentences into their base parts, line-by-line (Charmaz, 2006, p. 47; Thomas, 2006). These base parts included nouns and verbs—essentially attempting to get an idea of *who* was doing *what*. As initial coding proceeded, the highlighting of adjectives and adverbs was included as well. These were seen as ways of coloring sentences and assigning meaning to different nouns and verbs in the text. Adjectives can convey value judgements, rhetorical styles, or link otherwise disparate nouns into unified frames. The next step was focused coding, which involved identifying patterns in data and links between initial codes (Charmaz, 2006, p. 57). Unlike pure text or verbal interviews, many of the videos used scripts, multiple edits, or consciously arranged visual components. These may elicit specific emotions from viewers and may emphasize the speaker's point. Therefore, the conscious and strategic way arguments and stories were constructed was a vital component to analysis as well (Griffith & Papacharissi, 2009). I anticipated that many of the types of framing and rhetorical devices used would resemble, in some part, the types described in the literature on white supremacists. For the most part, this was the case—however overt symbols of white supremacist groups were largely absent.

After focused coding, I identified themes within the data. Themes indicated recurring

ideas within the text, particularly around topics of focus or importance in the videos. The step-by-step conceptualization of these themes was as follows: Identifying converging categories, or concepts contain “recurring regularities” (Patton, 2002, p. 466). Once ideas that cohere were identified, divergent concepts and ideas were used. The repetition of these two processes eventually produced divergent yet connected themes in the text.

In order to test whether these findings were rigorous, alternative interpretations of the data were tested. These alternative interpretations involved attempting to understand the themes in data through various frames, as discussed in the research questions. The possibility for different interpretations of this media can be beneficial in terms of messaging, because it allows content creators to dog whistle and appeal to users with potentially conflicting viewpoints. This was particularly fruitful when analyzing content from channels that used color-blind frames. I will explain during course of this paper how mentions of elite globalist bankers, predatory foreigners, “real” Americans, and using dog breeds as analogies for people, are all multivocal (Albertson, 2015, p. 3) messages that indirectly refer, respectively, to Zionist conspiracies, nonwhite criminality, ethnic nationalism, and scientific racism. The top three comment threads under each video were also recorded for purposes of analysis. They provided insight into alternative interpretations of the text, viewer feedback, use of frames, and inter-user conflict.

In conclusion, this methodology was designed to identify and sample from a network of YouTube channels producing white supremacist content. Stage one identifies the network, while stage two hones it into a smaller (but still representative) sample. Emergent categorization and stratification by subscriber count were both done to ensure that the sample of analyzed videos were not only representative of different framing approaches and presentation styles, but also taken from the most influential channels in each category.

A Treatise on Terminology

It bears mentioning that the presence of white supremacy in the United States requires neither racial hatred nor individual racist attitudes to continue functioning (Jung et al., 2011). As defined by critical race scholar David Gillborn (2006) white supremacy exists in the U.S. as the “centrality of white interests and the mobilization of structural and cultural forces to defend white power at the expense of the racialized ‘Other’”. While acknowledging this larger system of white supremacy, this study chiefly focuses on white supremacist groups. ‘Groups’ refers to entities consisting of individuals who collectively identify as a shared group. ‘White supremacist’ refers to not only advocating for previously defined white supremacy, but organize around ideological principles of openly pro-white, racialized hierarchy, as well as the hatred of people of color (Berlet & Vysotsky, 2006; Zeskind, 2009, p. 393; SPLC, 2014).

Note that multiple scholars have insisted that categorizing these ideologies into discrete typologies has its disadvantages but nevertheless use them anyways (Whitsel, 2001; Drabble, 2007). In fact, the white supremacist ‘movement’ as a whole is perhaps best described as a loose constellation of ideological clusters, each drawing from similar sets of core beliefs, values, and rhetoric (Berlet & Vysotsky, 2006). As a result, I acknowledge the shortcomings of a rigid typology, and approach the usefulness of this conceptual tool cautiously. The context these distinctions provide are undoubtedly illuminating for describing the historical development of white supremacism over time. Also, grounding any terminology I use within the existing literature ensures terms are adequately justified and defined.

The final thing I wish to address before I begin is my use of ‘white supremacist’ as an umbrella term of each of the groups I discuss in this paper. The term ‘white supremacist’ carries with it the stigma of racism—something that has not gone unnoticed by hate groups that wish to gain mainstream legitimacy. As a result, many white nationalists and members of the so-called “alt-right”, openly reject the label (Stack, 2017), opting for more euphemistic signifiers, such as identitarian (Virchow, 2015), American nationalist (Fricke, 2018, p. 51), and race realist (Panofsky & Donovan, 2017). Despite this, I borrow from a large body of sociological research and place these identities under the larger category of white supremacy because their ideological foundations are inextricably rooted within organized racism (Zeskind, 2009, p. 333). In fact, many scholars argue that conceptually excluding these groups from white supremacy only aids them in further infiltrating mainstream discourse (Futrell & Simi, 2017; Heikkilä, 2017; Lyons, 2017).

The “alt-right” is a particularly recent example of this phenomenon, as many members commit considerable energy towards rhetorically distancing themselves from white supremacy in order to recruit more members and avoid the social ramifications of hate-group status (Futrell & Simi, 2017). As a result, many news publications are now refusing to use the term “alt-right”, for fear of playing into their reframing attempts (Mohajer, 2017; Ember, 2016). I will follow Hartzell’s (2018) protocol of cautiously referring to the “alt-right” in quotation marks to “affirm the importance of avoiding uncritical appropriations” of the term (pg. 12). This way the particularities of the recent “alt-right” movement may still be expounded upon and discussed as ethically as possible.

CHAPTER THREE: THE MANIFEST

George P. Dietz, a German-born U.S. citizen, was a publisher of anti-Semitic texts and proud Hitler youth. Enchanted by the idea of an unmoderated informational space, he attempted to construct a computer bulletin board in 1983 for the purpose of warning the U.S. about the growing Jewish threat. A year later, Louis Beam, Texas Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), would create an online message board platform called Aryan Liberty Net, for use by white supremacists. One year after that, Tom Metzger would create a message board for the White Aryan Resistance (WAR). Users could dial into these home-based networks with their modem connections and interact with other extremists on a scale never reached (Michael, 2016). Furthermore, they enabled users to access and read hate literature in countries where it was banned (Berlet, 2001).

One of the first major white supremacist websites, Stormfront, was created in 1995 by Don Black. After the former Klansman built the website using computer programming skills he acquired while in prison, it attracted hundreds of thousands of members over the following years, including former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, David Duke. Until its recent decline, it was the most popular white supremacist message board online (Houtman & Aupers, 2016). Southern Poverty Law Center connects Stormfront.org to over one hundred different murders, all carried out by members who posted there (SPLC, 2014).

White supremacists had become one of the earliest groups to organize online and continued to reap the benefits of the digital ‘wild west’ well into the present day. Even the contemporary practice of “doxing” or leaking an individual’s personal information online for the

purposes of harassment or violence, was first being practiced in the 1980's by white supremacists on message boards who wanted to "out" others as Jewish (Smith, 2017).

Right from the beginning, these digital spaces functioned as places of recruitment, and an unparalleled means by which to distribute extremist media. In light of this, scholars have sought to unpack the various reasons why white supremacists took so quickly to cyberspace and why they continue to flourish there (Back, 2002; Adams & Roscigno, 2005; Selepak, 2010; Michael, 2016). Online space certainly fosters all sorts of communities, but it serves as a significant boon for white supremacist groups because it more easily allows them to 1) recruit and network, 2) impact 'neutral' online space with extremist ideology 3) access and build repositories of white supremacist lore, and 4) raise money. I argue that YouTube.com, in particular, is a worthy 'location' of study because it excels as a platform for fulfilling each of these functions. As a high-traffic, hub of user-generated videos and streams, YouTube fits Wirth's (1938) definition of a cosmopolitan space: an "initiating and controlling center of economic, political, and cultural life that has drawn the most remote parts of the world into its orbit and woven diverse areas, peoples, and activities into a cosmos" (Wirth, 1938, pg. 2). I maintain that YouTube should be understood as its own unique, virtual milieu in the same way that online message boards were when studied by scholars investigating white supremacist communities there. Its veritable "wild west" of alternative media sources muddles the distinction between more mainstream and extremist content. By framing white supremacist messaging in a way that appears benign, these groups can potentially normalize their views and recruit more members.

In this chapter, I first cover that existing body of literature, noting the advantages that online white supremacist communities have, how they differ from brick-and-mortar variants, and how white supremacy camouflages itself in seemingly 'neutral' online spaces. Then, I divulge

my findings, noting the aesthetics, mechanics, and community elements of the YouTube videos that were sampled. Finally, I explain how each of these facets facilitate the reproduction of power for whites in society.

White Supremacy Online

While the United States as a whole continues to perpetuate white supremacy (Gillborn, 2016), someone openly being a white supremacist may lead to a variety of social sanctions—such as being fired from one’s job or being banned from certain countries (Oppenheim, 2017). Therefore, a space where one can more easily conceal their identity, such as the Internet, can be a powerful tool for uniting individuals who share particularly deviant beliefs or interests. Consider how three years after the 1995 debut of the Internet’s first matchmaking and dating website, *Match.com*, was the creation of *Race Link*, a white supremacist dating page where “heterosexual gentiles” could meet with potential like-minded lovers (Back, 2002). *Race Link* would eventually disappear, but it would be recreated in the “White Singles” area of Stormfront.com and the more recent Whitedate.net. This comparison illustrates not just the Internet’s capacity for bringing individuals with specific interests together, but also the demand white supremacists have for networking spaces anonymously or pseudonymously protected from the public eye. Unlike a purely brick-and-mortar organization, white supremacists who conduct even a portion of their recruitment online can reach potential members all around the world. They are also less likely to incur unwanted attention from interlocutors and enjoy the convenience of interaction on their own terms (Adams & Roscigno, 2005).

In addition to networking, scholars have noted many online mechanisms that facilitate the development of extremist views. Early research on Internet discourse noted how conflicting attitudes were less likely to be present, indicating that discussion trends towards reinforcing or radicalizing already-held beliefs (Hill & Hughes, 1997). Popularly known as “echo chambers” (Colleoni et al., 2014; Wallsten, 2005), these spaces attract ideologically similar people and act as closed systems that insulate discourse from opposing viewpoints. What this means, is that even users with niche or extreme opinions can find a network with others who affirm them and then curate who they interact with by avoiding, blocking, banning, or caricaturing any opposition. It is worth noting a recent trend of attempting to recognize and mitigate the harmful effects of these “bubbles” (Grimes, 2017), and some lament that echo chambers turn an otherwise diverse ecosystem of opinions into two warring tribes that gradually become more extreme.

However, Karlsen et al. (2017) maintains that this interpretation is far too charitable. In their research on social media usage and discourse, they found that online users do frequently interact with people who disagree with them, contrary to what echo chamber media theory dictates. What is more surprising is that these interactions still cause opposing users to reinforce already-held views. This means that, whether one is seeking out like-minded or opposing users, their existing opinions on issues will likely be reinforced either way—hence Karlsen et al.’s insistence on the term “trench warfare”, rather than “echo chambers” to describe online discourse. Ideological obstinance like this can be a powerful stimulant for the formation of collective identity—a la political tribalism, where dissenting opinions can be summarily dismissed, and members of a political group are encouraged to uncritically conform.

Perry & Scrivens (2016) focus on Web 2.0's capacity for facilitating collective identity work among white supremacists. While older forms of the Internet limited consumption of older web content to a one-way street, Web 2.0's introduction of social networks meant that users can now more easily interact with one another in a myriad of different ways, such as easily creating their own media or consuming media made by other users. Interactions like these—via text, image, or video, consist of active interpretation, negotiation, and construction of meaning among users. These processes can foster group identification, building a sense of “us” (and by consequence) demarcating the “other”. The “us” and “them” can both be real, or fictional; present in the dialogue, or merely caricatured. This is not unique to online interactions, nor is it unique to white supremacists as a group. However, Perry & Scrivens maintain that because hate groups focus so heavily on in-group/out-group qualities and boundaries, the Internet serves as a powerful accelerant for these dynamics.

YouTube's features assist users in locating and discussing videos with white supremacist content. The website's ubiquity and ease of use make it a convenient space for political groups to network, recruit, and spread information. Furthermore, it feeds users an endless supply of content relevant to their interests. Recent research suggests that YouTube's recommender algorithm can immerse users in an extremist “ideological bubble” within an alarmingly few number of clicks (O'Callaghan et al., 2015).

Impacting 'Neutral' Online Space

In the mid 90's, white supremacists were using their early start in the online realm to register innocuous domain names like “martinlutherking.org” as a deceptive ploy to spread white

supremacist propaganda (Daniels, 2009). Daniels also notes how neo-Nazi, Frank Weltner, used misleading websites to poach donations from those wishing to aid victims of Hurricane Katrina and funnel the money into a white supremacist organization. Examples of “cloaked websites” (p. 661) like these indicate that online space is poorly regulated in terms of authenticity and that the technological grandeur of cyberspace adds an aura of legitimacy to even the most blatant misinformation.

In regard to white supremacy, ‘cloaking’ adds an alternate pathway for messaging in a contemporary “post-racial” (Bonilla Silva, 2001) world that tends to reject overt forms of racism associated with hate groups (Daniels, 2009). The swastika-laden Aryan Terror Brigade’s website is a clear giveaway that it is a white supremacist space and could drive away mainstream visitors on first click. But alternativeright.com, run by white nationalist Richard Spencer, has no overt extremist iconography and layers its messaging under unassuming slogans like “become who you are” (Altright.com, 2018). Wearing one’s ideology on their digital sleeve might entail loss of potential recruitment or challenges by anti-extremists, but concealing it allows for potentially easier indoctrination and plausible deniability (Gerstenfeld et al., 2003). After all, deplatforming by web domains and payment services has severely hindered the overtly extremist Stormfront.org, but the cloaked martinlutherking.org remained untouched long after.

Where this intersects with this study is how YouTube as a platform enables these practices in new ways. Propaganda is fragmented across several channels, complicating deplatforming efforts. The sheer amount of traffic through the site grants extra possibilities for dissemination and recruitment. Finally, research suggests that user-generated content (like videos on YouTube) can ‘cloak’ harmful ideology. Topinka’s (2017) study on the role of visual media in the subreddit [r/ImGoingToHellForThis](https://www.reddit.com/r/ImGoingToHellForThis/), reveals the mechanisms of transgressive memes, their

potential appeal, and why they can so easily be leveraged by white supremacists. Topinka's study focused on the discourse surrounding the circulation of a photo of a 3-year old Syrian Refugee, Alan Kurdi, who drowned in the Mediterranean Sea. Users created various "politically incorrect" assemblages of text and imagery with the original photo, attempting to provoke laughter while one-upping each other's depravity. However, thinly veiled behind this irreverence was the circulation of white nationalist rhetoric and ideology in the comments. As a person of color seeking refuge in the 'white, first world', Kurdi's death was karmically justified in the white nationalist framework and therefore judged as worthy of derision. Similar to the practice of trolling, criticizing the content (and the discourse surrounding it) misses the point because it is intentionally transgressive (Pérez, 2017). However, a closer look reveals that beyond simply offending for sake of offending, spaces like these are a fertile ground for the propagation of white supremacist ideals that hide "in plain sight" (May & Feldman, 2019, pg. 25).

The "Alt-right"

The online white nationalist movement appears to be politically situated at the center of this swirl of neoreactionary groups—loosely bound into a coalition commonly referred to as the "alt-right" (Nagle, 2017, p. 3). The term "alternative right", or "alt-right" was coined by white nationalist Richard Spencer (Florido, 2016) and has come to represent both core and peripheral groups who act as recruitment funnels, each radicalizing primarily young, white men into adopting white supremacist beliefs (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2018). Many of these groups have fundamentally different political positions, but as members become more extreme, they converge towards nationalist principles and ideals. Hartzell (2018) argues that the "alt-right"

represents a “rhetorical bridge” that enables the crossing of pro-white, white nationalist ideas into mainstream political discourse.

Since the decline of their mainstream acceptability in the 20th century, white supremacist groups have historically used bottom-up media generation, like white power music (Corte & Edwards, 2008), artwork (Apel, 2004, p. 197), and literature (Ball & Dagger, 1997), to recruit new members and further develop a specific sense of white identity. Echoing this, the “alt-right” has a unique emphasis on international outreach and utilizing Web 2.0 user-created content for political goals. Haider (2017) argues that the creative impetus of the “alt-right” is an “amoral libertine internet culture.” This is perhaps best represented by online communities like /pol of 4chan, and 8chan message boards. Nothing is off-limits for these disaffected, irreverent communities, and anything that shocks or offends is worthy of praise. Often, white supremacist and Nazi imagery (Clark 2017) is used in concordance with emotional manipulation. ‘Trolling’ offers those who invoke this inflammatory imagery an escape hatch through which to say they were ‘only joking’, and that their detractors are ‘too easily offended’, ‘triggered’, or opposed to free speech. Scholars such as Johnson (2018) highlight the possibility that many far-right ideologues spread blatant lies simply to enjoy the calamity the misinformation causes for their political opponents. What is particularly interesting are the benefits these practices provide white supremacists. Not only does this provide cover for white supremacists by gaslighting would-be accusers, but it creates safe spaces for users to ‘try on’ and play with different white supremacist ideas, more easily becoming radicalized (Topinka, 2017). Many white nationalist leaders are conscientious of these gateways to their ideologies, often acknowledging the importance of less-extreme political actors like Donald Trump as steppingstones that eventually normalize their views by shifting political discourse in their direction (Lovink & Tuters, 2018).

In addition to trolling, another set of practices that the “alt-right” have become embedded within is the creation, consumption, and circulation of internet memes. An internet meme is formally defined by Díaz & Mauricio (2013) as a “unit of information (idea, concept or belief), which replicates by passing on via internet (e-mail, chat, forum, social networks, etc.) in the shape of a hyper-link, video, image, or phrase” that can mutate, change, or evolve as it is spread. Memes represent a central component to remix culture (Lessig, 2008), and are often put together through a bricolage of already-existing images and jokes. This process is user-driven, and the amount of skill and time needed to create and share their own meme is relatively low. The result is a self-generating, interactive social experience that turns the traditional top-down media model on its head. This can be appealing to users whose interests or tastes are not in line with larger, mainstream producers of media but can also be a vehicle for more pernicious messaging as well.

In the case of YouTube, its eclectic variety of content and status as a popular social media website means it functions as a cosmopolitan space, where users from a myriad of different backgrounds and interests share a common social area (Dogtiev, 2019). YouTube’s search bar and recommendation function both facilitate content the platform’s algorithms deem relevant to the user’s perceived interests. However, O’Callaghan et al., (2015) found that YouTube’s recommendation function can link users from topics like music, news, and politics, to extremist right-wing content (such as white supremacism) within just a few recommendations. Considering the growing number of users who turn to YouTube for their news and information about politics (Smith et al., 2018), this means that the platform’s interface unwittingly aids white supremacists with spreading their message to non-extremist users. Lewis (2018) argues this is because YouTube favors videos with shocking or controversial topics; as well as offering pathways of radicalization through popular anti-feminist and reactionary video content.

There is also something to be said for YouTube's capacity as a powerful broadcasting device of user-made self-expression. There are no fact-checking processes, editing teams, press privileges, or any other formal gates to publishing content. Users can freely opine on any topic via video essays, video blogs (vlogs), mirrored podcasts (uploaded online radio recordings), visual/audio commentary on other media, etc. As a result, researchers have claimed that part of the website's appeal lies in the implied authenticity its media conveys (Tolson, 2013; Morris & Anderson, 2015). English et al.'s (2011, pg. 733) declaration of the "YouTube-ification" of political media proved to be correct, with alternative political news YouTube channels like The Young Turks, The Daily Wire, and The Majority Report leeching a growing portion of news viewership from mainstream outlets (Smith et al., 2018).

Fundraising and the Suitability of YouTube as a Platform

White supremacist groups have long used The Internet as an unrestricted marketplace to sell white power paraphernalia and music (Levin, 2002). Whether it is through posters, bumper stickers, bootleg Nazi iconography, or even online fanzine subscriptions, online merchandising can cover operating costs and fund expansion (Futrell et al., 2006; Futrell & Simi, 2006). Some websites, such as the aforementioned Stormfront.org, incentivize users to donate money to white supremacist causes by granting special privileges—such as online flair and the ability post in certain parts of the message board (Conway, 2005). While these features are still popular, monetizing user-generated content through advertising revenue was also quickly picked up by white supremacist groups who saw a golden opportunity in a video hosting platform named YouTube (Johns, 2017).

As connection speeds and website architecture improved in the late 90s and early 2000s, websites devoted to hosting video content online became increasingly more common. However, video libraries were relatively small, tightly curated by website staff, or devoted to specific niches (Burgess & Green, 2018). In 2005, three former PayPal employees capitalized on this opportunity by creating YouTube—a video hosting platform that emphasizes user-uploaded video content. Today, it is the largest, most popular video hosting platform on the web, delivering just over one billion hours of video to users each month (Dogtiev, 2019). Whether its baking tutorials, unboxing videos, guitar lessons, video blogs (or “vlogs”), music videos, or cat-related antics, just make a wish and YouTube’s search engine will probably grant it (or at very least provide a video of it). The only exception, in theory at least, is video content that violates YouTube’s terms of service or community guidelines, such as pornography, violent content that is “primarily intended to be shocking, sensational, or gratuitous”, or content that violates copyright law (YouTube, 2018). Violating these rules can result in one’s videos being taken down, their ad revenue seized (demonetization), and even their channel being removed.

While YouTube does have restrictions against “hateful content”, enough users were uploading white supremacist content to YouTube that companies who advertise on the website began to take notice (Lomas, 2017). Under Armour, Nordstrom, Volkswagen, Cisco, Toyota, Tesco, Heinz, Volvo, and AT&T all pulled ads from the website at one point to avoid appearing right before videos with racist and extremist content. In response to incidents like these, YouTube has focused more heavily on restricting and demonetizing content that violates their guidelines (Murphy et al., 2018). When it comes to the curbing the presence of hate groups like neo-Nazis, YouTube’s demonetization efforts are limited because: 1) YouTube still facilitates the funding of white supremacist content creators through other means (Broderick, 2017), 2)

demonetized videos still remain on the website, and 3) its recommender algorithm promotes similar content just ‘one click away’ (O’Callaghan et al., 2015).

When YouTube began more frequently demonetizing videos with controversial content, many YouTubers (including those who post white supremacist content) turned to Patreon as a means of collecting additional income from viewers (Broderick, 2017). Patreon is a service that allows “patrons” to subscribe to content creators for a set dollar amount each month, or each time they create content. This functions like a donation service, and patrons often receive rewards in return. For instance, patrons to content creators on YouTube may receive early access to videos before they are released on YouTube, access to hidden videos that are unlisted on the website, or having their name listed among other patrons at the end of the video as a way of thanking them. Some Patreon content creators have multiple subscription tiers, where those who donate more receive special privileges, such as private skype calls with the content creator or autographed merchandise.

“Alt-right” YouTuber, Black Pigeon Speaks, was estimated earning thousands of dollars each month from Patreon subscribers (Graphtreon, 2018). Similarly, Lauren Southern earned \$5000 a month from patrons before the website banned her for nationalist political activism (Broderick, 2017). In response to bans from crowdfunding platforms like Patreon and Kickstarter, gun-activist Cody Wilson founded Hatreon: “A platform for creators, absent speech policing” (Hatreon, 2018), where users can more easily fund content creators, like Richard Spencer, who were banned from mainstream platforms. Before its multiple takedowns from domain services and blacklisting from Visa, Hatreon reported assisting in transferring about \$25,000 a month to white supremacist content creators (Popescu, 2017).

White Supremacist Video Content and its Role as 'Alternative' Media

In 1996, Yggdrisil's University was launched as an online white nationalist library, containing e-books that allegedly honor European heritage. As Back (2002) points out, many of the texts do not contain white nationalist content but are still jointly interpreted by Yggdrisil users through that lens. For instance, several of Theodor Adorno's works are uploaded, and his critique of culture is framed as a critique of Jewish involvement in Hollywood. Despite Adorno's background, strong anti-Nazi sentiments, and inferred culpability in Cultural Marxism conspiracy theories, his works are still read as supporting an anti-Semitic conspiracy theory.

While online text databases are useful for white supremacist groups, videos can be an even more powerful medium for storing and disseminating information. On the previously mentioned Stormfront.org, the thread fixed to the top of the discussion board is titled "The Video Room" and functions as a repository for links to white supremacist video resources. Media in this thread serves to disseminate fictional fables that reinforce the narrative that the white race is not only superior, noble, and pure, but historically has been a heroic coalition, responsible for humanity's greatest achievements. This narrative is buttressed by minimizing or twisting historical atrocities to cast their vision of the white race in a more favorable light. Blumer (1958) argues in order for whites to reinforce their dominant position in society, they must establish a narrative through exclusion and folktales. Through collective retelling, these groups narrate historical events in a mythical manner that depicts white male hegemony as an unchallenged entity worthy of respect, celebration, and—above all, preservation (Blazak, 2001; Adams & Roscigno, 2005). The entertainment factor provided by media like this can attract wider

audiences, as indicated by the proliferation of in-browser white supremacist video games, as well (Selepak, 2010; Palmer, 2018).

White supremacist media, like the kind I have described here, is crucial to understanding patterns of racial inequality in society because it forms the ideological justification for its reproduction. Interpreting this media as only endemic to these well-marked extremist spaces does a great injustice because it further pathologizes racism as the fault of a hateful few and obscures the very real and storied ways that white supremacy as a structural phenomenon intersects with white supremacists. For instance, both Bobo (1986) and Carter & Lippard (2015; 2020) show in their research how opposition to racial justice programs—even on the mainstream, ‘color-blind’ (Bonilla-Silva, 2016, 2017) political stage, are ideologically buttressed by framing that plays off deep-rooted, widespread antipathy towards racial minorities. White supremacist media does not begin and end in the swastika-blazoned corners of the Internet; it draws from the same ideological well of racism that mainstream political discourse does, earnestly seeking to reproduce a racist society by shrewdly building on these commonalities.

Findings

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to the findings of this study, gathered over 45 days from 25 different channels containing white supremacist content. I analyzed text, imagery, and comments in an effort to answer the following questions: Do the different presentation styles and aesthetics reflect on or facilitate white supremacist messaging? How do content creators interact with and mobilize their viewership? How do content creators fund their messaging efforts? While later chapters unravel the rhetoric and framing in these videos, this chapter is

focused on the medium through which this content reproduces white supremacist ideology. My findings echo the literature on white supremacist media in some ways, and in other ways they reflect on the unique characteristics and strengths of the platform as a white supremacist space.

Monetizing the Message

I did not record which channels had ads at the time of data collection, but I have included a few notable examples of product promotions, some of which YouTube designated as ‘paid promotions’. During several videos, James Allsup would segue his political commentary into short promotions of virtual private network (VPN) services and silver bullion investments. Computing Forever also promoted VPNs, and both him and Black Pigeon Speaks worked paid promotions of mobile games into the nooks and crannies of their scripts. Blonde in the Belly of the Beast promoted gun accessories that had white supremacist memes engraved on them. Red Ice TV promoted its own merchandise, which included T-shirts emblazoned with either pictures of Roman boars, shield maidens, Vikings, or text that reads “They Have To Go Back”. It is beyond the scope of this study to track whether or not these promotions yielded these channels much income, but they stand out because they represent yet another means of monetizing content.

Channels also promoted Patreon accounts and off-site memberships as a way of funding them. Here is one of Red Ice TV’s pitches, which appeared in multiple videos:

Red Ice is independent listener-supported alt-right media. We are ad and sponsor free, and we do not monetize our content. The majority of what we do is free, but it's with the Red Ice memberships that we're able to take care of our crew. We're expanding and bringing on more people to produce additional TV segments but we need your help to fight against the anti-white machine that works against us 24/7. The government literally funds leftist groups that work against people like you and I. There are millions of dollars

working against us. We're up against massive opposition so help us fight back. For the price of a latte a month, you can become a member. You'll have access to the second hour of Red Ice Radio but also Weekend Warrior, our live commentary TV show, every Saturday, so you can also connect with fellow members during the show.

One thing to note here is how Red Ice remarks about fighting “anti-whites”. Subscribers are cast as politically contributing with their wallet against a malevolent force. It’s unclear which “government” they are speaking of, but the implication is that the opposition drastically out-funds them. This also implies that Red Ice’s media is exceptional because it is a grassroots effort by “people like you and I”, rather than propped up by the malevolent forces that control mainstream media. Thus, the act of viewing (but especially contributing) to their project is romanticized as a form of rebellion—of “fighting” in a high stakes conflict.

While Red Ice generally uploads entire episodes on their channel, TRS Radio appears to model their YouTube channel as a ‘sampler’ of sorts for paid content on their media website, therightstuff.biz. In Mark Collett’s *All-stars Line Up* episode of *This Weekend on The Alt-Right*, Mark Collett agrees with TRS Radio’s Mike Stryker that viewers should be willing to put money into content creators like them who benefit their movement:

I hear all these nationalists whine about paywalls and service price, and these same nationalists will be—will say to me later: ‘I’m off to watch Netflix, oh, I’ve got money for Amazon Prime subscription’. Well, if you’ve got money for Netflix then you should have money for TRS because it’s TRS, it’s Red Ice, it’s the alternative media we’ve built which has allowed us to get into the position we have.

Once again, off-site contributions to these YouTube channels are framed as a means to a political goal. In some cases, however, channel owners called for user payments for more personal reasons. In episode 401 of his *The Public Square* show, Jean-François Gariépy asks “the big donors” to “fund his operation” by buying one of five signed copies of a book he wrote at the price of 750\$. In episode 396 he asked his viewers to donate and meet the goal of 3,000 U.S.

dollars so that he and his girlfriend, “Momma JF”, can buy a house. He reaches his goal at the end of the stream and remarks that originally it was supposed to be \$5,000 but a viewer paid \$2,000 for a copy of his book shortly before it aired. While this amount was an outlier compared to the rest of the channels, examples like these indicate that content creators can potentially develop lucrative parasocial relationships with their viewers by producing white supremacist content.

Presentation Styles

Put simply, the majority of content in the sample functions as political commentary. These videos sit downstream of mainstream media and refocus current events through a white supremacist lens. Content creators share that, unlike news media giants seen on television, they operate solo or in comparatively small teams to present news to their viewers. They continuously portray themselves as grassroots media efforts that are funded entirely by user donations and—if YouTube permits, platform monetization. Finally, many of them remind their viewers that they are unencumbered by the burdens of political correctness and meddlesome outside interests that hold the mainstream media down.

The channels that did stylize themselves as ‘alternative’ new sources kept relatively brisk upload schedules. Red Ice TV uploaded about four, hour-plus videos a week, while Jean-François Gariépy (JF) did about five streams each week—sometimes for over three hours at a time. By comparison, channels who released solely video essays or video blogs—like Computing Forever, ThuleanPerspective, and Black Pigeon Speaks released frequently also, but stuck to shorter videos that averaged between 5-15 minutes. Video essays, documentaries, and music

videos appeared scripted while vlogs, livestreams, and group chats appeared extemporaneous or improvised, as content creators had to continuously respond to Super Chats, other speakers, or live-react to media they were watching. Channels generally trended towards one style over the sampling period (although Red Ice TV, Blonde in the Belly of the Beast, and Mark Collett opted for both styles quite evenly).

The presentation style affected two major components: 1) the pacing, and 2) the content. Video essays, music videos, and documentaries were more likely to be edited and typically much shorter, averaging between 5 to 20 minutes (although some exceeded 45 minutes in rare cases). Vlogs and streams could vary wildly between 5-minute blurbs and 3 or more hours. In terms of content, video essays, music videos, and documentaries were more focused in their subject matter, less casual, and incorporated more audio/visual embellishments. Vlogs and streams drifted between topics but remained visually static, often shot from one angle.

Both styles deployed frames of reasonableness, but the difference in creative control meant that scripted-style videos featured more color-blind frames and less overt white supremacist messaging. This difference was most apparent when examining livestreams, where the viewership and content creators interacted in real time. Content creators that regularly use color-blind frames did not display their live chats in the YouTube streams, did not use/oblige Super Chats, and were more likely to mention moderating overtly racist, sexist, or anti-Semitic user comments.

What these trends indicate is that channels in the sample with less overt white supremacist content were less likely to platform their viewership's commentary within the video. In contrast, channels with more overt white supremacist content were more likely to platform their viewership's commentary. Reasons for this could be that unscripted-style pieces (and the

channels that regularly feature them) are typically directed ‘inwardly’ towards the content creator’s community while scripted-style videos, on the other hand, hold more ‘outward’ or mainstream appeal. It also could be that channels with higher subscriber counts have more to lose, so to speak, so content creators are more protective of their work potentially being removed by YouTube.

Comments

While interaction is often regarded as the hallmark of user-created content, any disagreement with a video’s content on YouTube can only be brought up on the page in the form of a dislike or a comment below it. The former is markedly nonspecific in challenging a video’s claims, while the latter may never be read or responded to by the video’s creator. Instead, YouTube’s comment system could effectively bury that comment once enough of that content creator’s fans ‘dislike’ it. Comments favored by the community (which are likely in agreement with the video above) will be upvoted to the top. Because of this, a cursory glance over the comment section of a video may only yield what seems like consensus among viewers. To add to this ‘one-sidedness, comments can be disabled by YouTube or the video’s creator or “pinned” to the top of the comments section.

In addition to the comments section, YouTube also offers a live chat function that allows users to interact with one another as a video premieres or streams live. Users can use text, emojis, or donate money to the channel. Donations are displayed at the top of the chat for a time, and users can attach a comment to their donation as well. While content creators occasionally respond to comments and questions in these chats while streaming, they are most likely to thank

and read comments from viewers who have donated. This is especially the case with Super Chats, which constantly trickled in during streams like Jean-François Gariépy (JF)'s *The Public Square* and Blonde in the Belly of the Beast's *Beauty and the Beta*. Finally, content creators may host their streams on multiple platforms at once, meaning they may be interacting with and taking donations from viewers on Twitch, Discord, or Facebook, all at the same time.

The nature of the comments section created an interesting dynamic between commenters and content creators, which both routinely lament that content can be removed for containing problematic content. For instance, JF notified his viewers during a stream that he had to remove a Super Chat because it referenced “killing and murder too much”. He assured his viewers that he did not take it down because it was hate speech (a term frequently lambasted by the community), but because his “Google-trained mods” assured him it needed to be censored.

Afterwards, the following exchange took place between him and a Super Chatter:

Super Chatter: JF the tribe controls this channel by censoring many messages...

JF: Well it's good that it's that way because if you want to survive on the Internet, you're gonna have to learn to censor yourself... You're not gonna survive if you continue on this autistic path.”

Super Chatter: If free speech doesn't exist you end up doing work for the other people

Shortly after this, JF thanked them for their donation and declared that he had banned them. Red Ice TV's Henrik expressed similar concern when he announced to his viewers during their *Weekend Warrior* stream that, because they are streaming to so many platforms, they are going to have to censor themselves. He recommends users express themselves with the help of The Slur Machine, an offsite tool that generates daily code words that viewers can use instead of slurs, which may trigger negative sanctions from their streaming platforms.

Both content creators and commenters continually praised these digital spaces as libertine, anything-goes type spaces, where no topic, opinion, or language is off-limits. Indeed,

just about every stream chat log was rife with overtly anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim, and anti-black comments. However, there were consistently moments when content creators attempted to control viewer discourse when opinions differed too greatly from their own.

Lacey Lynn was another content creator in the sample who relied on moderators during filter out problematic users during streams. In this excerpt, Lacey Lynn identifies someone in chat as a “troll”, and calls upon her moderators to remove them:

I see some tags. Um, haha. We got our first troll. ‘Have you ever thought of trying’ - from Tracy Jones- ‘have you ever thought of trying a Pakistani Man as boyfriend?’ No, no I have not and will not because I'm married and I don't, I don't even want to date a Pakistani man, anyway. So, yeah. I mean, if you're not familiar with this channel, I'm an ethnonationalist, so yeah. Also, Tracy Jones, I'm gonna get you out of the way. If, if you, if any of my moderators do jump in, um, then if Tracy's being kind of troll then just [fart noise] out. Uh, ‘Pakistani Muslim men are superior to inferior Christian white wimps’. huh okay you're funny. Um, I don't know where you came from.

In *Sri Lankan Carnage TPS #392*, JF pauses his commentary to read a Super Chat from one of his viewers who asks, “does being more attracted to androgynous trans men then passing trans women mean I'm not heterosexual?” JF replies, “Holy shit. Let me understand your sentence here. You are more attracted to androgynous trans men then passing trans women. Dude, at this point, if you are asking this question let me solve it for you: you're gay.” After this exchange, JF moves on but then several minutes later receives another Super Chat from, what JF indicates, is the same viewer:

Viewer: “Androgynous trans men usually have female genitalia. I'll leave the soft penis to you not gay Aryans.”

JF: “Dude if you have all of the thoughts about these androgynous trans men... What the fuck are you even talking about. I don't want to think about this. I asked you to stop Super Chatting about all these things and putting these images in my head.”

Afterwards, viewers seemingly attempt to accommodate JF's homophobia by prefacing their Super Chats with “I'm not gay, but...”. Despite this, JF visibly appears more and more

uncomfortable as the stream continues, and when viewer discussion eventually circles back around to the topic of anal sex he exclaims:

What the fuck is happening with my Super Chat? All of the Super Chatters are gay. What the—Where are the heterosexual Super-Chatters? Send me some money. One dollar if you need to. I cannot believe we have two or three people tonight, insisting in multiple Super Chats about this whole anal sex thing and talking about borderline ‘uh, is it gay to love the trans men to feel... uh’. It’s like, please, someone, send some heterosexuals. I know that you are heterosexual, and you are keeping your money for yourselves to raise your babies, but I can’t believe there isn’t a hetero guy out there with the bucks to spend on a Super Chat which would be non-gay. Please, please, please.

A full minute passes before a donation comes in and JF’s request is apparently fulfilled:

The hetero chat are coming in. He says ‘Spoooper chat’s gone gay’. Ahhhhhh, and he says ‘gay flag fucks, gay flag. Married with kids. More on the way’. Alright, we have some heteros coming back into the discussion. ‘I’m not gay but here is some shekel³’. Alright, we’re back to an equilibrium in the chat. Not just gay Super Chats. It’s not that I hate the gay people, but I don’t want to be flooded by only gay concerns in the Super Chat. I want to diversify the show so we can show to heterosexual people that they are welcome on the show.

In conclusion, these series of exchanges demonstrate how content creators in the sample attempt to influence viewer discourse. While the idea of censorship was generally frowned upon in these communities, in practice many content creators were not above taking action if it meant avoiding censorship from a platform or if user discourse became too deviant or problematic.

³ ‘Shekels’ are Israeli currency and the term is used as slang in white supremacist communities to imply that something is funded by a Jewish conspiracy or to refer to greed in an anti-Semitic way (Rosenburg, 2018)

Ideology Through Aesthetics: Idyllic Nature and the Hauntology of Fashwave

This study's focus is primarily on rhetoric, but the trappings of white supremacist messaging has historically been found to carry a considerable amount of appeal to those who consume it (Forchtner & Kølvrå, 2017; Bogerts & Fielitz, 2019), and since YouTube is a video hosting website, it would be remiss to leave out discussing some of the visuals that were observed.

Vlogs were shot in what appeared to be bedrooms, living rooms, and offices. The speaker would face the camera, typically sitting down in front of books, posters, or even national iconography—like a Swedish or American flag. Ayla Stewart and Thulean Perspective shot nearly all of their vlogs either walking around outdoors or sitting in the driver's seat of a vehicle. The video/audio quality of these productions was typically the worst of the sample, but they made up for it with a more personal, homegrown authenticity that many of the sleeker productions seemed to lack.

Streams and newscasts projected a very different aesthetic style. On *Flashback Friday* and *Weekend Warrior* streams, Red Ice TV emulated the appearance of mainstream news productions, with similar camera angles, a news desk, ad breaks, and chyrons/crawls running across the screen. JF and Mark Collett also used physical branding and (what appeared to be) dedicated filming spaces, but more closely resembled mainstream YouTube productions, rather than a TV news program.

Finally, video essays had their own cluster of visual trends. American Renaissance, James Allsup, and Brittany Pettibone were filmed in static locations but judiciously interspersed shots of them talking with visuals that emphasized or elucidated on their talking points. Black

Pigeon Speaks and Computing Forever also had a heavily edited style, but typically used avatars to represent themselves. For Black Pigeon Speaks it was a drawing of the titular animal and for Computing Forever it was a handful of cartoon expressions that emoted along with his speech.

These formats were, by far, the most common, but a few did deviate from the more standard formats of delivering livestreams, video essays, or political news. The relatively small channel Leiptr, functions as a repository of music by the artist of the same name, with music videos or imagery for tracks such as *Nostalgic About the Future* and *Spacenords*. Leiptr describes its music as “fashwave”, a portmanteau of fascism and any one of the following electronic music genres: Retrowave, synthwave, and vaporwave (Killeen, 2018). The music video for their song, *Peak Fash*, depicts footage of an idyllic white nuclear family playing on the beach and performing various family activities at home. The music video is interspersed with vintage footage, including a 1938 clip of boys boxing and a 1939 clip of women performing gymnastics. Notably, every clip contains only white people, depicted as either smiling, having fun with others, or displaying some sort of physical prowess or strength. Elements of 50’s era futurism are also present, with white nuclear families driving through futuristic cities. About two minutes into the video, clips of content creator The Golden One working out in a gym appear, as does footage of Richard Spencer doing karaoke and white men brandishing tiki torches at the Unite The Right Charlottesville rally.

Leiptr’s channel represents one of the many ways that contemporary white supremacist movements have broadly updated the aesthetics of their politics. In the next chapter, this dissertation touches on how memes can either overtly or covertly (through use of irony or dog whistles) convey white supremacist ideas, yet Leiptr represents a more specific blending of the politics of white supremacy and fascism with the aesthetics of music and imagery. Channel

Xurious Music further situates this aesthetics with fascist activism by using titles like *Revolt Against the Modern World*, *Fight for Western Civilization*, *Death to Traitors*, *Men Among the Ruins*, *Identity is Unstoppable*, and *Battle of Berkeley*.

A number of scholars have already established the hauntological connections between the temporalities of these genres and the temporalities of fascism. Hauntology, when applied here to aesthetics, refers to temporal convergences between past, present, and future in art, music, and other media (Tavin, 2005; Derrida, [1993] 2012). Specters of past generations' epistemologies, traumas, and ways of seeing the future are manifested in a "cultural séance" (Tavin, 2005, pg. 102). In their 2012 study of discourses within fascist music, Machin and Richardson point out how it draws upon the same "physical athleticism of futurism" present in art upheld by the Nazi regime, such as paintings by Albert Janesh. Other aesthetic manifestations of fascist temporalities (Griffin, 2015) can be seen in the trappings and iconography associated with non-music channels as well. The fusion of roman architecture with a futuristic vibe was central to Nazi Germany's architectural style and is echoed in sampled YouTube shows like the Daily Shoah, Goy Talk, and The Foundry.

Mytho-historic invocations of the past can also be seen in the aesthetic trappings, language, and iconography associated with the channels. Gods from Roman, Greek, and Norse pantheons are invoked, as well as imagery of knights, warriors, Spartans, and Vikings. The yellow lambda symbol is shown in videos discussing the white nationalist movement Identity Europa, and is what Spartans painted on their shields at Thermopylae.

However, no other channel in the sample invoked the mythological quite like The Golden One did. Several of his videos that were sampled were essentially musical montage videos of him working out, including *Hyperborean Sacred Werewolf Training for the Rebirth of Evropa*,

in which he performs “The Sacred Werewolf’s Fullmoon Session of the Gods (5 reps at 220 kilograms)”. All of this is interspersed with shots of trees, hills, and a statue of a woman breastfeeding. There is also *Neo-Scythian Heryos Training in the Ruins of Sweden*, where Identitet Svea joins him for working out in the woods. At one point, they both touch a Swedish picture-stone in reverence.

This leads into the final visual trend I will discuss, which is what appeared to be an affinity for vernal, pastoral, and natural settings. Red Ice TV, Dancing Dove, Ayla Stewart, TheBlondeButterMaker, and ThuleanPerspective either had videos that were filmed in sunny, green spaces or used images of farms and countrysides in their productions. While there certainly is an aesthetic appeal to locales like these, they also played a political role in the messaging. Red Ice TV frequently mentioned how Europeans need to “return to nature”, “get in touch” or be “in harmony” with “the land”, and “honor” the locations of their ancestors. RamZPaul remarked that only whites “care about the environment”, and work to preserve it while immigrants destroy it. TheBlondeButterMaker, Ayla Stewart, and ThuleanPerspective all held the wholesome, traditional trappings of rural life against the degenerate decadence of urban living. These framings bear resemblance to early and mid-twentieth-century Nationalist German propaganda efforts, where the idyllic countryside of the Fatherland is portrayed as being inhabited by the hard-working *Volksgemeinschaft* (Forchtner & Kølvråa 2017). This whites-only living space (or *Lebensraum*) stands in direct contrast to the tainted decay of cities, shown to inhabit immigrants and people of color.

Conclusion

In summation, what all of these platform-based mechanisms fundamentally accomplish is that they facilitate the spread and mainstream acceptance of white supremacist ideology. Content creators acknowledge YouTube as a cosmopolitan space, where they can recruit new followers and advance their cause. They cite it as a source of income, a platform for mainstreaming nationalist views, and an “alternative” counter to corrupted mainstream news outlets. The format and aesthetics of these videos fall evenly between the amateur, authentic style of YouTube vlogging and mimicking the professional grandeur of news productions. Finally, they reanimate the fascist and nationalist messaging of old; repackaging it for 21st century consumption and lacing their content with appeals to nature and hauntological invocations of 80s futurism.

CHAPTER FOUR: FRAMING HATE

For the purposes of this study, 49 channels were thematically analyzed from a mixed sample of six videos each and then placed into one of five emergently built categories according to their content and framing. The top five most popular channels of each category were selected for deeper analysis, and every video uploaded during a 45-day period was transcribed and analyzed. Every category contained white supremacist messaging in some form, and each drew from the array of frames I discuss in chapters six and seven. However, there were different ‘versions’ of the same frames, depending on the amount of overt racialization in the video’s language. For instance, in-group superiority could be expressed through belittlement of political opponents, dehumanization of ‘foreigners’, or outright appeal to racial hierarchy. Based on the findings, I maintain that this difference, and its strategic significance within the larger white supremacist project, is one of the most crucial tensions present in the sample.

The reason for this tension is that the core ideological tenets of white supremacist and white nationalist thought, for reasons I will explain in upcoming sections, cannot be openly expressed in post-racial political discourse. Thus, actors who propagate white supremacist media on YouTube face a dilemma between openly articulating racial hierarchy and anti-Semitism to their base or covering it up in an attempt to evade negative sanctions and smuggle these ideas to a wider viewership. In the findings, this conflict was chiefly expressed in two ways:

- 1) Based off language and rhetoric analyzed in the sampled YouTube videos, white supremacist content could be categorized as color-blind nationalist, white nationalist, or anti-Semitic white nationalist, with each category progressively more blatant in its racialized language than the last and having smaller subscriber counts (see Table 3).

2) Content creators, guest speakers, and commenters in the channels discussed how to evade censorship, manage impressions in front of ‘normies’⁴, and occasionally lambasted or doubted the integrity of one another for not openly confronting key issues like racial hierarchy (‘race realism’), white genocide, and anti-Semitic conspiracies (the ‘JQ’).

These two points will be fully unpacked later in findings sections of this chapter, but first I must cover the existing literature concerning the terrain of racial politics. This includes defining frames, scholarship on the modern age of “color-blind” politics, as well as the methods by which political actors attempt to model racist attitudes and policies as “reasonable” (Armour, 1997, pg. 4) in an effort to reproduce a racist society (Bobo, 1999; Bonilla Silva, 2003).

Defining Frames

Like all social movements, white supremacist groups use frames (Goffman, 1974) to promote social efficacy. Frames are ways by which groups interpret events, helping them collectively “locate, perceive, identify and label” different phenomena (Goffman, 1974, pg. 21). These “persuasive devices” (Snow & Benford, 1988) mobilize existing group members and recruit new ones by helping interpret perceived, shared problems and providing actionable solutions to them. Cooper et al. (2012) argues that after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, President George W. Bush framed the conflict as A War On Terror—a global struggle of civilization vs. barbaric terrorists who must be overcome, lest their hate for the U.S. lead to its downfall. Donald Trump’s 2016 political campaign for U.S. President attempted to legitimize existing white

⁴ The term ‘Normie’ is pejorative Internet slang for individuals who have mainstream interests (Urban Dictionary, 2016)

antipathy towards non-whites by framing ‘illegal aliens’ as: (a) unmitigated sources of crime that threaten the livelihood of Americans; (b) an issue solvable with the construction of a wall on the Mexican-U.S. border. As Leary (2017, pg. 146) explains: "What pragmatic and economic arguments against the border wall miss is that its major objective is symbolic." It unites followers through frame: by constructing an issue that appeals to their insecurities, and then providing a solution that is conveniently actionable on behalf of the campaigning political figure. The degree to which a frame resonates with a group is more important than whether or not it is necessarily true, which is why frames heavily borrow from existing cultural narratives to grant moral significance and continuity to events.

Hutchings & Valentino (2004) offer a comprehensive overview of the ways race has played a strong role in U.S. political framing. They cite numerous historical examples, including Nixon’s “southern strategy”, which carefully intertwined racialized rhetoric with policies that opposed affirmative action, welfare, and other forms of federal aid. This political move was effective in gathering votes from disaffected Southern former democrats, who disliked the Democrats’ embracing of the civil rights movement. Similarly, George H.W. Bush’s political campaign against Michael Dukakis used a story about a black convict who assaulted a family after being temporarily released from jail (under Dukakis’ policy) as an attempt to smear him as negligent. This approach drew upon a historically white fear of black men as dangerous criminals, and the associated ad campaign was designed to tap into that emotion. Hutchings & Valentino’s discussion of voter ID laws was echoed in more contemporary politics, with the Supreme Court ruling they were racially motivated attempts of discrimination, concealed as impartial policies against voter fraud.

Similarly, Carter & Lippard (2015) unpack the various discursive methods by which elites in political interest groups discuss racialized issues by analyzing amicus briefs linked to Supreme Court immigration cases. For instance, they found that elite social actors describe immigrants in ways that either dehumanize them or avoid acknowledging them as Americans. While the immigration issue is framed as nonracial, the types of rhetoric and argumentation used better represents a dog whistle to anti-immigrant sentiments than any actual impartial policy. This form of messaging stokes the underlying fear and resentment in these groups and rationalizes any defensiveness they may feel when minority groups are perceived as taking more than what they deserve.

Valentino et al. (2002) take a similar approach by breaking down political ads from campaigns. One ad, from Bill Clinton's 1996 campaign, argues that foreigners (depicts Mexicans crossing the border) are stealing "our jobs" (depicting a white family). The imagery in the ad speaks volumes about the racialized nature of these issues, while the 'text' alone simply seems like vanilla economic protectionism. These show that subtext in political messaging can be already assumed in a group or conveyed through alternative means, such as imagery or context. This allows political actors to frame events in such a way that it taps into racial prejudice in their base without having to overtly express it themselves, offering plausible deniability and perpetuating the "now you see it, now you don't" (Bonilla-Silva, 2017, pg.3) theatrics of racism in the color-blind era.

Racism with a Smile

Billig et al. (1988, p. 100) note that the contemporary understanding of prejudice was

born out of the Enlightenment era. In so many words, the Enlightenment promoted rational inquiry as the most virtuous means of understanding the world. Therefore, because prejudice represents an irrational judgement, it should be avoided at all costs. Later, this ideological thread would be woven into the fabric of liberalism, where prejudice is posed not only as a threat to rationality, but a threat to an individual's freedom and opportunity.

Of course, the very nations that took pride on embodying this outlook (European nations and the U.S.) were still denying rights to people of color well into the twentieth century. Thus, scholars like Billig et al. and Bonilla-Silva (2017) attempt to unpack how prejudice can be so widely stigmatized in a culture that still clings to racialized, nationalist notions of “us” and “them”. Rather than donning a white hood, the “reasonable” (Armour, 1994, pg. 783) racism of today vigilantly opposes the tide of racial justice while continuously asserting that the *actual* racists are somewhere—anywhere else.

Look no further than the double-speak of contemporary prejudiced statements in political discourse—particularly ones that start with the prefatory statement, “I’m not racist, but...” (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000). Ambivalent statements like these represent an ideological dilemma, where “the language of prejudice and that of the avoidance of prejudice” clash (Billig et al., 1988, p. 118). The speaker must first address the sociological milieu of tolerance and any potential transgression their forthcoming statement might imply, lest they be dismissed as an irrational, unsympathetic bigot.

In the case of the skinheads they studied, Billeg et al. noted that they pivoted between prefacing their prejudiced statements with conflicting appeals to both nationalism and egalitarianism:

...the following was spoken by a girl who claimed to be a member of the British

Movement and who did not shrink from racist abuse: 'I think that in Britain today there are too many niggers.' There was also the claim of unfairness: 'Whites get the blame a lot more than blacks do.' Then followed the confusion between a complaint presented as being based on a non-racist and egalitarian criterion, and unabashed racism which did not justify itself in terms of anything: 'If they stay in Britain, they should at least dress and speak British, if not go home; they should go home anyway.' The reasonably prejudiced person cannot take this last step: if 'they' are to go 'home', it must be for 'fair' reasons (1988, pg. 121)

This switching, between nationalism and egalitarianism, uses the latter to justify the prejudice of the former. As explained, "the assertion of 'our' reasonableness is bound up with the assumption of 'their' unreasonableness and the unfairness of it all" (Billig et al., 1988, pg. 122). The reason this switch happens, is that egalitarianism (at least the particular neoliberal brand being evoked here) fits more cleanly within color-blind mainstream politics than the open lamenting of racial minorities sharing the same national space as whites.

However, when among other fellow skinheads, the need to appear reasonable falls to the wayside. Discussion about race takes on a remarkably more extreme and direct tone in privacy, compared to the language used when white supremacists attempt to gain influence in the public sphere (Wetherell & Potter, 1993). Unabashed racism is not permissible in mainstream discourse, so many white supremacists use coded statements to appear less extreme to the public or claim that prejudiced statements are merely jokes, not intended to offend (Billig, 2001). Once again, swapping between frames ameliorates the social stigma that open racism brings with it—this time by innocuously shifting racism as an artifact of a past age; able to be flippantly joked about without ill-will or consequence.

Berbrier (1999) argues that many of the ways racism is stigmatized rely on the cultural belief that it is characterized by anger, irrationality, violence, and lack of intelligence. As a result, white supremacists who wish to manage this stigma and normalize their ideas have

focused on rhetorical strategies of intellectualization, equivocation, abstract liberalism, and victimhood. Berbrier's (1999, pp. 424-425) excellent analysis of white supremacist publications reveals several tactics:

Tactic A suggests that "when discussing . . . race and minorities . . . always do so in a serious tone." Tactic B reminds readers to "avoid vulgarity." Once again the goal is to evade stigma by disidentifying from the most obvious transgressions and appearing intelligent, thereby normifying the racist stance.

Tactic D tells readers how to react when labeled "racist" or "bigot." The strategy here is to respond with a definition of racism ("A person who hates or dislikes another simply because of that person's race, national origin and religion") and to explain to opponents "that you are proud of your own people, as you expect others to be proud of theirs," adding that "you will not tolerate actions by others, either as individuals or in groups, that are aimed at your 'tribe.'" Thus, the idea is once again to normify white supremacy by identifying it with ordinary ethnic group political activity. We are told that all people are expected to be proud of their people and that this is all that these white activists are interested in doing (Berbrier 1998a).

Similarly, Tactic E advises the reader to take every opportunity to claim "that you do not 'hate' other races, but that you will not let fear of being called a 'hater' stop you from vigorously defending the interests of your own people." Once again the appeal to higher loyalties is invoked, whereby the fear of being labeled is dismissed as secondary to "defending the interests" of one's "people."

Forrest's Tactic F opines on what to do "if the old superiority-inferiority argument comes up." The appropriate response in this event is to "state that you believe there are profound differences between individuals, population groups and races, but that does not mean that one group or race is 'superior' or 'inferior.' Such determinations are subjective judgments." A scientific objectivity is thus again invoked that simultaneously denies any negative intent and provides an intellectual cover. This argument, moreover, is a hallmark of the "new racism."

As restated numerous times by Berbrier in this excerpt, the goal of tactics like these is the eventual normalization of white supremacist ideology. Consider some of the recurring slogans of the online political "alt-right": "It's Okay to be White" (Hayden, 2017) and "White Pride Worldwide" (Perry & Scrivens, 2016). The former implies that whites are persecuted at large, while the latter deals in white pride—an ahistorical, non-contextual, rhetorical strategy of

equivalence on part of white supremacist movements. Berbrier (2000) points out that this approach is simply the use of “buzzwords, designed to resonate with the contemporary value system.” Words like ‘culture’, ‘heritage’, ‘preservation’, and ‘survival’ are positively coded. Thus, it is the white supremacists strategy to remain as abstract as possible when referring to how these relate to white supremacy but avoid clear statements of hate or fear of difference.

Color-Blind Frames

The case for color-blind racism as the primary modus operandi of “new racism” has been well-stated by race scholars (Gotanda, 1991; Carr, 1997; Bonilla-Silva, 2016, 2017; Hughey, Embrick, & Doane, 2015). Also known as “discursive deracialization” (Every & Augoustinos, 2007, p. 133), it represents an erasure of race from public discourse. Under this framework, the days of racism are long passed since the civil rights movement (aside from a handful of ‘bad egg’ racists), and any corrective action to address racial injustice is thereby unwarranted. While practices of discrimination against black people are still carried out by law enforcement (Legewie, 2016), by the criminal justice system (Siegel, 2017), and through hiring practice (Zschirnt & Ruedin, 2016; Quillian et al., 2017)—to name only a few, great effort is still taken to present the U.S. as a meritocracy where everyone starts off on equal footing.

There are numerous reasons why color-blind racism persists: it embodies the same sort of wishful thinking that resonates with the cultural mythos of neoliberalism and the ‘American Dream’; it keeps whites from conceding that their position in society is a result of a legacy of privilege, rather than purely through their own efforts; and it keeps the topic of race confined as an unwelcome, irrelevant ploy for special treatment—hence, the phrase “playing the race card”

(Hurwitz & Peffley, 2005). Therefore, interlocutors who mention racial injustice in political discourse face the accusation that they are acting in bad faith and deploying race as a smokescreen to block ‘real’ debate.

Lawrence Bobo (2000) notes that opponents of affirmative action use it as supposed proof that whites are actually left by the wayside in contemporary society’s pursuit of equality. Pushes for equality are dismissed on the grounds that non-whites are too extreme in their activism—asking for too much, too fast. This particular objection towards racial justice has been present during every historical advancement of black’s civil liberty in the United States, including during slavery and the reconstruction period (Horton & Horton, 1988), the early 1900’s (Cashman, 1991), the civil rights movements of the 60s (Ransford, 1972), and today (Chapman, 2017).

Doane (2006) describes these conflicts as racial discourse, where “social actors employ rhetorical strategies in order to make “claims” and promote a particular interpretation of a social issue” (pg. 256). As a result, racism is a constantly contested concept within politics, and discourse on whether outcomes or events are racialized is of utmost concern. For instance, a surge in awareness about police brutality towards black people has created a discourse over whether or not this phenomenon constitutes a racial issue. Black Lives Matter (BLM) is a movement sparked by these extrajudicial killings of black Americans by police, seeking to address racial inequality through offline and online activism (Black Lives Matter, 2018). The hashtag #BlackLivesMatter has encountered counter-protest in the form of #AllLivesMatters or #BlueLivesMatter as a way of reframing the issue away from race and into the color-blind territory of blanket humanism and support for police officers (Gallagher et al., 2018).

This struggle represents the clash between color-blind ideology—where racism is confined to the acts of an irrationally hateful few, and racism as a systemic form of oppression that benefits whites at the expense of others. In the words of Kinder and Mendelberg, “prejudice today is preoccupied with matters of moral character” (2000, p. 61). This ensures that the charge of racism stays on the individual level, and larger patterns of discrimination can remain unchallenged in racial discourse.

Findings

Literature on the role of race in modern political framing indicates it is a powerful mobilizing tool for capitalizing on racial resentment and perpetuating inequality. However, the climate of color-blind politics means that overt activation of race in political messaging risks alienating audiences or too closely resembles racial hatred of old. Instead, political actors must adopt a guise of ‘reasonable’ racism to rhetorically balance the two. In the YouTube videos I transcribed and analyzed over 45 days, I found that these tensions were on display in the ways that content creators (a) discussed and debated their rhetorical tactics; (b) used dog-whistles and cryptic references in their messaging to appeal to newcomers and core membership alike; (c) extracted social clout from performatively ‘saying it without saying it’.

Don’t Scare Away the Normies

In this section, I focus on how content creators adjusted rhetorical tactics with mainstream audiences in mind. After their hundredth episode anniversary, Mark Collett discussed with guests how he wanted to rebrand his program moving forward. Since it was

named *This Week on the Alt-Right*, he expressed concern that the “alt-right” label that had been “tainted” by events like Charlottesville’s Unite the Right Rally. Thus, to “attract” more “normies”, he renamed it the Patriotic Weekly Review (PWR). Collett assured viewers that while the “nomenclature had changed, our beliefs are the same”. This quote from the third episode of PWR (featuring Richard Spencer) explains in more detail the thought process behind the show’s rebranding:

“I think sometimes the mistake we make is that we package things to please us—we package things to please people who are already enlightened. And I want to keep exactly the same format of the show, the exact same guests, the exact same talking points. But I want to package them in a way that we can sell our product to more normal people, really, and get a wider pool of people watching. And it's not—Some people think when you rebrand it’s about selling out. You're only selling out if you do what conservatives do and they change their policy. We're not changing a single policy we've ever discussed. We're still woke on the J issue. We're still woke on the white genocide issue.”

This excerpt shows Collett negotiating the careful balance between catering to his more extreme base and attracting newer members to, what he calls, the “nationalist” movement. Despite his efforts, Collett’s integrity was still occasionally called into question by members in his chat. This reflected an aura of suspicion and derision that was cast by the sampled community towards right-wing media personalities who did not sufficiently represent white nationalist perspectives. Mark Brahmin in Red Ice’s *The Apollonian Transmission* knocked Ben Shapiro and other, more mainstream, right-wing media personalities as leftist plants—controlled or “false” opposition that keep whites out of the far right. Political YouTuber, Carl Benjamin also caught flak as well for this, as evidenced by comments below Collett’s episode:

User 1: “actually makes me angry xD How can people fall for it. Then you actually go and debate the comment section on a Vee video, or a Sargon video, and you realise the vast majority of these children are both completely politically illiterate, but also completely unaware of what their gurus actually stand for. I can guarantee the majority of people who vote for Sargon in the EU elections don't know he doesn't care what race

dominates England, as long as they wave an England flag, that he doesn't even grasp the concept the culture is down stream of race, and that he believes race realism (ie race and IQ etc) is nonsense.”

User 2: [replying to User 1] 100% right. I hate these constitutionalists the Constitution is just a piece of paper what matters is blood and soil you could write all the Constitution you want and they won't make any difference if you don't have any value in your identity and culture and you can force foreign people with the opposite of views, values and culture to abide by your rules. First comes race, then comes culture and traditions and finally from that comes politics. Culture is what drives politics! For example... A tree without roots cannot survive it will never produced any fruit and it will eventually wither and die.

Although these commenters lament the absence of “blood and soil” and “race realism” from the aforementioned political figure’s platform, their yearnings must also contend with the ‘color-blind’ and ‘reasonable’ political terrain these political figures navigate. Macklin (2014) noted similar strategic considerations for the British Nationalist Party, who also has to assure core members that their positions and mission have not changed while keeping a “moderate” and more publicly palatable image. This two-pronged style of communication goes by many terms in far-right circles, including ‘hiding one’s power level’—a reference to the animated show *Dragonball Z*, which likens white supremacist beliefs to superpowers that are better left concealed (Zhou, 2018).

One of the most common ways that white supremacist media in the sample managed this doublespeak was through dog whistles. The term ‘dog whistle’ refers to “multivocal”, (Albertson, 2015, p. 3) coded political messaging that appeals to one audience while attempting to remain unheard by another. A classic examples of dog whistles in political messaging is Ronald Reagan’s references to “welfare queens” during his 1980 presidential campaign, which never needed to overtly mention race in order to drum up anti-black animus (Roberts, 1999, pg.

155). An example from this study can be found in BPS' (Black Pigeon Speaks) video, *The Calculated Annihilation of Essos's Enrichment of Westeros*. In it, he states:

The introduction of tens of thousands of these Marauders to these lands would be disastrous. Even trying to integrate them and break them of their plundering and nomadic ways would most likely produce statistical outcomes that would find, for example, maybe the Dothraki men massively over-represented in violent crime, including murder. They might make up only, say 10 to 13 percent of the population, but could still conceivably commit more than half of the murders in Westeros.

Given the context of the video (railing against concerns that depictions of people of color in the TV series *Game of Thrones* are problematic) BPS is almost certainly alluding to the 13/50 (AKA 13/52) statistic that is frequently cited by white supremacists who argue that black people are intrinsically more violent because '13% of the population commit 50% of the murders' (Anti-Defamation League [ADL], n.d.). James Allsup, also sampled in this study, used a similar dog whistle:

It would rightly be seen as child endangerment to have Pit Bull toddler immersion parties to prove that there is one breed—the dog breed. And despite being responsible for a vastly disproportionate amount of dog bites, Pit Bulls are no different from, or no more dangerous, than your friendly neighborhood Golden Retriever or a Labrador.

Allsup is likening minorities to dangerous dogs, and his satirical condemnation of belief in "one breed—the dog breed" can clearly be juxtaposed with claims of 'one race—the human race' in public discourse. This coding appeared several times in the sample, with TRS radio's dog bark sound effect and commenters' use of dog emojis, Dobermans, and other dog-related symbols when describing black people. This analogy is common enough that there is even a biomedical journal article specifically focused on debunking it: Norton et al. (2019) claim that likening human races to dog breeds is biologically unfounded and is perpetuated by white supremacists because it comports with the mistaken idea of race being an easily identifiable, scientifically valid, marker of intrinsic characteristics.

These examples from the sample illustrate how content creators modify their rhetoric with mainstream audiences in mind. Collett’s acknowledgement and maneuvering around the growing association of the “alt-right” label with white supremacy—as well as BPS and Allsup’s dogwhistles about minority groups, indicate efforts to pass racism off as ‘reasonable’ to wider audiences. Through use of rebranding and doublespeak, they can reproduce racism, appeal to both their more extreme base, and still operate within the bounds of color-blind political discourse.

The JQ and Saying it Without Saying it

User 1: I have a feeling that the noses are going to shoah this program
THE MIGHTY HAMMER OF ODIN is the perfect tool for smashing (((noses)))

User 2: once you are woke on the JQ, there is no going back, you cant "un-take" that red pill

User 3: [@User 2] You are right sir, once someone sees the tentacles, they are impossible to un-see

User 2: dont be fooled by the left vs right divide, our fight is for our race, our white people, our survival, its not about winning against the left, its about winning against the (((globalists)))

User 3: U WON'T MOVE THEM TO THE RIGHT THEY WILL MOVE YOU TO THE LEFT

Mark Collett: [@User 3] no one is moving to the left

—From the live chat feed of *Patriotic Weekly Review* - with Lucy Brown

In the sample of videos taken, the amount of overt anti-Semitism a channel displayed was a common marker in the community for how extreme the content creator was. More importantly, a content creator’s stance on the ‘Jewish Question’ (or ‘JQ’) was an important vetting component

for viewers and other content creators to assess who was ‘alt-lite’ and who was ‘alt-right’. Those who endorsed anti-Semitic conspiracy theories consistently connected deplatforming events (demonetization, channel takedowns, and video removal) to attacks by Jewish-controlled media and, therefore, viewed anti-Semitic commentary as much more likely to get one’s content removed from the website than other topics would. Patrick Slattery explains in Mark Collett’s PWR episode with Lucy Brown: “If were to talk about it freely on-on this channel it would trigger certain algorithms in YouTube and-and would impair our ability to talk about anything in the future.” It is worth noting this conscious, strategic restraint of prejudiced statements by these content creators is something already cultivated in color-blind political discourse, but in this case the negative sanctions they fear comes at the hands of programmed systems who threaten to reduce their ability to network and produce content.

During her *Saturday Tradstream* video, Lacey Lynn mentions in a response to one of her viewers that content creators have to discuss the Jewish Question in a “certain way” and have to be “careful” in the way they talk about it to avoid being censored. Similarly, content creator Coach Red Pill explained during a livestream that he puts his more “extreme JQ stuff” on Patreon rather than YouTube so his viewers can enjoy it while his channel stays “clean”.

Discussions endorsing anti-Semitism commonly operated through varying levels of color-blindness. For instance, sampled videos from Red Ice TV consistently pointed to larger-than-life conspiracies, but only occasionally connected them to Zionist control and did so in either a veiled or restrained manner. Multiple Red Ice TV videos feature in-media advertisements for the channel/merchandise as either B-roll or endcaps for videos. In one of them, Henrik addresses the need for donations and alternative media: “Ladies and gentlemen, in a time where virtually all social media is controlled by what seems like a single hidden hand, with certain

people and alternative media outlets getting banned from multiple platforms at the same time, we need a way to bypass them and their control.” This clip positions “alternative media”, and those who consume it, as victims of a ‘single’ puppet master who conspires against them. On the surface, this may appear markedly nonspecific—after all, what conspiracy theory does *not* feature a “hidden hand” of sorts, operating from the shadows? However, those more familiar with anti-Semitic conspiracy theories may pick up more specific connotations in the use of the word “them”, and the term “Hidden Hand”—the former of which is often paired with echoes to denote Jews, and the latter which is featured prominently in the influential, anti-Semitic propaganda piece *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

Lana: “God, I hope there's not gonna be any journalists in there. I'll have to ask them to leave. Oh wait, can you raise your hand? Maybe I can ask them ‘can you raise your hand if you're a journalist?’ [smiling]

Henrik: I don't think they will self-identify, so...”

Lana [nodding, smiling]: Oh, we can smell them out

Henrik: the person there has to hold them...

Lana: can you look next to the person next to you, do they look like a journalist?

Henrik: [pointing above his right breast] “maybe they can have a little like a little I don't know, some kind of mark or something, you know, like a star, that you... No? Okay.”

In this short exchange, Henrik and Lana start by reinforcing the idea that journalists are not only something to be detested, but also hidden threats that must be uncovered. The joking takes a more overt anti-Semitic direction upon reference to odor and when Henrik suggests journalists be required to don a yellow star, like Jews did in Nazi Germany. Lana seemingly cuts the banter early and changes the subject to Super Chats, but the connection between finding hidden journalists to be dealt with and finding hidden Jews to be exterminated has been made in a way

that reinforces the ideas of violent anti-Semitism, hidden Jewish control over major parts of society, and antipathy towards mainstream media all at once.

On the Iconoclast's channel, he discusses politics with fellow YouTubers Millennial Woes and On The Offensive:

On The Offensive: You know Jon Stewart—Jon Stewart did this. David Aaronovitch, I think... you say his name... Ara... and, rather...

The Iconoclast: Aaronovitch. Yes.

On The Offensive: Yes, he did this big on question time one time. This bloke said 'I'm homeless I can't get a job for the railway'.

The Iconoclast: Oh, I remember this.

On The Offensive: And he said 'it's not your bloody town, you don't own this community', you know, and 'who are you to say who can come in here, and, and take the jobs'. And then we had Jon Stewart going on Colbert, I believe. It was yelling, yelling 'this isn't your country you don't own it', you know, at the working class who wanted to vote for Trump. And it's this absolutely contempt from these people...

Millennial Woes: That's of a certain persuasion, aren't they?

On The Offensive: They definitely are [laughing] It must be a coincid- It can't...

The Iconoclast: Oh what's, what's John Stewart's real name again?

On The Offensive: Liebowitzes

The Iconoclast: Yes.

On The Offensive: Yeah, something along those lines

In this segment, On The Offensive frames the 2016 election as a struggle between the liberal elite, such as Jon Stewart, and working-class people who want to prevent immigrants from taking their jobs and controlling their communities. This framing places nationalist politics as rightfully aligned with a populist disdain for the threatening outsiders and the elites who bring them in.

However, once again, an anti-Semitic twist is added in right before the segment cuts to another

one, with the group laughing as they draw attention to Jon Stewart's Jewish surname and the "certain" type of people it originates from.

Anti-Semitism was also conveyed with imagery as well, such as in Dancing Dove's video, *Where Do You Go To My Lefty?*. This music video periodically cuts between her singing a reimagining of Peter Sarstedt's *Where Do You Go To My Lovely?* and various still images. At one point, she mentions paid protesters on the political left and sings "You're connected to those in high places // Including a certain kind man // He sends you payment for protests" while a black and white clip of her clasping her hands in a manner that invokes the popular anti-Semitic image, *Jew-bwa-ha-ha.gif* (Bernstein, 2015).

Cryptic messaging within videos could be deeply intertextual, and in many cases did not become apparent until much later in data analysis. However, the comments section under each video became a potential source for understanding any potential dog whistles in the text. For instance, the video *Human Blood Transfusions: Can They Extend Your Life? - Seeking Insight*, by Red Ice TV, appeared on the surface to be categorically divergent from the larger body of Red Ice TV's uploads. In it, one of the show's correspondents, Patrick Casey (AKA Seeking Insight), describes emerging medical research that suggests older people may benefit from blood transfusions of young people's blood. The relatively short video includes a passing reference to myths about vampires and how a dystopian future where elites live forever drinking people's blood is, perhaps, not as outlandish as viewers think. It is not hard to imagine a casual viewer unintentionally clicking on this video, watching it, and moving on from it with the impression that it is just another pop science piece on YouTube. However, should they notice that the old man's face that appears on the screen when Patrick Casey describes rich "pseudo-vampires" is, in fact, George Soros—a common globalist puppet master in far-right conspiracies (Kalmar et

al., 2018) the video takes on a new meaning. Furthermore, Soros' Jewish identity means it simultaneously appeals to anti-Semitic variants of these conspiracies. Lastly, when one views it in the context of white supremacist lore, it can be interpreted as endorsing the anti-Semitic myth that international cabals of pedophilic Jewish elites drink Christian children's blood (Frankfurter, 1994). Top comments under the video seemingly confirm this interpretation:

User 1: "they really are creepy Devils, aren't (((they)))?"

User 2: These "Things" are not only getting transfusions. There are millions of children missing.....

User 3: Yep, and "they've" been doing it for centuries, hence "their" expulsion from so many lands.

The use of coded language and imagery (Cohen, 2019) was not only perceived by discussants as a functional means of avoiding censorship, but also served as a way of signaling insider-status and reinforcing shared viewpoints in the group. Even in videos and streams where anti-Semitic comments were already openly made, content creators, commenters, and show guests still both directly and indirectly suggested these conspiracies.

Mark Collett's YouTube weekly show, *This Week on the Alt-Right*, had former Ku Klux Klan Grand Wizard, David Duke, appear as a guest on it. Discourse had danced lightly around the "JQ" for most of the show but when Duke arrived it went "from 0 to 100" as one commenter put it. He explained at length how Donald Trump and Jared Kushner are working with Zionists who believe gentiles are inferior and must serve Jews as slaves. Duke powered through the hosts' interruptions until they finally got in a question about what he planned on doing next. Duke quickly brought the conversation back to the topic of Jewish conspiracies and began discussing the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* before one of the hosts, Patrick Slattery, cut him off: "I just want to point out that we are on YouTube. We're not on the Rense Network, and on YouTube we have a little bit less freedom of speech. Who knew?" They asked Duke to say his goodbyes so

they could move on to the next guest but not before he remarked on how his own show, the Rense Network, was less censored than theirs.

During Duke's rants, viewers posted comments like "(((Kushner)))", "Trump has been captured by ((them)))", and a clown emoji accompanied by "(((Don the Con)))" in the live chat feed. This redundancy demonstrates that the use of coded speech and ambivalent or ironic memes as a cover for hate is only part of their function. To some degree, interpreting the meaning behind comments like these is dependent upon specific in-group knowledge and experiences. Therefore, invoking this reinforces group solidarity by not only denigrating outsiders, but demonstrating and reinforcing in-group status (Davies, 1990; Martin, 2007). There is also performative value in 'saying it while not saying it', and the thrill of deviant speech can be artificially maintained—even in homogenous extremist spaces where objections are scarce.

Group members also used intertextual references to mock would-be interlocutors with comments such as "but muh equality", and "(((be tolerant goy)))" to further ridicule political opposition without the need for them to be present. This was frequently seen in comments that reference or deny the Holocaust, such as this one under *TDS: Sword Shit*, from the TRS Radio channel: "Oy gevalt! Theyndidnt just turn me into a lampshade, they turned me into a rug too! (sic)"

Among the channels sampled, TRS Radio (*The Right Stuff's* YouTube channel) contained some of the most frequently anti-Semitic content. The TRS Radio channel regularly uploads clips from various podcasts that its parent website, *TheRightStuff.biz*, hosts. The podcasts from the website are uncensored, but the clips uploaded to YouTube use sound bytes to censor specific words. The sound bytes they chose to censor themselves with include a coin-flipping noise to cover up words/slurs they use for Jews and dog barks or other animal noises to cover up

words/slurs they use for black people. While it is beyond the scope of this study to determine functionally how effective this self-censorship is in avoiding deplatforming on YouTube, it is likely that this choice reflects a performative effort to subvert content restrictions and still communicate hateful stereotypes to their viewers while doing so.

Under the videos, commenters use the show's newly crafted symbols and convert them to text. For instance, under two Daily Shoah⁵ clips, *TDS Live! Media Psychosis with Enoch, Striker & Spectre* (sic) and *TDS: Sword Shit*, viewers remark:

User 1: "I really wish those damn **coin flip** would stop subverting white countries"

User 2: "That's exactly why I believe in the power of the swastika. Look how these (((Coin drops))) act when they see us using it unironically."

These comments highlight how self-censorship and coded racism are not purely just attempts to avoid social sanctions but serve a multitude of functions—including entertainment value for those who find a thrill out of "saying it without saying it". These paper-thin veils can function as more offensive symbolic slurs than the words they conceal, and also serve the purpose of semiotically indicating that a group member is saying something that is transgressive to the larger society.

In conclusion, the YouTube content I analyzed actively switched between racialized and color-blind frames in an attempt to pass racism off as 'reasonable'. When content creators openly discussed their rhetorical approaches, it became clear that using dog-whistles, cryptic references, and concealing the more stigmatized beliefs they possessed (such as the 'JQ') were all important tactics for expanding and maintaining white supremacy without 'scaring away' newcomers or

⁵ 'Shoah' is a Hebrew term for The Holocaust. TRS Radio's 'Daily Shoah' can be interpreted as an anti-Semitic reference to The Daily Show infotainment television program (Pelts, 2018)

triggering negative sanctions from YouTube. Furthermore, these tactics reflect a digital rehauling of the already-existing set of rhetorical tools that white supremacists have used to justify and spread hate in a racist system that so ardently insists that racism is a bygone relic.

CHAPTER FIVE: CAPITALIZING ON CONSERVATISM

McVeigh (1999) argues that many researchers who have dismissed conservative political movements as merely “irrationally motivated exercises in intolerance” (pg. 1463) are neglecting a rationalized, predictable framework. These frames tend to focus on organizing collective action against a perceived attack on their wellbeing. Thus, the calling card of conservative politics—resistance to change, is tightly woven within defensive framing of issues. Adams and Roscigno (2005) argue that far-right extremist groups, like white supremacists, adopt particularly militant and dire facsimiles of these conservative frames. They focus heavily on the construction of racialized, symbolic groupings of ‘allies and adversaries’ and ‘us and them’ in order to understand how far-right extremist groups mobilize members into taking action.

This chapter first focuses on broader patterns in conservative thought, including Hirschman’s (1991) Perversity Thesis, Lakoff’s (1996) trinity of in-group loyalty, hierarchy, and purity, as well as temporal patterns of preservation and reclamation of a mytho-historical past (Dahl, 1999; Robin, 2004). Along the way, I demonstrate how content in the sample leveraged and built off of this foundation to bridge the gap towards fascism and white supremacy. By highlighting these connections, I argue that the emergent communities I sampled are not only linked by virtual, in-platform networks, but through interlinked systems of knowledge that build from commonalities with mainstream conservative thought. Each section first describes a subtheme, describes the literature on that subtheme, then discusses the results most closely related to it.

As described earlier in regard to structural racism, understanding these connections is crucial because they are the very means by which racist ideology is perpetuated in a society that

so insistently avoids talking about race. White supremacist rhetoric has shrewdly identified and capitalized on the intellectual traditions of conservatism in an effort to resist growing diversity, change in the name of racial justice, and the further solidification of racial inequality.

The Perversity Thesis and Iron Laws of Hierarchy

In his 1991 book, Hirschman details several rhetorical patterns in conservative thought, including the Perversity Thesis (Hirschman, 1991, p. 11)—the idea that, while it may be tempting to solve social problems like inequality, any attempts to meddle with the existing social order will inevitably fail and produce the opposite of the desired outcome. Conservative opposition to welfare programs is justified on the expectation that they will only make the undeserving poor dependent on the state and deepen their despondency. Similarly, opposition to gun reform is justified on the grounds that more restrictions will only prevent good guys with guns from stopping the violence. Finally, intervention on the hand of the government, through redistributive economic policy will backfire by disincentivizing and ultimately hurting the economy more.

The reason why intervention fails, so it goes, is that there are certain natural laws of the social order that cannot be circumvented—lest they risk disrupting everything society has worked so hard to achieve. Hirschman points to the tendency of conservative rhetoric to paint left-leaning folks as well-intentioned, but ultimately naive in their efforts to defy these “iron laws”—be they of politics (Hyland, 1995, p. 247), the economy (Commons, 1923), or nature (Spencer, 1864, p. 444). Should one muster the hubris to break these laws, the result will be ineffectual at best and dangerously irresponsible at worst.

In a tactical sense, the Perversity Thesis is a frame that is deployed to justify inaction—leveraging risk as grounds for not addressing inequality. Therefore, it most commonly made an appearance in the sample when content creators were refuting policies like affirmative action, wealth distribution, and social programs. Content creators Blonde in the Belly of the Beast and James Allsup both adopted the Perversity Thesis when addressing the political discourse surrounding student loan debt. According to them both, existing problems in the college system can be attributed to previous interference by the government: high prices caused by federally granted buying power and scholarships for minorities to get “worthless degrees.” They argue that future action, such as making college less expensive through federal programs (or removing student loan debt) will backfire and cause college to ultimately become worthless.

At around 29 minutes into the video *Positive Nationalism, Ethnic Pride, Censorship / Millennial Woes & OnTheOffensive / IconoChats #3*, three of the content creators from the sample discuss together how Laurie Penny, a British feminist writer, caused the sexual assaults in Cologne on New Year’s Eve, December 31st, 2015. The way they make this connection distinctly echoes Hirschman’s perversity thesis:

The Iconoclast: Her ideology—what she promotes, is directly responsible for the stuff that we saw in Cologne on Year's Eve a few years ago.

Millennial Woes: Yeah, see that's... yeah. Then, indeed, she was she was saying something like “how on earth did I—um, am I responsible for Cologne” and the same thing with Robin as well. “How on earth?” Because you advocate policies that bring this about, that make this inevitable. And you advocate cultural tendencies which make those policies inevitable.

OnTheOffensive: Sure, yeah.

Millennial Woes: And so on. You advocate psychological mechanisms which make those cultural tendencies inevitable. So it just goes on and on. That's how you're responsible. That's how, in the end, all of your ideas are just swept aside by the dreadful results of

your ideas. Yeah, see the link between them?

OnTheOffensive: They don't—I find leftists are just so careless with our civilization. They just don't understand how long it took to build and create this, and how easy it is to destroy it. And they just, they just, they're a bull in a china shop. They want change, they want this, they want that, they want these dreams to become reality. And that the—I don't know. They're, they're just very careless with something that's ultimately fragile and it really did take us thousands of years to get here. It really did.

Stefan Molyneux showcases the Perversity Thesis extensively in his video, *NBC News: IQ rates are dropping in many developed countries*. Molyneux's central claim is that developed “western” countries are in jeopardy because the natural social order is continuously being interfered with, resulting in an overall decrease in national IQ scores. According to Molyneux, society is not only improved, but held together by a “rich, smart few” that save everyone with their innate gifts of innovation and extraordinary vision⁶. Economically, this means that anything but an unregulated “free market” interferes with the rich saviors of society and will only disincentivize them from performing great deeds. High taxes, regulation, and hating rich people are all elements that Molyneux associates with socialism, and he uses the historical failures and horrors of the USSR as a warning of what will become of “Western” countries, should they adopt so-called socialist ideas. These societies violated the iron laws of social hierarchy and paid the price for futilely attempting to helping the poor or downtrodden.

On the surface, Molyneux's content could generously be described as Randian, but it is in the ways that Molyneux attempts to prove the existence of these fixed laws of hierarchy that white supremacist ideas are woven into this messaging:

The writer says: ‘a range of studies using a variety of well-established IQ tests and metrics have found declining scores across Scandinavia, Britain, Germany, France, and

⁶ Molyneux mentions there being a few exceptions to this — namely the “predators” and “central bankers” at the top that exploit everyone.

Australia'. Huh. Scandinavia, Britain, Germany, France, and Australia. Now, what could be similar or what could those countries have in common? Well, two things: One, of course, is the welfare state and the other is mass immigration—generally from the third world, from countries that have low average IQ scores. Right. Somalia has an average IQ in the 60s, and you say 'oh yes, but if they're exposed to modernity, if they get modern education and they get better nutrition, and so on—then their IQs will rise to a hundred,' but there's—no, there's no evidence of that. There's no evidence for that—which is again, tragic, but a real fact. We don't have to process any reality but there are consequences for not doing it, right?

In this segment, Molyneux attributes declining IQ to mass immigration from third world countries because people coming from places like Somalia can never be as intelligent as natives—no matter what education or nutrition they are given. He pauses to assure his viewers that he finds this “tragic” but warns that there are “consequences” for not recognizing and respecting this “reality”. Molyneux makes overt associations of race and IQ multiple times in this video, leaning on “reason, evidence, facts, science, and morality” allegedly sourced from scholars like Sam Harris to grant his claims intellectual authority. Other traditionally, racially coded social problems, such as welfare exploitation and single motherhood, are used to make similar assertions. According to Molyneux, single motherhood is an epidemic because it drains money from the pockets of “productive couples” via the welfare state. However, single parent households are not the result of socioeconomic pressures, but the result of “importing people” on a “sinking ship” who have intrinsic IQ deficiencies that causes them to make the poor choice of becoming single parents in the first place. In every example Molyneux uses, the naturally endowed persons in his hierarchy are white natives, and the problems they face are caused by less intelligent people who are either explicitly described as nonwhite or said to be immigrating from “third-world” countries.

In contrast to the “reasonable” racism Molyneux’s messaging contained, commenters invoked the Perversity Thesis and Iron Laws of Hierarchy in a more overtly racialized way.

Under Mark Collett’s video, *This Week on the Alt Right - All Star Lineup Ep. 100!*, two users clashed on whether the Perversity Thesis applied to “low IQ countries”:

User 1: Also even supposedly low IQ countries like Afghanistan and Syria were in fine shape before the US wrecked them. I'd say that low IQ countries can become first worldish but they're a lot more fragile.

User 2: Afghan was not in fine shape... it's a dump riddled with heroin, tribal conflict and child prostitution. And Syrians are Caucasoids with higher N.European DNA than the surrounding countries. Real Low IQ nations cannot even maintain what is left behind by superior cultures and will NEVER develop beyond r selection traits - see Sub Saharan Africa. 85 IQ is bad, but when the average is 70, you're in a world of trouble. Average IQ in Djibouti is 52.... that's just 7 points higher than the average Dolphin IQ. If dolphins developed opposable thumbs, they would actually have a shot of overthrowing the Djiboutian government.

—User comments, Mark Collett’s

In this exchange, User 2 adopts the hardline Perversity stance, using scientific racism and dehumanizing comparisons to solidify the hierarchy between “Real Low IQ nations” and “superior cultures”.

To summarize, the Perversity Thesis (Hirschman, 1991, p. 11) is a rhetorical strategy that undermines the feasibility of intervening and solving social problems. Therefore, it holds considerable value for conservative political efforts. However, it is in the way that content creators used the Perversity Thesis that shows that white supremacist opposition to policies like affirmative action, wealth distribution, and social programs are contiguous with the approaches used in mainstream conservatism.

Justifying Homogeneity

Hey, listen. Birds of a feather flock together. That's the way it goes.

—The Iconoclast, *Britain's Open Borders / Non-European Immigration Hits 15 Year High*

Implementation of The Perversity Thesis reifies intractable differences between groups by framing their perceived inferiority or superiority as the inevitable convergence of immutable characteristics, rather than circumstances or injustice. For this reason, Hirschman's rhetorical tool fits snugly within a trio of conservative values identified by Lakoff (1996): in-group loyalty, hierarchy, and purity.

Loyalty, the first value outlined by Lakoff, manifests itself through conservatism's direct or indirect emphasis on the ties of family, kinship, nationality, and/or race. The second value is hierarchy in society, which justifies unequal statuses between groups as inevitable outcomes of a higher moral order. The third value Lakoff discusses, purity, is the method by which groups demarcate cultural boundaries of what is acceptable in order to maintain or restore this moral order. It is important to note that in-group loyalty, hierarchy, and purity are not exclusive to conservative thought, but rather, represent core tendencies that are, in contrast, deemphasized in political projects of the Left. In their own words, Haidt and Joseph (2004, p. 64) echo Lakoff's assertion that "For liberals, the conservative virtues of hierarchy and order seem too closely related to oppression, and the conservative virtues of purity seem to have too often been used to exclude or morally taint whole groups (e.g., blacks, homosexuals, sexually active women)."

These three political foci each made constant appearances in the sample, but it was in the way that content creators justified arguments for racial homogeneity that most lucidly incorporated all three. In his video, *The Biology lesson they never gave you in school*, Varg Vikernes explains racialized in-group preference:

Imagine I dumped my wife, my kids, all of it, and I marry a woman from Kenya. We have many children, and none of them will look like me, will they? And then, I take a walk where I live. I have my brown kids at my feet. But whenever I meet some kid who is like me, (motions to the child he is holding) like this, then I will have more in common, biologically speaking, with the kids that I meet at random in the street than I will with my own children—with my Kenyan wife. Biologically speaking, I will serve my cause better by promoting the survival of other people's kids that look like me than I will by promoting my own brown children with my Kenyan wife.

In Varg's example, both ethnicity and strong, socially created bonds like parenthood, play second fiddle to biology. Even after raising several children and becoming deeply involved in their lives, one still has more in common with strangers who look like them than family members of a different skin color. This statement also reflects certain pessimisms about assimilation or national identity, as Varg's hypothetical wife (due to nation of origin and her implied skin color) and their hypothetical children (due to their skin color) can never adopt or join his 'cause' because its boundaries are based on race. The messaging implies that skin color (and the biological determinism it allegedly represents) is the chief way to determine who belongs to the in-group, and therefore, where one should/can "serve their cause".

The biologically fixed, in-group loyalty that Varg describes also served as a common lens through which white supremacist content in the sample justified policies of exclusion. Mainstream historical accounts commonly portray genocides, war, slavery, and religious violence as cautionary tales about prejudice and intolerance. Slogans such as "never again" reinforce the idea that the darkest periods of human history must be learned from in order to prevent them from repeating themselves. However, content creators in the sample presented a very different take away from these same historical examples of war and violence. Yes, they should be avoided in the future, but not through the grand project of working towards peaceful coexistence. Instead, these tragedies are indelible proof that intolerance is an inescapable part of

human nature. Of course, when one examines the racial vectors along which these assertions are made, it becomes clear that the *true* problem is not intolerance, but that people of different nations, races, religions, and creeds are attempting to defy iron laws of intractable differences and coexist. “Multiculturalism breeds inevitable conflict” warns the Iconoclast. There are “inherent perils” in diversity, remarks James Allsup. In another video, Allsup makes a similar point: “Group conflict is simply human nature. The Left wants us to forget about this important part of human psychology. They want us to forget our natural urge to defend our civilization and culture against outside threats.” Treating race as a biologically scripted inevitability is certainly part of the ideological bedrock for white supremacy, but white nationalism takes it a step further by using fusion of race and ethnicity as justification for enacting policies of exclusion and segregation.

In Laura Towler’s video, *Why We Should Support Senator Fraser Anning*, she reads out loud the titular politician’s letter to the Prime Minister after the Christchurch shooting. Anning blames the far-right terrorist attack on politicians who allowed Islamic immigration into Australia: “Multiculturalism encourages all minorities to remain culturally separate. It encourages them to remain loyal to their tribal, religious, ethnic, or cultural identities instead of to the Australian nation.” Towler endorses Anning’s position and frames the mass shooting as ultimately an immigration issue, absolving the shooter through equivocation. They both describe him as acting in “the interest of his own people”—much like every other individual does. The logical conclusion of this line of reasoning is that only ethnically nationalist societies can avoid breaking the iron law of homogeneity. Otherwise, it is kill, or be killed—and right now, Anning considers whites at a disadvantage because when they strike back it is considered ‘hate’.

On the channel Red Ice TV, guest speaker Critical Condition talked favorably about her home province of Newfoundland with the hosts:

“Being from Newfoundland, I have the benefit of knowing how peaceful, and beautiful, and wholesome living in an ethnostate can be. That's essentially what Newfoundland is, I think. Even still, today, the number of visible minorities in my, my home province is under 10%, and most of those people are in the city... .. I don't think that that I could find any, anything, wrong with, you know, advocating for, you know, homogeneous communities. I think that it breeds a kind of social trust. There tends to be a more, sort of, kind of feeling of ease in these communities. There's less crime.”

Across the sample, idyllic places like these were deployed in stark contrast to the bleak futures of multicultural societies. For *Red Ice TV*'s Henrik, the lion's share of social problems can be attributed to the failed “experiment” of multiculturalism:

“People are gonna stay inside more. They're gonna be recluses. They're gonna buy more stuff online. Just look. Watch a TV. They won't engage in the community. They will stay indoors more. You know, all these kinds of things, right? In other words, tremendously negative consequences for pushing multiculturalism, and things, which ultimately is not working. It's not. This—we're seeing it failing. I have been seeing it failing now for almost a decade in front of our eyes. Right? And still they're pushing for it.”

An important component of this framing is that Henrik, Critical Condition, Towler, and Varg each maintain that immigration (and by association, multiculturalism) is not something that the public wants. “They” continue to disobey the iron law of intractable racial and cultural differences while society pays the price for them “pushing” or “forcing” this agenda. Tying it back to the Perversity Thesis, the fixed, biological ways that white supremacist messaging essentializes culture and ethnicity are served as indelible proof that attempting to interfere with the allegedly ‘natural’ separation of peoples is nothing short of delusional self-destruction.

Degeneracy and the Fascist Return to Purity

The European soul needs to walk through the fire to burn away the infected parts, to connect to the true source

—Lana, from Red Ice TV's *Hard Times Are Coming, Welcome It*.

Modern conservatives leverage politics to practice purification through social control. They “limit access to abortion, pornography, gambling, and prostitution as violations of morality, and they support the death penalty and other forms of harsh punishment for criminals as essential for a moral social order” (Blee & Creasap, 2010, p. 272). Far-right groups, such as white nationalists, offer more extreme approaches to purity, proposing an end to these deviant configurations through genocide and extralegal violence. Ultimately, a strong role of government is required to (re)assemble the nascent nationalist state and to not only demarcate the lines of exclusion but enforce them. This is why fully developed nationalist movements organize into fascist governments, and why fascist tactics propagate nationalist ideals by giving them the necessary political leverage (Freedon, 1998). In light of this, fascism displays a distinct affinity with nationalism—particularly in the case of fascist, white nationalist governments, like Nazi Germany during WWII.

One of the perspectives commonly entwined within white supremacist messaging is that, while outgroups (people of color, immigrants, the Third World, women, gays, Muslims, trans people, etc.) can never surpass the station they are relegated to, hegemonic in-groups (whites, the West, men, Christians, heterosexuals, cis people, the nation) are constantly under threat of being corrupted by malicious forces and held back from achieving their rightful place at the top. Since these groups differ according to their fixed *essentia*, deviant configurations of hierarchy are (a)

violations of a natural, moral order; (b) a threat to society's livelihood; and (c) caused by a corrupting, disruptive, unnatural, outside influence.

White nationalist messaging frames the threat of corruption in more explicitly racialized terms, but modern conservatism, fascism, and white nationalism all emphasize purity of the social body (and nation) as a priority. They share many of the same outgroups, such as immigrants (Crockford, 2017), non-whites (Cook, 2016), and LGBTQIA+ people (Kim, 2016), and their politics both trace social problems back to these potential threats of corruption. In this sense, there is an ideological bridge between conservatism and fascistic concepts of societal degeneracy seen in white supremacist discourse (Theweleit, 1987, 1989; Richardson, 2017).

In the sample, cross dressing and the increased visibility of trans and homosexual people was seen as a perceived threat to the purity of both children and the heteronormative idea of a nuclear family. The Iconoclast explains in *The Left's Hypocrisy on Islam & LGBT Christian Woman Fired, Muslim Parents Appeased*:

We can see that the constant push for more LGBT focus in schools is nothing more than a hard-left political agenda. The forcefulness of the LGBT movement, especially when it comes to shoving their beliefs and lifestyles on young children, usually as young as three or four years old, leaves a clear and obvious foul smell in the air. It's not education they're promoting, it's indoctrination. Can I ask you why do four-year-old's need to learn about trans rights, hmm? At a time when young kids should be enjoying their childhood and playing on bikes, people like you want to sit them down in front of drag queens and talk about gay marriage. It has no place in schools whatsoever and it's quite frankly sickening to me that it happens at all.

The Iconoclast is referring, in part, to Drag Queen Story Hour (DQSH)—an organization that has been arranging for “drag queens reading stories to children in libraries, schools, and bookstores” since 2015 (Drag Queen Story Hour, n.d.). Since its surrounding controversy had been making the rounds in mainstream media at the time of data collection, several channels in the sample

offered their opinions on the matter—each citing it as a sign that society’s core institutions were being compromised.

Drag queen story hour exists to attack the very foundations of American society and family life. Their goal, as we see from their own books, is to normalize hyper promiscuity and deconstruct the healthy goal of the two-parent nuclear family. Their other curriculum, which traffics in anti-white hatred and gender confusion, is propaganda designed to teach white kids and all little boys that there is something wrong with them. Something about them is intrinsically toxic and can only be atoned for through self-hatred, self-destruction, or even self-mutilation. All of that, by itself, would be enough to condemn these events, but that little pedophile problem they're having, that's even more confirmation. Drag queen story hour, the program designed to bring small children in close contact with men dressed as hypersexualized women to read them stories undermining gender, undermining the family, and instill in them anti-white, anti-male sentiments, should not be a thing. Any parent participating in this should be ashamed.

In this quote from *DRAG QUEEN Story Hour Should NOT Be A Thing*, James Allsup plays to a certain, “healthy”, normative ideal of what a family should be and casts it as under siege. While Allsup mentions pedophilia as a corrupting agent, it is also worth noting the way he claims white boys are being corrupted by “propaganda” that they internalize. This messaging cements hegemonic ideals of gender, family structure, sexuality, and race as endemic features of the “foundations of American society and family life” and positions DQSH as an intentional, multi-tiered threat towards them. Allsup does not provide any clear examples of DQSH participants being hypersexual or normalizing “hyper promiscuity”, so the implication appears to be that drag itself conveys sexual deviance in this regard.

This was a recurring theme among the text. The association of hypersexuality with drag and LGBTQIA+ visibility was commonly used as justification in videos for why increased social acceptance for these things represented a degenerate threat for society, and more specifically, children. In Red Ice TV’s *Harry & Meghan's "Royal Baby" & Sargon Is Wrecking UKIP - Mark*

Collett, Mark Collett connects this to a larger cultural Marxist conspiracy and entwines pedophilia with drag and LGBTQIA+ acceptance:

Pedophilia and the acceptance of underage sex is the final place this slide towards sexual degeneracy will go and we're already seeing it. We're seeing it with drag queen story hour. We're seeing it with these child drag queens who are dancing on stage at gay bars, having money thrown at them. At LGBT plus pride events. And all of this is actually part of the cultural Marxists' plan to make us live in a completely debased and moralless society.

Black Pigeon Speaks (BPS) also brings up U.S. pride parades as a threat to children, and by association, social purity in his *The PARADOX of PRIDE in the FAR EAST* video. He makes it clear that he is not homophobic, but prefers that what consenting adults do with each other remain “behind closed doors”, rather than the “open-air orgies that pride festivals in the West have degenerated into”. BPS identifies Western gay pride festivals as problematic because displaying sexuality publicly is harmful to children and turns people against the gay community. However, one week before that was uploaded, BPS uploaded *Kanamra: Festival of the One Eyed Monster Wang*, a video covering the Japanese festival of the steel phallus, the Kanamara Matsuri. In it, there are numerous clips of people at the festival enjoying penis-shaped lollipops, placing children on giant penis statues, and parading large statues of the titular organ. BPS acknowledges how shocking this festival may seem to foreigners, but seemingly exonerates it: “It's important to understand that, while obviously sexuality is being flaunted at this festival, the Kanamara festival, again, unlike in the West, is not only celebrating perversion it's also celebrating life and that's something to think on.” BPS assures viewers numerous times that this is different from gay pride festivals in the West because those in the West “celebrate sexuality that cannot bring life”. This demonstrates that the issue revolves around what type of sexuality is

acceptable to display around children, rather than sexuality itself. It must be framed as productive, heterosexual sex in order to avoid being a degenerate threat to children.

In *Thank you for 6,000 subs AMA*, Lacey Lynn takes a similar stance against visibility when she responds to a viewer who asks, “Does somebody have the individual right to be gay?”:

“I mean I guess they do, but in the society that I value and that I would like to see upheld, you know, in a traditional society, like, you would keep that under wraps, right? So there would be some people who would say—and it wouldn't be socially acceptable either, so there'd be some people that would say, “well that's not fair, because you're denying them their individual liberty or whatever”, but then, to me, it's not authoritarian. It's like, I don't want that encouraged in the type of society that I think is best for everybody. I mean, a lot of diseases and, and degeneracy, and there's a lot of temptation along that comes with that lifestyle, and it tends to be something that is very hard for people to keep under wraps.”

Ultimately, these excerpts demonstrate how politically extreme messaging is able to build off of establishment conservative beliefs. White nationalism plays off of in-group loyalty, white supremacy off of hierarchy, and fascism off of the purity of the social body. Specific orders of sexuality, gender, and gender expression must be enforced for a higher social good than the liberal project of realizing individual freedom. This friction serves as fertile ground for white supremacist messaging to build inroads from.

Myths and Fascism

The solution to stopping Europe's demise is mythological, not political.

—Identitet Svea, *Sweden. What To Do? Culture, Politics, Advice to Young Men. With Identitet Svea*

Lakoff's conservative values and Hirschman's Perversity Thesis were common ideological connections observed in the sample, but both myths and references to a mytho-

historical past were also recurring themes. Channels with more overt, racialized framing relied on them heavily in their messaging—particularly in arguments for white nationalist projects like ethnostates and widespread deportation of minorities. These results support the literature’s claims that myth is a critical component in both fascist and white nationalist thought.

In the case of fascism, myths ideologically and aesthetically serve as a launch pad for “rooting the regenerated nation in idealized (and largely false) memories of the national past as the spiritual legacy on which a new future will be built (Dahl, 1999, p. 14).” Scholars have admittedly found that pinning down fascism into a single, universal definition is no easy task (Payne, 1983), the various historical strains of it contained an array of recurring components: exclusionary nationalist agendas, anti-liberal/socialist sentiments, eternal conflict, and negative attitudes towards women and homosexuality (Paxton, 2017; Eco, 1995; Bellassai, 2005). In addition, a valorization of The Nation is created through the construction of deterministic myths. These myths have been examined by historical scholars like Theweleit (1987) and Nagel (1998), who dissect fascist and nationalist consciousness by analyzing artwork, literature, and memoirs.

The mythological framework of fascism can be understood when viewed through the temporalities that permeate right-wing thought (and to a further extent, white supremacist ideology). Since conservatism functions as a “meditation on—and theoretical rendition of—the felt experience of having power, seeing it threatened, and trying to win it back” (Robin, 2011, p. 4), the utopia of a natural, moral order of things (or people, to be more specific) must be temporally rooted in the past before it can be asserted as something to be worked towards in the

future. Therefore, society's current struggles are historicized within the context of a past fall from grace and the arduous journey of returning to it⁷.

Where this intersects with fascism is in the ways fascist thought orients collective action away from “dreadful decadence” and towards a return to “purity” (Mosse, 2004, p. 374). This ultranationalistic palingenesis (Griffin, 1993, p. 329; Dahl, 1999) necessitates drastic action in the form of a “defibrillating shock” that “restores the mythological glory of the race and nation” (May & Feldman, 2019, p. 26). This particular strain of fascist thought makes an appearance numerous times across the sample. Identitarian channel Red Ice TV's slogan is “The Future is the Past”, and in the video *Flashback Friday - Ep25 - Man Tax, Fatphobia, Winnipeg Hate Hoax, Basic Becky & Creepy Biden* the host, Henrik, discusses its meaning:

All the people that we've listened to and stuff like that, they are fighting the past in order to control the future. Right? So, the slogan is easy—it's basically like, where we are going in the future, the only way it's going to go is that we are going to move into the past again.

In *Fairy Tales for European Children - Ash Donaldson*, Henrik discusses this theme further with the show's guest, who had this to say:

The truth is, over the past twenty, twenty-five years especially, we've seen what creativity—when it's not grounded in the past, gets us. You know, these bizarre experiments with gender identity and sexuality, art that makes you want to vomit, music that you can't forget fast enough. You know, buildings with an aesthetic that would give Joseph Stalin pause. You know, if we continue to thumb our nose at tradition it's only gonna get worse. The tradition—actually, it liberates you. It gives you true beauty. Allows you to be who you are. Tells you who you are. Because it is—imagine if you had to wake up every day and wonder, ‘well, you know, what gender am I today? What non-binary category am I going to embrace?’ No, you're either a man or a woman, and knowing that allows you to focus on perfecting your manliness or your feminine grace. It gives you models to follow. Tradition gives you bad examples to avoid. It holds up a

⁷ Make America great again, anyone?

mirror to you, and that act of reflection makes it possible for you to reach your full potential.

This excerpt can be deconstructed in a variety of ways. For one, he is lamenting modern media and frames the increased social acceptance of LGBTQ+ persons as a bizarre experiment that threaten what people are (because they cannot possibly be that). This is another example of dismissing a group outside the dominant cultural norm on grounds that it is somehow unnatural, and therefore, problematic. Also, while Donaldson points to apparent signs of cultural decay in media and the arts, it is in the *way* he plays off of essence and identity that truly taps into fascist rhetoric. Tradition is not just a well knowledge you can gain things from, but a figurative mirror that reveals the greatness that one already has. The decadence of modernity has made the viewer lose “true beauty”, the liberation of *being* who “you are”. This sentiment is not unlike Richard Spencer’s slogan for the alternative right media network he promotes: “Become who you are” (Altright.com, 2018)—once again, appealing to a dormant or suppressed ‘true’ self. The same expression also makes an appearance as “advice to young men” in *The Golden One* and *Identitet* Svea’s collaboration video.

To sum things up, many content creators in the sample appear to be reanimating fascist frames in order to capitalize on feelings of anomie in their target audience. While it is beyond the scope of this study to determine how anomic or temporally marooned viewers feel, or even if content like this is a panacea for it, these statements are clear attempts to resonate with those emotions. Put succinctly by Millennial Woes in the collaborative *Iconochats* video, viewers are “lost atom(s)... ... drifting through space” and can only fix this by “recognizing” their “heritage”. These observations can be understood as the intersection where the conservative

mission of preserving or rewinding to a valorized past finds common ground with the fascist project of restoring the (in this case, racialized) nation state's lost glory.

Myths and White Nationalism

White nationalists are not a distinct group of white supremacists in the same way the Ku Klux Klan are, but instead represent those who have adopted an ideological extension of white supremacist belief. They advocate for the realization of a white ethno-state—a nation chiefly for and controlled by whites (Dobratz & Shanks-Meile, 2000). This can either be through the formation of a new territory or through the transformation of an entire existing nation. As indicated by the term 'white nationalist', these groups use language to conceptually blur the lines between race, nationality, and territory. For instance, European-based white nationalists often refer to a mythological, all-white historical nation of 'Europa' or 'Evropa' as an ideal (Ulaby, 2017).

Methods for creating an all-white ethno-state include genocide in the form of mass-killings or forced removal of non-whites, the creation of explicitly racialized laws benefiting whites, and racial and ethnic restrictions on immigration and citizenship status. In some cases, these methods are scaled down in order to make them appear less extreme, such as "peaceful ethnic cleansing" (Lopez, 2017), paying non-whites for sterilization, taxing non-white families, or "encouraging" non-whites to emigrate through financial incentive (Reddit: PerfectingPaine, 2017). White nationalists also attempt to normalize their ideas by pointing to, what they consider, already-realized ethno-states like Japan (Murdoch, 2018), Israel, or even the fictional nation of Wakanda from Marvel Comics' *Black Panther* (Timberg et al., 2018). Groups such as

the White Aryan Resistance and Identity Evropa focus heavily on the formation of a white ethno-state and stylize themselves as patriotic freedom fighters who are the last bastion of resistance against a non-white incursion (Resist.com, 2019). White nationalism has also been rebranded as ‘identitarian’ or ‘white separatist’, with groups like Identity Evropa avoiding older, more recognizable white supremacist imagery in favor of newer symbols and slogans (ADL, 2018).

Scholars have remarked upon the difficulty in constructing an all-inclusive definition of nationalism (Freedon, 1998). Instead, the body of literature provides a collection of similarities and components as a relatively functional definition of the term. For one, nationalism’s political nature necessitates it as a form of collective action. Political scholar, Michael Hechter, argues that the basest qualifier includes “Political activities that aim to make the boundaries of the nation—a culturally distinct collectivity aspiring to self-governance.” (Hechter, 2000, p. 7). This definition outlines the goals of nationalism in a straightforward way, but one of the earliest examination into the social processes by which nationalism manifests were by sociologist Max Weber. His 1922 book, *Economy and Society*, proposes that the concept of nation is dependent on an intersubjective awareness within a group that defines a sense of territory ([1922]; 1978, p. 922). The group socially constructs salient, hierarchal, and distinguishing characteristics so that they may dictate national exclusion or inclusion based off of them. The way this is carried out is often through means of a government, such as through legal recognition, management of borders, and granting of rights. Hechter (2000) argues that the role of governance in nationalism is crucial because nationalism’s goals of political autonomy require the eventual need to leave, usurp, or transform the state it resides in. Therefore, it can be understood that white nationalists’ chief goal is to mobilize whites, both inside and outside government, in order to establish these ethnic and racial boundaries.

Activist efforts and recent cultural changes have begun to shift the discussion of race away from dominant, color-blind attitudes seen in mainstream politics. While white identity was always a defacto rallying point for white nationalist movements, particularly European and global initiatives who had to maneuver around ethnic division in their base (Virchow, 2015; Kunkeler, 2016), the strategy of cultivating whiteness as a salient identity has started to become reinvigorated in mainstream politics as well (Bhambra, 2017). As scholar Ghassan Hage (2000) puts it, whiteness is a “fantasy position of cultural dominance born out of European expansion. It is not an essence that one has or does not have, even if some Whites think of it and experience it this way. Whiteness is an aspiration” (pg. 20). Where this collides with myth is that this strategy requires the anachronistic projection of contemporary constructions of whiteness onto various ancient civilizations in order to function. Despite historical and anthropological evidence showing that groups across the European continent occupied starkly different temporal, geographic, and cultural spaces, white nationalist thought smooths them over into a homogeneously transcendent racial entity (Brubaker, 1999). In this study’s sample, myth was used to construct and maintain a mytho-historical white heritage that viewers ostensibly share in common.

The transcendent racial identity went by different names, depending on the channel referring to it. For The Golden One it went by “European Bioculture”, which embodies “belief, tradition, heritage, and philosophy” through linked genetic ancestry. Other content creators used more simple terms, such as “whites” or “Europeans”—often times using them interchangeably. Both content creators and commenters alike frequently tied race to a geographical nation-space through terms like The West, Europa, Evropa, the fatherland, and the motherland.

What all of this overlap achieves is that it blurs the boundaries between race and

ethnicity, fusing skin color (and the genetic stock it allegedly represents) with a pan-European culture and supranational identity. Once again, scholarly dives into whiteness as a concept show that it has morphed constantly over the centuries, discarding and assimilating groups as the currents of power shifted through the classical era, to colonialism, to modern society (Painter, 2010). However, here it is presented as genetically pure—a myth of unfractured and eternal whiteness stretching into the past. This not only serves as ideological justification for white nationalist attempting to “keep European nations European”, as Lana from Red Ice TV would put it, but its internal logic does double duty by placing people of different skin colors as necessarily outside the boundaries of those nations. As described in the Iron Law of Homogeneity section, assimilation as a prospect becomes impossible through this worldview because culture is not transmitted, but biologically scripted in each person.

Race—ethnicity, is not about skin color, but so, so, so much more. In a way, our sense of identity is created through taking a part of all our ancestors, through the generations, adding it to our own sense of self. In that way we are a complex, social, multi-generational being. We are all those gone before us, and the vision that they had for me is not the clown world I am looking at now. Without embracing the identity of your ancestors, you are lost rootless and empty—a perfect global citizen. Ultimately, long-term, that's what the globalists are working for. They want everyone to put their differences aside to surrender the deepest parts of themselves to sacrifice the will of their ancestors and to jump into a melting pot, in a recipe they've created. And it won't lead to peace. Ultimately, they want to destroy those pesky racial differences standing in the way of total domination. And conservatives unknowingly play into this. What they are actually doing is using racial differences to destroy racial differences. Do you get that? Using racial differences to destroy those differences.

Through the use of “we” in addressing the viewers, this quote from Lana in Red Ice TV’s *What No One Says About "Identity Politics"* demonstrates an active cultivation of mytho-historical white identity in the viewers. This identity is not only the “deepest part” of present-day people but connected to the “will” of their “ancestors”. Note the temporal projection of whiteness as a unified, “multi-generational being”, reaching backwards from today towards a nonspecific past.

In addition to being affirmed, racial identity is also exalted as a critical tool for self-actualization and group power. When the stakes are so high (“total domination”, no “peace”, a “clown world”), Lana portrays mainstream, color-blindness as the political equivalent of bringing a knife to a gunfight.

What is also notable here is the way this segment lays bare the numerous frictions between white nationalism and more mainstream conservative positions. Race is consistently downplayed as a relevant factor in the era of neoliberal/neoconservative politics (Bonilla-Silva 2016, 2017), but this messaging explicitly activates race and puts it at the forefront of identity and social position. As Lana puts it later in the video, conservatives “avoid confrontation” by never talking about race, hoping problems will “go away”. On the other hand, their opposition is not afraid to organize based on racial interests “because actual differences and desires between groups” exist. In this sense, the video serves as a clarion call for viewers to discard color-blind politics in favor of the white nationalist tradition of overtly entwining race with nation, politics, religion, culture.

This line of argumentation circles us back around to the beginning of this chapter. Because the project of racial harmony is supposedly an impossible pipe dream (due to profound, biological differences between races), channels like Red Ice TV from the white nationalist category may openly reject color-blind politics as a viable strategy but still do so in the name of maintaining white power. The idea that progressive integration of different peoples into society can convincingly be sold as a fool’s errand is only possible because white supremacist framing builds upon key pillars of conservative thought: fear of change, hierarchy, purity, and in-group loyalty.

CHAPTER SIX: COMFORT

The next two chapters focus on the various rhetorical framing devices in videos that contained white supremacist content. 49 channels were thematically analyzed from a mixed sample of six videos each, each placed into one of five emergently built categories by their content and framing. The top five most popular channels of each category were selected for deeper analysis, and every video uploaded during a 45-day period was transcribed and analyzed. While they vary by the degree of overt racialization in their rhetoric—some being explicit while other opting for color-blind language, they all perpetuate racist narratives of either white power, anti-Semitism, or racism in some way. In this chapter and the next, I continue to unpack the discursive trends of these videos, arguing that they use:

- Rapid changes in magnification between micro and macro scale phenomena. This includes connecting individual news developments to larger patterns and conspiracies, as well as connecting patterns perceived in news developments to viewers' micro experiences and biographies. For instance, the Notre Dame fire (which occurred during the sample window) was connected to the threat of Muslim immigration, and some content creators speculated it was either a religiously motivated act of terror or a multiculturalist plot to destroy symbols of 'The West'.
- Framing that oscillates between producing two chief, emotional responses I have categorized as Comfort and Threat. Comfort refers to affirmation of the viewer through frames of power, control, victory, and schadenfreude towards political opponents. Threat refers to frames that prime anger, fear, frustration, powerlessness, and victimhood.

Following existing research on political media, I have categorized white supremacist frames in broad, emotive tendencies because I want to emphasize how frames can effectively manifest in media with “cultural and emotional resonance” (Skurka et al., 2019: 308). Sobieraj and Berry (2011; 2013) have noted the gradual uptick in the amount of political media designed to provoke a sharp, emotional response in viewers, as well as its mixed implications for political discourse. Furthermore, Brady et al. (2017) found that so-called “outrage” content spreads farther and faster through digital networks than its less emotionally charged counterparts. Finally, Crockett (2017) notes that modern online politics echoes other online media, by producing a constant flow of “clickbait” (p. 769) content that is easily accessible. What all of this means is that platforms like YouTube serve up endless buffets of emotionally charged political content, engendering a dependency in users who know they can return at any time from any place to receive that ‘hit’ again (McKeague, 2011).

While I will be describing each of these frames separately, it is important to keep in mind that videos from the sample drift constantly between Threat and Comfort frames. Take, for instance, this segment from episode 26 of Red Ice TV’s *Flashback Friday* show, where the hosts, Lana and Henrik, view and discuss a video on the topic of immigration. As they pull it up, Lana laughs and prefaces it by saying: “Yes, some cucks released a pitiful, I’m talking *pitiful*, spineless, pathetic video about immigration that we should laugh about”. The video features Representative Dan Crenshaw—“Cringe-shaw”, as Lana and Henrik call him, discussing what is purported to be “the best argument for border security you will ever hear”:

Lana: [noting Crenshaw’s eyepatch] “He has no eye because he was fighting overseas in foreign wars that didn’t benefit America or the West at all”.

Henrik: [playfully, with mock-surprise] “I don’t - But who did—Who did they benefit

then? I don't—I don't understand.”

Lana: [laughing] “Exactly. So, let's play the video. Let's just have a laugh because it's so pathetic.”

In this exchange, it is clear that Lana and Henrik are inviting viewers to watch this clip from a Comforting position of shared condescension. Before the video has even played, there has already been dehumanizing insults and Guilt Management framing used to minimize a wartime injury that could otherwise be perceived as noble. As the video plays, the hosts laugh and talk over it, lambasting the fact that it is in Spanish and that Crenshaw's advocacy for legal immigration is problematic because it still harms whites. Lana mockingly riffs with comments like: “We want legal replacement!”⁸ “Nothing like welcoming people in who want to take over”. “Sure, come in, take over. Just legally.” However, as the video proceeds, the tone of Lana's reactions shift to disgust: “Look at this spineless cuckery. ‘Please, can we protect our borders?’ Ughhhh, god”. By the end, her voice has risen in both pitch and volume, and she is gesturing at the camera to accentuate her points: “This guy has *zero* understanding of ethnic solidarity and utter denial of group interests.” As Henrik wraps up the segment to discuss the next news topic on their show, she is still looking at the video on the screen, shaking her head, scoffing, and expressing disgust.

What this two-minute excerpt demonstrates is the constant interplay of emotion and framing techniques that occurs throughout videos in the sample. Sometimes, they work backwards, introducing threat frames early in the discourse, then disarmingly mocking the threat and assuring their viewers at the end with Comfort frames. Other times, they bounce back and

⁸ Given the context here, this is likely a reference to the Great Replacement conspiracy theory. I detail what this is in chapter 8.

forth within the span of a few seconds. These cycles create an emotional ‘churning’, where sampled content can simultaneously serve as both a source of anxiety and assurance.

Comfort Frames

Berry & Sobieraj (2013) claim that one of the reasons that conservative and liberal political media must accommodate different emotional needs from their fanbases is because mainstream attitudes towards difference and multiculturalism have shifted towards acceptance in the past decades (p. 144). As a result, political discussion can be perceived as risky for conservatives, who fear that their opinions may earn them the seemingly unshakable social stigma of being called “racist”. Conservative political media has grown to accommodate this, providing emotional refuge for its viewers who feel they are unfairly vilified.

In this chapter, I demonstrate that videos from the sample—in accordance with them serving as far-right extensions of mainstream conservative media, also function as “safe political environs” (Berry & Sobieraj, 2013, p. 149). I have loosely categorized these frames as “Comfort” frames because they appear chiefly purposed towards insulating viewers from real or imagined stigmas. Within the broader comfort frame, I observed 3 sub-frames: The Ugly Truth, Guilt Management, and Victory and Supremacy.

The Ugly Truth frame vindicates otherwise socially problematic attitudes by rhetorically distancing how correct a claim is from how *politically* correct it is. Guilt Management de-problematizes callous attitudes towards minority suffering by either playing it down or outright denying it. Finally, the Victory and Supremacy frame acts as insulation from right-wing thought’s penchant for social hierarchies (Lakoff, 1996, pg. 12), assuring viewers that they are

deservedly at the top. It also serves the dual purpose of both defanging political opposition and reducing the emotional toll of “eliminationist rhetoric” through dehumanization of the political and racial other (Neiwart, 2018, pg. 11). In each section I will describe the sub-theme, describe the literature on that sub-theme, then discuss the results most closely related to it.

The Ugly Truth

The first sub-frame I will discuss is The Ugly Truth. With the media success of right-wing, online personalities, such as “Facts don’t care about your feelings” Ben Shapiro, and politically-outspoken clinical psychologist Jordan Peterson, it is apparent that those who posture as railing against a bogeyman of suffocating political correctness and growing diversity can garner a considerable following in far-right online circles (Farrell, 2018). Topinka (2017) claims these circles see social justice advocates as “humorless, hectoring, and censorious defenders of political correctness, which is understood by them as an interlocking set of codes that limit speech and rational debate to protect the feelings of the moralizers and self-proclaimed victims.” While this strategy of placing social justice advocacy on the opposite side of liberalism may appear to be a more recent tactic adopted by the “alt-right” and other neoreactionaries, the literature shows that this practice follows a strategic trend already set decades ago.

Medical scholar, Nancy Krieger, argues that right-wing rhetoric has strategically framed the scientific discussion of race around political correctness (2005). Leaning on “expert” (Krieger, 2005, p. 2155) evidence for a genetic basis for race, conservative polemics have wrapped bigotry in the cool, logical trappings of science as an attempt to legitimize it. In contrast, the impassioned (and therefore, unscientific) indictments that social justice level against

racism are framed as emotional, at the expense of being factual. Thus, conservative polemics present a false dichotomy between unscientific claims of social justice and scientific claims of a genetic basis for race. The latter is not rooted in science at all, but this style of rhetoric presents a false dilemma where one must choose between hard truths or socially acceptable lies (Provine, 1986; Fairchild, 1991). Much like how neurologist Sam Harris favorably described Herrnstein and Murray's widely discredited (Chinyelu, 1995, p. 13; Haynes, 1995; Nisbett et al., 2012; DeLombard, 2018) 1994 book, *The Bell Curve*, as actually professing a "forbidden knowledge" (Harris, 2017), there is a sentiment among these groups that the truth inevitably offends and, therefore, what it is considered offensive must also harbor truth (Wilson, 1995).

Of course, one should keep in mind that many of the hallmarks of being 'offended' are not truly specific to any one political position (where there are normative beliefs, there is always sacred ground to be trampled in one way or another). However, the framing of ideas I am talking about here is a specific rhetorical defense mechanism that caters its prejudices and dispositions towards a presumed white, straight, cis male viewership and bears a conspicuous absence of direct challenges towards hegemonic attitudes. This is not a space where nativism, misogyny, transphobia, homophobia, or racial prejudice get deconstructed and critically examined—this is where they are stoked and vindicated in the name of 'telling it how it is'.

The Ugly Truth refers to a recurring rhetorical theme from content creators in the sample that they know the truth about how the world is, and that the truth is not something that most people want to stomach. Every single video referred to the idea of censorship or suppression of truth by the hands of their enemies in some way. This suppression typically operated in the form of people in society calling others 'racist' or 'offensive' but could also include formal measures

like censorship or deplatforming. Unsurprisingly, this feeling and fear of being silenced or repressed is something that these videos are clearly attempting to tap into.

Part of the way this is done is through the acknowledgement and commiseration of the negative social sanctions these attitudes allegedly bring about for those who hold them. There is a spoken and unspoken understanding permeating each video that the viewer's attitudes on these topics are controversial, and that 'we' will be 'attacked' by others for holding them. Once shared persecution of belief has sufficiently been demonstrated, videos using this frame generally attempt to legitimize group viewpoints deemed problematic by others and delegitimize groups or interlocutors who oppose them. While this is hardly a novel phenomenon in group value construction, what is noteworthy here is that conflicts are framed defensively by virtue of being common sense. Much like how far-right political YouTuber Steven Crowder taunts college students with the prospect of changing his mind on his conservative viewpoints, ethnostates and racial supremacy are presented as 'natural', or 'intuitive'. Thus, the interlocutors who attack them operate from a position of unreasonableness, misplaced empathy, or bad faith.

Take, for instance, Stefan Molyneux's claim in *The True Horrors of Socialism & Ask Me Anything!* that he lost a friend because Molyneux accepted the "basic science of biodiversity" or Computing Forever's claim in *How is This a Thing April 25th 2019* that James Damore was fired from Google "for speaking the truth because the diversity house of cards can't withstand even the slightest breeze". Both frame these occurrences in terms of an Ugly Truth, with Molyneux emphasizing that the truth is "tragic" but must be respected, and Computing Forever remarking that "the truth is harmful I guess" and that "future historians will look back with disbelief at how anti-science ideology tried to make people believe that scientifically demonstrable brain sex differences between men and women didn't exist".

What these content creators leave out in their Ugly Truth framing is that these examples are not truths at all. Human biodiversity continues to be erroneously applied to race by white supremacists seeking scientific justification for their beliefs (Biermann & Mansfield, 2014) and Damore’s memo was a far cry from a mere descriptive claim about brain sex differences but rather a specious, inadequately-sourced justification for continued discrimination against women in STEM fields (Koerber, 2018; Starr, 2018). This returns back to an earlier point in this, which is that the Ugly Truth is less about statements that generate controversy, but more about claims that serve the interests of white, straight, cisgender, male hegemony. This is why Molyneux can vilify Colin Kaepernick’s kneeling during the national anthem (Molyneux, 2017) while also praising James Damore for starting an “important conversation” about women’s suitability in STEM fields (Stefan Molyneux, 2017).

Ugly Truth framing was also used in videos that discussed nonwhite’s alleged propensity for criminality and violence. In *The Great Replacement*, Lauren Southern claims that the government acts to cover up real immigration statistics in order to hide the truth that white genocide is occurring. When describing their motives for doing so, she says that whites in those positions have been duped into acting masochistically and putting their own interests at risk because of the past sins of their people. Other examples of this are James Allsup’s and Black Pigeon Speaks’ (BPS) invocations of the 13/50 (AKA 13/52) statistic that is frequently cited by white supremacists who argue that black people are intrinsically more violent because “13% of the population commit 50% of the murders” (ADL, n.d.).

In Jean-François Gariépy’s (JF) *Guns, Germs, and Steel* stream he confirms a series of scientific “truths”, each falsely debunked for being too controversial. They include IQ as the most predictive measure of human potential, Samuel Morton’s skull size research, and

Herrnstein and Murray's previously mentioned *Bell Curve* research. The idea of the truth being "Ugly" ties in with the specters of censorship and silencing that are consistently brought up in the sampled videos. Lauren Southern, Mark Collett, Stefan Molyneux, Red Ice TV, The Golden One, all claim that, by speaking the truth about race and immigration, YouTubers like them can be kicked off of social media and/or fired from their jobs. Thus, their position as messengers of this truth can be stylized as a noble pursuit because they allegedly bear a message that is honest but uncomfortable for people to hear.

Guilt Management

After Germany's defeat in World War II, overt antisemitism lost much of its political attractiveness in United States. Therefore, post-war sympathizers of Nazism found the horrors of the Holocaust much easier to contend by either arguing they had been over exaggerated or simply claiming that they never occurred in the first place. Despite documented evidence of German orders of extermination and the otherwise inexplicable disappearance of nearly an entire ethnic population during that time, fabricated accounts of the events sprung up and remain prevalent among contemporary neo-Nazis (as well as other far-right political groups). These accounts range in approach and scale, with some attempting to 'debunk' the death counts or paint the details of death camps as fantastical. Others postulate that millions of European Jews could not have died but must have secretly emigrated en masse to the United States or simply never really existed in the first place. There are also "relativists" (Laqueur, 2006, p. 138) who downplay the event by saying that many groups suffered great losses during the war, so therefore such a deep lamentation of so many Jewish deaths is unnecessary.

While only one channel in the sample openly referred to the holocaust as something that “never happened” (TRS Radio), several others alluded to it being deliberately misrepresented or lamented that it could not be debated (Mark Collett, Red Ice TV, Black Pigeon Speaks, RamZPaul). Locating various shades of holocaust denial was important for identifying channels with white supremacist content, but it also demonstrated that even overtly anti-Semitic positions like Holocaust denial were being cloaked under the guise of good-faith skepticism and healthy debate. Take, for instance, this excerpt from RamZPaul’s video, *Florida Votes to Overturn First Amendment*:

That’s what they’re doing with this Holocaust thing. They’ve turned it into a religious event and if you doubt it, it is a form of, like, blasphemy. It’s like not believing in The Trinity or the Holy Spirit. Oh, you don’t believe in the Holocaust or have a different opinion of it? Blasphemy. You’re a witch. You need to be punished. And if you say “Well, wait a minute. I have some data. I have some questions”—no, it doesn’t matter. That’s blasphemy.

In the sample, statements like these were joined by a myriad of other false accounts of history, including denial of the horrors of slavery and several native peoples’ genocides. Each of these were tied in some way to the idea of alleviating ‘white guilt’.

In terms of explicitly stated emotions, guilt was a common topic of discussion among channels in the sample. More specifically, the idea of ‘white guilt’ was brought up again and again as something to be avoided at all costs. Lacey Lynn’s channel (one included in the sample) URL is GoneWithGuilt and one of the channels discovered in stage one of the methodology was called NoWhiteGuilt, who’s channel owner wrote a book with a white baby on the cover called *Born Guilty* (Köhne, 2018). This appears to be a trend in white supremacist messaging, which in part is focused on alleviating or “neutralizing” (Schafer & Mullings, 2014, p. 175) guilt—even portraying it as a deadly weapon against whites in white supremacist artwork and memes

(Bogerts & Fielitz, 2019). The idea of racial, or more specifically, ‘white’ guilt manifested itself in videos as a deleterious burden, unfairly foisted upon whites by their political and racial enemies. According to *Blonde in the Belly of the Beast*, it inhibits the very “spirit” of white people, and for *Wolf Age*, of Red Ice TV, whites are too “naive, brainwashed and guilted to see it. They’ve fallen prey to a deadly con. No, it's not all their fault because they've been raised in a mentally oppressive anti-white system that silences and punishes any viewpoints not anti-white.”

Some of the ways in which whites are unfairly made to feel guilty are through education about slavery, colonization, and lessons about privilege. In order to defend oneself against these psychological attacks, multiple channels in the sample either distanced current race relations away from these atrocities (therefore casting them as irrelevant) or offered alternative, sanitized explanations of these historical conflicts. I have named this frame Guilt Management—not only because guilt was a frequently mentioned emotion, but because of the considerable amount of time and energy devoted to meticulously managing it. This serves two purposes 1) absolving white men by connecting their personal history to a spotless legacy of achievement and occupation of the moral high ground. 2) consigning minorities to inferiority due to their own wrongdoing or inherent incompetence. Considering one of the most frequent frames used by these videos involved portraying whites as persecuted (detailed in the next chapter), Guilt Management can be a valuable rhetorical tool for vigilantly downplaying minority suffering at every opportunity.

Take, for instance, Computing Forever’s video on an “anti-man” Australian public service announcement. Computing Forever plays the video for viewers, talking over it or pausing it occasionally to offer commentary. At one point, a man in the commercial stares at a woman on public transport, making her uncomfortable. Computing Forever stops the video remarking that it

is “painfully unrealistic” because “that does not happen”. If it does, it is because the person is “mentally ill”. Later, he mentions that if mentally ill people *are* harassing women on trains, women should just ignore them and move on. This rhetorical walk back is similar to Shackel (2005)’s rhetorical device, the Motte and Bailey, where the interlocutor begins with an exciting, controversial claim, then attempts to redirect the conversation towards a more defensible—and likely, less dramatic claim. Boudry & Braekman (2011) add that, even though Motte and Baileys may not logically follow, they can still serve as effective “epistemic defense mechanisms” (p.146) under certain debate conditions, or if those following along uncritically accept the first claim as a pre-established conclusion. In the case of this video, it does not matter that some of Computing Forever’s concurrent arguments contradict previous ones, all that matters is that they shift the focus away from the original sentiment—mistreatment of minorities by a dominant group.

This rhetorical flourish was particularly common in videos containing false, revisionist accounts of history. In his video *The ‘Accident’ at Mall of America*, James Allsup claims that Heather Heyer was *not* murdered by James Fields at the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia because he had a gun pointed at him and was merely trying to escape. In *White Privilege Poem Goes Horribly Wrong*, James Allsup also deceptively uses Guilt Management to respond to numerous examples of how whites have historically benefited at the expense of people of color. Whites did not genocide Native Americans, he claims, because Native Americans had been fighting for decades. Not only were they “genociding” each other before whites ever arrived, but the large number who died to war, disease, and famine was not the direct responsibility of whites because they were just “playing the game”. Everyone else (he gives a long list of different nations and peoples) were “conquerors” and Native Americans “failed to

defend their borders”. Similarly, Allsup maintains that white people did not destroy Africa with colonialism, but “mined a few precious minerals and diamonds” and helped with agriculture, while black people sold other black people into slavery. His Guilt Management extends to more recent racial injustice as well, blaming Katrina victims for being foolish enough to build a city “on a floodplain” and for expecting the government to be “competent” at anything. Finally, the crack vs. cocaine disparity is not a sign of institutional racism because those who do drugs should be punished regardless and black people helped create those laws anyways.

TRS Radio also employs this tactic in their video *TDS: White Guilt Museum*. The hosts discuss the addition of memorials and museums to the state of Alabama that memorialize victims of lynchings. According to the hosts in the video, these are “monuments” to “anti-whiteness”, and perpetuate lies that “make whites feel bad.” African Americans were not lynched en masse, like the museum claims, because 1400 of the 5800 lynching victims were white and therefore it could not be done in the name of racial terror. Additionally, those African Americans that *were* lynched were due to them being criminals, so it was more likely a color-blind extra-legal punishment—not a punishment unevenly applied because of their skin color. Finally, even if this was an atrocity, erecting “guilt monuments” and forcing “guilt programming” on whites is not necessary because they are not going to “start lynching again” anyways. During the forty-two minutes they discuss this topic, the TDS hosts start with the idea that the monuments are dedicated to a lie that did not happen, then claim that it did happen but that it was not racially motivated, then imply it was but that punishing whites today with guilt about will not accomplish anything and just subjugate them with guilt.

The recurrent theme from all of these examples (harassment of women on the train, Charlottesville, Katrina, the Native American genocides, lynchings) is that minorities do *not*

experience oppression—and if they do, it is their fault. The revisionist history need not logically follow, because it is a superficial means to a pre-established conclusion. This is likely how the victimhood and supremacy frames both remained so persistent across the sample; existing side by side in the same videos, despite their glaring contradictions. Racism, hate speech, and sexism do not exist—yet white men are victims of it. Similar to Berbrier’s (2000) social construction of victimhood, there is an honor and empathy deserved of victims, and that can never be in the hands of minority groups. Therefore, their suffering cannot be valid and must be the result of their own doing.

There is a considerable amount of energy spent in these videos towards sanitizing colonial-era atrocities that are supposedly unfairly leveraged as tools of oppression against whites. In episode 25 of Red Ice TV’s *Weekend Warrior* show, Henrik answers a question from a viewer who says that their wife is concerned that their family needs to “play along” in public or else they will be “punished” for their political views. Henrik responds, framing historical acknowledgement of “alleged” genocides as “normalization” of hating whites:

They're saying what white people are doing, and what we're doing, and we're allegedly behind genocides and all this kind of stuff. But what we're seeing is a normalization of the discrimination and open hatred against white people. If you're quiet now that's just it. If they continue pushing the way that they're doing, they are actually the ones that are going to perform violence against us. And they're going to do it in the name of far worse.

Similarly, in Alternative Hypothesis’s video, *Jared Diamond’s Guns, Germs, And Steel*, he condemns the titular book on the grounds that it falsely perpetuates the “rape and revenge narrative used to justify laws against whites”. In Red Ice TV’s *Fairy Tales for European Children* host Henrik interviews guest Ash Donaldson, who writes story books for “white, European children”. Ash describes how white children are taught from an early age to hate themselves because of slavery and to shirk the positive aspects of their ancestors’ past. In this

conversation they touch on the subject of colonialism and how Ash attempts to rhetorically downplay the genocide of Native Americans in the children's storybooks he writes:

Ash: The only non-white group that really figures in the book, to any extent—and it's not much, but it's American Indians, because I had—I want to address this claim right up front: that the land was stolen, and sort of armed the children with the proper understanding of all the sacrifices that their ancestors made, with blood and sweat, and, and, and, and struggle to, to win this land.

Henrik: And as we know, it wasn't that cut and dry. It wasn't Europeans showed up and every Native American or Indian tribe teamed up and started fighting against them. It wasn't like that. There was so many variables, where they had actually a bigger conflict with the neighboring tribes, so they ended up joining up forces with you know the English or whatever, right? And they were given weapons and then they helped to kind of combat that one tribe. And there's, there's so many dynamics like that. And it wasn't solely on, like a, you know, racial level from from-day one.

Ash agrees with Henrik, adding that Cortes and the Conquistadors are another European “army of liberation” that whites should be historically proud of and not feel guilt over. Later Henrik returns to the topic of Native Americans:

But we should always have hope as long as we remember how special our people are. For we also carry our home with us in our blood, and wherever we go our blood mixes with the soil as we labor and fight for it. So that kind of also speaks to that idea that you talked about earlier, that, you know, although you know America, and Australia, New Zealand, etc are not, they're not Europe, Europeans have fought, and tilled, and toiled, and struggled, and-and done all the things to make that their homelands. It doesn't invalidate anything.

This quote is illuminating for a variety of different reasons. For one, it mimics the expression “blood and soil”, or *Blut und Boden*, an official policy under Nazi Germany which tied ownership of land to *völkisch* ancestral bloodlines (and therefore) national heritage (Mazumdar, 1990). This slogan was chanted by white supremacist groups at the Unite The Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia (Green, 2017). The author speaking in the video, Ash Donaldson, named two of the characters in the childhood storybooks he is writing *Blut and Boden*, saying he is attempting to teach young readers that people are genetically linked to the land they occupy.

Secondly, it exposes a blatant contradiction by subverting the ethnonationalist logic of race, ethnicity, geography, and nation being tied together in some inexorable way. The Americas, Australia, and New Zealand are being considered white homelands because colonizers of those locations labored and fought for them—even though native peoples already inhabited those spaces. The blood of the colonized, which is spilled through genocide and enslavement, apparently does not count—which has troubling implications for white nationalists, who argue at the same time that their “white homelands” are being invaded by immigrants who will never be “us”.

The reason these contradictions can so bafflingly sit side-by-side in a white nationalist worldview because white nationalist sovereignty has *never* logically followed from any consistent set of premises. Much like Mazumdar (1990) points out in their dissection of Nazi Germany’s attempts at scientific racial/ethnic profiling, the ‘blood science’ and ethno-historical maps they funded were neither completed, nor systematically obeyed in practice. Instead, they were wielded like a cudgel when it best suited the Nazi project and conveniently discarded when they complicated matters. In this sense, these arguments can best be understood as shallow justifications built *after the fact* from the pre-established conclusion that whites are superior to others.

Victory and Supremacy

According to Wilkins et al. (2015), higher-status Americans are more likely to view social gains for one group as always coming at the expense of losses for another—in other words, in terms of winners and losers. Similarly, American conservatives are more likely to view

changes to the status quo as zero-sum games, where those in society who are faring poorly—or *losing*, can only benefit at the expense of those who are doing well (Davidai & Ongis, 2019). As described in chapter 5, accounting for winners and losers is important for conservative thought because one of its primary components is its emphasis on social hierarchy (Lakoff, 1996, pg. 12). Cross & Cross (2005) argue that the types of social myths that liberals use to make sense of the world often invalidate or attack existing hierarchies, while the social myths that conservatives use tend to legitimize hierarchies in their current forms.

With this literature in mind, I have identified rhetorical patterns in the sample that center around assuredly placing the viewer—or the viewer’s assumed ingroup, at the deserved top of rigid social hierarchies. This framing attempts to fulfill two needs: 1) it enables the viewer to vicariously take part in a power fantasy and 2) it rhetorically functions as a therapeutic counterweight to the Appropriation of Victimhood frame, described in the Threat chapter. I have chosen the name “Victors” because of the way these channels fundamentally attribute (Jones & Nisbett, 1971) the ingroup’s superior position to intrinsic qualities like work ethic or biological supremacy, rather than circumstantial reasons, like historical endowment of privilege or systemic inequality.

Videos reinforced a concept of ‘us and them’, and through insults, revisionism, and ‘race realism’ they construct a hierarchy where they are superior to others. Binary terms, like “us” and “them”, “whites” and “nonwhites”, “native-born” and “immigrant”, “alt-right” and the “left”, all create a bifurcated division of the world. Either by depicting the ‘us’ group positively, or by depicting the ‘other’ group negatively, meanings are attached to these categories. Because identity is framed in these hierarchical, binary categories, these two methods logically feed into one another. Smearing another group implies your own is better, while claiming superiority of

your group implies that the ‘other’ is worse (Blumer, 1958)

White supremacists are highly aware that overt declarations of white superiority are likely to earn them the ‘white supremacist’ label from any interlocutors. As a result, they opt for more publicly palatable statements about racial difference, still asserting that there are profound differences between races but that none are ‘superior’ to one another (Berbrier, 1999). These claims attempt to thwart accusations of supremacist attitudes because they frame innate differences in ability as lateral specialties rather than a vertical hierarchy. Take, for instance, Lana of Red Ice TV’s position on racial superiority in *Am I a “White Supremacist”?*:

I think white people are pretty awesome and have done some incredible and unique things, just as an Asian or African would say the exact same thing about their people. So what? Each race is different and unique, and each race is proud of their people. It is what it is. It doesn't mean I want to exterminate and enslave other races.

However, should one follow these lines of argumentation, one will find that the strengths that just *so happen* to be associated with whites (and by association, are deficient in non-whites) by Lana and so many others are upheld as vital pieces to the machinery of human progress and success. Take for instance, RamZPaul’s assertion in episode 100 of Mark Collett’s *This Week On The Alt-Right* that only whites care about women and environmental issues, such as pollution, dumping, and habitat destruction. Therefore, feminists and environmentalists should be focused on maintaining a white majority in their countries. Both Alternative Hypothesis and JF’s hour-plus critiques of the book *Guns, Germs, and Steel* essentially boil down to the idea that ‘white’ countries supposedly led the world in cultural and technological development—not because of geography, food, livestock, and other environmental variations like author Jared Diamond maintains, but because of intrinsic qualities, distinct from other races. According to JF, these unique, ‘white’ developments include rational thinking, the nuclear family, and individualism. In

Red Ice TV's *White fairy tales*, whites are called "creative space travelers" and are honored as wholly responsible for the world's greatest technological achievements.

Perhaps the most blatant case of this is Red Ice TV's video, *Go Back To Europe*, which repeatedly frames history in a way that empowers whites. In it, Lana says that non-whites hate whites' accomplishments and secretly envy them, because whites "built big ships", "toiled the fields", "harvest resources", "invented technology", "built infrastructure", invented the concept of legally protected lands and the light bulb: "Well, we're not apologizing for being better at exploration, conquest... .. (being) stronger, smarter... .. and we're not gonna give away what is ours because it hurts your feelings". When describing the process of colonialism, she claims that whites "cleaned it", and built "great" things. Lana portrays the fruits of modern civilization as the result of only white people's efforts, and therefore they are the only people who have a right to them. Thus, immigrants are intruders who only come to steal what is not there's.

To fall back to an earlier point at the beginning of this section, these identities are framed in hierarchical, binary categories. Demeaning the outgroup, by association, elevates in-group status. This complicates some of the 'drama', so to speak, and places Victory and Supremacy in a precarious position when it comes to framing political conflict between groups. In some videos from the sample, the Left is a blunderous failure while in others it is on the precipice of enacting a global police state that will control everyone's thoughts or enslave the white race. Much like Umberto Eco's 1995 work on fascism describes:

The (fascist) followers must feel humiliated by the ostentatious wealth and force of their enemies. When I was a boy I was taught to think of Englishmen as the five-meal people. They ate more frequently than the poor but sober Italians. Jews are rich and help each other through a secret web of mutual assistance. However, the followers must be convinced that they can overwhelm the enemies. Thus, by a continuous shifting of rhetorical focus, the enemies are at the same time too strong and too weak.

Just like how the enemy is simultaneously so many groups at once, yet one entity, the enemy is also simultaneously weak and deadly. Lies, propaganda, cheating, bribery, censorship, deception, manipulation of breeding—these are all tactics of domination mentioned by content creators that supposedly threaten white’s security and claim to power. What is notable about these methods is that they are not viewed as conventional, legitimate methods of achieving success. Mastery over conventional methods (military might, intelligence, technology, reason) is the sole dominion of whites in this group’s worldview. The only way for non-whites to ‘win the game’, so to speak, is to cheat or use illegitimate means. Much like the classic psychological concept of fundamental attribution bias (Jones & Nisbett, 1971), the ingroup (whites) succeeds because of internal reasons and loses because of circumstance or external reasons. Likewise, outgroups (nonwhites) fail because of internal reasons and only succeed because of circumstantial or external reasons. This type of reasoning is evident in the way that white nationalists mitigate failures and humiliation in their stories of persecution and martyrdom by claiming their foes have an upper edge because they are dishonorable—not because they are better.

Another means of maintaining the opposition’s ‘contradiction of being’ is through dehumanization. In the sample, immigrants were described as “endless”, “unrelenting”, “swarming”, “non-stop”, “pouring”, “a flood”, “in waves”, or “fighting-age refugees from countries that openly hate us.” Jewish and black people were likened to animals, such as rats and dogs. Liberals were described as “having no moral center”, or “braindead”, and the term “NPC” (non-playable character) was used to describe political opponents, likening them to inhuman automatons that follow preprogrammed scripts.

While all of these dehumanizing insults and characterizations comport with the above-mentioned goal of strengthening in-group resolve and relative status, they also serve a more

sinister purpose by legitimizing violence and discrimination (Soral et al., 2018; Vollhardt et al., 2007; Calvert, 1997). In his 2016 book, *Eliminationists: How Hate Talk Radicalized the American Right*, David Neiwert argues that contemporary right-wing discourse had begun to mimic ‘eliminationist’ rhetoric of extremist groups like white supremacists. Eliminationist rhetoric casts the political outgroup as an unmitigated evil that must be excised from the community. This can be done by comparing them to demons, vermin, cancer, or other widely maligned entities and phenomena. Here are several examples of eliminationist rhetoric in the top comments beneath videos from the sample:

- “I wonder how many generations it takes to domesticate an underclass of humans”
User responding to Alternative Hypothesis, *Jared Diamond’s Guns Germs and Steel*.
- “Leftards are Complete Scum. Vile Communist Scumbags.” User responding to The Iconoclast, *British Leftists Endorse Political Violence | Farage, Robinson, Benjamin ‘Milkshaked’ | Hypocrisy*.
- User 1: “Soros just wrote that if they are not careful, the EU will dismantle like the Soviet Union. As if that was a bad thing. LOL.” User 2: “I’d love to see Soros physically dismantled along with his demon spawn and all his minions.” Users responding to Black Pigeon Speaks, *E.U. 2019 - ITALY IGNITING the European Spring*.

While the rise of statements about political enemies needing to be rounded up and killed or imprisoned may be passed off as hyperbolic, the ensuing dehumanization of the political other has dire implications when it comes to legitimizing violence in the name of a political cause. In other words, it grants “permission” to turn existing prejudices into the worst kinds of discrimination (Neiwert, 2016, pg. 14).

In conclusion, the Comfort frames I discussed in this chapter attempt to justify deeply rooted, racist beliefs in society and serve as rhetorical defense mechanisms against efforts for racial justice. The Ugly Truth clears the stage for hate speech but simultaneously silences those who speak against it. Guilt Management justifies color-blind ideology, shrugging its shoulders at the devastating aftershocks of colonialism and generously framing practices like Holocaust denial as wholesome exercises in good-faith skepticism. Finally, Victory and Supremacy invites whites to feel superior at the expense of a racialized Other, inevitably dehumanizing them and justifying their mistreatment.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THREAT

Similar to Comfort frames, Threat frames resonate with white viewership by locating and acknowledging shared fears, anxieties, and perceived injustices. However, rather than soothing these feelings by disarming and humiliating political opposition, they instead exacerbate these insecurities by activating threat. In this chapter I attempt to disentangle a series of frames that are causally, rhetorically, and emotionally intertwined on a lattice of fear and frustration. In each section I will discuss the literature surrounding the sub-frame then discuss the related results.

I observed three fundamental sub-frames that could be categorized as Threat frames. The Appropriating Victimhood sub-frame inverts the idea of white, male, heterosexual, cisgender hegemony by presenting white, straight, men as either historically or currently persecuted. The Impending Doom sub-frame focuses on future threats and interprets each news event as one more step on society's one-way path to ruin. Finally, the Conspiracy sub-frame casts the villains in these 'good versus evil' struggles, and I argue, provides the superstructure for these frames to resonate across various camps of far-right extremism.

Appropriation of Victimhood

After the civil rights era, white supremacist groups found that older, overt attempts to incite racial hatred were now yielding considerable public backlash (Daniels, 2009). In order to adapt, they would devise a set of strategies during the 1970s that appeared more innocuous. The goal was still to capitalize on the still-burning resentment many whites felt in the shifting racial order, but to do so in a way that offered plausible deniability.

For instance, the advent of affirmative action—as well as the rising visibility of racial pride, both served as opportunities for white supremacist groups like the Ku Klux Klan to tap into the resulting aggrieved entitlement of whites. David Duke, who was Grand Wizard of the KKK, unceremoniously commandeered the language and trappings of the oppressed, founding white versions of minority rights organizations like the NAACP—as well as calling for white pride months and white pride parades (Dobratz & Shanks-Meile, 2006). Rather than denying the existence of unjust racial oppression, white supremacists were now portraying whites as the victims of systemic racism (Holstein & Miller, 1990).

Berbrier (2000) used a novel approach to understand why this new approach would become a staple strategy in the white supremacist playbook. They drew upon social constructionist approaches to victimology, arguing that the category of victim is constructed when groups organize around a perceived social problem. In this sense, the status of victim is not only an indication that one has been harmed, but also one that warrants sympathy and represents innocence. Thus, victim discourse is not a matter of empirical recognition, but rather indicative of currents of social power.

It is important to emphasize that the mere practice of rhetorically orienting one's ingroup as victims is not unique to far-right discourse. Instead, the peculiarities of far-right victimhood frames rest on the fact that they are *reorientations*—inversions of mainstream understandings of dominant-minority group dynamics. Thus, the Appropriation of Victimhood frame is not only discursively tied to Threat because of the incensing effects of persecution, but because it insists that sympathy is being misplaced towards groups that do not deserve it.

According to Lyons (2017), appropriating victimhood serves four purposes in white supremacist messages: 1) It silences minorities by stealing their platform. 2) It polarizes political

discourse with strategically deployed wedges, allowing white supremacist groups to appear like allies against a shared enemy. 3) It eclipses the ideology of hate, because victim status overrides oppressor status. 4) Lastly, it rationalizes violence and extremism in the name of these movements, because violence in the name of self-defense is generally considered more acceptable (Lyons, 2017). Many leaders of white nationalist groups openly disavow the acts of violence performed by members of their community, such as Richard Spencer who advocates for “peaceful ethnic cleansing” (Lopez, 2017). However, rhetoric like his casts whites as cornered victims with few options left. If the white race is supposedly on the brink of impending genocide, it necessitates drastic, radical action. Through this lens, it becomes clear that when Richard Spencer speaks about “building white identity” (Beirich, 2013) it could be better understood as building an identity of white victimhood.

The Appropriation of Victimhood frame arose from the way content creators framed conflict between groups—namely, as a war on them. In channels that stick mostly to color-blind messaging, the story goes that the ingroup is censored and pilloried because they dare to express Ugly Truths in a climate of suffocating political correctness. In channels with more racialized messaging, the ingroup is oppressed because society at large is ‘anti-white’. There is considerable overlap between these two categories, but I will discuss each of them separately at first, then touch on the congruencies and frictions that occur where they intersect.

Appropriation of Victimhood: Censorship and the Theft Of Joy

Today with laws, just for speaking out you can lose your job! Get put in jail, just for—people getting sent to jail for tweets. I mean they're tweeting something, getting sent to jail. So it's amazing. I mean that they can take away your freedom for that in my country—in many countries in Europe for saying the wrong thing.

—Phil Simpson, *The Heroic Story of the Cimbri: Their Struggle Against Rome & Their Cowardice*

One of the most consistent ways victimhood manifested itself in the sample was in regard to the topic of censorship. Recent political events were frequently framed as examples of free speech being attacked or under siege, and content creators often attempted to link their own personal experiences regarding censorship (such as punitive efforts against their channel from YouTube) with the viewers'. In these narratives, authority figures unjustly take down videos, block rallies, restrict language, and sterilize popular media, either in accordance with a higher agenda or in an attempt to appease the too-easily-offended masses. Since liberals are afraid to speak Ugly Truths, the accompanying implication is that conservative, far-right, and neoreactionary camps are *most* victimized. There are two main reasons why the invocation of free speech remains a go-to frame that resonates so deeply with this political sphere.

First, while many of the ideas expressed in white supremacist discourse are constructed upon an enduring legacy of racist politics, they still often attract negative social sanctions from the political left or even the general public. As a result, the invocation of free speech serves as a vindication from that social pressure because, through this abstraction, it is easier to defend one's right to say something than it is to defend what one said. This shifts the focus away from the harmful consequences that speech can have and reduces it to an issue of others being offended too easily. In other words, the problem is not 'my action', but 'your reaction'.

Secondly, by framing negative social sanctions (laws, deplatforming, disapproval) against hate speech and white supremacy as an assault on free speech, white supremacists can potentially build coalitions with other groups by convincing them they have a common enemy (Bergman, 2018). The two-step process to establishing this shared identity of victimhood is to first frame it

all as a witch hunt and then to activate enough threat to convince the listener that it is only a matter of time before they, too, are burned at the stake.

One of the most pernicious effects of this rhetorical sleight of hand is that hate speech (advocating for violence against a vulnerable group) ceases to exist and blends in as just another form of self-expression wrongfully condemned by the opposition. Stefan Molyneux warns his audience that leftists “want to put us in camps” for having the “wrong opinions” during his *True Horrors of Socialism & Ask Me Anything!* video. This, of course, begs the question of which opinions he is referring to, or which groups they are targeting exactly. But those details are never articulated, so the invitation to appropriate victimhood remains open to just about anyone who is not a “leftist”.

In another example, this time from James Allsup’s video *Why Youtube Banned Hunter Avalone*, Allsup’s framing acts as a smokescreen—keeping white nationalism in the abstract and never articulating the dangers that white nationalist politics followed to their logical end would pose for minority groups:

On Tuesday, congress held hearings to address the [air quotes] rise, of white nationalism, as they said. The very impetus for these hearings is questionable. The US is a free country, or so we’re told, so why is it any business of the government to investigate an ideology some of their citizens ascribe to? Flat earthers, black nationalists, libertarians, socialists—it shouldn’t matter what you believe in, it should be protected by the first amendment...

...Right now they’re treating a political position they don’t like, a set of ideas, like it’s illegal to have them. I am an American nationalist and this fight concerns me because I know exactly how this whole scam works. Step one is you believe in something the left doesn’t like. Whether that’s anti feminism, whether it’s MRA stuff, whether it’s a belief that we should regulate our national borders and withdraw from foreign wars. The belief specifically doesn’t matter. Step two is what matters. Step two is what matters. Step two is where the media falsely attacks you as a [air quotes] white nationalist or [air quotes] white supreme-ist (sic), of course, without any evidence, or without any—without you believing that. But what you believe doesn’t matter. The truth doesn’t matter, because they are attempting to slander you.

Allsup acknowledges Men’s Rights Activists (MRAs), flat-earthers, libertarians, socialists, and American nationalists, but any time he mentions white nationalists or white supremacists he prefaces it with “so-called”, puts them in air-quotes, or uses a malapropism (“supreme-ist”). Furthermore, his framing both obfuscates and equivocates their beliefs—describing them as “certain things”, “certain opinions”, “anything the left doesn’t like”, “opinions they consider wrong”, or “an ideology”. Under this framing, the existence and threat of white supremacy is never truly acknowledged, and any action taken in the name of opposing white supremacism or white nationalism is actually a witch hunt on anyone the left, liberals, or democrats disagree with.

A similar line of victimhood framing was used by Black Pigeon Speaks (BPS) in his video on the mainstream media (MSM) and its attempts to “smear” a political YouTuber running for office:

What his recent campaign in the, in the, for the—excuse me, for the European Parliament has shown, is that it doesn't matter how much you punch right. It doesn't matter how much you say you don't identify with the political beliefs of Italy and Germany in the 1930s and 1940s. If you hold any values to the right of what is thoroughly the far-left dominated media and the Marxist activists that go around masquerading as journalists today, well, they are the ones that decree what's legitimate morality or what's legitimate right-think.

BPS repeats this point throughout the video, claiming that people who want “responsible immigration” are seen as far-right and that conservatives are being “purged” from social media by Marxists who justify these misdeeds in the name of fighting white supremacy. Much like Allsup’s video, the framing starkly polarizes political discourse and unifies white supremacists, conservatives, and moderates under a common oppressor.

In their own research on “alt-right” media discourse, Lovink and Tuters (2018) found that white supremacists are echoing previous fascistic messaging techniques, aiming to create, what Lovink and Tuters identify as a “theft of joy” narrative (p. 5). When executed correctly, extremists are able to bridge the political gap to young white men who may feel victimized by recent progressive waves made in spaces traditionally maintained as, largely, *by* and *for* them. This discontent is stoked and channeled towards feminists and other progressives—now cast as ruthless killjoys that are ruining video games and superhero movies with female empowerment, minority representation, and scathing media critiques (Chess & Shaw, 2015; Nagle, 2017). Under this framing, the advent of “woke media”, as Computing Forever and so many other channels in the sample call it, can be understood as an attack on white men by proxy. At a glance, Computing Forever making videos complaining that the new *Batwoman* series is “cringe-level, super-woke, feminist garbage” may seem conceptually like a far leap to white supremacy. However, these pieces appear alongside videos on cultural degeneracy, why immigration is destroying society, and how liberals are systematically implementing an Orwellian surveillance state. Figureheads in online, far-right politics, such as Andrew Anglin of the Daily Stormer and Steve Bannon of Breitbart.com have pointed to cultural events like Gamergate as instrumental for recruitment and achieving their political goals (Lovink & Tuters, 2018), and I argue that one of the common themes—the kindling, that sparks these fires of hate, is the Appropriation of Victimhood from minorities to the dominant group.

Appropriation of Victimhood: White Victimhood

Political correctness is a language that is meant to prevent white people from advocating for themselves. It's not purely just bullies team—, like, teaming up on you to prevent

individual free speech, right? It's not purely about that. It's about denying white people the language to advocate for themselves in the political arena.

—Mike Enoch, *TDS: Why Sargon is Losing*

The above quote is part of a conversation from the TRS Radio channel, where co-host of *The Daily Shoah*, Mike Enoch, laments the framing that YouTube personalities like Carl Benjamin uses to discuss censorship. For him, censorship is a racialized issue—not about collectivism vs. individualism or the abstract ideal of free speech. In fact, Enoch mentions in their *TRS Live* video that whites should not be afraid of dictatorships as long as its “one of us doing it.” As Enoch sees it, Sargon only fights for his right to make offensive comments (the example TRS uses is Sargon’s tweet that he “wouldn’t even rape” parliament member Jess Phillips) rather than fighting for the white race to be able to speak about the problems they face.⁹

Inter-channel commentary like this demonstrates the tensions between channels with color-blind rhetoric and more overtly racialized channels. TRS Radio are one of many examples from the sample where, rather than focusing on how censorship and ‘woke’ media are attacks on free speech, conservatives, the nation, and men, they use the Appropriation of Victimhood frame to maintain that whites are under attack. As they (and so many others) tell it, white homelands are being invaded, their people erased, their achievements shackled by guilt. In this all-encompassing racial conflict, they are the victims, and they are justified in their fighting because they are protecting their livelihood. The types of action words used when describing how the in-group fights in conflict scenarios are defensively charged: They are “preserving” or “defending”

⁹ While content creator Carl Benjamin’s channel was not included in stage two of this study, his foray into politics as a UKIP MEP candidate was observed to be a common topic of discussion.

something, “standing up against”, or “taking back what is theirs.” Note how these are all framed as reactions from an aggressor. In the case of political opponents, they are “attacking”, “censoring”, “silencing” and if they are immigrants, they are described in terms of being invaders – so “flooding” or “stealing”.

Before diving much deeper into the way an identity of white victimhood is constructed in this sample, it is important to emphasize that these claims are *appropriations* of victimhood. Whites in the United States have historically enjoyed (and still do) an array of economic privileges compared to other racial groups (Chetty et al., 2018). Besides material comfort, they are overwhelmingly represented in every stratum of government, top executive positions in companies, the media at large, and enjoy a position of global privilege (Lam, 2016). Those familiar with these empirical realities may find the idea of a white persecution complex baffling, but it remains a go-to frame for white supremacist messaging.

A recent example of this are the numerous attempts by white supremacist communities to publicize the slogan, “It’s Okay to be White” in hashtags and in public places, such as universities (ADL, n.d.). In RamZPaul’s video, *Happy Homelands - Frodi Midjord and Zman Q&A*, Zman talks about leaving “It’s Okay to be White” cards in books at the airport as a form of political activism for the “movement”. Under the framework I have laid out, this messaging can be understood as a racially overt reframing of racial discourse in politics as an attack on whites. The statement that it is “okay” to be something, implies that there is a significant, preexisting sentiment otherwise—in other words, that whites are currently victims of oppression.

In episode 25 of Red Ice’s *Flashback Friday*, Henrik demonstrates the racialized Appropriation of Victimhood when he modifies and shares a meme he found online. The original image is a still from a scene in the cartoon *Family Guy*, where a character is stopped by law

enforcement and they hold up a skin palette guide next to his face to see if he is “okay” or not. While this can be read directly as commentary on racial discrimination by law enforcement, Henrik and Lana take issue with the idea that people of color—those labeled as “not okay” in the skit, are portrayed as victims when it is whites who are most persecuted in society. Henrik remarks that he edited the meme, placing the “not okay” next to the white shades to show “how it really is”:

Henrik: “So I redid it and realized that's how it really is. If you're those two shades of white you're—it's not—it's literally not okay to be white in our society right now.”

Lana: “Nope, it is not. And everyone else damn well knows that this is true.”

When race is activated in these channels, they can also attempt to weave gender, political position, sexuality, and even religion into their white victimhood narratives. In Mark Collett’s video, *The Establishment’s Disdain For Christianity*, he explains to his viewers that different aspects of one’s identity can come together to create a unique social location for that person—especially in regard to oppression. “This system of discrimination creates something that I have termed the totem pole of oppression and atop this totem pole sits the disabled black lesbian. And at the bottom of this totem pole stands the straight white able-bodied Male” What Collett is describing here is essentially a linear, inverted form of intersectional oppression (Hutchinson, 1999), with hegemonic, dominant forms of identity at the bottom, rather than the top.

As demonstrated, the Appropriation of Victimhood frames serves several different purposes in white supremacist messaging, and manifests in a variety of ways. However, there also exist certain temporal manifestations of white supremacy’s persecution complex that intersect with conservative thought—namely the idea that things were once good for whites, are worse now, and will get *much worse* in the future.

Impending Doom

As detailed in the previous section, almost every single channel made at least one reference to the idea that Western civilization was crumbling, whites were losing their homeland, or that the pure and sacred order was being threatened in some way. When discussing the world's current situation, the content almost universally describes it negatively, or only in terms of its problems. The content creators portray themselves as messengers to the viewer that tragedy is on the horizon for both Whites and Western civilization. Furthermore, the issues they discuss are posed as growing problems that will only get worse.

Unlike the religiously themed apocalypticism seen in Christian Identity white supremacist groups (Sharpe 2000, pg. 628), the various strains of apocalypticism in the sample all took on a distinctly secular tone. Rather than satanic forces, the villains were leftists, Jews, feminists, people of color, immigrants, refugees, soy boys, and communists (sometimes all at once). Also, rather than a single apocalyptic event, the *end* represents a loose convergence of decay, violence, and loss. I have chosen the name Impending Doom for this frame because of the direness with which vloggers discuss the world's current situation and how it is allegedly on a one-way track to ruin.

As mentioned earlier, framing devices not only identify problems, they generally contextualize them with actionable solutions. In terms of its strategic role, the Impending Doom frame is a double-edged sword. On one side, the dire situations it evokes seemingly call for equally dire measures to solve, meaning extreme actions like violence are framed as implicitly permissible. On the other side, the sheer peril of it all appears to foster nihilism and even fatalism in these communities—both of which seep in between the dire world state and the conspicuous

lack of actionable political goals in mentioned in this media. I end the section discussing how content creators and viewers attempt to reconcile the idea of political action in the face of, what is allegedly, such insurmountable odds.

Impending Doom: Selling the Apocalypse

We are heading into a brick wall at 1,000 kilometres per hour. There is no way we can stop this. All you can do is make sure that when we reach that wall, the remains of the explosion that results will contain some of your descendants.

—Jean-Francois Gariépy, *Biology of Race: Debunking the "Sceptics" View on Race*

The Impending Doom frame requires two components to function. The first is describing a future outcome that the group is likely to find sufficiently undesirable. Depending on the channel category, this could be invoking dramatic scenarios—such as living under constant surveillance in a totalitarian regime, white genocide, or cultural degeneracy. More generally, it could involve alluding to any potential loss of privilege, position, or power for the ingroup.

The second component that Impending Doom requires is linking future outcome(s) to current political or social developments in a way that causally follows. Examples of temporal chaining from the sample include statements such as: “You can already see this happening”, “This is just one more way that...”, “Pretty soon, we’ll all...” Depending on the channel category, the causal link could be the part of some conspirator’s master design¹⁰ or simply working from the idea that liberals or the left have ‘gone too far’. These ‘slippery slope’ styles of rhetoric tie

¹⁰ The details of these conspiracies are covered in the next section of this chapter.

well with The Perversity Thesis discussed in chapter five, because they echo the idea that leftists and liberals are playing Russian roulette with the wellbeing of society.

The Impending Doom frame always involves fear of a future threat, but who that threat is coming for varies depending on how overtly racialized the channel that described it was. Take, for instance, Renaud Camus' (2015) concept of the Great Replacement: an ominous prediction that majority-white countries will slowly be transformed into non-white countries by an overflow of non-white immigrants, dropping white birth rates, and rising birth rates of non-whites. This certainly fits the bill as an Impending Doom frame, and numerous channels in the sample mentioned the Great Replacement, or “replacement” in some demographic capacity. Channels whose videos more commonly fit in the colorblind nationalism category of framing, like Stefan Molyneux and Computing Forever, used less racialized terms to describe Great Replacement narratives. Rather than focusing on a threatened white majority, they appealed to national identity—warning that countries like Ireland will not be Ireland anymore, should they continue immigrating people from other countries. Once again, the criteria of who is, or is not, British or American “enough” is never fully defined, but the ways these videos essentialize religion and culture in immigrants means that the distinction between “civic” and “white” nationalist versions of Impending Doom frames is functionally, but not *optically* equivalent.

Aside from irresponsibly ushering the end of days, there were also elements of Impending Doom in the ways that videos described their opposition. Words like “disease”, “poison”, “cancer”, “plague”, and “sickness” were used to describe liberals, feminism, leftists and multiculturalism. What these terms share in common is that they are unmistakably negative, and they grow or worsen over time. Furthermore, they pose politics as a zero-sum game between ‘us’ and ‘them’

With a large enough dose of conspiracy ideation, these anxieties mutate can into all-encompassing narratives of control and apocalypticism. Due to the cataclysmic scale on which many conspiracies operate, white supremacist conspiracies mesh well with the prevalence of apocalypticism in far-right religious groups. Conspiracies like the New World Order were historically prevalent among KKK members, right-wing anti-government militias, and Christian fundamentalists who await the Antichrist's arrival at the end of times (Barkun, 2013, p. 179). Apocalyptic versions of the Impending Doom frame further raise the stakes of participation and can energize members into taking action. After all, extreme problems necessitate extreme solutions.

However, despite the seemingly energizing effects of existential threats levied against the ingroup, when it came time to articulate actionable goals and ways of achieving them the majority of videos in the sample were conspicuously lacking in this regard. While it is possible that the reason for this is that YouTube's restrictions disincentivize channels from overtly articulating white supremacist political action, the next section touches on how members of the sampled community deal with the discouraging effects of so much Impending Doom.

Impending Doom: The Black Pill, the Honk Pill, and the Question of Activism

Initially coined by far-right media personality, Mike Cernovich, the term "Black Pill" has become slang among white supremacist and neoreactionary circles for "a total nihilism that rejects 'illusion' and 'positive action'" (Gogarty, 2017, p. 8). In other words, one is 'Black-Pilled' or has 'taken the Black Pill' when one adopts a fatalistic outlook on the world and effectively gives up. In the sample, The Black Pill was a consistent point of discussion among

commenters, channel hosts, and channel guests, and revolves around the degree of fatalism with which one faces all of this Impending Doom. Mark Collett expresses his dislike for so-called “Black-pillers” in his video, *This Week On the Alt-Right - with Jazzhands McFeels*:

... and I think sometimes there are too many people in this movement who do, what I call, black-pilling. Now, I gave a speech in Finland a few weeks ago, and I talked about how I don't like those giving the black pill. I don't like those who black-pill in our movement. In fact, I believe in white-pilling. I think the black-pilling people—people who go around spreading doom and gloom, were a bit ‘misery loves company’ and try to drag other people into that pit despair with them. I think they're very bad for the movement and I think sometimes they put down a contribution to world politics.

Similar to Collett, The Golden One repeatedly expresses his disdain for the growing Black Pill sentiment in the movement, and rather than suggesting they take the “White Pill” (the symbolic antithesis to its black counterpart) he encourages his viewers to take the “Glorious Pill” with him and start “approaching life in a more heroic and epic and glorious manner”. What examples like this demonstrate is the tensions that Impending Doom frames bring for a political group, and the types of internal oppositions they create when frames fail to motivate members into action. The intimidating array of doomsday scenarios, conspiracies of total control, and deep identities of victimhood that white supremacist messaging engender in their base appear to require sufficient enough emotional coping mechanisms to avoid paralysis.

One of the most frequently discussed antidotes in the sample to the Black Pill was the Honk Pill. Tied to the anti-Semitic meme Honkler (Cookney, 2019) and various crypto-nazi message boards like r/frenworld (KnowYourMeme, 2019a), the Honk Pill, or Clown Pill represented the latest in white supremacist recuperation attempts against growing Black Pill fatalism in the movement. Rather than face Impending Doom with confidence and optimism, The Honk Pill is when one finds solace in embracing the absurdity of it all.

A strong example of the Honk Pill being referenced in the sample is TRS Radio's music video, "*Honk*" by *Yan Halen*. The video is a beat-for-beat parody of rock artist Van Halen's *Jump* and showcases the philosophy of the Honk/Clown Pill in its lyrics and imagery:

Why Fedpost
When you can just smile?
We got it tough
Nothin' tougher than a clown
And I know
Baby you were born to feel
You got ??? (sic) and his golems Storytime Drag Queens
I see you gettin' mad
I see you reaching for your AR-15
Well that's a bad place to be
Just take the clown pill and see!
Might as well HONK!
Go ahead and HONK!

The lyrics appear to be directed towards a friend or ally ("we") who feels outraged and victimized by current political events. However, instead of "Fedposting" (slang for advocating or threatening violence towards someone online) or "reaching for your AR-15" (likely a reference to mass shootings), the song recommends that they "take the clown pill" and embrace the absurdity of it all. The top comments beneath the video echo the song's themes and also demonstrate the polyvocality of Honkler and the Honk pill as symbols of anti-Semitism as well:

User 1: I used to think the death of the West was a tragedy. Then I took the honkpill and realized it's a comedy. ☹️

User 2: Clowns are 2% of the population but 100% of the fun 🤡🤡🤡

User 3: Remember the 14 honks¹¹

User 4A: Gas the Cars so the Clowns can make it to the Circus

¹¹ Likely a reference to the "14 words" of the white supremacist motto (Berbrier, 2000)

User 4B: Sorry but can you explain the expression??? "Cars"???? I got the "bikes" means kikes but "cars"??
Thanks

In addition to the Glorious Pill, The Golden One also endorses the Honk Pill as a means of “defeating one’s own Black Pills” and embracing the absurdity of the world. This attitude somewhat resembles Albert Camus’ writings on recognizing absurdity as a means of coping with existential dread (Camus, 1942) and is echoed in several other exchanges in the sample:

JF: [notices the Honkler picture behind Roosh V through his webcam] Roosh V, how are you doing? I see that you have you abandon yourself to the honk-honk nihilism.
Roosh V: [adjusts camera to include Honkler picture completely in the frame] Yes, I mean I accept that we are living in clown world and what better symbol for clown world then honk-honkler?

When JF introduces guest Critical Condition, he mentions the honk pill again:

JF: Have you been going for the honk-honk meme recently? Have you been letting yourself down toward the spiral of nihilism?

Critical Condition: No, and I haven't. I had a short window of time where I was engaging with the honk-honk nihilism clown world meme but I think that it was short-lived for me because I very quickly segued into the god pill, and that's what I'm all about lately, so trying to stay away from the nihilism and focus on the positive things.

Roosh V: I'm a part of the god pill as well, but Honk the Honkler is just such a sign of the times that I can't resist but have a little place for him in my home.

Given the limitations to this study, it is difficult to tease apart whether Black Pills, Glorious Pills, White Pills, God Pills, or Honk Pills—all shorthand for outlooks on political activism, have any impact on whether or not viewers, or white supremacists in general, take political action in the face of Impending Doom. As mentioned earlier, it may be the limitations of the platform that cause this, but in the sample collected for this study there was a great deal of alarmist doom and gloom, punctuated by very minor suggestions of viable activism. The suggestions that were

present were almost always individual self-improvements and self-help style tips. "You're rebelling if you get married and have kids" Red Ice TV states. "You are on a crusade... .. go to the gym and get stronger... .. learn about your heritage and identity" are all recommendations by The Golden One, but despite bringing up elections, he never mentions who to vote for. Of the stage two channels, Mark Collett's was by far the most articulate in terms of political action, but the goals and methods he mentioned were primarily in the sphere of white supremacist media creation—not viewership. Instead, just about every channel's call to action focused on subscribing, liking, commenting, donating, and joining premium membership clubs. I discuss the possible implications of these findings further in the Limitations and Conclusions chapter.

Conspiracy

As described earlier, conservative thought often weaves iron laws with the Perversity Thesis to paint their political opposition as naive (Hirschman, 1991, p. 11). This rhetorical strategy was consistently found across the sample, but with one caveat: The more overtly racialized the channel's messaging tended to be, the more likely the opposition was portrayed as more than just a band of incompetent, bleeding hearts. The focus shifted beyond the unscrupulous politicians who only support these policies to get reelected and into a hidden hierarchy of elite actors with more nefarious aims. So who exactly is 'they', and what do they have to gain by subverting the apparent will of both the people and nature itself? Well, the answer lies amongst a concentric array of conspiracy theories. I discuss these theories, some of their latent functions, and how they serve as a binder for otherwise disparate far-right worldviews in this section.

Conspiracism is the tendency to posit that events do not simply occur by chance or conventionally observable forces, but rather, can be traced back to a secret cabal of elite actors with nefarious aims (Goldberg, 2008). As a result, conspiracism lends itself to the creation and maintenance of counterknowledge—that which presents itself as knowledge but often just serves a political or social agenda (Thompson, 2008; Gosa, 2011). Much like the alleged immigrant “crisis” (Kopan, 2016), or the alleged disintegration of conservative free speech (Ohlheiser, 2016), these conspiracies can be analyzed as anxieties of a dominant group (Chess & Shaw, 2015).

Fiske (1994) argues that conspiracism is most prevalent in groups that (a) see themselves as victims of larger forces and (b) have a proclivity towards dualism—in other words, viewing the world as a struggle between good and evil. Conspiracism and dualism operate synchronously in white supremacist conspiracy narratives because conspiracy ideation integrates otherwise disparate social actors into one chimeric amalgamation (Johnson, 2018).

While scholars like Fiske (1994) point out that conspiracy theories are often espoused by groups who are oppressed in a society, more recent scholars have found this to hold true for groups who merely perceive that they are persecuted. Krell (2016) compares this when discussing group threat theory and restrictions on campaign donations. He argues that the white supremacist national order only seeks to act when they perceive that they are beginning to lose their power to what he calls a “transformative egalitarian order coalition”. However, because racial inequality cannot be directly opposed in the political arena for optics reasons, this group instead opts for more indirect methods under the guise of color-blind policy (King & Smith, 2014). While whites have historically enjoyed a privileged status in the U.S. and other societies (McIntosh, 1988), many white nationalists instead argue that they are being oppressed by larger-

than-life conspiracies, gradual genocide, and racial mixing (Caren et al., 2012; Mayer et al., 2014).

The Notre Dame fire occurred during the stage two sample window, and most channels mentioned in it in some capacity. Of the 14 who did, 10 alluded to some type of conspiracy surrounding the event, either claiming fire was arson on the part of a government or group, or that the truth was being covered up about what really happened. Overall, conspiracies theories—or as Henrik of Red Ice TV calls them, “conspiracy facts”, were of no short supply in the sample. Much like in the other frames, one of the key distinctions was how overtly racialized the conspirators and their targets were. Channels like Red Ice and American Renaissance constantly reminded viewers that whites as a group were in the crosshairs of hidden malefactors, “anti-whites”, who are currently working to bring about their extinction. Red Ice TV videos in the sample repeatedly mentioned that The New Zealand shooter’s manifesto was faked, and in episode 25 of their Flashback Friday show, they spoke of a hidden plot to lower white fertility by encouraging white women to become obese with fat-positive media.

Conspiracy: The Chimera

A consistent trend among all conspiracy theories is that they contain stories of secret cabals of elite actors with nefarious aims (Goldberg, 2008). However, many far right and white supremacist viewers appear to either treat the exact nature of these conspirators as either interchangeable or able to modularly fit into one another. These dizzying permutations of conspiracy rhetoric are often like Russian nesting dolls that inevitably contain an anti-Semitic

center. As a result, the literature shows that white supremacist lore frequently points to a global Jewish conspiracy that is singularly responsible for all of the world's woes (Caren et al., 2012).

Both in the sample and the literature, the anti-Semitic conspiracy of global Jewish control functioned as a totalizing, master conspiracy. TRS Radio claim during their live show that the ZOG (Zionist-occupied government) is currently destroying the West through a campaign of misinformation that has infiltrated mainstream media on every level, and in *Clownworld Committee* they say spreading ZOG “awareness” is more important than spreading “race realism”. In a video named *UK Update with Morgoth* they describe a Jewish plot to psychologically discourage white men and women from reproducing with one another. YouTuber RamZPaul tells viewers to download an app that helps them avoid buying foods that are certified kosher, because Jews control supermarkets as well. For the sake of brevity I will leave additional details about ZOG conspiracies to chapter four, but the totalizing scope of these conspiracies cannot be understated.

Researchers have found that those who believe in even one conspiracy theory are ‘primed’ to also adopt others (Oliver & Wood, 2014). These forms of motivated reasoning allow conspiracy theorists to blend and hybridize even contradictory theories into byzantine narratives of deceit and control. This has important implications for findings in this study because the sets of conspiracies discussed across sample categories have a hierarchical logic to them. As one moves from more color-blind categories to overtly racialized ones, the initially diverse cast of chief malefactors gradually converges into fewer, but larger forces. However, overtly racialized channels did not discard the previous malefactors in more color-blind channel narratives, they simply incorporated them as smaller—but still necessary cogs in a larger conspiracy. This chimerization was accomplished by content creators and commenters alike, who actively

accommodated the terminology and processes of those ‘below’ them, so to speak, on the conspiracy hierarchy.

In an AMA (ask me anything) video, Lacey Lynn discusses how mothers should stay at home to homeschool their children, so that they can protect their children from the “brainwashing” that happens in public schools. “It’s liberal indoctrination. And when I say liberal, I mean progressive. And when I say progressive, I mean communist globalist Marxist.” Under one of Mark Collett’s videos, *The Establishment’s Disdain for Christianity*, a commenter makes a similar attempt at chimerization: “They are not Liberals... they are Post Modern neo Marxist Totalitarians.” JF refers to “leftist Marxists” imposing “programs” that “hand” sex changes, oral sex, and anal sex to children, while in another video, he refers to a public figure as a “cultural Marxist SJW”. A guest speaker on his show, Greg Johnson, also describes the opposition in chimeric terms:

The cultural left—the Marxists, are going to try and exploit this or going to try and probably try and restore it (Notre Dame) in a way that's modernizing and ugly... .. the gloating of Muslims and Jews and Marxist types about this, these people really hate us. These people really hate us. And they're all around us. They're in our countries, they're in our governments, they're in our media, they're being constantly pushed in our faces. They truly do hate us. They gloat over the misfortunes of our civilization.

While I will describe what these terms mean and where they fit into the conspiratorial hierarchy at the end of the chapter, it should be noted that these terms are combining intellectual perspectives that have notable disagreements and differences. For instance, what many consider the founding ‘postmodern’ scholars of the past had a strong dissatisfaction with Marxism (Marshall, 1989) and notoriously clashed with feminist scholars as well (Gallop, 1986). Similarly, feminist scholars have always taken issue with Marx’s blind spot for the role of gender in exploited labor (Hartmann & Markusen, 1980). This is not even mentioning the friction

between leftist and liberal positions (Klein & Stern, 2006), or how postmodern perspectives clashed with both as it dissolved foundational concepts in both camps (Gray, 2007, p. ix; Marshall, 1989).

In light of these contradictions, the idea of a leftist, liberal, totalitarian, postmodern, feminist, cultural, neo-Marxist may appear hopelessly incoherent, but such signifiers still serve a powerful political purpose. They simplify political conflict into more polarized and digestible terms by symbolically fusing different threats into a singular force. It is not unlike the Chimera—a creature of Greek myth with heads and parts from various animals; bewildering, threatening, and impossible in its form. The threats on the Chimera are numerous but comport with conspiracy ideation precisely because they can be traced back to one singular malefactor.

Take, for instance, the term ‘Cultural Marxism’, which made a large number of appearances in the sample. Taken at face value, it is a woefully tone-deaf descriptor—especially considering Marxist theory hardly made culture a central component (Alexander, 1995). However, the term’s origins date as far back as the Weimar Republic in World War II, where the Nazi regime warned of ‘cultural bolshevists’ who were attempting to enact a Judeo-communist plot to feminize and degenerate the German state (Tuters, 2018). As the Cultural Marxist conspiracy goes, Judeo-communist academics fled Germany during this time and infiltrated the Frankfurt school in the United States. They perfected the art of mind control through media, and their perverse influence on academia, politics, and Hollywood could be felt from the cultural revolutions of the 60s up until today (S., 2013; Tuters, 2018). In the past decade, the Cultural Marxist conspiracy theory is still invoked in with all of its original, anti-Semitic trappings by several white supremacists—including Anders Breivik who mentioned it in his manifesto before taking 77 lives. However, the term has also caught on with far-right groups who do *not* subscribe

to anti-Semitic conspiracies (Jay, 2011). Whether they are aware of its anti-Semitic overtones is difficult to discern, but I argue that the polyvocality of the conspiracy is a latent function that creates discursive inroads between far-right groups. Collectively being ‘in the know’ of what is *truly* going on is, in itself, its own kind of in-group.

Existing research shows that many neoreactionary proselytizers (not just white nationalists) refer to the dissemination of their worldview as ‘red-pilling’ others (Knowyourmeme, 2019b). The act of ‘red-pilling’ is a reference to the 1999 film, *The Matrix*, which depicts a dystopian future where humanity is enslaved. Reality is hidden from the characters’ view, unless they choose to take the ‘red pill’ and see things for how they truly are. Content creators in the sample frequently described their own works as ‘red pills’, demonstrating that they see their own videos as instrumental in regard to spreading truth. The viewer is, in *The Matrix*’s terms, the hero who has taken the first step towards liberating society by heroically choosing to consume the right information.

At its heart, conspiracism is a drama, and for every dastardly villain, an equally noble hero is cast their opposite. Groh (1987) points out the self-flattering implications that conspiracists tend to generate when constructing their worldview. Almost by definition, in order for a conspiracy to maintain its conspiracy-status, it must be shrouded from public understanding. As a result, individuals who are aware of these grand machinations possess a certain degree of insight and understanding that others do not. Flaunting this understanding as a marker of superiority glorifies their spreading of convoluted misinformation. It also romanticizes them as an alleged underdog—pitted against global conspiratorial powerhouses. Fenster (2008) states, “(the conspiracy theorist) wants to enjoy the pleasure of control, of finding the correct answer to the riddle of power, of mastering its desire of political order”. In light of this, it is hard

to deny the favorable implications that conspiracy theories portray of both the conspirators and the theorist. For instance, in order for conspirators to accomplish these feats, it often would require an astonishing level of logistics, stealth, and masterminding to accomplish. At the same time, adopting a conspiracy means that the individual who believes it has a certain degree of insight over the rest of the general public into the ‘real’ workings of events. Groh (1987) compares this inflated sense of understanding to a sort of romantic fantasy, in which theorists are the underdogs against all-powerful conspirators. However, much like vampires—ultimately powerful beings in disguise that walk among us, conspirators possess a singular weakness that can be exploited. Only the theorist possesses the know-how on how to reveal them to the light, and therefore, defeat them. Because of this, many scholars compare conspiracy theories to Marx’s concept of religion as the opiate of the masses (Marx & Malley, 1977). In this sense, they offer salvation to their believers, but in truth, perpetuate existing power structures.

In his 2001 work, *The Spirit of Terrorism*, Baudrillard adopts a similar stance, arguing that 9/11 conspiracy theories reinforce and restore hegemonic power. Claiming that the 2001 World Trade Center attacks were an inside job maintains the U.S. as the unchallenged superpower it had presented itself to be. In this version of events, a comparably small group of terrorists were not the ones who struck such a solid blow to U.S. Instead, the country’s ego is spared, and the individuals who previously saw the U.S. as having a monopoly on global power no longer have their views compromised. In this sense, conspiracy theories are not just a method for coping with insurmountable oppression. Instead, they embody a set of tactics for individuals who wish to restabilize an understanding of reality that has been threatened by major events or changes in their life. It matters not whether that view of reality is one of subjugation or freedom—all that matters is that its threatened existence survives whatever unwelcome

revelation that circumstance has bestowed upon them (Boudry & Braeckman, 2011).

Bereavement of one's ideology is not necessary, because conspiracy theories allow individuals to never transgress beyond the first step of Kübler-Ross's (1972) five-stage model of grief: Denial.

In light of this literature, it begs the question as to why I chose to place Conspiracy under Threat, rather than Comfort. While I agree with Fenster (2008), Groh (1987), Marx & Malley (1977), and Baudrillard (2001)'s assertion that conspiracies can be comforting exercises of self-flattery and epistemic preservation, I found that the way they manifested in this sample was more deeply tied to processes of threat escalation and the expression of emotional disgust at people who are not 'in the know'—both of which fit more appropriately under Threat.

Conspiracy: A Taxonomy of Foes

I open this section of the chapter with Figure 2, which visualizes issues (boxes at the bottom) that content creators discussed, while also showing which malevolent forces they are tied to. In the following paragraphs, I will shed light on this taxonomy of foes and discuss how content creators framed each of them as threats. One thing to note is that content creators' narratives varied in how far 'up' the chain of conspiracy actors they were. Channels categorized as containing white nationalist content frequently pointed to globalists or cultural Marxists as chief villains, while Anti-semitic white nationalists claimed Jews were responsible for the spread of communism and plots of global control. However, because 'lower' levels of conspirators fit within the same conspiracy narratives as 'higher' ones (just as intermediary pawns), lower 'tier' conspiracy framing can still potentially activate threat across audiences who subscribe to more elaborate and totalizing conspiracies.

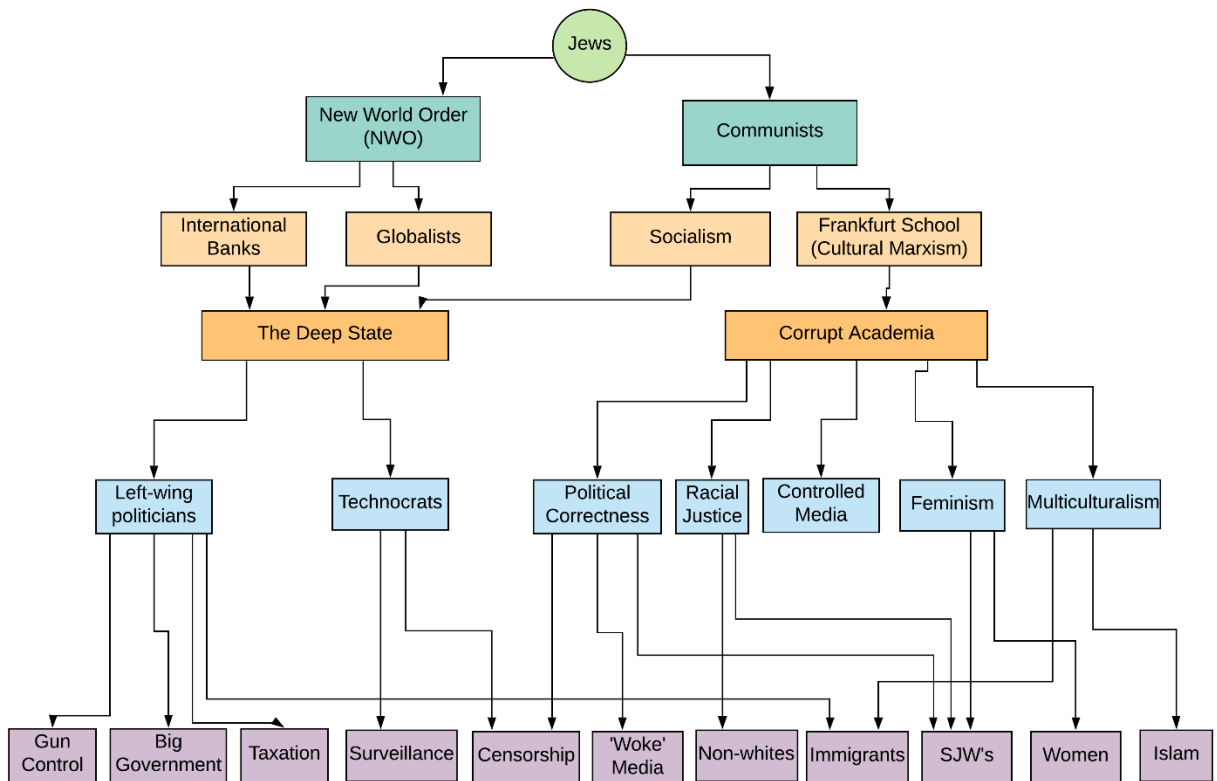


Figure 2: Diagram showing conspiracy hierarchy, as described in videos across the sample.

At the bottom of this hierarchy are social justice warriors (SJWs)—feminists, liberals, progressive movements such as Black Lives Matter, and university students; who, through their activism and messaging, assault the spirit and confidence of whites. They also unravel important ideological foundations of hegemonic power, such as traditional family structures, media, morality, sexuality, gender, free speech, and science. Whether they be feminists or other outspoken liberals, SJWs embody a sort of proverbial “wet blanket” at every party—unwelcome interlocutors who unapologetically moralize online discourse (Nagle, 2017). The injustices that SJWs rant and rave about are never considered valid, so they are allegedly either pushing an

agenda out of ignorance or for some ulterior motive. The words used to describe them include: ‘NPC’s¹², ‘automatons’, ‘screeching’, ‘mindless’, ‘zealots’, ‘fanatics’, ‘ideologues’, ‘intolerant’, ‘hysterical’, ‘virtue-signalers’¹³. A common theme among these descriptors is that they portray these young activists as ideologues who lack critical thinking, crave acceptance, and launch sweeping crusades of political correctness under the banner of progressive orthodoxy.

Above SJWs is the nexus of their power: The University, where comfy, tenured professors brainwash students with lectures about diversity and egalitarianism. They follow a ‘cultural Marxist’ doctrine and will dutifully spread it until society becomes a godless, communist wasteland (Nicholas, 2017). The idea of universities serving as a shadowy bastion of the Left is exemplified in William “Bill” Buckley junior’s 1951 book, *God and Man at Yale*, where he delivers a blistering invective against these institutions, claiming they take money from hard-working capitalists and, in return, maliciously indoctrinate their children with anti-American values like collectivism, egalitarianism, and atheism. In the sample, universities were commonly described as money-draining scams and bad influences on those who attend them. In some cases, content creators told viewers to avoid going to college at all.

On the other branch are the racialized other. Rather than psychologically damaging the ‘spirit’ of whites and conservatives, they are often leveraged as a physical and economic threat. People of color are deeply intertwined with the idea of the ‘immoral poor’—layabouts who undoubtedly deserve their lot in life and whose dependency on the state’s welfare dollars

¹² This insult refers to the video game term “non-playable character”. It insinuates that the political opposition follows a preprogrammed script, rather than thinking for themselves.

¹³ This insult insinuates that the political opposition expresses views about equality and political correctness — or ‘signals virtue’, in order to curry favor or appear morally righteous.

parasitically drains the pockets of upstanding, hard-working white Americans. Other social problems, such as drug abuse, crime, and human trafficking are similarly racially coded. Immigrants, undocumented migrants, and refugees (they are often used interchangeably) represent a similar threat, but instead bring in problems from the dangerous and alien outside world. They are commonly described as “hordes”, “uncontrolled,” “floods”, “swarms”, “rape gangs”, “criminal”, or “violent”.

Above the racialized other are the left-wing politicians who irresponsibly “let in” immigrants and buy the vote of people of color with welfare and entitlement programs. They consolidate power in the hands of the federal government, which is simultaneously too incompetent to govern effectively, but never more than a few steps away from implementing unstoppable totalitarian rule and snatching everyone’s guns and property away.

The final lateral branch of this taxonomy is the left-controlled mass media. This includes the coalition of ‘fake news’ networks that relentlessly persecute conservative leadership, as well as ‘woke’ advertising, movies, video games, and television that shamelessly pander to minority groups. Spaces that were once comfortable oases now suffer kneeling activists, minority representation, and a myriad of other challenges to white, male hegemony. Another facet of mass media detested by these groups is its capacity for fomenting moral decay, or ‘degeneracy’. Not only does representation of deviant sexualities and gender identities in media bring ‘politics’ in where it does not belong, but it encourages and spreads immoral behavior. This compounds with older moral panics of media encouraging drug use, partying or sex outside of marriage. Finally, the left-controlled mass media allegedly censors and marginalizes far-right opinion leaders by deplatforming them and even manipulating search engine results. This was continuously

referenced by content creators claiming that platforms like YouTube discriminate against them for their views.

Near the top of the conspiracy chain is the NWO (New World Order). The contemporary incarnation of this conspiracy arose from the void left in the wake of the dissolution of Soviet Union, and the dawn of what U.S. President George H.W. Bush called in his 1991 state of the union address, “a new world order”. Spark (2000) explains how this utopian conception of a unified humanity eventually soured into the totalitarian dystopias that grass-roots Patriot militias drummed up fear about in the early 90’s:

Some advocates see the global take-over as only potential, while for others it is near complete, following centuries of dedicated plotting. As a phrase, NWO conspiracy advocates have charted New World Order backwards through Henry Kissinger, Henry Wallace, the Versailles Peace Conference, Cecil Rhodes and British imperialism, to traditional bogeymen of many American conspiracy theories, the Freemasons and the Bavarian Illuminati. Wherever the river has its source, in all the patriot/militia NWO scenarios one thing is made clear: this time the globalist forces are here already and are being actively assisted in their schemes to deprive of Americans of their collective and individual sovereignty by a traitorous Federal government and its many agencies. (p. 48)

Not only is there considerable overlap between patriot groups and white supremacist groups—certainly hybrids in many cases (Neiwert, 2017) but the NWO conspiracy bears more than a few similarities with ZOG (Zionist Occupied Government) conspiracies (Stewart, 2002).

ZOG conspiracies refer to a secret Jewish plot to rule over gentiles and dominate the world. They intersect with NWO and communist conspiracies not only because they all invoke visions of colossal world governments (global homogenization—or “Globohomo”, as several channels call it), but because components of those conspiracies fit snugly within already-existing prejudices towards Jews.

Anti-Semitic conspiracies origins reach back to Christian rumors of sinister meetings between rabbis in the Middle Ages, legends of Jewish Illuminati cults, and even suspicions that

the French Revolution was the designs of some grand Jewish plot for dominance (p. 96). However, it was the *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (Golovinski, 1920) that would become “the bible of antisemitism in the twentieth century” (p. 29). In it, Jews are painted as ruthless schemers who quest for world dominance and are willing to resort to deception and manipulation of the masses. The document explains that they achieve this with secret organizations and the appropriation of ideologies such as individualism, democracy, liberalism, and socialism. In addition, it claims that nearly every disaster, rebellion, and assassination in world history can be traced to a Jewish plot for world domination. Lastly, the *Protocols* hammer home the sheer scale of the conspiracy by claiming that beneath every major city is a network of underground tunnels that Jews have built for the purpose of annihilating them all with explosives. These will be triggered should the Zionist Elders’ machinations be revealed before they are complete. This text would find little traction before World War I, but the deep trauma of the conflict on the continent of Europe likely awakened a desire to easily explain a scale of violence that otherwise seemed unexplainable.

In conclusion, different channels in the sample may have different grand theories about exactly who is behind any given conspiracy, but there is considerable, directional overlap. The ‘deeper’ the conspiracies go, the closer they get to all converging on a single conspiracy of Jewish control—a common belief amongst white supremacist groups (Ruotsila, 2000; Berlet & Vysotsky, 2006). This study cannot definitively point to any clear indications of viewers being radicalized ‘up’ this path, but evidence suggests that there is a path. This has important ramifications for understanding how the polyvocality of conspiracism allows white supremacists to more effectively broadcast and reproduce racist ideology in society.

CHAPTER EIGHT: GENDER AND SEXUALITY

In this chapter, I identify themes across the sample related to gender and sexuality, then group them by the types of framing devices they employ and whether or not they overtly activate race and ethnicity. While the themes and framing devices in this chapter are deeply entwined with one another, I have broken them up into three sections—each with their own literature section and results.

The way gender and sexuality are discussed in the sample not only echo hegemonic patterns in contemporary society, but also draw upon fascist models of masculinity and femininity as ideals. Men are rightfully (re)centered as commanders of the family and nation, women relegated to the domestic sphere, and the model of a white, heterosexual, nuclear family that produces as many children as possible is presented as a crucial means of regenerating the nation's lost status. In contrast, feminism is cast as a perversion of the vital social hierarchy, insidiously foisted upon whites by the media and other malefactors.

To summarize, the white supremacist project of realizing and maintaining a racial order is still central to the political discussion, but it is continuously intertwined with, or spoken in, particularly gendered and sexualized terms that I unpack here. This is important because it demonstrates yet another means by which white supremacist content on YouTube is able to simultaneously emphasize and avoid outright mentioning race within its issue framing. This further reproduces a racist state under the noble guise of restoring a traditional gender order and battling foreign sources of misogyny.

Entitlement to Women

A cluster of online neomascularity groups, colloquially referred to as the “manosphere”, have emerged and strengthened over the past decade (Hunte, 2019). These include Incel communities (Scaptura & Boyle, 2018), pickup artists (Hunte, 2019), and variants of existing anti-feminist mens’ rights activism (Schmitz & Kazyak, 2016). These groups each have their own political particularities, but they all share a common thread of male entitlement and animosity towards contemporary women’s movements. The story goes that women’s liberation has not only unfairly villainized men but allowed undeserving men (such as the archetypical Chad¹⁴ figure) to monopolize the “sexual market”, leaving swathes of men with slim chances of finding a partner. White supremacist messaging takes a similar tone but treats race and nationality as lines in the sand for who is appropriately entitled to women, effectively fusing the “needs” of hegemonic masculine ideals with the reproductive “needs” of the white nation.

YouTubers Jean-François Gariépy, Roosh V, and Critical Condition appeared together in a video titled *Roosh V Meets Critical Condition / TPS #387*, where they discussed women, sexuality, and reproduction. Quite early on, they agreed that the situation is dire: Many women have “ruined their bodies” with tattoos, piercings, and dyed hair and are now “beyond saving”. Similarly, those who have had sex with multiple partners have ruined their ability to bond with men permanently. Roosh drives home that now there are not just sluts, but “career sluts” who are women who focus too much on their jobs rather than building a family. This is caused by the rising cultural movement of feminism, which is an outright war on objective, natural beauty and

¹⁴ In these communities, there is a sense of shared outrage because the majority of women are allegedly only interested in ‘Chads’ — conventionally attractive men. (Hunte, 2019).

has masculinized women with short hair, piercings and tattoos.

What all of this means is that the “West is centered on pulling women away from good men”, and now there is a scarcity of women who are interested in good men to build a family with. These apparent problems are blamed on opportunistic “oligarchs,” who have skillfully manipulated society into this downward spiral, but it should be noted that the messaging in the video also appears to pin the blame on women. Over the video’s sixty-minute runtime, the discussion oscillates between paternalism and paranoia towards women.

For example, Roosh explains that women use “psychic powers” to make him think of sex every day when they dress scandalously. Women have an arsenal of tricks that the viewer should be wary of, including their legs (which are a form of manipulation) and makeup. He reminds the viewer that rouge makeup was invented by prostitutes to imitate the appearance of a female orgasm and hypnotize men. Roosh then recommends never looking at a woman’s face when they orgasm for this very reason.

While women are habitual deceivers that cannot be fully trusted, they are also easily manipulated damsels who must be “red-pilled”, disciplined, and shepherded onto the “right path”. Roosh offers viewers various “strategies” to help “manage her confidence” with carefully balanced insults and compliments, how to stop her from wearing miniskirts, and how to prohibit her from going to clubs or bars—referred to as “meat markets” for foreign men.

These attitudes of paternalism and paranoia may seem fundamentally at odds (much like the powerful/powerless dynamic in fascism), but there are common threads here. Male supremacy (because women’s power is by illegitimate means like deception), a higher call for men to control women for the betterment of so-called Western society, and male entitlement to women as a necessity of male—and by extension, national identity. Women are objectified into

resources worth fighting over in traditional understandings of patriarchy, the “sexual marketplace” mentioned by Roosh, and white genocide narratives.

Berg (2019) makes the case that this element of male entitlement intersects with white nationalist and white supremacist thought because “Male supremacy is, in this case, closely linked to the fear of white men losing their privileges... (and) unites classic far-right groups with women-hating men’s rights groups in opposition to feminism and emancipatory gender roles (Berg, 2019, p. 88)”. When male entitlement is threatened, it is not a far jump between the bemoaned ‘Chad’ figure and a racialized other, like the “foreigners” that Roosh described and the predatory immigrant men mentioned constantly across the sample. The repeated, racialized mentions of grooming gangs threatening white women are a prime example of this. In Mark Collett’s third episode of PWR, he describes them as a “plague” caused by “mass immigration”, and claims they are “grooming and raping tens of thousands of British girls” when he appears on Red Ice TV. He uses this as evidence that whites becoming a minority would be bad for women.

These attitudes resemble what Wodak (2015) calls “neo-colonial sexism” (p. 160), the practice of externalizing sexism as exclusively endemic to immigrants and foreigners. As a result, white patriarchy is conveniently left out of the conversation and avoids confrontation (Razack, 2007). Berg (2019) observed that this conceptual overlapping of white supremacy and sexism is why neo-colonial sexism is a meeting point white supremacist groups and the “manosphere”. It is worth noting that externalizing sexism by presenting men of color as predators was a tactic used in nationalist Germany’s propaganda efforts. The 1917 poster *Jumbo* depicts the imposing image of a black soldier, naked, towering, and yelling as he clutches the limp bodies of helpless white German women in his arms (Theweleit, 1987, p. 17). This dilemma beckons the white savior—the ideal white nationalist man, who vests himself with the protective

role of safeguarding the “always-about-to-be violated” bodies of white women from the hands of men of color and immigrants (Fraiman, 1994). In the artistic depictions Theweleit shows, white women either embody a chastity and purity that is constantly under threat or are abstracted into ideals like freedom, democracy, and victory; all high concepts to be labored over and achieved by deserving white men.

Take, for instance, the title and premise of The Golden One’s most popular video at the time this study was conducted: *Scandinavian Girls Beheaded In Morocco. Where Were Their Fathers?* Note the mention of ethnic signifiers (Scandinavian, Morocco) and how their fathers are impugned as failed protectors of the two, 24- and 28-year-old women. Women are not even afforded a spot on the battlefield as allies or even opponents in this world view. Through the patriarchal lens of fascism, they are at best, wandering livestock to be shepherded, and at worst, lifeless, ornamental treasures—unmoving and with no real will of their own (Hughey 2012). Either way, they are treated as spoils that go to the victors.

These patterns of paternal entitlement to women and extensions of male status are also evident in the frequent use of the word ‘cuck’, and its variations: ‘cucked’ and ‘cuckservative’. The insult ‘cuck’ remained confined to fringe communities on the internet, until the /pol board of 4chan popularized it in 2014 (KnowYourMeme, 2019c). The term caught like wildfire across “alt-right” spheres of The Internet and became a frequently used insult as white nationalist politics began to manifest again in mainstream discourse. In the manner it is used, cucks are men who have implicitly *allowed* other men to sleep with their wives. Themes of cuckoldry appeared in stories as far back as the 16th and 17th centuries (Millington 1992). Men in these stories were either oblivious to their wife’s affairs or presented as too afraid or weak to do much about them. The cuckolded man was often the object of derision but could shed this stigma if they succeeded

in taking revenge against the other man and/or the unfaithful wife. Thus, violence and revenge are restorative in these masculinist narratives.

Much like in these stories, “alt-right” online communities consider it a mark of shame for a man to be ‘cucked’, and frequently employ this insult. Prominent “alt-right” figures have used the term to disparage liberals and mainstream right-wing politicians – ‘cuckservatives’, as too soft on issues like immigration, political correctness, and Islamic terrorism (Crispin, 2017). In this sense, the ‘wife’ in the cuckoldry narrative is the nation: a valuable, yet vulnerable entity that must be always fervently guarded from foreign invaders. The effete, cosmopolitan, technocrats of the Left—as well as the fat-cat, establishment bureaucrats of the Right are all either complicit in, or simply unaware of, the fact that this happening (Porzucki, 2016).

While this narrative meshes quite well the anxieties of nationalism in general, the racial undertones that accompany the term ‘cuck’ take on a high degree of salience in white nationalism. Black men have been historically stereotyped as hypersexual rapists who target white women (Ferber, 2007). This stereotype is still perpetuated to this day in a variety of mediums, including pornography, where black men are portrayed as hypersexual “bulls” that have sex with white women while their emasculated white husbands watch (Alexander, 2016). Under the white nationalist worldview, the implications of this fantasy are particularly egregious because it subverts the nation’s foundation—the intact, white nuclear family. Even more importantly, it challenges the dominion of white men as the active and sole germinators of white women, whose sexuality must be tightly monitored and controlled (Silva, 2017). Racial exogamy, or ‘race-mixing’, becomes a threat to the perceived purity of white race, as well as the chastity and innocence of white women (Perry & Whitehead, 2015). Similar to patriarchal notions of conflict in fascism, men are the only players with power and control in this hegemonic

framework, so men end up being the only threat worth taking seriously by other men (Connell, [1987] 2013, p. 85). All of these factors are why a white nationalist figurehead, like Andrew Anglin of the Daily Stormer, can lambast a nationalist YouTuber like Lauren Southern for having a black boyfriend when she was 16, while also openly bragging about his “jail-bait Filipino girlfriend” (Anglin, 2017).

Joining Hegemonic and Fascist Models of Masculinity

You know, we have this meme in Sweden, that Sweden is cucked. You know, low self-esteem, low-T, shit-lib, you know, who is proud when his girlfriend goes to the club and gets hit on by Afghans. You know what? 300 years ago, the sound of the Carolean boots marching was the most fearsome sound that Europe had heard up to that point. And Swedes, we still have that in us, you have to understand.

—Eric, *Identitet Svea Banned from YouTube: Fitness, Training & Motivation Verboten - Eric Identitet Svea - Red Ice TV*

Paternalism and fear of feminization are recurring themes within far-right conspiracies and apocalypticism. Furthermore, they center on the invocation and preservation of specific forms of hegemonic masculinity—namely misogyny and homophobia (Connell, [1987] 2013). However, the way they are culturally coded in the sample attempts to legitimize them as timeless pillars of family and nation. For instance, certain manifestations of U.S. white supremacy style themselves in the trappings of frontier masculinity from rural America (Connell, 1993). As Schlatter (2006) puts it, frontier masculinity’s archetypically rugged, independent, well-armed, version of Aryan manhood was not a source of white supremacism, as much as an attractive “repackaging” (p. 3) of already-existing extremism. More notably, it stands remarkably in contrast to the mainstream ideal of the transnational corporate businessman (Connell, 1998), and

technocratic forms of masculinity (such as academics and Silicon Valley giants) that are either incompatible with rural values or unobtainable due to regional and economic inequality. These figures are consequently emasculated as lesser forms of masculinity to be rejected.

This resentment can be seen in antipathy towards Wall Street, banking, the federal government, politicians, tech giants, and academia (Bell et al., 2015). White supremacists have spun older scapegoats (such as Jewish corruption of finance and academia) into these gendered archetypes and are able to graft them upon more rural understandings of masculinity. This is what allows the conceptual leap between more extremist hierarchies: such as bankers, globalists, and Zionists; or professors, communism, and cultural Marxists (Mirrlees, 2018).

I discussed earlier, in chapter 4, how veneration of hierarchy plays a strong role in right-wing political thought. This also applies to different forms of masculinity. The terms ‘soy boy’ and ‘beta’ were oft-repeated, gendered insults in videos by The Golden One, Blonde in the Belly of the Beast, James Allsup and Red Ice videos featuring Identitet Svet. They are commonly used insults in online white nationalist communities to emasculate their political or ideological opposition. These terms are not exclusive to these groups, finding popularity among other neoreactionary sectors like the online manosphere’s legion of acronyms: the anti-feminist Men’s Rights Activist (MRA) communities, Pickup Artist (PUA) communities, and Men-going-their-own-way (MGTOW) communities. However, in nearly all cases, it is used to describe a type of male who is weak, timid, emotional, or submissive in some way.

‘Soy boys’ fit this bill, and the term is typically assigned to male liberals and male feminists. It is a reference to a conspiracy that the phytoestrogens in soy products somehow act the same as human sex hormones, meaning men who consume them lose their testosterone

(Gambert & Linne, 2018). As the story goes, these ‘boys’ have lost their manhood because they have consumed too much soy product and become feminized.

‘Soy boys’ and ‘betas’ are failed forms of masculinity that are juxtaposed against ‘alpha’ men, who are strong, stoic leaders that are always in control. The term ‘alpha’ dates back to before the Internet, first popularized by David Mech, whose 1970 book, *The Wolf: Ecology and Behavior of an Endangered Species*, used the term alpha male to describe hierarchical workings of wolf packs. The traditional concept of the alpha male was eventually abandoned by researchers after discovering that the concept truly only applied to wolves kept in captivity, with those in the wild following rules of familial hierarchy instead (Mech & Boitani, 2003). However, despite both its scientific obsolescence and spurious relevance when applied to humans, the term entered into mainstream circulation and became used with increasing frequency when discussing human hierarchy in media and politics (Schell, 2007).

Findings

Why do you think they call us such things like toxic masculinity and talk about rape culture and all these concepts and memes designed to undermine masculinity? Why? Why is that? Why are they so hell-bent and why are they so afraid of, you know, fit, smart, well-dressed, European men? Well, that is because fit, smart, well-dressed, European men are gonna be the ones that bootstrap our civilization out of the early cultural marxist cappuccino-colored muck we find ourselves in.

—Eric, *Identitet Svea Banned from YouTube: Fitness, Training & Motivation Verboten* -
Eric Identitet Svea - Red Ice TV

Well, men, they're not allowed to have allies in the modern world. We're not allowed to have groups. We're not allowed to have sweat lodges. We're not allowed to have tribe. You're not allowed to have them. You can have a man cave as long as you're not talking to other men about something important and you're just watching some Bruce Willis movie that's fine.

—Stefan Molyneux, “GO FORTH & MAKE A FAMILY!” STEFAN MOLYNEUX
INTERVIEWED ON THE 21 REPORT

I observed that the term ‘beta’ was used to demarcate feminized, lesser men from ideal forms of nationalist masculinity. While traditionally hegemonic ideals of manhood—strength, control, and lack of emotion are all present, they are also positioned as vital cogs for the success of the nation. Since race and nationality are intentionally blurred together in white nationalist discourse, this means that white men are soldiers who bring about glory to their people by adhering to strict gender norms. In Red Ice’s *Identitet Svea Banned* video, the viewer is asked whether they want to be remembered as “some bonobo monkey playing *Fortnite*” or “one of the 300 men of Thermopylae”. Later in the video he uses the metaphor of white men becoming spears, wielded as weapons against enemies of the nation: “We are the tip of the spear that is the bloodline that goes back four billion years. And that has all you know accumulated up into you... ..it’s your job to make sure that that spear point hits its aim.”

Similar to *Identitet Svea*’s comments about Thermopylae, another guest on Red Ice TV (this time from episode 26 of the *Flashback Friday* series) draws upon historical examples of soldiers as ideal pinnacles of manhood and male experience. These mytho-historic paragons are held against the decadent, feminizing effects of modern existence:

The Cimbri may have died on that battlefield many years ago, but in that moment, they truly lived. A modern man could live a hundred lifetimes and never know such freedom, never knowing the true value of the breeze upon his face, or the precious smile of a loved one. The civilized mind—the slave mind, recoils in fear at such a sight. Unable to process it, he declares it madness because he who has never lived can never know life’s meaning. They spend all their time avoiding it and reasoning their way out of it. These societies produce thinkers. They forever talk about life without ever living it. Our barbarian ancestors did not talk it, they walked it. It embodied every action they made. They left us no books—only their deeds, from which we must learn.

Another expression of this ideal, rigid, military persona is the denunciation of pleasure in any of its forms. Sexuality is taboo, and consequently, women are viewed as temptations to be resisted and resented. Women are consistently described as “swamps”, “mires”, or “bogs”, threatening to infiltrate the male soldier and compromise his disciplined integrity. Much like how fascism views the enemy as simultaneously weak and dangerous, women are seen as somehow both inferior and threatening at the same time (Eco, 1995). As I will detail in this next section, women are relegated to support roles in these movements because men are seen as central to political practice and leadership (Nagel, 1998). Only men are permitted to be in charge, and traditionally masculine traits, such as stoicism, strength, capacity for violence, bravado, action, and dominance, are valued highly (Eco, 1995). Consequently, traditionally feminine values, such as emotion and passivity are anathema to the militarized fascist identity. This construction of such polarized, oppositional categories feeds into a binary world view of ‘us and them’, where ‘us’ is valorized masculinity and ‘them’ carries all the undesirable traits of feminine. The early 20th century fascist German soldiers that Theweleit (1987, 1989) studied, the *Freikorpsmen*, often saw themselves as honorable men and caricatured their opponents as feminine, soft, sniveling, backstabbers.

There were also several commonalities I observed in the sample with Theweleit’s writings on the *Freikorpsmen*, particularly in regard to attitudes towards denial of pleasure-seeking. For instance, The Golden One is a Swedish bodybuilder whose YouTube channel contains videos on a variety of topics, ranging from white nationalist political commentary to advice pieces about dating or bodybuilding. “This is a channel dedicated to how magnificent and glorious I am” reads the brief description for his channel, complete with photos of him flexing bare-chested.

Among his advice on how to do exercises, get ‘gains’, and avoid fattening foods, The Golden One advises viewers in a number of his videos to quit watching pornography in their “quest for gloriousness.” He advocates for “using” one’s sexual energy as opposed to wasting it, as is inevitably the case when one is addicted to pornography. He describes this sexual energy as “masculine”, “important”, and “powerful”. The Golden One also commonly opts for war metaphors when describing this issue. Many men “don’t want to deal with women (and) they turn to porn” because women are too complicated. However, he argues that the “path of porn” is a metaphorical “path of retreat”. Citing Sun Tzu’s *Art of War*, The Golden One claims that cutting off this path of retreat will cause men to “fight harder” for what they want. This mindset is similar to the anti-Eros ideology within the Freikorps, where politics are sexually charged, yet sexual pleasure and enjoyment is suppressed in favor of harnessing greatness for self, woman, and state. Finally, The Golden One also draws upon metaphysical, paternal sources of shame in order to discourage viewers from engaging in watching pornography: “Imagine if your forefathers or the gods were watching you pleasure yourself watching another man take a woman.”

Content creator, JF, also denounced specifically “degenerate” forms of pleasure in his videos. In *TPS #392*, JF reads a Super Chat from a self-proclaimed “heterosexual arse-bandit” who expresses their love for anal sex with women and asks, “what is wrong with me?”. JF condemns the behavior:

“Dude, I think you must be trolling. There’s nothing interesting in anal sex. Why would you want that? It’s not practical. It’s not productive. It’s stinky, dirty. It’s non-reproductive. Why would you want that? A hole in the wall would do better to your dick. So please stop the gay butt sex and the woman butt sex too.”

What is notable here is JF's implication that sex must be a "productive" act to be permissible. Similar to *The Golden One*, he adopts the same anti-Eros ideology—where the pursuit of sexual pleasure is only appropriate in the nationalist-approved context of the nuclear family—and even then, it is never mentioned in terms of pleasure.

Kinder, Küche, Kirche

Despite white nationalism's narrow view on what white women are permitted to do, a number (albeit minority) of content creators in the sample were women. Much like how *The Golden One* provided advice aimed almost exclusively at male viewers, content creators like Lauren Southern, Ayla Stewart *Wife With A Purpose*, and *Blonde in the Belly of the Beast*, offered occasional videos on lifestyle advice for female viewers between their standard political commentary. Not only is their commentary exclusively heteronormative (there is no advice for same-sex relationship in any of their content), but they treat sexuality as wholly in service of the confines of the traditional nuclear family. Furthermore, they imbue this idea of a family with a great deal of duty and importance. The fate of western civilization, as well as the happiness of men and women within it, are dependent on this very specific configuration of kinship and sexual practice.

The expression "Kinder, Küche, Kirche," or "children, kitchen, church," was first used by Kaiser Wilhelm II in the late 1800's to delimit women's role in German society (Wander, 1870). This philosophy would continue into the series of fascist and nationalist regimes that followed his rule, including Adolf Hitler's reign before and during World War II (Bridenthal, 1973). Under times of national turmoil, white women were relegated to household roles and encouraged

to produce as many offspring as possible. To facilitate this, white families under the Third Reich were offered federal marriage loans of 1000 marks (nearly a year's worth of income) as incentive (Grunberger, 1971, p. 235). Additionally, each child that couple had while married decreased the amount they had to pay back by 250 marks. While men waged war on the battlefield, women were encouraged to do their part by ensuring they birthed and raised as many future Germans as they could (Albanese, 2006).

Sociological and political scholars such as Nagel (1998), Lilly & Irvine (2002), and Lake (1992), all emphasize that the role of women in nationalist movements is solely to produce more offspring and raise them¹⁵. This is particularly noteworthy when discussing forms of ethnic nationalism, such as white nationalism. For example, the '14' words in the neo-Nazi numeric symbol '1488' are "We must ensure the existence of our people and our future for White children" (Perry, 2004). Considering the ubiquity of this slogan in the movement, it would stand to reason they place a great deal of emphasis on childbirth and childrearing. However, while this active 'serving of a role' may seem contradictory to Theweleit and Eco's assertions that women are just passive non-actors in these ideologies, it is important to note that the way they are shoehorned into serving the nation *still* confers them no agency. To the nationalist mindset, white women produce children only in the same sense that a factory does—only through the permission and direction of (white, male) workers. In that sense, they serve as transitory vessels for soldiers to create and raise more soldiers. Thus, practices that confer white women agency

¹⁵ In practice, these women would still serve a variety of other instrumental roles in both the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi Germany's efforts (Lower, 2013)

over their own reproductive functions, such as abortion, birth control, or sex education, are either discouraged or outright banned (Albanese, 2006).

The designation of white fertility as virtuous and non-white fertility as problematic is at the forefront of white nationalism, but this is only a more extreme and open version of deeply ingrained white supremacist sentiments that have long existed in the United States. Dorothy Roberts 1997 book, *Killing the Black Body*, offers a comprehensive overview of the ways the United States has valued fertility differently across racial lines. These include, but are not limited to, the pro-natalist campaigns for white women in the 1980's (p. 269), race-based eugenics practices in the early 1900s (p. 85), and a government-sponsored campaign in the early 90's that aimed to reduce black birth rates through the widespread disbursement of Norplant -- a birth control implant that was both difficult to remove and often detrimental to one's health (p. 181).

White supremacist views on fertility were not limited to the United States. Millar (2015) describes Australia's historical white nationalist anxieties surrounding the issue of abortion. Millar points out the "populate-or-perish" sentiments that developed in a nation where the presence of indigenous populations left whites feeling their ownership of the land was a tenuous one. The trajectory of this pro-natalism would surface into public consciousness at varying points in Australian history -- particularly when debate surrounding abortion would reach a flash point. Politicians in the 70's and the 2000's would draw upon statistics of declining white birth rates to buttress their anti-abortion platforms.

Albanese (2003) uses historical records to show that racially motivated management of women's reproduction and political opposition towards abortion and birth control were both common in the rise and fall of nationalist regimes in countries throughout Europe. Therefore, Italy, Yugoslavia, Russia, and Germany all experienced changing policies based on the

biopolitical rhetoric of fascist and nationalist rule. In the name of national interest, women's wombs were commandeered to supposedly protecting the fetus from the mother (Ahmed, 2004). In light of this, it is perhaps no surprise that the fecundity of women is a highly valued asset, serving as insurance against the ever-looming threat of white genocide (Perry, 2004; Mayer et al. 2014). Furthermore, movements that encourage women's autonomy are problematized as jeopardizing the safety and sanctity of the political body.

Findings

You have to be honest with yourself and say, 'Okay, where did these things come from? Where did these problems come from?' So you have to go back and research the policy. So you have to go back and research where they came from, and you have to connect the dots. I've put it out there and some people still don't like it. Whatever. I don't know. But you have to be able to say, like, you know, first wave feminism was not okay. It was not okay. It was not the only good wave of feminism. It wasn't the good wave. It was communism. It was women seeking superiority. It was domestic terrorism. It was—oh, it was terrible. It was terrible.

—Lacey Lynn, *Thank you for 6,000 subs AMA*

Discussions about femininity and reproductive autonomy were common occurrences in the sample—particularly in channels that openly made it a point to address a specifically white, female viewership. While each added their own twist to the messaging, the overall, unifying theme they delivered was that feminism is responsible for a litany of different social problems. Thus, adopting a “trad”, or traditional lifestyle is a path for happiness and national/racial contribution for white women.

So it goes, the Tradwife is white, demure, wears little to no makeup, meets conventional norms of attractiveness, has natural hair color, wears modest, feminine clothing, has no tattoos, is

chaste, religiously-devout, family-centric, and has been a stay-at-home mom since her early 20's that homeschools her (many) kids. The channels Ayla Stewart *Wife With A Purpose* and Lacey Lynn most directly attempt to embody this archetype, with Ayla characterizing herself as a "Tradwife" who puts her husband and kids first, and Lacey who says she dresses herself in 50's era housewife regalia as a political statement. Both of them join several other sampled content creators (Stefan Molyneux, *Blonde in the Belly of the Beast*, Red Ice TV) in the sentiment that women should avoid going to college because it indoctrinates them into feminism and delays marriage/child rearing. In her *Saturday Tradstream* Ayla Stewart even goes as far as to recommend that women read as little as possible.

When explaining why this lifestyle is the best option for white women, Lacey Lynn explains that women are always happier as mothers than they are in a career. It appears she views the two options as mutually exclusive, and does not discuss the possibility of doing both, or having one's partner be primary caregiver instead. Not only will they be happier, she argues, but society as a whole will benefit from this return to a better time, where women all embrace the Trad lifestyle. There are also occasional biological essentialist arguments that pop up in other places across the sample, such as the idea that men and women's 'natural' differences complement each other functionally. James Allsup remarks: "I would argue that womanhood is intertwined with fertility, and motherhood is the ability to conceive birth and nurture a child—that natural ability a woman has." In a video titled *PhD or Baby*, Stefan Molyneux talks with a woman who calls in, asking for his advice in regard to whether she should continue pursuing her doctoral degree. Molyneux emphasizes that this could come at further expense to her relationship and potential motherhood, mentioning that "on average, women are more interested in people and, on average, men are more interested in things". In another video, *What Happens When We*

Die?, he also remarks that ending women’s suffrage would “save the world.”

Another thing to note is that these attitudes about gender place women who participate in “alt-right” politics in a contentious position. It would be remiss not to mention that Lauren Southern, Tara McCarthy, Lana Lokteff, Brittany Pettibone (among others not included in this sample) have all been subject to controversy about their status as politically active women in a movement that consigns them to be only homemakers. “Thotgate”, as it was dubbed by members of the community, was a series of social media conflicts that took place in December 2017 and extended into early 2018. The infighting centered around the role and requirements of women in the “alt-right” sphere—particularly (but not limited to) the white nationalist movement. Started by user “lilnazbol”, images of a 16-year old Lauren Southern with a black boyfriend began circulating around Twitter. Southern was met with harassment on YouTube and Twitter from “alt-right” community members. Andrew Anglin, head of a white nationalist blog named *The Daily Stormer*, followed up with an article titled *Alt-Lite Skanks Scream SHUT IT DOWN as Coal Burning¹⁶ Thot¹⁷ Lauren Southern Patrolled* (Anglin, 2017). Her age also became a point of contention, with many former political allies questioning why she was 22 but had not had kids of her own yet (Rife, 2017). Lana Lokteff, of Red Ice TV, also reported experiencing harassment from men in the movement who see women as unfit to do anything but birth and raise white babies (Mattheis, 2018).

While the drama surrounding these events had long died down by the time this study was

¹⁶ A ‘coal burner’ is a derogatory slur for a white woman who has sex with black men (Urban Dictionary, 2006).

¹⁷ Thot is a slur from an acronym for “That Ho Over There.” It is used interchangeably with ‘whore’ or ‘slut’ (Urban Dictionary, 2017).

conducted, aftershocks of intra-group conflict could still be picked out occasionally in the sample. This all was situated within a deep distrust of women that appeared to run through the discourse, seemingly legitimized by the gendered division of labor that white nationalism and fascism so rigidly enforce. On an interpersonal level, it was perpetuated by female content creators against other women, and other times it was leveled against them by men. For instance, in Mark Collett's *All-Star Lineup*, sampled content creator Dancing Dove did an interview during the stream. When she professed her love for birds, a viewer commented "Houseful of birds, No children?". Ayla Stewart expressed frustration with another content creator, Nick Fuentes, who claimed that women should not be online. She disagrees and says that online spaces can be good for Tradwife "info sharing", as long as women continue to put their family first. On two separate occasions, Lana Lokteff of Red Ice TV described a woman who was a political rival as the type to "run off with the conquering tribe". When a viewer complained about the poor lighting and sound quality in her video, Lacey Lynn explains that she could upgrade but that would likely require accepting user donations, and if she did that, she would be considered a Trad Thot by the community.

In conclusion, these thematic and rhetorical patterns observed in the sample resonate with several of the same incarnations of masculinity and femininity previously found in white supremacist politics. Furthermore, their emphases on positioning white men as both protectors of white women from defilement by minority men and as pleasureless weapons of the ethnic nation/state each recant familiar racist narratives described earlier this paper. Finally, the relegation of women as solely child-rearers is both reinforced and challenged by their contentious existence as political commentators on YouTube and in my sample. What all of this indicates is that the topics of gender, sexuality, and reproduction can more broadly be understood

as misogynistic, homophobic extensions of racist discourse, and vice-versa. By constantly switching between racialized frames of predatory racial others and color-blind frames of 'traditional' gender/reproductive roles, white supremacist media on YouTube is able to aid in the perpetuation of racist ideology in a color-blind political landscape.

CHAPTER NINE: LIMITATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Limitations

In this section I disclose the limitations and setbacks this study faced as a scientific investigation into white supremacist content on YouTube. These issues are admittedly numerous, and, as I will explain, stem largely from the sheer magnitude and ephemerality of the platform I chose to study.

First, I would like to restate that determining the political allegiance, beliefs, or membership of content creators is outside the scope of this study. Categorization and thematic analysis are only based off of the corpus of videos sampled and other artifacts gathered, such as channel names and comments. This study cannot make claims of certainty on whether or not a content creator is a white supremacist—only if the content being analyzed contains white supremacist themes or messaging, according to existing sociological and political literature. I leave the task of figuring out who is or is not a white supremacist up to much more qualified experts—particularly considering the veritable cornucopia of euphemistic signifiers that are currently being used as tactical, plausible deniability (“alt-right”, identitarian, race realist, American nationalist, etc.) by white supremacists.

Secondly, there are features of YouTube’s digital architecture that, while useful for some aspects of data collection, most certainly influence it in ways that I cannot account for. I take YouTube’s claim that “related channels” are actually, somehow “related” with a grain of salt, and prefer to dwell more on thematic and rhetorical congruences between them. Similarly, the idea of a “top comment” is not something that can be interpreted without a deeper understanding

of how the platform calculates and ranks user comments. Views and subscriber counts are more straightforward, interpretable indicators, but even those had the potential to cause issues. It is entirely possible that regular fluctuations in subscriber counts (Hoiles et al., 2016) may have created a misleading ranking of channels, affecting which made it into stage two of the study.

While this methodology is designed to be as replicable as possible, the constant stream of content being uploaded to YouTube means that ‘stepping into the same river twice’, so to speak, will prove extremely difficult for future researchers. I recorded as many details as could be reasonably expected about the network during the process, hoping this transparency would show accountability and ensure that future researchers using this method will discover similar, though not exact, networks of their own.

Perhaps the most notable snafu for replicability is that several channels and videos have been deleted from YouTube since the time data collection was completed. Due to the types of content in these videos, it is likely that YouTube found that some violated their community guidelines (YouTube, 2018). As I type this, many have been reuploaded to YouTube under different accounts or hosted on other video streaming websites.

Another limitation is that this study’s sample—as cumbersome and dense as it was, drew only from a 45-day window of uploads. Since the majority of the content was political commentary on news and contemporary events, the subjects and themes that content creators discussed were influenced by whatever was going on during that time. For instance, the Notre Dame fires happened during the sample window, so that garnered a great deal of airtime. However, it is within reason to speculate that if this study was conducted in the future during another 45-day window, I could find new types of framing that are more relevant to the political conditions of that time period.

This study's capacity to 'peer into', so to speak, the inner workings of white supremacist communities on YouTube is also limited. For one, the dizzying number of comments that appeared both under videos and during the livestreams demands a much larger team of researchers to fully transcribe and analyze. Since my main focus was on the frames used in the video itself, my work is admittedly far from a full picture of all the social interactions in these spaces. Future investigations of these communities would likely benefit from gatekeeper access or interviews in order to cut through some of this opacity.

Finally, I recognize that my own social location, biases, and proclivities as a researcher are impossible to fully separate from the research that I conduct. As an American white man, doing research on how racism is repackaged and smuggled into cosmopolitan spaces, there are elements of harm in these videos that I undoubtedly overlooked. I have never been denied access to a job, promotion, school program, or place of residence and wondered if it was because of the color of my skin (or because of my gender, for that matter). I have never worried that a police officer may extralegally execute me after pulling me over. I have never been told I was a credit to my race. In fact, I benefit from the status of invisibility—of normalcy in a hegemonically white, male country. In short, I recommend that readers keep these factors in mind when reading these findings—as they may have influenced what was and was *not* observed or analyzed.

Conclusions

This study used a two-stage sampling technique to select channels, from which every upload in a 45-day sample was transcribed and analyzed. Primary research questions were: How do creators of white supremacist content on YouTube frame and normalize their messaging?

How do creators of white supremacist YouTube content interact with and mobilize viewers politically?

In terms of framing, evidence suggests that channels in the sample trend towards different styles of frames—some more racialized than others. Initially, extremism was the de facto way of sorting the content, but as analysis progressed, it was framing styles that revealed themselves to be most illuminating in the context of this project. Channels racialized their frames to different degrees, with some using gender and sexuality as ways of framing white supremacist ideas, and others packaging them as something other than political commentary operating downstream of mainstream media.

As eclectic and numerous as the frames I described in this paper were, they all shared the same core trait that makes them so markedly pernicious: They are all means by which power and control in a racist society is reproduced as a recurring ideology. They are each infiltration mechanisms that filter hate into mainstream political discourse, and they are each facilitated by a gargantuan digital platform that funds, connects, and amplifies white supremacy. Furthermore, they are each designed in such a way that they can feed long-standing anti-minority sentiments, while avoiding the charge of racism.

I truly wish to emphasize that these thriving networks of white supremacist messaging should not be mistaken for free-floating, isolated pockets of extremism. They sit at the vertex of already existing cultural structures of racism and far-right hate groups and one of this study's goals is to show that they have traceable connections to both. Yes, white supremacist groups have labored for decades to repackage their messaging for the public eye, but they are meeting a racist society halfway. This is why the racism, sexism, homophobia, and transphobia present in chapters five, six, seven, and eight, could repeatedly be connected back to frames and themes

already present in mainstream politics. Ugly Truths, dizzying inversions of victimhood, Motte and Baileys, and the Perversity Thesis do not hold together well under close scrutiny, but they do not need to. This messaging speaks to racism already deeply rooted in the United States' (and beyond) psyche and tells it what it wants to hear.

Evidence suggested that channels who used more color-blind frames either attracted or kept larger audiences of subscribers than channels who were more racially overt with their framing. Content that better conformed to mainstream, color-blind forms of racism appeared to hold broader appeal. Of course, another reason this may be is that there is a 'cutoff' point where channels with problematic content get big enough to get 'noticed' and eventually banned from the site. Still, this reemphasizes my point that sufficient framing is what empowers this digital germination of racist ideology to thrive in a color-blind society.

Talk of both imminent and past punitive action from YouTube repeatedly came up and was connected to a larger narrative of rampant censorship. This took on an empowering tone when it was used as proof that political allies stood for Ugly Truths, but it also fed deeply into conspiracy and victimhood frames as well. It was leveraged as incentive for viewers to donate and engage more, as the almighty 'algorithm'—the inner-mechanics of how YouTube decides what videos get promoted and recommended, was said to disfavor right-wing content over all other types of politics.

While inter-channel conflict did exist when it came to different levels of racialized frames, there was also an immense amount of networking and recommending happening between channels in the sample. Of course, there was the 'related channels' section, which provided the backbone for most of the networking in this study, but cross-channel appearances also played a role as well. Content creators regularly appeared on each other's programs,

plugging their own brands and cross-pollinating their viewership. Mark Collett's *All-star Lineup* was the most extreme example of this, with him bringing on eight other members from the sample on for interviews (among others, including David Duke). Instances like these showed that content creators, despite their different approaches to delivering white supremacist messaging, still networked and made their presence known to each other's fans.

Given the digital and ideological pathways observed between these layers, the possibility of viewership progressing from less overt to more overt white supremacist content is something that warrants future study. Research on YouTube's role as a facilitator of radicalization is currently in its nascent stages, and gaining some insight into how these pathways are trafficked could prove useful for understanding how these groups recruit new members.

In light of all these findings, I maintain that YouTube communities like these play a considerable role in normalizing, mainstreaming, and desensitizing viewers to white supremacist messaging. Even with demonetization, content creators with large enough viewerships also were able to collect money from viewers, further funding their efforts. Also, the active attempts of evading recognition as 'JQ'ers (among other hateful views), 'saying it without saying it', and lack of obvious signifiers of hate group affiliation, all point to the broader trend that content creators are rebranding older white supremacist ideas as something more innocuous to the public eye. Of course, the commenters on stream and under those videos still mixed in overt, hateful language with their cryptic references, but I do not get the impression from the findings, nor the literature, that this necessarily 'blows their cover', so to speak. To Haider (2017), Clark (2017) and Topinka's (2017) points about hateful language in these spaces, there is such a premium placed on ambivalence and shocking the too-easily-offended that this behavior can be written off or disavowed as not indicative of any earnest prejudice on part of the speaker, but rather, ironic

play. As Andrew Anglin, head of the white supremacist blog, The Daily Stormer succinctly states in a leaked style guide for his site's writers:

Most people are not comfortable with material that comes across as vitriolic, raging, non-ironic hatred. The unindoctrinated should not be able to tell if we are joking or not. There should also be a conscious awareness of mocking stereotypes of hateful racists. I usually think of this as selfdeprecating humor – I am a racist making fun of stereotype of racists, because I don't take myself super-seriously. This is obviously a ploy and I actually do want to gas kikes. But that's neither here nor there" (Feinberg, 2017)

However, there are some idiosyncrasies in the findings regarding YouTube's capacity as a mobilizing tool for political action. I mentioned this in the Threat chapter, but the amount of traditional political organization was relatively scarce in these videos. The idea of forming rallies, protests, or demonstrations rarely came up, and only one content creator mentioned who viewers should vote for in an upcoming election. Content creators and commenters did not facilitate any meetups between them and viewers, nor did they direct viewers to local or regional brick-and-mortar white supremacist organizations. Despite all the Impending Doom that was conjured up in most videos, content creators overwhelmingly ended their content with only channel-related calls to action, usually directing viewers to like, comment, subscribe, click the notification bell, join their Patreon, follow them on Twitter or Facebook, or join an off-site premium membership to access additional content. Other than Super Chats and pinned replies to comments, these encompassed just about all of the direct creator-viewer interaction observed in the sample.

This leads us to the largest question this study leaves unanswered: *If* this media radicalizes viewership, moving them across ever-more racialized frames of threat and comfort, where does all this outrage go? Describing these communities' outlook on the world as 'bleak' would be an understatement, and whether its fear of bans or some other reason, these videos do

not appear to direct viewership on how to solve these issues. As mentioned before, there are opportunities for channel donations. There are occasional self-help tips, like ‘work out’, ‘have white babies’, or ‘avoid college and get married early’. There are even snappy comebacks and rhetorical strategies recommended for use in debates with leftists and other political rivals. However, none of this comes even close to addressing global Zionist conspiracies or cataclysmic ‘fall of the West’.

It is entirely possible that this sample missed those channels in stage one; those final points of extremism on YouTube where actionable plans to stop immigration or strip rights from minorities are unabashedly articulated. It could also be that a political nexus like that is hosted somewhere else online, and YouTube is merely a steppingstone on a longer path. It may be that expecting such a coherent, clear-cut endpoint is misguided, considering the scattered constellation of various different white supremacist groups and how digitalization has complicated that further. Either way, as a researcher, I was confounded at how empty I felt at the end of most of these videos. I recommend future projects dig deep into what comes next in the digital ecosystem after the normalization of white supremacist messages, and how these groups manage the idea of political action in the face of all that Impending Doom.

Since data collection was complete, YouTube began a gradual series of takedowns of these channels and many others. Among their publicly stated goals were efforts to deplatform supremacists who used their website (The YouTube Team, 2019). Despite more attention being brought to this issue, these spaces remain powerful tools for these groups to disseminate propaganda and recruit new members. In context of the larger body of research on this topic, it is my hope that this study contributes in some way, however small, to understanding how white

supremacist groups expand their influence through public discourse and how racist societies are perpetuated through ideology.

**APPENDIX A:
CHANNELS ANALYZED DURING STAGE ONE**

Table 4: List of channels analyzed during stage one.

Channel	Gen.	W.S.	Related Channels
AltRight.com	0	Y	Tara McCarthy, NewRetroWave, StyxHexenHammer666, Xurious Music, Leiptr, Rebel Media, Paul Joseph Watson, ramzpaul, Stefan Molyneux, Black Pigeon Speaks, Millennial Woes, Alfred Alfer, Right On, NPI / Radix, Red Ice TV
Tara McCarthy	1	Y	The Golden One, Mark Collett, Bre Faucheux, Steve Franssen, The Alternative Hypothesis, American Renaissance
NewRetroWave	1	N	N/A
StyxHexenHammer666	1	N	N/A
Xurious Music	1	Y	PewDiePie
Leiptr	1	Y	None
Rebel Media	1	Y	Fox News, The Next News Network, The Daily Wire, Mark Dice, HighImpactFlix, Steven Crowder
Paul Joseph Watson	1	N	N/A
Ramzpaul	1	Y	The Red Elephants Vincent James, Timcast, Mark Dice, Fox News
Stefan Molyneux	1	Y	Mike Cernovich, Lauren Southern, Candace Owens, Jordan B Peterson, StevenCrowder
Black Pigeon Speaks	1	Y	Brittany Pettibone, Dancing Dove, Timcast, Sargon of Akkad, Fox News, The Thinkery, Mark Dice
Millennial Woes	1	Y	Big Cat Kayla, Lacey Lynn, The Red Elephants Vincent James, PewDiePie
Alfred Alfer	1	Y	Spinalpalm, Amazin Larry, Speedoru, Flikkernicht
Right On	1	N	N/A
NPI / Radix	1	Y	TRS Radio, American Renaissance, Mark Collett
Red Ice TV	1	Y	Fox News, The Red Elephants Vincent James, The Next News Network, Mark Dice, High Impact Flix
The Golden One	2	Y	Computing Forever, TheQuartering, The Rageaholic
Mark Collett	2	Y	Roosh V
Bre Faucheux	2	Y	v, James Allsup
Steve Franssen	2	Y	None
The Alternative Hypothesis	2	Y	Awakened Saxon
American Renaissance	2	Y	None
PewDiePie	2	N	N/A
Fox News	2	N	N/A
The Next News Network	2	N	N/A
The Daily Wire	2	N	N/A
Mark Dice	2	N	N/A
HighImpactFlix	2	N	N/A
StevenCrowder	2	N	N/A
TimCast	2	N	N/A
The Red Elephants Vincent James	2	N	N/A
Mike Cernovich	2	N	N/A
Lauren Southern	2	Y	None
Candace Owens	2	N	N/A
Jordan B Peterson	2	N	N/A
Brittany Pettibone	2	Y	The Iconoclast, Blonde in the Belly of the Beast, Informative, PragerU, Nickmon1112

Channel	Gen.	W.S.	Related Channels
Dancing Dove	2	Y	Rapunzel ASMR, NutritionFacts.org, orlared
Big Cat Kayla	2	Y	POSEIDON, No White Guilt
Lacey Lynn	2	Y	No White Guilt
SpinalPalm	2	N	N/A
Amazin Larry	2	N	N/A
Speedoru	2	N	N/A
Flikkernicht	2	N	N/A
TRS Radio	2	Y	The Vanguard Streaming Network, Borzoi Boskovic
Computing Forever	3	Y	The Dave Cullen Show, Undoomed, Shannon Gibbs, Independent Man, Bearing
Roosh V	3	Y	Darkstream
James Allsup	3	Y	None
Awakened Saxon	3	Y	sean last, e;r
Brandon Tatum	3	N	N/A
Informative	3	N	N/A
PragerU	3	N	N/A
The Iconoclast	3	Y	Laura Towler, Tommy Robinson
Blonde in the Belly of the Beast	3	Y	Savage Nation
Nickmon1112	3	N	N/A
Rapunzel ASMR	3	N	N/A
NutritionFacts.org	3	N	N/A
Orlared	3	N	N/A
POSEIDON	3	Y	Dingo Southern, spartan warrior queen, Bruno the Doberman, The Great Order, Objective Realist
No White Guilt	3	Y	None
The Vanguard Streaming Network	3	Y	Goy Talk, Arnel Swartz, Paddock Sperg, Dingo Southern
Borzoi Boskovic	3	N	N/A
The Dave Cullen Show	4	N	N/A
Undoomed	4	N	N/A
Shannon Gibbs	4	N	N/A
Independent Man	4	N	N/A
Bearing	4	N	N/A
Darkstream	4	Y	None
Sean Last	4	Y	None
e;r;	4	N	N/A
Laura Towler	4	Y	Liberty Hangout
Tommy Robinson	4	N	N/A
Savage Nation	4	N	N/A
Dingo Southern	4	Y	Aaron Kasparov
Spartan Warrior Queen	4	N	N/A
Bruno The Doberman	4	N	N/A
The Great Order	4	Y	None
Objective Realist	4	Y	Resurrection Europa, Truth Hurts, The True Association, Murdoch Murdoch
Arnel Swartz	4	Y	None
Paddock Sperg	4	Y	None

Notes: Channels marked 'Y' contained white supremacist (W.S.) themes and their related channels were included in the next generation (gen.). Channels marked 'N' did not contain white supremacist themes in their sampled content. Related channels that were already referred in previous generations are not listed in subsequent generations.

**APPENDIX B:
VIDEOS ANALYZED DURING STAGE TWO**

Table 5: List of videos analyzed.

Upload date	Title	Channel	Link	Duration
4/15/19	The Biology Lesson They Never Gave You in School	ThuleanPerspective	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/gMJd2vzIuyAm/	3:04
	From the Ashes	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/HEih6Yb2HLM/	4:26
	Notre Dame: Postmodern Synchronicity & Fragility	Black Pigeon Speaks	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zGccmJjFY20	10:08
	Star Wars: The Rise of Skywalker Looks Very Meh!	Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R6TXy5Yg_Yw	5:37
	Notre Dame Cathedral Destroyed by Fire, A Dark Day for Europeans	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/k5m vb-Yy224/	45:07
	Who the English Are	Laura Towler	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gxryClKouEQ	11:44
	4/16/19	NOTRE Dame?	ThuleanPerspective	Reuploaded at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Psnhqp9EYHA
Notre Dame In Flames: What Does It Symbolize?		Brittany Pettibone	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N292d-pGUic	6:16
Righteous Anger		Lacey Lynn	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rsWxLM2h-nk	15:59
Trump's Sanctuary State Gambit - Brilliant?		Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=niCkA_EES5w	2:04:30
How is This a Thing? 16th of April 2019		Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KvHzGrj_51U	13:14
Britain's Open Borders Non-European Immigration Hits 15 Year High		The Iconoclast	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cUhZzDnpPKg	16:37
DRAG QUEEN Story Hour Should NOT Be A Thing		James Allsup	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/mIgjXHLc9T8m/	16:01
TDS: Fake and G*y Hate Crimes		TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://altcensored.com/watch?v=qRmegrrTDkQ	23:13
4/17/19	Notre Dame, Notre CATASTROPHE!	ThuleanPerspective	Reuploaded at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2BIgEjNmP2k	6:28
	My Experiences on Becoming a Father	The Golden One	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fh4E9OCct7g	5:33
	Did the French Government Lie?	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.unz.com/video/ramzpaul_did-the-french-government-lie/	5:22
	Our Civilisation Burns Notre Dame Fire	The Iconoclast	Reuploaded at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SbeOVqNp_cU	8:31

Upload date	Title	Channel	Link	Duration
	Roosh V Meets Critical Condition TPS #387	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/rZsj0lXGGGc/	1:01:04
	This Week on the Alt Right - with Syrian Girl	Mark Collett	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/PTKRsSnSB9Gk/	2:01:25
	TDS: A Big Zionist For You	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://altcensored.com/watch?v=8tW-PcCk_X0	30:18
4/18/19	Thraw The Wand While it is Green	ThuleanPerspective	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/GW4vRBVRIzA/	5:15
	Notre Dame & Spiritual Warfare	Blonde in the Belly of the Beast	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XWfBR8ph04Y	12:04
	Is the Notre Dame Cathedral Too Christian?	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.unz.com/video/ramzpaul_is-the-notre-dame-cathedral-too-christian/	6:29
	Banking Ban for Thought Crime! James O'Keefe and Stefan Molyneux	Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zkdRDRH4fM0	59:41
	Another Respect Women Commercial from Australia	Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_1RdT4CW7gY	7:24
	The Tactics We Face TPS #389	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/WARoQCpGMWY/	50:41
	"Honk" by Yang Halen	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://www.altcensored.com/watch?v=VHhj7Ppi0Aw	4:09
4/19/19	Could we use Notre Dame as a Pagan Temple	ThuleanPerspective	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/ljazlx3nS-o/	6:42
	Flashback Friday - Ep24 - Happy Easter	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/3X_YC8QkjtK/	1:57:37
	What Went Up in Flames	American Renaissance	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D1gpi8lpMm4	7:35
	Peterson v. Žižek: Live Commentary TPS #390	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/-bnXLxKQPYY/	2:55:25
	Black Man Throws White Boy Off Balcony	Mark Collett	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/CBKyAPDikoA/	13:17
	The "Accident" At Mall Of America	James Allsup	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/TEszpvk328i4/	14:30
4/20/19	The Glorious Pill. The Black Pill. The Honk Pill. Ride The Tiger in the Ruins of the West	The Golden One	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9_EW87h7kDw	3:17
	Happy Homelands - Frodi Midjord and Zman (Part 1)	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/p-2U14sycdY/	37:47

Upload date	Title	Channel	Link	Duration
	Happy Homelands - Frodi Midjord and Zman (Part 2/3)	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/bjjC57AnFDA/	37:04
	Happy Homelands - Frodi Midjord and Zman Q&A	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/mJXOyqbic8o/	37:14
	Dead Men Found at Home of Democrat Donor! Mike Cernovich and Stefan Molyneux	Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2g67LwjzV0I	54:20
	Ask Me Anything TPS #391	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/JFrdJ8IF3TM/	2:27:02
4/21/19	Accepting the BRIBE... (Gen-X/Y/Z & their bribe).	ThuleanPerspective	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/SgJZGym1Iyw/	2:14
	#151 Mueller Report Spin, Notre Dame Fire, Why Don't You Pay More, Martha? Beauty & the Beta	Blonde in the Belly of the Beast	Reuploaded at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eNVkRIHmqto	2:24:46
	The Sri Lanka Carnage TPS #392	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/iGpkQUhzGBU/	2:14:48
4/22/19	Easter Worshippers	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.unz.com/video/ramzpaul_easter-worshippers/	6:51
	PhD or Baby? Freedomain Call In	Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BBzg6FBWvRE	1:34:37
	He Just Wanted To Play Video Games	Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OWXvFOa6TKM	13:35
	TDS: Border Friends with Jazzhands	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/nPeNXQ2wYrxn/	30:39
4/23/19	Defending Native Europe!	ThuleanPerspective	Reuploaded at https://archive.org/details/thuleanperspective_201911	4:12
	Admitting a Mistake About Cold Showers and Muscle Gains	The Golden One	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1POvVp21T1Y	4:31
	The Narrative	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.unz.com/video/ramzpaul_the-narrative/	10:13
	Group Survival is Not a Zero-Sum Game - Wolf Age	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/jyY25HE21s0/	7:53

Upload date	Title	Channel	Link	Duration
	Hard Times Are Coming, Welcome It	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/_CfMvsU11ao/	10:56
4/24/19	A Look at Greenpeace's Instagram. Are They Based and Green-Pilled?	The Golden One	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G2msJlrqAiQ	10:09
	Exploiting disabled kids for propaganda	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.unz.com/video/ramzpaul_exploiting-disabled-kids-for-propaganda/	5:10
	2019: The SEETHING DisUnited States of America	Black Pigeon Speaks	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=COOiV2teMeo	11:46
	Thought Bites: How To Pay For College!	Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NZbjMcQ3wqY	7:20
	A Few Words About Kalevala - Impivaara	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/uj2PZa5vZjI/	5:05
	This Week on the Alt Right - with JazzHands McFeels	Mark Collett	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/zBTm_b7dJjA/	2:00:51
	Anti-White Activists Crash Student Government Meeting	James Allsup	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/kBhrk64hGEGb/	15:34
	Strike & Mike: Clownworld Committee	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/JHKCkuWtd2m5/	45:43
4/25/19	The War on Beauty	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/JakFFGxOaYI/	11:37
	American EMPIRE: Trump Mismanaging Imperial DECLINE	Black Pigeon Speaks	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gOWik_znyUw	10:29
	What Happens When We Die? Freedomain Ask Me Anything!	Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_TCR7LcbOo8	1:27:58
	Julian Assange: Death Penalty? Cassandra Fairbanks and Stefan Molyneux	Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EefFqhfq0HM	45:09
	How is This a Thing? April 25th 2019	Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KgPeRt1Fg7Q	13:38
	The Apollonian Transmission - Mark Brahmin	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/uQfHHeUUUik/	1:10:08

Upload date	Title	Channel	Link	Duration
	Pulitzers Rub Our Noses in It	American Renaissance	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cV1fwToVdVU	7:58
	US Coast Guard Will Be Released TPS #393	Jean-Francois Gariépy	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=daMIBURB45I	59:25
	FTN: Launch Fail Joe	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://altcensored.com/watch?v=Q19bNOXkfh8	20:51
4/26/19	100% Thuléan (RANT)	ThuleanPerspective	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/h9YMTot4NU8/	3:01
	Canada 2019: Non-Binary MEME Nation STRIKES AGAIN!	Black Pigeon Speaks	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/VcEJ4PQOzqA/	11:27
	Flashback Friday - Ep25 - Man Tax, Fatphobia, Winnipeg Hate Hoax, Basic Becky & Creepy Biden	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://redice.tv/red-ice-tv/flashback-friday-ep25-man-tax-fatphobia-winnipeg-hate-hoax-basic-becky-and-creepy-biden	2:45:35
	Group Selection vs. Natural Selection TPS #394	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/u8KKvo01Fes/	1:38:00
	The Truth About Nigel Farage	Mark Collett	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/FRb_TlZrSNk/	1:24
	The Truth About Nigel Farage & the Brexit Party	Mark Collett	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/oLNvcTK6DTU/	1:29:30
4/27/19	Happy Homelands - Martina Markota	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/o8GBqF2D0K8/	1:47:55
	2020 Census: Nightmare Fuel for Democrats	Black Pigeon Speaks	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9BWUnZHTPyc	7:54
	The Truth About Plato	Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b4KDxvz5D30	4:16:04
	Debt CRISIS: Student Loan Forgiveness Is A Good Idea	James Allsup	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/gazzjpdfLFc/	17:24
	TDS: Honk Supremacy	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/eExz2ZtHgtBg/	28:59
4/28/19	The MONSTER that is Destroying us...	ThuleanPerspective	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/8AVyXdxlThY/	6:47
	#152 Guest Styx, Biden Is In, Terrorist Suffrage, San Diego Synagogue Shooting Beauty & the Beta	Blonde in the Belly of the Beast	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GDn4Vm7ik8M	2:06:27
	Tokyo 2019: The PARADOX of PRIDE in the FAR EAST	Black Pigeon Speaks	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bbjz2r8wn1w	9:02

Upload date	Title	Channel	Link	Duration
	This Black Hole Picture w/ Bill Gaede, TPS #396	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mq0aKe_ta-A	1:16:28
4/29/19	The Naughty New York Times Cartoon	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/D0ZfiF-CNe0/	6:27
	After Endgame: The Future of the MCU (Spoilers)	Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=99fC5c10doE	8:25
	Positive Nationalism, Ethnic Pride, Censorship Millennial Woes & OnTheOffensive IconoChats #3	The Iconoclast	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=njcBy7PqTTU	1:25:47
	Happy Birthday TPS! TPS #397	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/E2EahxJgzg4/	2:48:08
	Joe Biden's TERRIBLE Campaign Launch Ad	James Allsup	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/jhH3GFxdCJDT/	17:11
4/30/19	Why Conservatives Lose	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/o9ecellZf-M/	6:35
	The True Horrors of Socialism & Ask Me Anything!	Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w1jnvJbhE5c	1:27:15
	Thought Bites: Corruption and Catastrophe in Canada!	Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OBKp8Uj4uAY	22:59
	Censorship: Escalation and Interference	Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gGdziDvi3Og	9:14
	Fairy Tales For European Children - Ash Donaldson	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/KEk6c2KQSfg/	53:51
	The War Against Reproduction TPS #398	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/p65jImpnkK4/	1:34:51
	Harvard Picks Radical BIGOT To Give Graduation Speech	James Allsup	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/bE64ausg9TvA/	16:35
	FTN: NRA Coup	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/4y22BJOg46Dz/	23:55
5/1/19	Sweden. What To Do? Culture, Politics, Advice to Young Men. With Identitet Svea	The Golden One	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aPIRrhQulfk&fbclid	7:32
	Leftist HYSTERIA Over My Idaho GOP Meeting	Brittany Pettibone	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2tVc6FiWg5M	12:30

Upload date	Title	Channel	Link	Duration
	Why I Homeschool	Lacey Lynn	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KmNeG8EnRfw	33:00
	Florida Votes To Overturn First Amendment	ramzpaul	https://www.bitchute.com/video/lmbY8ai08ys/	12:51
	YouTube: You Reap What You Sow	Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BZqOAvUVqOc	19:04
	Florida Passes Anti-Semitism Bill & The California Synagogue Shooter with Adam Green	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/PBziqvfYXOc/	1:29:02
	Scientists Reconstruct Speech From Mind TPS #399	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/kCrJBLnlFow/	1:12:14
	TDS: Visceral Reacts	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/4Qb1n31LXiGQ/	31:19
5/2/19	Neo-Scythian Heryos Training in the Ruins of Sweden. The Golden One and Identitet Svea	The Golden One	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YpPUt6Rsq_Q	4:20
	Malicious Reporting	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/-5k8kYqKrYw/	10:32
	"MOM ACCUSED DAD OF MOLESTING US!" Freedomain Call In	Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SWHU5kj5u8Y	1:31:31
	The Heroic Story of the Cimbri: Their Struggle Against Rome & Their Cowardice - Mimir's Brunnr	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/eUrH7ck6xYE/	1:09:26
	The Origins of Liberalism TPS #400	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/sqTvWuqCO3Q/	46:00
	TDS: Butter Brutalism	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/OWhJFvZgxD9W/	30:16
5/3/19	How did that go? (Die Gold-Berge)	ThuleanPerspective	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/dRYH2OEJXtc/	2:31
	Old Fashioned Cookout	Ayla Stewart Wife With a Purpose	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6ZgABr_RH2s	1:52
	Thank you for 6,000 subs AMA	Lacey Lynn	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6fEU8cylMYs	1:31:00

Upload date	Title	Channel	Link	Duration
	The Calculated Annihilation of Essos's Enrichment of Westeros	Black Pigeon Speaks	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/wNXJhNgQQ7k/	8:05
	Free Speech vs the Sin of Conformity	Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=woeQZMK8E7E	12:10
	The Censorship Endgame	Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_MGgIex8_HQ	14:17
	Flashback Friday - Ep26 - Facebook Purge, Turncoats & "Dying Of Whiteness"	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mL_NZ5cX7ug	2:04:39
	The Wisdom of Janelle Monáe	American Renaissance	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cOIE4YU_vIM	5:38
	The Establishment's Disdain for Christianity	Mark Collett	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=998_BXUxkrU	12:15
	Antifa Admit To Terrorism While FBI Does NOTHING	James Allsup	Reuploaded at https://altcensored.com/watch?v=PVdINdBh3XM	13:55
5/4/19	Top 5 Parenting Solutions!	Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KpwAG6T5qRs	20:40
	The Left's Hypocrisy On Islam & LGBT Christian Woman Fired, Muslim Parents Appeased	The Iconoclast	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/sLh8zHt0GEe4/	15:07
5/5/19	The Complete (by May 2019) MYFAROG Catalogue	ThuleanPerspective	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/pJKgulBKRHA/	1:17
	#153 Facebook Bannings, Barr Hearing Circus, Venezuela Unrest Beauty & the Beta	Blonde in the Belly of the Beast	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8fYwya_xWCA	2:23:14
	Happy Homelands - Patrick Casey	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/bfMW8tph9Xg/	2:00:44
	Why the MSM is So Invested in the Sargon Smear/Hate Train	Black Pigeon Speaks	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fRJmlBm6JxY	15:05
	Freedomain Livestream - Free Speech and Ask Me Anything!	Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g3B6EyIEb8E	1:23:40

Upload date	Title	Channel	Link	Duration
	The Absolute State of Colleges w/ Lindsay Shepherd, TPS #401	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/3fkX7wx6JdU/	1:11:27
	Strike & Mike: The Swedish Question with Ingrid Carlqvist	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/nLFdhjhJ4wZ9/	43:37
5/6/19	Social Media Purges? What About Real Life Purges?	Ayla Stewart Wife With a Purpose	Reuploaded at https://cindybin.blogspot.com/2019/05/social-media-purges-what-about-real.html	15:55
	How is this a Thing? 6th of May 2019	Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5pEFo94g7sU	13:59
	Spring Splendor - The Blonde Butter Maker	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at: https://www.bitchute.com/video/5I8RK15qZVc/	4:19
	Jared Diamond's Guns Germs and Steel	Alternative Hypothesis	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qvaxPH3ftUQ	2:46:44
	The State of Russia w/ Anatoly Karlin, TPS #402	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/xjgHUsSmPsM/	43:04
	TDS: UK Update with Morgoth	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/ni2TrgKPOX4Q/	45:15
5/7/19	A Note on Collaborations and Networking. Telegram Channel	The Golden One	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LyTIIFbfYrY	4:39
	America is not well	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.unz.com/video/ramzpaul_america-is-not-well/	7:43
	"I NEED MY HUSBAND TO BE ASSERTIVE SO WE CAN HAVE BABIES!" Freedomain Call In	Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c8q2t6QSe2Q	1:21:18
	What Will Become of the International Space Station?	Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3-OY_aOTdk0	8:00
	Too Many Women At University // What No One Says About "Identity Politics"	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/-dwCY-1MeBM/	57:18
	Guns, Germs & Steel A Review, TPS #403	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/QfIW67J1k7c/	1:38:26

Upload date	Title	Channel	Link	Duration
	GAME OF THRONES is 'PROBLEMATIC'	James Allsup	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/KR3F6fuSIMAs/	12:59
	Spring Splendor	The Blonde Butter Maker	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pxbl_-L4r-U	4:19
	TDS: Tiger Mom Anti-Whiteness	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/JVgCLUaOc2Bc/	30:28
5/8/19	Returning	ThuleanPerspective	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/KayDO95N8YE/	6:08
	Dissident Rehabilitation	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/2CBI2rASic/	11:03
	What Pissed Me Off About the Colorado School Shooting	Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dcQjqtAyVKY	20:46
	White Privilege Poem Goes Horribly Wrong	James Allsup	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/0dSfvMx7KVvo/	16:26
	FTN: Stutterin' Joe	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/MnZvEtNIRq92/	25:58
5/9/19	Dr. Weston Price's Nutrition and Physical Degeneration. Profound Insights	The Golden One	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qsvfxTEgyFY	6:33
	Revitalizing the Western Spirit	Blonde in the Belly of the Beast	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5F71mP52mPk	11:23
	EU To Launch 'Big Brother' Biometric Database	Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Ia81e5KQpE	7:12
	Harry & Meghan's "Royal Baby" & Sargon Is Wrecking UKIP - Mark Collett	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/tV2FIp9XnWI/	52:07
	Identitet Svea Banned from YouTube: Fitness, Training & Motivation Verboten - Eric Identitet Svea	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/SUq4RCL_xf4/	1:00:36
	The BBC Is Propaganda Smears Right-Wing Parties & Supporters In Europe	The Iconoclast	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TnHKmC90Paw	26:39
5/10/19	Body Positive Thor?	Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ptf9CtUW7A	6:34

Upload date	Title	Channel	Link	Duration
	Flashback Friday - Ep27 - Trans Shooter, Banned IRL & Ben Shapiro Meltdown	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://redice.tv/red-ice-tv/flashback-friday-ep27-trans-shooter-banned-irl-and-ben-shapiro-meltdown	1:55:57
	Media Incite Violence Against Tommy Robinson	Mark Collett	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PjDeMF83uBw	12:57
	Feminist Claims Media Is SEXIST Against Women Candidates	James Allsup	Reuploaded at https://altcensored.com/watch?v=8WgG4MIbpVA	17:40
5/11/19	Environmentalism. Greta Thunberg. Climate Protesters. Peak Oil. Plastic Pollution	The Golden One	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XUZ2-SIXc9o	23:50
	Reunited in Exile	Brittany Pettibone	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fPJaug5rAbY	9:13
5/12/19	Newspeak: New Microsoft Word AI Makes Your Writing Politically Correct	Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NX5t2nvqrFU	5:08
	Why We Should Support Senator Fraser Anning	Laura Towler	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/DkcJANgvstg/	12:46
	"Why I'm Not a Libertarian" DEBUNKED! TPS #409	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/8tAw1ziN52o/	1:29:53
5/13/19	The Sex Strike	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.unz.com/video/ramzpaul_the-sex-strike/	5:43
	The Rise and Fall of James Charles	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/Yj0fiRaOMzw/	2:12:47
	ARMED Antifa ARRESTED For Stalking Family	James Allsup	Reuploaded at https://altcensored.com/watch?v=CdS6FQncHIU	12:24
	TDS: White Decline C. 2019 (Colorized)	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/29w7B64CCFjZ/	22:49
5/14/19	Playboy: White Homeschoolers are Terrorists	Ayla Stewart Wife With a Purpose	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_yqw1kc664k	5:27
	Soph - The Red Pill Teen	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/H0UGEtnGwUM/	5:33
	How is This a Thing? May 14th 2019	Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Tfk1b_xTRs	13:01
	Controlling The Masses: Sexual Revolution & The	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/zP3wZGPgsvI/	52:08

Upload date	Title	Channel	Link	Duration
	Role of Swedish Cinema - E. Michael Jones			
	Strike & Mike: The Roger Scruton Scandal	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/pDO4GmHeJHsM/	25:56
	Third Rail: That's All There Is To It	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://altcensored.com/watch?v=XzjsnhDkXa4	26:41
5/15/19	Family of 8, Morning Routine	Ayla Stewart Wife With a Purpose	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fFqgY7S8ZSc	2:47
	NZ Vows To Fight Reality	Ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/qEt1BgA3hVo/	4:39
	Joe Biden: Too Male, Too White, Too 'Racist'	American Renaissance	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z_2ZPIo-874	8:14
	Patriotic Weekly Review - with Lucy Brown	Mark Collett	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/1Twr1e0Yg9g/	2:05:50
	FTN: Give 'em a Little Caaaahredit	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://altcensored.com/watch?v=SApnH7GMTWQ	14:24
5/16/19	Making videos, not friends	ThuleanPerspective	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/f-DAfvk5uU4/	3:31
	The Golden One Responds to NPO - Dutch Fake News: "White Supremacy"	The Golden One	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v8SargFU548	6:51
	Transporting Sheep Without a Trailer	Ayla Stewart Wife With a Purpose	Reuploaded at http://cyberspaceandtime.com/3cgWjnn0I5s.video+related	4:10
	Judge - Christian Dating Site Must Accept Homosexuals	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/Z8p7RAmX3VA/	5:36
	White House Takes First Steps in Tackling Censorship	Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qEso_xazHxg	7:29
	Teenage YouTuber Censored & Harassed by Far-Left Journalists	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://redice.tv/red-ice-radio/teenage-youtuber-censored-and-harassed-by-far-left-journalists	1:01:13
	TDS: White Guilt Museum	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://altcensored.com/watch?v=cbYgnDAoz3I	43:47
5/17/19	NPC Journalism & the Democrat	Black Pigeon Speaks	Reuploaded at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E57EVrrVbIk	11:54
	New Batwoman Series: Woke Hot Garbage	Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-qVH92vwi7Y	12:54
	Muslim who Spat in Baby's Face is LET OFF	Mark Collett	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/04dODveopi0/	13:38

Upload date	Title	Channel	Link	Duration
5/18/19	Bronze Age Mindset - Interview and The Necessity of Space for European Men	The Golden One	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hLS6ls45SHE	3:56
	Happy Homelands - Soph	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.unz.com/video/ramzpaul_soph-and-happy-homelands/	5:31
	Tales of Bradford, Feat. Grandma Towler	Laura Towler	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/oOO2tzTCcvc/	20:16
5/19/19	Why Sargon Is Losing	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/9M0qeEv6EutF/	13:50
5/20/19	The Escalation of Leftist	Brittany Pettibone	Reuploaded at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xksJhqeQQ_4	9:16
	JF Passes The Moral Foundations Test TPS #417	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/2mc-AdoXLyQ/	1:39:10
	TDS: Mystery Shapiro Theater 1.25x	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://www.altcensored.com/watch?v=xRfOs7PdWu4	51:30
5/21/19	Soy Milkshakes	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/DyaZ3vX5JUs/	7:32
	British Leftists Endorse Political Violence Farage, Robinson, Benjamin 'Milkshaked' Hypocrisy	The Iconoclast	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/gWurILrSUdy5/	11:45
5/22/19	American Boy, Success Story	Ayla Stewart Wife With a Purpose	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WhScVdjkOhA	2:16
	Alabama and Gay Rodent Marriage	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.unz.com/video/ramzpaul_alabama-and-gay-rodent-marriage/	5:53
	Sweden Investigating Criminalizing Runes, Thor's Hammer & Other Norse Symbols	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/8u4csuWicEY/	25:38
	Independent Movies About The Gulag - Michael Kingsbury	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/aHSsKXFNbhg/	1:21:28
	Milo Goes Hard on Jordan TPS #419	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/2QB6Az_W0-o/	3:43:48
	Patriotic Weekly Review - with Richard Spencer	Mark Collett	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/8Xp9a5gWeSWJ/	2:02:14
	I HAVE A NEW JOB	James Allsup	Reuploaded at https://altcensored.com/watch?v=JQNB_rWM0E4	5:10

Upload date	Title	Channel	Link	Duration
5/23/19	The Darkening Age and the Temple of Serapis.	The Golden One	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=omHavlf_vLM	3:40
	BBC Upset that Hungarians are having babies	ramzpaul	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/x172TyQA3rE/	9:14
	NBC News: IQ rates are dropping in many developed countries	Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sm-LX-BjpBM	25:29
	How is This a Thing? 23rd of May 2019	Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Iubl6r98Di0	9:53
5/24/19	Marxism: What's Behind America's New Anti-Freedom Love Affair?	Black Pigeon Speaks	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ciobC6TSXLo	12:04
	Flashback Friday - Ep28 - European Elections	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/RzygQX718OM/	2:13:52
	Throwing Milkshakes at 'Racists'	American Renaissance	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XFr2A4FmPtw	7:09
	Police Allow Muslim Gang to Attack Political Rally	Mark Collett	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/NryTXe0h0ZI/	12:03
	THE NEW N-WORD	James Allsup	Reuploaded at https://altcensored.com/watch?v=9irQzo7kJKc	12:53
	TDS: Netflix and Abort	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://altcensored.com/watch?v=AB79ETuEIDI	32:21
5/25/19	Saturday Tradstream	Ayla Stewart Wife With a Purpose	Reuploaded at http://cyberspaceandtime.com/9E3kZXlkmpk.video+related	33:08
	Happy Homelands - Junes Lokka	ramzpaul	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8_yLguCZbTw	1:35:06
	Borderless 2019 EMERGENCY BACKUP	Lauren Southern	Reuploaded at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L8_uZm_X2MA	1:27:43
	Lauren Southern Reuploads Borderless TPS #423	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/KUaiZtqNfLg/	1:47:58
	Trans Fat Activist Lies About Everything	James Allsup	Reuploaded at https://altcensored.com/watch?v=dwp22hWr1-A	12:48
5/26/19	Childless...Why?	ThuleanPerspective	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/grUjw1jauvo/	3:55
	Morrissey: The Hero We Don't Deserve, But Need Right Now	Black Pigeon Speaks	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zbN43ts-HH4	10:08
	30 Questions Globalists Can't Answer	Laura Towler	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-BTQAeES0X4	6:49

Upload date	Title	Channel	Link	Duration
	Strike & Mike: The Strange Death of the Alt-Lite	TRS Radio	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/c2XWsWScBwVQ/	35:09
5/27/19	Anti-Vaxxers are IDIOTS	ThuleanPerspective	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/Bf0Vnw5sq8k/	4:07
	Vaccines WORK!	ThuleanPerspective	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/8Eg8Oukgg4o/	2:56
	"GO FORTH & MAKE A FAMILY!" Stefan Molyneux Interviewed on the 21 Report	Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eL85U1bOaZE	23:30
	EU Elections 2019 Roundup: My Thoughts	Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9pgsieN_SPE	6:38
5/28/19	Mythic Varg! (Party on BM duude!), Part II.	ThuleanPerspective	Reuploaded at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KbX0YCIqIw	1:58
	"I Can't Dump My Hot Guy!" Freedomain Call In	Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RovBWtSRZVo	59:02
	European Election & Rune Ban - Marcus Follin 5/28/19	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/AiqGTWGSMaM/	1:18:50
	The Swedish Government Might Ban Old Norse Religion - Mimir's Brunnr	Red Ice TV	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/qBoMmJIFG-8/	1:14:03
5/29/19	CrossFit Quits Facebook - Calling Them Utopian Socialists: Where Is The Lie Though?	The Golden One	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0A-dPOV1vtQ	8:00
	Traditionalism and Parenting with Brave The World	Lacey Lynn	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fZmKHZ-P_dM	1:31:06
	Lauren Southern's Farewell Interview: "Borderless" and Retirement...	Stefan Molyneux	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YZx5SDOWIxQ	38:15
	DEEP FAKES Are Becoming SHOCKINGLY REALISTIC	Computing Forever	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sHEdDK0H2No	8:12
	Sargon Joins The Intellectual Dark Web TPS #427	Jean-Francois Gariépy	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/FFvIRYPd_u0/	2:03:34

Upload date	Title	Channel	Link	Duration
	Patriotic Weekly Review - with On The Offensive	Mark Collett	Reuploaded at https://www.bitchute.com/video/MGA51XE6Its/	2:01:14

For videos that have been removed since data collection, archival links have been provided.

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Adams, J., & Roscigno, V. J. (2005). White supremacists, oppositional culture and the World Wide Web. *Social Forces*, 84(2), 759-778.
- ADL. (n.d.) *Its okay to be white*. Anti-Defamation League.
<https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/its-okay-to-be-white>
- ADL, (2018). *Identity Evropa*, Anti-Defamation League.
<https://www.adl.org/resources/profiles/identity-evropa>
- Albanese, P. (2006). *Mothers of the Nation: Women, Families and Nationalism in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Vol. 23). University of Toronto Press.
- Albertson, B. L. (2015). Dog-whistle politics: Multivocal communication and religious appeals. *Political Behavior*, 37(1), 3-26.
- Alexander, D. (2016, December 21). *The Word 'Cuck' Has Always Been About Race: Inside the Alt-Right's Favorite Insult*. Splinter News. <http://splinternews.com/the-word-cuck-has-always-been-about-race-inside-the-al-1793864366>
- Alexander, J. C. (1995). Analytical debates: Understanding the relative autonomy of culture. *ProtoSociology*, 7, 35-53.
- Alexander, J. (2001). The Long and Winding Road: Civil Repair of Intimate Injustice. *Sociological Theory* 19 (3): 371–400.
- Alexander, J., & Philip S., (1993). The Discourse of American Civil Society: A New Proposal for Cultural Studies. *Theory and Society* 22: 151–207.
- Altright.com (2018, March 5) *Top 5 ways to embrace and express your white privilege*. Altright.com. <https://altright.com/2018/03/05/top-5-ways-to-embrace-and-express-your-white-privilege/>
- Anglin, A. (2017, December 4). *Alt-Lite Skanks Scream SHUT IT DOWN as Coal Burning Thot Lauren Southern Patrolled*. The Daily Stormer. <https://dstormer6em3i4km.onion.link/alt-lite-skanks-scream-shut-it-down-as-coal-burning-thot-lauren-southern-patrolled/>
- Apel, D. (2004). *Imagery of lynching: Black men, white women, and the mob*. Rutgers University Press.
- Armour, J. D. (1994). Race ipsa loquitur: Of reasonable racists, intelligent Bayesians, and involuntary Negrophobes. *Stanford Law Review*, 781-816.

- Back, L. (2002). Aryans reading Adorno: cyber-culture and twenty-first century racism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25(4), 628-651.
- Ball, T., & Dagger, R. (1997). Inside The Turner Diaries: Neo-nazi Scripture 1. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 30(4), 717-718.
- Barkun, M. (1994). *Religion & the racist right: the origins of the Christian Identity Movement*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Baudrillard, J. (2001). *The Spirit of Terrorism*. (121), 134-142.
- Bell, S. E., Hullinger, A., & Brislen, L. (2015). Manipulated Masculinities: Agribusiness, Deskilling, and the Rise of the Businessman-Farmer in the United States. *Rural Sociology*, 80(3), 285-313.
- Bellassai, S. (2005). The masculine mystique: antimodernism and virility in fascist Italy. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 10(3), 314-335.
- Berbrier, M. (1999). Impression management for the thinking racist: A case study of intellectualization as stigma transformation in contemporary white supremacist discourse. *Sociological Quarterly*, 40(3), 411-433.
- Berbrier, M. (2000). The victim ideology of white supremacists and white separatists in the United States. *Sociological Focus*, 33(2), 175-191.
- Berlet, C. (2001, April). When hate went online. In *Northeast Sociological Association Spring Conference in April* (pp. 1-20).
- Berlet, C., & Vysotsky, S. (2006). Overview of US white supremacist groups. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 34(1), 11.
- Berg, L. (2019). Between Anti-Feminism and Ethnicized Sexism: Far-Right Gender Politics in Germany. In Fielitz, M., & Thurston, N. (Eds.), *Post-Digital Cultures of the Far Right: Online Actions and Offline Consequences in Europe and the US* (pp. 79-91). transcript Verlag.
- Bergman, H. (2018, March 31). *White Men's Fear of Women: Anti-Feminism and the Rise of the Alt-Right*. The Examined Life Lab. <https://mathias-nilges.com/student-projects-the-new-culture-wars/2018/4/1/white-mens-fear-of-women-anti-feminism-and-the-rise-of-the-alt-right>
- Bernstein, J. (2015, February 5). *The surprisingly mainstream history of the Internet's favorite anti-Semitic image*. BuzzFeed News. <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/josephbernstein/the-surprisingly-mainstream-history-of-the-internets-favorit>.

- Berry, J. M., & Sobieraj, S. (2013). *The outrage industry: Political opinion media and the new incivility*. Oxford University Press.
- Bhambra, G. K. (2017). Brexit, Trump, and 'methodological whiteness': On the misrecognition of race and class. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 68, S214-S232.
- Biermann, C., & Mansfield, B. (2014). Biodiversity, purity, and death: conservation biology as biopolitics. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 32(2), 257-273.
- Billig, M. (1991). *Ideology and opinions: Studies in rhetorical psychology*. Sage.
- Billig, M. (2001). Humour and hatred: The racist jokes of the Ku Klux Klan. *Discourse & Society*, 12(3), 267-289.
- Bjørger, T. (2008). Processes of disengagement from violent groups of the extreme right. In *Leaving terrorism behind* (pp. 48-66). Routledge.
- Bjork-James, S., & Maskovsky, J. (2017). When White Nationalism Became Popular. *Anthropology News*, 58(3), e86-e91.
- Black Lives Matter. (2018). *About*. Black Lives Matter. <https://blacklivesmatter.com/about/>
- Blazak, R. (2001). White boys to terrorist men: Target recruitment of Nazi skinheads. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 44(6), 982-1000.
- Blee, K. M. (2002). *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement*. University of California Press.
- Blee, K. M., & Creasap, K. A. (2010). Conservative and right-wing movements. *Annual review of sociology*, 36, 269-286.
- Blumer, H. (1958). Race prejudice as a sense of group position. *Pacific Sociological Review*, 1(1), 3-7.
- Bobo, L. (1988). Group conflict, prejudice, and the paradox of contemporary racial attitudes. In *Eliminating racism* (pp. 85-114). Springer, Boston, MA.
- Bobo, L. D. (1999). Prejudice as group position: Microfoundations of a sociological approach to racism and race relations. *Journal of Social Issues*, 55(3), 445-472.
- Bobo, L. (2000). Race and beliefs about affirmative action: Assessing the effects of interests, group threat, ideology, and racism. *Racialized politics: The debate about racism in America*, 137-164.
- Bobo, L. D. (2017). Racism in Trump's America: reflections on culture, sociology, and the 2016

- US presidential election. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 68, S85-S104.
- Bogerts, L., & Fielitz, M. (2019). "Do You Want Meme War?": Understanding the Visual Memes of the German Far Right. In Fielitz, M., & Thurston, N. (Eds.), *Post-Digital Cultures of the Far Right: Online Actions and Offline Consequences in Europe and the US* (pp. 137-153). transcript Verlag.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2016) "The Sweet (and Sour) Taste of Color-blind Racism in "Post-racial" America." *Intercultural Directions Council Lectures*. 27.
https://digitalcommons.csbsju.edu/idc_lectures/27
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2017). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in America*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2018). "Racists," "Class Anxieties," Hegemonic Racism, and Democracy in Trump's America. *Social Currents*, 2329496518804558.
- Bonilla-Silva, E., & Forman, T. A. (2000). "I Am Not a Racist But...": Mapping White College Students' Racial Ideology in the USA. *Discourse & society*, 11(1), 50-85.
- Borum, R. (2011). Radicalization into violent extremism I: A review of social science theories. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 4(4), 2.
- Boudry, M., & Braeckman, J. (2011). Immunizing strategies and epistemic defense mechanisms. *Philosophia*, 39(1), 145-161.
- Brady, W. J., Wills, J. A., Jost, J. T., Tucker, J. A., & Van Bavel, J. J. (2017). Emotion shapes the diffusion of moralized content in social networks. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 114(28), 7313-7318.
- Bridenthal, R. (1973). Beyond Kinder, Küche, Kirche: Weimar Women at Work. *Central European History*, 6(2), 148-166.
- Broderick, R. (2017, June 22). *Far-Right Activists Are Stealing Tricks From YouTubers And It's Going To Get People Hurt*. BuzzFeed News.
<https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/ryanhatesthis/the-far-right-influencer-playbook>
- Brubaker, R. (1999). The Manichean myth: Rethinking the distinction between 'civic' and 'ethnic' nationalism. *Nation and national identity: The European experience in perspective*, 55-71.
- Buckley, W. F. Jr. (1951). *God and Man at Yale*. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company.
- Burgess, J., & Green, J. (2018). *YouTube: Online video and participatory culture*. John Wiley & Sons.

- Burke, S., & Goodman, S. (2012). 'Bring back Hitler's gas chambers': Asylum seeking, Nazis and Facebook—a discursive analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 23(1), 19-33.
- Burris, V., Smith, E., & Strahm, A. (2000). White supremacist networks on the Internet. *Sociological focus*, 33(2), 215-235.
- Calvert, C. (1997). Hate speech and its harms: A communication theory perspective. *Journal of Communication*, 47(1), 4-19.
- Camus, A. (1942). *The Stranger*.
- Camus, R. (2015). *Le grand remplacement*. Renaud Camus
- Carr, L. G. (1997). *"Colorblind" Racism*. Sage.
- Carter, J. S., & Lippard, C. (2015). Group Position, Threat, and Immigration: The Role of Interest Groups and Elite Actors in Setting the "Lines of Discussion". *Sociology of race and ethnicity*, 1(3), 394-408.
- Carter, J. S., & Lippard, C. (2020). *The Death of Affirmative Action? Racialized Framing and the Fight Against Racial Preference in College Admissions*. Bristol, UK: Bristol University Press.
- Carter, J. S., Lippard, C., & Baird, A. F. (2019). Veiled Threat: Colorblind Racism, Group Threat and Affirmative Action. *Social Problems* 66(4): 503-518.
- Cashman, S. D. (1991). *African-Americans and the quest for civil rights, 1900-1990*. NYU Press.
- Chapman, S. (2017, September 26). *Why do whites oppose the NFL protests?* Chicago Tribune. <https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/opinion/chapman/ct-perspec-whites-nfl-anthem-protests-20170927-story.html>
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. Sage.
- Chess, S., & Shaw, A. (2015). A conspiracy of fishes, or, how we learned to stop worrying about #GamerGate and embrace hegemonic masculinity. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 59(1), 208-220.
- Chetty, R., Hendren, N., Kline, P., Saez, E., & Turner, N. (2014). Is the United States still a land of opportunity? Recent trends in intergenerational mobility. *American Economic Review*, 104(5), 141-47.
- Chinyelou, M. (1995), Debunking the Bell Curve and Scientific Racism, Vol 1. In Browne, M.

- W., & It, W. H. (Eds.), *Intelligence, Genes, and Success: Scientists Respond to The Bell Curve*, 39(1), (p. 347).
- Clark, P. A. (2017, May 5). *The Alt-Right's Worldwide Weaponization of Memes*. Mashable. mashable.com/2017/05/05/alt-right-memes-france-world/#N5IJxDiMgkqo.
- Cohen-Almagor, R. (2011). Fighting hate and bigotry on the Internet. *Policy & Internet*, 3(3), 1-26.
- Cohen, B. (2019). (((Multiple Parentheses))) and Burning Flags: Antisemitism and Media Coverage of the 2016 American Presidential Election. *European Journal of Current Legal Issues*, 25(1).
- Commons, J. R. (1923). Hobson's "Economics of Unemployment". *The American Economic Review*, 13(4), 638-647.
- Connell, R. W. ([1987] 2013). *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Connell, R. W. (1993). The big picture: Masculinities in recent world history. *Theory and society*, 22(5), 597-623.
- Connell, R. W. (1998). Masculinities and globalization. *Men and masculinities*, 1(1), 3-23.
- Conway, M. (2005, Sep. 10). Terrorist 'Use' of the Internet and Fighting Back. [Paper prepared for presentation at the conference]. *Cybersafety: Safety and Security in a Networked World: Balancing Cyber-Rights and Responsibilities*. Presentation conducted at Oxford Internet Institute, UK.
- Cook, A. E. (2016). The Moynihan Report and the Neo-Conservative Backlash to the Civil Rights Movement. *Geo. J.L. & Mod. Critical Race Persp.*, 8, 1.
- Cookney, D. J. (2019). Designing for the Far Right. *Creative Review*, 126-131.
- Cooper, V. L. (2012). *Subversive Liminality and Ideological Warfare: The Zombie Mash-Up as Resistance to Hypermasculine Revenge Narratives Post-9/11* (Doctoral dissertation).
- Corte, U., & Edwards, B. (2008). White Power music and the mobilization of racist social movements. *Music and Arts in Action*, 1(1), 4-20.
- Cox, J. (2018, March 9). *YouTube Is Full of Easy-to-Find Neo-Nazi Propaganda*. Vice. https://motherboard.vice.com/en_us/article/xw5bxk/youtube-neo-nazi-propaganda-atomwaffen
- Crispin, J. (2017, March 31). *Why They Need the Cucks*. The Baffler.

<https://thebaffler.com/paradise-tossed/why-they-need-cucks-crispin>

- Crockett, M. J. (2017). Moral outrage in the digital age. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 1(11), 769
- Crockford, S. (2017, February 21). *Why building a wall on the US-Mexico border is a symbolic monument, not sensible immigration policy*. USApp–American Politics and Policy Blog. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/usappblog/2017/02/21/why-building-a-wall-on-the-us-mexico-border-is-a-symbolic-monument-not-sensible-immigration-policy/>
- Cross, J. R., & Cross, T. L. (2005). Social dominance, moral politics, and gifted education. *Roeper Review*, 28(1), 21-29.
- Dahl, G. (1999). *Radical conservatism and the future of politics*. Sage.
- Daniels, J. (2009). Cloaked websites: propaganda, cyber-racism and epistemology in the digital era. *New Media & Society*, 11(5), 659-683.
- Darby, L. (2019, August 5) *How the 'Great Replacement' conspiracy theory has inspired white supremacist killers*. The Telegraph. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/08/05/analysis-great-replacement-conspiracy-theory-has-inspired-white/>
- Davies, C. (1990). *Ethnic humor around the world: A comparative analysis*. Indiana University Press.
- Davidai, S., & Ongis, M. (2019). The politics of zero-sum thinking: The relationship between political ideology and the belief that life is a zero-sum game. *Science Advances*, 5(12), eaay3761.
- DeLombard, J. M. (2018). Debunking Dehumanization. *American Literary History*.
- Delventhal, S. (2018, April 20) *YouTube Ads Funded Extremist Content: CNN Report*. Investopedia. <https://www.investopedia.com/news/youtube-ads-funded-extremist-content-cnn-report/>
- Derrida, J. ([1993] 2012). *Specters of Marx: The state of the debt, the work of mourning and the new international*. Routledge.
- Díaz, C., & Mauricio, C. (2013). Defining and characterizing the concept of Internet Meme. *CES Psicología*, 6(2), 82-104.
- Dobratz, B. A., & Shanks-Meile, S. L. (2000). *The white separatist movement in the United States: "White power, white pride!"*. JHU Press.

- Dobratz, B. A., (2001). The Role of Religion in the Collective Identity of the White Racialist Movement. *The Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 40:287-301.
- Dogtiev, A. (2019). *YouTube revenue and usage statistics* [Online exclusive]. Business of Apps. <https://www.businessofapps.com/data/youtube-statistics/>
- Downs, W. M., Manning, C. L., & Engstrom, R. N. (2009). Revisiting the ‘moderating effects of incumbency’: A comparative study of government participation and political extremism. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 17(2), 151-169.
- Drabble, J. (2007). From White Supremacy to White Power: The FBI, COINTELPRO-WHITE HATE, and the Nazification of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1970s. *American Studies*, 48(3), 49-74.
- Drag Queen Story Hour (n.d.). *What is Drag Queen Story Hour?* Drag Queen Story Hour. <https://www.dragqueenstoryhour.org/>
- Dwoskin, E. & Timberg, C. (2019, March 18). *Inside YouTube’s struggles to shut down video of the New Zealand shooting — and the humans who outsmarted its systems*. The Washington Post. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2019/03/18/inside-youtubes-struggles-shut-down-video-new-zealand-shooting-humans-who-outsmarted-its-systems/>
- Eco, U. (1995). Eternal fascism. *Utne Reader*, 72, 57-59.
- Edwards, G. S., & Rushin, S. (2018). The effect of President Trump's election on hate crimes. *Available at SSRN 3102652*.
- Eliasoph, N., & Lichterman, P. (2003). Culture in interaction. *American journal of sociology*, 108(4), 735-794.
- Ember, S. (2016, November 28). *News outlets rethink usage of the term ‘alt-right.’* The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/28/business/media/news-outlets-rethink-usage-of-the-term-alt-right.html>.
- English, K., Sweetser, K. D., & Ancu, M. (2011). YouTube-ification of political talk: An examination of persuasion appeals in viral video. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 55(6), 733-748.
- Every, D. and Augoustinos, M. (2007) ‘Constructions of Racism in the Australian Parliamentary Debates on Asylum Seekers’. *Discourse and Society* 4(18), 411-436
- Fairchild, H. H. (1991). Scientific racism: The cloak of objectivity. *Journal of social issues*, 47(3), 101-115.

- Farrell, H. (2018, May 10). *The “Intellectual Dark Web,” explained: what Jordan Peterson has in common with the alt-right.* Vox.
<https://www.vox.com/the-big-idea/2018/5/10/17338290/intellectual-dark-web-rogan-peterson-harris-times-weiss>
- Feinberg, A. (2017, December 13). *This is the Daily Stormer’s playbook.* Huff Post.
https://www.huffpost.com/entry/daily-stormer-nazi-style-guide_n_5a2ece19e4b0ce3b344492f2
- Fenster, M. (2008). *Conspiracy Theories: Secrecy and Power in American Culture* (2nd edition). University of Minnesota Press.
- Ferber, A. L. (2000). Racial warriors and weekend warriors: The construction of masculinity in mythopoetic and white supremacist discourse. *Men and masculinities*, 3(1), 30-56.
- Ferber, A. L. (2007). The construction of Black masculinity: White supremacy now and then. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 31(1), 11-24.
- Finkelstein, J., Zannettou, S., Bradlyn, B., & Blackburn, J. (2018). A Quantitative Approach to Understanding Online Antisemitism. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1809.01644*.
- Florida, A. (2016, November 27). *The white nationalist origins of the term ‘alt-right’ — and the debate around it.* NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2016/11/27/503520811/the-white-nationalist-origins-of-the-term-alt-right-and-the-debate-around-it>
- Forchtner, B., & Kølvrå, C. (2017). Extreme right images of radical authenticity: Multimodal aesthetics of history, nature, and gender roles in social media. *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology*, 4(3), 252-281.
- Futrell, R., Simi, P., & Gottschalk, S. (2006). Understanding music in movements: The white power music scene. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 47(2), 275-304.
- Futrell, R., & Simi, P. (2017). The [un] surprising alt-right. *Contexts*, 16(2), 76-76.
- Fraiman, S. (1994). Geometries of Race and Gender: Eve Sedgwick, Spike Lee, Charlayne Hunter-Gault. *Feminist Studies*, 20(1), 67-84.
- Frankenberg, R. (1993). *White women, race matters: The social construction of whiteness.* University of Minnesota Press.
- Frankfurter, D. (1994). Religious studies and claims of satanic ritual abuse: a rejoinder to Stephen Kent. *Religion*, 24(4), 353-360
- Freeden, M. (1998). Is nationalism a distinct ideology?. *Political studies*, 46(4), 748-765.

- Fricke, J. M. (2018). *White Gods: Odin as the White Male Hope*. The University of Iowa.
- Gallagher, R. J., Reagan, A. J., Danforth, C. M., & Dodds, P. S. (2018). Divergent discourse between protests and counter-protests: # BlackLivesMatter and # AllLivesMatter. *PLoS one*, 13(4), e0195644.
- Gallop, J. (1986). French theory and the seduction of feminism. *Paragraph*, 8(1), 19-24.
- Gambert, I., & Linné, T. (2018). From Rice Eaters to Soy Boys: Race, Gender, and Tropes of 'Plant Food Masculinity'. *Gender, and Tropes of 'Plant Food Masculinity'* (December 9, 2018).
- Gerstenfeld, P. B., Grant, D. R., & Chiang, C. P. (2003). Hate online: A content analysis of extremist Internet sites. *Analyses of social issues and public policy*, 3(1), 29-44.
- Gillborn, D. (2006). Rethinking white supremacy: Who counts in 'WhiteWorld'. *Ethnicities*, 6(3), 318-340.
- Gogarty, L. A. (2017). The Art Right. *Art Monthly*, 405, 6-10.
- Golovinski, Matvei (1920) *The Jewish peril : protocols of the learned elders of Zion*. London :Eyre & Spottiswoode,
- Goodman, L. A. (1961). Snowball sampling. *The annals of mathematical statistics*, 148-170.
- Gotanda, N. (1991). A Critique of " Our Constitution is Color-Blind". *Stanford Law Review*, 1-68.
- Graham, R. (2016). Inter-ideological mingling: White extremist ideology entering the mainstream on Twitter. *Sociological Spectrum*, 36(1), 24-36.
- Graptrean. (2018). *Black Pigeon Speaks*. Graptrean.
<https://graptrean.com/creator/blackpigeon>
- Gray, J. (2007). *Enlightenment's wake: Politics and culture at the close of the modern age*. Routledge.
- Gray, P. W. (2018). 'The fire rises': identity, the alt-right and intersectionality. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 23(2), 141-156.
- Green, E. (2017, August 15). *Why the Charlottesville marchers were obsessed with Jews*. The Atlantic. <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/08/nazis-racism-charlottesville/536928/>

- Griffin, R. (1993). *The Nature of Fascism*. Psychology Press.
- Griffin, R. (2015). Fixing Solutions: Fascist Temporalities as Remedies for Liquid Modernity. *Journal of Modern European History*, 13(1), 5-23.
- Griffith, M., & Papacharissi, Z. (2009). Looking for you: An analysis of video blogs. *First Monday*, 15(1).
- Grimes, D. R. (2017, December 4). *Echo chambers are dangerous—we must try to break free of our online bubbles*. The Guardian.
<https://www.theguardian.com/science/blog/2017/dec/04/echo-chambers-are-dangerous-we-must-try-to-break-free-of-our-online-bubbles>
- Groh, D. (1987). The temptation of conspiracy theory, or: Why do bad things happen to good people? Part I: Preliminary draft of a theory of conspiracy theories. In *Changing conceptions of conspiracy* (pp. 1-13). Springer New York.
- Grunberger, R. (2013). *A social history of the Third Reich*. Hachette UK., p. 235.
- Hage, G. (2000). *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*. Psychology Press.
- Haidt, J., & Joseph, C. (2004). Intuitive ethics: How innately prepared intuitions generate culturally variable virtues. *Daedalus*, 133(4), 55-66.
- Harris, S. Sam Harris. (2017, April 22). *Making Sense PodCast #73 - FORBIDDEN KNOWLEDGE. A Conversation with Charles Murray*. [Audio podcast].
<https://samharris.org/podcasts/forbidden-knowledge/>
- Hartmann, H. I., & Markusen, A. R. (1980). Contemporary Marxist theory and practice: A feminist critique. *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 12(2), 87-94.
- Hartzell, S. L. (2018). Alt-White: Conceptualizing the " Alt-Right" as a Rhetorical Bridge between White Nationalism and Mainstream Public Discourse. *Journal of Contemporary Rhetoric*, 8.
- Hatreon. (2017, June). *A platform for creators, absent speech policing* [Twitter Bio]. Twitter.
<https://twitter.com/hatreon?lang=en>
- Hawley, G. (2017). *Making Sense of the Alt-right*. Columbia University Press.
- Hayden, M. E. (2017, November 19). It's ok to be white: How Fox News is helping to spread neo-Nazi propaganda. Newsweek. <https://www.newsweek.com/neo-nazi-david-duke-backed-meme-was-reported-tucker-carlson-without-context-714655>

- Haynes, N. (1995). How skewed is the Bell Curve?. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 21(3), 275-292.
- Hechter, M. (2000). *Containing nationalism*. OUP Oxford.
- Heikkilä, N. (2017). Online antagonism of the alt-right in the 2016 election. *European journal of American studies*, 12(12-2).
- Hirschman, A. O. (1991). *The rhetoric of reaction*. Harvard University Press.
- Hogan, M. (2017, August 17). *Is White Power Music Finally Getting Booted from the Internet?* Pitchfork. <https://pitchfork.com/thepitch/is-white-power-music-finally-getting-booted-from-the-internet/>
- Hoiles, W., Aprem, A., & Krishnamurthy, V. (2016). Engagement dynamics and sensitivity analysis of YouTube videos. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1611.00687*.
- Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (1997). *The new language of qualitative method*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (2008). Constructionist impulses in ethnographic fieldwork. *Handbook of constructionist research*, 373-395.
- Horton, J. O., & Horton, L. E. (1998). *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community and Protest Among Northern Free Blacks, 1700-1860*. Oxford University Press.
- Houtman, D., & Aupers, S. (2016). 'Stormfront is like a Second Home to Me': Social Exclusion of Right-Wing Extremists. In *Paradoxes of Individualization* (pp. 85-102). Routledge.
- Hughey, M. W. (2011). Backstage discourse and the reproduction of white masculinities. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 52(1), 132-153.
- Hughey, M. W. (2012). Black Guys and White Guise: The Discursive Construction of White Masculinity. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 41(1), 95-124.
- Hughey, M. W., Embrick, D. G., & Doane, A. W. (2015). Paving the way for future race research: Exploring the racial mechanisms within a color-blind, racialized social system. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 59(11), 1347-1357.
- Hunte, Z. (2019). 'Female Nature, Cucks, and Simps': Understanding Men Going Their Own Way as part of the Manosphere.
- Hurwitz, J., & Peffley, M. (2005). Playing the race card in the post-Willie Horton era: The impact of racialized code words on support for punitive crime policy. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 69(1), 99-112.

- Hutchings, V. L., & Valentino, N. A. (2004). The centrality of race in American politics. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.*, 7, 383-408.
- Hutchinson, D. L. (1999). Ignoring the sexualization of race: Heteronormativity, critical race theory and anti-racist politics. *Buff. L. Rev.*, 47, 1.
- Hyland, L. J. (1995) *Democratic theory: the philosophical foundations*. Manchester, England, UK; New York, New York, USA: Manchester University Press ND, 1995. p. 247
- Jay, M. (2010). Dialectic of Counter-Enlightenment: The Frankfurt School as scapegoat of the lunatic fringe. *Salmagundi*, (168/169), 30.
- Johns, A. (2017). Flagging white nationalism ‘after Cronulla’: from the beach to the net. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 38(3), 349-364.
- Johnson, E. L. (2018). Pragmatically synthesizing existing conspiracy styles: blending paranoia and politics in Richard Nixon’s early-career anticommunist rhetoric. *Argumentation and Advocacy*, 54(3), 238-256.
- Jones, A. M. (1999). " *www.hate.org*"—*The North American White Supremacist Movement: An Analysis of Internet Hate Web Sites* [Masters’ Thesis, McMaster University]. MacSphere.
- Jones, E. E., & Nisbett, R. E. (1987). The actor and the observer: Divergent perceptions of the causes of behavior. In *Preparation of this paper grew out of a workshop on attribution theory held at University of California, Los Angeles, Aug 1969*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Joshi, K. Y. (2006). The racialization of Hinduism, Islam, and Sikhism in the United States. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 39(3), 211-226.
- Jung, M. K., Vargas, J. C., & Bonilla-Silva, E. (2011). *State of White supremacy: Racism, governance, and the United States*. Stanford University Press.
- Kalmar, I., Stevens, C., & Worby, N. (2018, July). Twitter, gab, and racism: The case of the soros myth. In *Proceedings of the 9th International Conference on Social Media and Society* (pp. 330-334).
- Karlsen, R., Steen-Johnsen, K., Wollebæk, D., & Enjolras, B. (2017). Echo chamber and trench warfare dynamics in online debates. *European Journal of Communication*, 32(3), 257-273.
- Keskinen, S. (2013). Antifeminism and white identity politics. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 3(4), 225.

- Köhne, J. (2018). *Born Guilty: Liable for Compensation Subject to Retaliation*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.
- Kim, K., Paek, H., & Lynn, J. (2010). A content analysis of smoking fetish videos on YouTube: Regulatory implications for tobacco control. *Health Communication, 25*, 97–106.
- Kim, N. (2016). “Homosexuality Is a Threat to Our Family and the Nation”: Anti-LGBT Movement. In *The Gendered Politics of the Korean Protestant Right* (pp. 81-114). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.
- Kinder, D. R., & Mendelberg, T. (2000). Individualism reconsidered: Principles and prejudice in contemporary American opinion. *Racialized politics: The debate about racism in America, 44-74*.
- King, C. R., & Leonard, D. J. (2016). *Beyond hate: White power and popular culture*. Routledge.
- King, D. S., & Smith, R. M. (2014). “Without Regard to Race”: Critical Ideational Development in Modern American Politics. *The Journal of Politics, 76*(4), 958-971.
- Klein, D. B., & Stern, C. (2006). Sociology and classical liberalism. *The Independent Review, 11*(1), 37-52.
- KnowYourMeme. (2019a, June) *Frenworld*. KnowYourMeme. <https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/sites/frenworld>
- KnowYourMeme. (2019b, July) *Red Pill*. KnowYourMeme. <https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/red-pill>
- KnowYourMeme. (2019c, July) *Cuck*. KnowYourMeme. <https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/cuck>
- Koerber, A. (2018). From Hysteria to Hormones and Back Again: Centuries of Outrageous Remarks About Female Biology. *Rhetoric of Health & Medicine, 1*(1), 179-192.
- Krell, M. R. (2016). Fear-driven donations: campaign contributions as mechanisms for entrenching white supremacy. *Social Science Quarterly, 97*(5), 1119-1129.
- Krieger, N. (2005). Stormy weather: race, gene expression, and the science of health disparities. *American journal of public health, 95*(12), 2155-2160.
- Kübler-Ross, E., Wessler, S., & Avioli, L. V. (1972). On death and dying. *Jama, 221*(2), 174-179.

- Kunkeler, N. (2016). The evolution of Swedish fascism: Self-identification and ideology in interwar Sweden. *Patterns Of Prejudice*, 50(4-5), 378-397.
doi:10.1080/0031322X.2016.1237386
- Lake, M. (1992). Mission impossible: How men gave birth to the Australian nation—nationalism, gender and other seminal acts. *Gender & History*, 4(3), 305-322
- Lakoff, G. (1996). *Moral Politics: What Conservatives Know That Liberals Don't*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lam, D. (2016). The impact of race on earnings and human capital in Brazil, South Africa and the United States. *Anais*, 1-26.
- Laqueur, W. (2006). *The changing face of anti-Semitism: From ancient times to the present day*. Oxford University Press.
- Leary, J. P. (2017). Decoding “build the wall”: What liberal critics miss. *NACLA Report on the Americas*, 49(2), 146-148.
- Legewie, J. (2016). Racial profiling and use of force in police stops: How local events trigger periods of increased discrimination. *American journal of sociology*, 122(2), 379-424.
- Lessig, L. (2008). *Remix: Making art and commerce thrive in the hybrid economy*. Penguin.
- Levin, B. (2002). Cyberhate: A legal and historical analysis of extremists' use of computer networks in America. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 45(6), 958-988.
- Lewis, R. (2018). *Alternative Influence: Broadcasting the Reactionary Right on YouTube*. Data and Society Research Institute. https://datasociety.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/DS_Alternative_Influence.pdf
- Lilly, C. S., & Irvine, J. A. (2002). Negotiating Interests: Women and Nationalism in Serbia and Croatia, 1990-1997. *East European Politics and Societies*, 16(1), 109-144.
- Lomas, N. (2017, March 21). *After YouTube boycott, Google pulls ads from more types of offensive content*. Tech Crunch. <https://techcrunch.com/2017/03/21/after-youtube-boycott-google-pulls-ads-from-more-types-of-offensive-content/>
- Lopez, G. (2017, October 19). *Why Florida Officials Are Preparing for Violence at White Nationalist Richard Spencer's Speech*. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/identities/2017/10/19/16503024/richard-spencer-university-florida>
- Lower, W. (2013). *Hitler's furies: German women in the Nazi killing fields*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

- Lovink, G., & Tuters, M. (2018). Memes and the reactionary totemism of the theft of joy. Non.copyriot.com. <https://non.copyriot.com/memes-and-the-reactionarytotemism-of-the-theft-of-joy/>
- Lyons, M. N. (2017). CTRL-ALT-DELETE: The origins and ideology of the Alternative Right. *Somerville, MA: Political Research Associates, January, 20.*
- Machin, D., & Richardson, J. E. (2012). Discourses of unity and purpose in the sounds of fascist music: a multimodal approach. *Critical Discourse Studies, 9*(4), 329-345.
- Macklin, G. (2014). Teaching the Truth to the Hardcore: The Public and Private Presentation of BNP Ideology. In *Doublespeak: The Framing of the Far Right since 1945.*
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (1999). The “what” of the study: Building the conceptual framework. *Designing qualitative research, 3*, 21-54.
- Marshall, J. D. (1989). Foucault and education. *Australian journal of education, 33*(2), 99-113.
- Martin, R. A., & Ford, T. (2018). *The psychology of humor: An integrative approach.* Academic press.
- Marx, K., & O'Malley, J. (1977). *Critique of Hegel's' Philosophy of right'*. CUP Archive.
- Mattheis, A. (2018). Shieldmaidens of Whiteness:(Alt) Maternalism and Women Recruiting for the Far/Alt-Right. *Journal for Deradicalization, (17)*, 128-162.
- May, R., & Feldman, M. (2019). Chapter 1: Understanding the Alt-Right Ideologues, ‘Lulz’ and Hiding in Plain Sight. In Fielitz, M., & Thurston, N. (Eds.), *Post-Digital Cultures of the Far Right: Online Actions and Offline Consequences in Europe and the US* (pp. 25-36). transcript Verlag.
- Mayer, S., Ajanovic, E., & Sauer, B. (2014). Intersections and Inconsistencies. Framing Gender in Right-Wing Populist Discourses in Austria. *NORA-Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research, 22*(4), 250-266.
- Mazumdar, P. M. (1990). Blood and soil: The serology of the Aryan racial state. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine, 64*(2), 187-219.
- McIntosh, P. (1988). White privilege: Unpacking the invisible knapsack.
- McKeague, M. T. (2011). The 21st century addiction: User generated content dependency and media aesthetic expectations as experienced through YouTube.
- McVeigh, R. (1999). Structural Incentives for Conservative Mobilization: Power Devaluation

- and the Rise of the Ku Klux Klan, 1915-1925. *Social Forces* 77:1461-96.
- Mech, L. D. (1970). *The wolf: the ecology and behavior of an endangered species*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Mech, L. D., & Boitani, L. (2003). Wolf social ecology. *Wolves: behavior, ecology and conservation*, 1-34.
- Michael, G. (2016). This Is War! Tom Metzger, White Aryan Resistance, And The Lone Wolf Legacy. *Focus On Terrorism*, 29.
- Millar, A. (2015). 'Too Many' Anxious White Nationalism and the Biopolitics of Abortion. *Australian Feminist Studies*, 30(83), 82-98.
- Miller, A. (2017, November 26). *How the Fringe Alt-Right Is Trumping Traditional Media*. Fortune. <http://fortune.com/2016/11/17/alt-right-media-donald-trump/>
- Millington, M. I., & Sinclair, A. S. (1992). The Honourable Cuckold: Models of Masculine Defence. *Comparative Literature Studies*, 1-19.
- Mirrlees, T. (2018). The Alt-right's Discourse on "Cultural Marxism": A Political Instrument of Intersectional Hate. *Atlantis: Critical Studies in Gender, Culture & Social Justice*, 39(1), 49-69.
- Mohajer, S. T. (2017, August 14). *It is time to stop using the term 'alt right.'* Columbia Journalism Review. <https://www.cjr.org/criticism/alt-right-trump-charlottesville.php>
- Molyneux, S. (Host). (2016, August 28). The truth about the Colin Kaepernick national anthem controversy. (3395). [Audio podcast episode]. In *Free Domain Radio*. Free Domain Radio. <https://soundcloud.com/stefan-molyneux/fdr-3395-the-truth-about-the-colin-kaepernick-national-anthem-controversy>.
- Morris, M., & Anderson, E. (2015). 'Charlie is so cool like': Authenticity, popularity and inclusive masculinity on YouTube. *Sociology*, 49(6), 1200-1217.
- Mosse, G. L. (2004). *Toward a general theory of fascism* (Vol. 1, pp. 142-75). London: Routledge. pg. 374
- Murdoch, S. (2018, April 20). *Japan and the Alternative Right*. Hope Not Hate. <https://hopenothate.com/2018/04/20/japan-and-the-alternative-right/>.
- Murphy, P., Yureiff, K., Mezzofiore, G. (2018, April 19). *Exclusive: YouTube ran ads from hundreds of brands on extremist channels*. CNN. <https://money.cnn.com/2018/04/19/technology/youtube-ads-extreme-content-investigation/index.html>

- Nagel, J. (1998). Masculinity and nationalism: Gender and sexuality in the making of nations. *Ethnic and racial studies*, 21(2), 242-269.
- Nagle, A. (2017). *Kill all normies: Online culture wars from 4chan and Tumblr to Trump and the alt-right*. John Hunt Publishing.
- Neiwert, D. (2016). *Eliminationists: How Hate Talk Radicalized the American Right*. Routledge.
- Neiwert, D. (2017). *Alt-America: The rise of the radical right in the age of Trump*. Verso Books.
- Neyman, J. (1934). On the two different aspects of the representative method: the method of stratified sampling and the method of purposive selection. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 97(4), 558-625.
- Nicholas, H. (2017, May 20). *Want to stop cultural Marxist indoctrination? Cut public funding of universities*. Rebel News.
https://www.therebel.media/want_to_stop_cultural_marxist_indoctrination_cut_public_funding_of_universities
- Nisbett, R. E., Aronson, J., Blair, C., Dickens, W., Flynn, J., Halpern, D. F., & Turkheimer, E. (2012). Intelligence: new findings and theoretical developments. *American psychologist*, 67(2), 130.
- Norton, H. L., Quillen, E. E., Bigham, A. W., Pearson, L. N., & Dunsworth, H. (2019). Human races are not like dog breeds: refuting a racist analogy. *Evolution: Education and Outreach*, 12(1), 1-20.
- O'Callaghan, D., Greene, D., Conway, M., Carthy, J., & Cunningham, P. (2015). Down the (white) rabbit hole: The extreme right and online recommender systems. *Social Science Computer Review*, 33(4), 459-478.
- Ohlheiser, A. (2016, December 11). *Twitter banned White nationalist leader Richard Spencer. Now he's back*. The Washington Post. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-intersect/wp/2016/12/11/twitter-banned-white-nationalist-leader-richard-spencer-now-hes-back/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.e9545c5d2bc1
- Oliver, J. E., & Wood, T. J. (2014). Conspiracy theories and the paranoid style (s) of mass opinion. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(4), 952-966.
- Oppenheim, M. (2017, November 23). *White supremacist Richard Spencer 'banned from 26 European countries.'* The Independent.
<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/richard-spencer-ban-european-countries-alt-right-white-supremacist-neo-nazi-eu-a8071971.html>

- Painter, N. I. (2010). *The history of white people*. WW Norton & Company.
- Palmer, E. (2018). *Neo-Nazi video game lets users murder LGBT people to save Donald Trump*. [online] Newsweek. Available at: <https://www.newsweek.com/charlottesville-crying-nazi-hosts-video-game-allowing-users-kill-lgbt-people-1212855>
- Panofsky, A., & Donovan, J. (2017, August 17). Genetic Ancestry Testing among White Nationalists. <https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/7f9bc>
- Paradies, Y., Truong, M., & Priest, N. (2014). A systematic review of the extent and measurement of healthcare provider racism. *Journal of general internal medicine*, 29(2), 364-387.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). Two decades of developments in qualitative inquiry: A personal, experiential perspective. *Qualitative social work*, 1(3), 261-283
- Paxton, R. O. (2017). The five stages of fascism. In *Fascism* (pp. 81-103). Routledge.
- Payne, S. G. (1983). *Fascism: Comparison and definition*. University of Wisconsin Press.
- Pelts, M. (2018, November 20). *Tucker Carlson is a hero on these white supremacist podcasts*. Media Matters. <https://www.mediamatters.org/tucker-carlson/tucker-carlson-hero-these-white-supremacist-podcasts>.
- Pérez, R. (2017). Working to Laugh: Assembling Difference in American Stand-up Comedy Venues. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 3(1), 142–143.
- Perry, B. (2004). White genocide: White supremacists and the politics of reproduction. *Home-grown hate: Gender and organized racism*, 75-95.
- Perry, B., Scrivens, R., Schweppe, J., & Walters, M. (2016). White pride worldwide: Constructing global identities online. *The globalisation of hate: Internationalising hate crime*, 65-78.
- Perry, S. L., & Whitehead, A. L. (2015). Christian nationalism and white racial boundaries: examining whites' opposition to interracial marriage. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(10), 1671-1689.
- Pierce, William. Macdonald, Andrew. ([1978] 1980). *The Turner Diaries*. Washington, D.C.: National Alliance.
- Popescu, A. 2017, December 4. *This Crowdfunding Site Runs on Hate*. Bloomberg. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-12-04/this-crowdfunding-site-runs-on-hate>
- Porzucki, N. (2016, December 16). *How an ancient word about a bird became a slur used by white supremacists*. PRI. <https://www.pri.org/stories/2016-12-14/what-cuck>
- Prichard, F. N., & Starr, J. M. (1994). Skinheads in New Orleans: An inside View. *Humanity &*

- Society*, 18(2), 19-35.
- Provine, W. B. (1986). Geneticists and race. *American Zoologist*, 26(3), 857-888.
- Quillian, L., Pager, D., Hexel, O., & Midtbøen, A. H. (2017). Meta-analysis of field experiments shows no change in racial discrimination in hiring over time. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 114(41), 10870-10875.
- Ransford, H. E. (1972). Blue collar anger: Reactions to student and black protest. *American Sociological Review*, 333-346.
- Razack, S. H. (2007). The 'Sharia law debate' in Ontario: The modernity/premodernity distinction in legal efforts to protect women from culture. *Feminist legal studies*, 15(1), 3-32.
- PerfectingPaine [username]. (2017, December 29). How would you turn the US into an ethnostate? [Online forum post]. Reddit.
https://www.reddit.com/r/DebateAltRight/comments/7mupi1/so_how_would_you_turn_the_us_into_an_ethnostate/
- Rash, S. (2017). Bringing the Fight to# Cyberspace: Measuring the Effectiveness of Social Media in Building Social Capital for Extremist Organizations.
- Resist.com. (2019). WAR. White Aryan Resistance. Accessed April 22, 2019 at <https://www.resist.com/>.
- Richardson, J. E. (2017). Fascist discourse. *The Routledge handbook of critical discourse studies*, London: Routledge, 447-462.
- Roberts, D. E. (1997). *Killing the black body: Race, reproduction, and the meaning of liberty*. Vintage Books.
- Robin, C. (2011). *The reactionary mind: conservatism from Edmund Burke to Sarah Palin*. Oxford University Press. Pp. xiii, 290. pg. 4.
- Rosenburg, E. (2018, September 13). *Eric Trump said claims that he used an anti-Semitic dog whistle are 'nonsense.' Others beg to differ*. The Washington Post.
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2018/09/13/eric-trump-said-flap-over-his-use-anti-semitic-dog-whistle-is-nonsense-others-beg-differ/>
- Rowe, M. (2011). Forecasting audience increase on YouTube. In: Workshop on User Profile Data on the Social Semantic Web, 8th Extended Semantic Web Conference 2011 (ESWC 2011), 30 May 2011, Heraklion, Greece.
- Ruotsila, M. (2000). Lord Sydenham of Combe's World jewish conspiracy. *Patterns of*

- Prejudice*, 34(3), 47-64. Bronner, S. E. (2003). *A rumor about the Jews: Antisemitism, conspiracy, and the Protocols of Zion*. Oxford University Press. Pg. 11.
- S., A. (2013, January 8). *What is Cultural Marxism?* Destroy Cultural Marxism. <http://destoryculturalmarxism.blogspot.com/2013/01/what-is-cultural-marxism.html>
- Scaptura, M. N., & Boyle, K. M. (2019). Masculinity Threat, “Incel” Traits, and Violent Fantasies Among Heterosexual Men in the United States. *Feminist Criminology*, 1557085119896415.
- Schafer, R. (2017). Discrimination in Housing Prices and Mortgage Lending. In *Housing Urban America* (pp. 294-308). Routledge.
- Schafer, J. A., Mullins, C. W., & Box, S. (2014). Awakenings: The emergence of white supremacist ideologies. *Deviant Behavior*, 35(3), 173-196.
- Schell, H. (2007). The big bad wolf: Masculinity and genetics in popular culture. *Literature and Medicine*, 26(1), 109-125.
- Schensul, J.J., LeCompte, M.D., 2010. *Designing and Conducting Ethnographic Research: An Introduction*. Altamira Press, Walnut Creek, CA.
- Schlatter, E. A. (2006). *Aryan cowboys: White supremacists and the search for a new frontier, 1970–2000*. University of Texas Press.
- Schmitz, R. M., & Kazyak, E. (2016). Masculinities in cyberspace: an analysis of portrayals of manhood in men’s rights activist websites. *Social Sciences*, 5(2), 18.
- Shackel, N. (2005). The vacuity of postmodernist methodology. *Metaphilosophy*, 36(3), 295-320.
- Sharma, N. (2006). White nationalism, illegality and imperialism: Border controls as ideology. *En) Gendering the War on Terror: War Stories and Camouflaged Politics*, 121-143.
- Sharpe, T. T. (2000). The identity Christian movement: Ideology of domestic terrorism. *Journal of Black Studies*, 30(4), 604-623.
- Siegel, R. B. (2017). Blind Justice: Why the Court Refused to Accept Statistical Evidence of Discriminatory Purpose in *McCleskey v. Kemp*-And Some Pathways for Change. *Nw. UL Rev.*, 112, 1269.
- Silva, C. (2017, November 29). *What is "white sharia" and why do some on the alt-right want to keep women down*. Newsweek. <http://www.newsweek.com/what-white-sharia-and-what-does-it-have-do-americas-sexual-harassment-problem-725163>

- Simi, P., & Futrell, R. (2006). White power cyberculture: Building a movement. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 34(1), 115-142.
- Simonelli, F. J. (1996). Preaching Hate with the Voice of God: American Neo-Nazis and Christian Identity. *Patterns of prejudice*, 30(2), 43-54.
- Skurka, C., Niederdeppe, J., & Nabi, R. (2019). Kimmel on Climate: Disentangling the Emotional Ingredients of a Satirical Monologue. *Science Communication*, 41(4), 394-421.
- Smith, L. (2017, October 11). *In the early 1980s, white supremacist groups were early adopters (and masters) of the internet*. Timeline. <https://timeline.com/white-supremacist-early-internet-5e91676eb847>
- Smith, A., Toor, S. K. Y. E., & Van Kessel, P. (2018). Many Turn to YouTube for Children's Content, News, How-To Lessons. *Pew Research Centre*.
- Sobieraj, S., & Berry, J. M. (2011). From incivility to outrage: Political discourse in blogs, talk radio, and cable news. *Political Communication*, 28(1), 19-41.
- Solon, O. (2018, September 18). *YouTube's 'alternative influence network' breeds rightwing radicalisation, report finds*. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2018/sep/18/report-youtubes-alternative-influence-network-breeds-rightwing-radicalisation>
- Soral, W., Bilewicz, M., & Winiewski, M. (2018). Exposure to hate speech increases prejudice through desensitization. *Aggressive behavior*, 44(2), 136-146.
- Spencer, H. (1864) *Principles of Biology*, vol. 1, p. 444.
- Spark, A. (2000). Conjuring order: the new world order and conspiracy theories of globalization. *The Sociological Review*, 48(2_suppl), 46-62.
- Spencer, R. [@RichardBSpencer]. (2016, October 4). *I've said, over and over, that Milo, Sargon, Lauren Souther, and Gavin types people can be great entry points*. [Tweet]. Twitter. <https://twitter.com/richardbspencer/status/783387496885264384?lang=en>
- SPLC. (2014, March 31). *White Homicide Worldwide*. Southern Poverty Law Center. <https://www.splcenter.org/20140331/white-homicide-worldwide>
- Stack, L. (2017, January 21). *Attack on alt-right leader has internet asking: Is it O.K. to punch a Nazi?* The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/21/us/politics/richard-spencer-punched-attack.html>
- Starr, C. R. (2018). Mind the Gender Gap: Changing Misconceptions about Gender, Leadership,

- and Occupational Segregation. *Sex Roles*. DOI 10.1007/s11199-017-0833-0
- Stefan Molyneux. (2017, August 8). *Google Memo: Fired Employee Speaks Out! | James Damore and Stefan Molyneux* [Video]. YouTube.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TN1vEfqHGro>
- Steinmetz, K. F. (2012). Message received: Virtual ethnography in online message boards. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 11(1), 26-39.
- Stevens, J. (2011, July 25). *Massacre gunman posted YouTube video calling followers to 'embrace martyrdom' six hours before attacks*. The Daily Mail.
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2018148/Anders-Behring-Breivik-posted-YouTube-video-6-hours-Norway-attacks.html>
- Stewart, C. J. (2002). The master conspiracy of the John Birch Society: From communism to the new world order. *Western Journal of Communication (includes Communication Reports)*, 66(4), 423-447.
- Sugiura, L., Pope, C., & Webber, C. (2012, June). Buying unlicensed slimming drugs from the Web: a virtual ethnography. In *Proceedings of the 4th Annual ACM Web Science Conference* (pp. 284-287). ACM.
- Tavin, K. (2005). Hauntological shifts: Fear and loathing of popular (visual) culture. *Studies in Art Education*, 46(2), 101-117.
- Theweleit, K. (1987). *Male fantasies, Volume 1: Women, floods, bodies, history; Translated by Stephen Conway*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Theweleit, K. (1989). *Male Fantasies: Male Bodies: Psychoanalyzing the White Terror; Translated by Erica Carter and Chris Turner in Collaboration with Stephen Conway*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Thomas, D. R. (2006). A general inductive approach for analyzing qualitative evaluation data. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 27(2), 237-246.
- Timberg, C., Hartwell, D., and Zeitchik, S. (2018, March 14). *How white nationalists are trying to co-opt 'Black Panther'*. The Washington Post.
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-switch/wp/2018/03/14/how-white-nationalists-are-trying-to-co-opt-black-panther/>
- Tolson, A. (2013). A new authenticity? Communicative practices on YouTube. In *Self-Mediation* (pp. 93-106). Routledge.
- Topinka, R. J. (2018). Politically incorrect participatory media: Racist nationalism on r/ImGoingToHellForThis. *New Media & Society*, 20(5), 2050-2069.

- Tuters, M. (2018). Cultural Marxism. *Krisis: Journal for contemporary philosophy*, 2018(2), 32-34.
- Ulaby, N. (2017, September 4). *Scholars Say White Supremacists Chanting 'Deus Vult' Got History Wrong*. NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2017/09/04/548505783/scholars-say-white-supremacists-chanting-deus-vult-got-history-wrong>.
- Urban Dictionary, (2006, August 20) *Coal burner*. Urban Dictionary. <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=coal+burner>
- Urban Dictionary, (2016, May 23) *Normie*. Urban Dictionary. <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Normie>
- Urban Dictionary, (2017, March 7th) *Thot*. Urban Dictionary. <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=THOT>
- Valentino, N. A., Hutchings, V. L., & White, I. K. (2002). Cues that matter: How political ads prime racial attitudes during campaigns. *American Political Science Review*, 96(1), 75-90.
- Virchow, F. (2015). The Identitarian Movement. *What Kind of Identity*, 177-187.
- Vollhardt, J., Coutin, M., Staub, E., Weiss, G., & Deflander, J. (2007). Deconstructing hate speech in the DRC: A psychological media sensitization campaign. *Journal of Hate Studies*, 5(15), 15-35.
- Wachowski, A., & Wachowski, L. (Directors). (1999). *The Matrix* [Film]. Warner Bros. Pictures,
- Wallsten, K. 2005. Political blogs and the bloggers who blog them: Is the political blogosphere and echo chamber. In American Political Science Association's Annual Meeting. Washington, DC September (pp. 1-4).
- Ward, T. J. (2011). The shared trajectories of Al Qaeda and the Ku Klux Klan. *International Journal on World Peace*, 33-58.
- Weber, M. ([1922]1968). *Economy and society* (G. Roth & C. Wittich, trans.). Berkeley: University of California Press (Original work published 1922).
- Wetherell, M., & Potter, J. (1993). *Mapping the language of racism: Discourse and the legitimation of exploitation*. Columbia University Press.
- Whitehead, A. L., & Perry, S. L. (2015). A more perfect union? Christian nationalism and support for same-sex unions. *Sociological Perspectives*, 58(3), 422-440

- Whitsel, B. (2001). Ideological Mutation and Millennial Belief in the American Neo-Nazi Movement. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 24(2), 89–106. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.net.ucf.edu/10.1080/10576100151101605>
- Wilkins, C. L., Wellman, J. D., Babbitt, L. G., Toosi, N. R., & Schad, K. D. (2015). You can win but I can't lose: Bias against high-status groups increases their zero-sum beliefs about discrimination. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 57, 1-14.
- Wilson, J. K. (1995). *The myth of political correctness: The conservative attack on higher education*. Duke University Press.
- Wirth, L. (1938). Urbanism as a way of life. *American Journal of Sociology*, 44:1-24.
- Wodak, R. (2015). *The politics of fear: What right-wing populist discourses mean*. Sage.
- YouTube (2018). *Policies and Safety*. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/yt/about/policies/#community-guidelines>
- The YouTube Team (2019, June 5). *Our ongoing work to tackle hate*. YouTube Official Blog. <https://youtube.googleblog.com/2019/06/our-ongoing-work-to-tackle-hate.html>
- Zavadski, K. W. (2017, March 23). *James Jackson Liked Alt-Right Videos, Claimed He Was a Genius in Army Intelligence*. The Daily Beast. <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/03/23/james-jackson-liked-alt-right-videos-claimed-he-was-a-genius-in-army-intelligence.html>
- Zaveri, M., Jacobs, J., & Mervosh, S. (2018, November 3). *Gunman in yoga studio shooting recorded misogynistic videos and faced battery charges*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/03/us/yoga-studio-shooting-florida.html>
- Zeskind, L. (2009). *Blood and politics: The history of the white nationalist movement from the margins to the mainstream*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Zhou, S. (2018, April 5). *Make sure to “hide your power level.”* The Islamic Monthly. <https://www.theislamicmonthly.com/make-sure-to-hide-your-power-level/>
- Zschirnt, E., & Ruedin, D. (2016). Ethnic discrimination in hiring decisions: a meta-analysis of correspondence tests 1990–2015. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(7), 1115-1134.