THE CORRELATES OF RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM

by

Michael Damian Tucker

Liberty University

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

Liberty University

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ABSTRACT

Research into the correlates of right-wing extremism has been focused on the group level, mainly ignoring the individual right-wing extremist behaviors, characteristics, and traits. Although group milieu strongly affects the ideology of individuals, personal decisions making often comes from a combination of unique experiences, cognitive abilities and biases, and differences in individual traits. This biographical study aimed to examine the life course events of twenty-five individual right-wing extremists identifying common biological and circumstantial correlates among and between the subjects. By analyzing the different correlates, this study created a matrix that identifies the correlates for significance. The results of the analysis created an individual right-wing extremist profile able to assist the United States law enforcement agencies, the intelligence community, and the criminal justice system by making a list of factors that can be used to identify individuals that are predisposed to the use of violence in the furtherance of their political, religious, and social ideologies. The data collected in this study suggests that a right-wing extremist who utilizes violence is a white male, radicalized under the age of 30, from a suburban or rural environment, has a high school education, has peers involved in right-wing extremist movements, having previously been exposed to traditional religion, married at least one time, and adhere to multiple right-wing extremist ideologies. Additionally, the right-wing extremist profile created in this study suggests that the individual is highly likely to be a military veteran with combat experience.

Keywords: Extremism, political violence, domestic terrorism, white supremacy, right-wing extremism, anti-government

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Name	Sex	Race	Anti-LGBT(	Anti-Gover	Islamopho	Diffeentia	Xenaphob	White Sup	Age at Rad	Married	Peer Grou	Anti-Seme	IQ	Employed	Simultanec	Religion Ex	Christian Ic	Siblings	Family Dys	Criminal R	Veteran St	Divorced	Politically	Education	Urbanicity	Combat St	Mental Illr	Drug Usag	Poverty Ov	Odinist
Louis Bear	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
William Pc	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1		1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Timothy M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
John Troch	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	0		0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Matthew I	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0		0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Robert Jay	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Gordan Ka	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Richard Bu	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Robert Gre	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1		1	0
Richard Lo	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1		1	0
Steven Cat	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0		0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
James Alex	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Ivan Harris	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0			0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0
Patrick W	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1			0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
David Lane	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Richard W	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Randel We	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
William Lu	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Elmer Stua	1	1	1	1		1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0		1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
Michael E	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0		0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Terry Lynn	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Robert Be	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Thomas E	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0		1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wesley A	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Enrique T	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Dat	25	24	24	23	21	21	21	20	20	20	20	19	17	17	17	13	13	10	10	10	10	8	8	7	7	6	5	3	3	2
	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08

Figure 1. Tucker, M. (2022) Correlates of Right-Wing Extremism. [Data Set]. Page 216.

Age_at_Radicalization

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Over 30 Years of Age	5	20.0	20.0	20.0
	Under 30 Years of Age	20	80.0	80.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 2. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Age at Radicalization. [Data Set]. Page 217.

Sex

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	25	100.0	100.0	100.0

Figure 3. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Sexual Identity. [Data Set]. Page 218

Race

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Non-White	3	12.0	12.0	12.0
	White	22	88.0	88.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 4. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Race. [Data Set]. Page 221.

IQ

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Below Average IQ	6	24.0	26.1	26.1
	Average or Above IQ	17	68.0	73.9	100.0
	Total	23	92.0	100.0	
Missing	System	2	8.0		
Total		25	100.0		

Figure 5. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Intelligence Quotient. [Data Set]. Page 222.

Mental_Illness

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No sign of mental illness	20	80.0	80.0	80.0
	Mental Illness is present	5	20.0	20.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 6. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Mental Illness. [Data Set]. Page 223.

Employment

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Employed	6	24.0	26.1	26.1
	Employed	17	68.0	73.9	100.0
	Total	23	92.0	100.0	
Missing	System	2	8.0		
Total		25	100.0		

Figure 7. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Employment. [Data Set]. Page 225.

Education

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No College	17	68.0	70.8	70.8
	Some college	7	28.0	29.2	100.0
	Total	24	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	4.0		
Total		25	100.0		

Figure 8. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Education. [Data Set]. Page 226.

Peers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No peer group involvement	5	20.0	20.0	20.0
	Peers Involved in Right-Wing Extremism	20	80.0	80.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 9. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Peer Involvement. [Data Set]. Page 227.

Family_Dysfunction

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No family dysfunction	12	48.0	54.5	54.5
	Experienced family dysfunction	10	40.0	45.5	100.0
	Total	22	88.0	100.0	
Missing	System	3	12.0		
Total		25	100.0		

Figure 10. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Family Dysfunction. [Data Set]. Page 229.

Urbanicity

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Suburbs or rural	18	72.0	72.0	72.0
	City	7	28.0	28.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 11. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Urbanicity. [Data Set]. Page 230.

Simultaneous_Membership

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Single group memberships	8	32.0	32.0	32.0
	Simultaneous memberships	17	68.0	68.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 12. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Simultaneous Group Membership. [Data Set]. Page 231.

Traditional_Reglion

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not exposed to traditional religion	9	36.0	40.9	40.9
	Exposed to traditional religion	13	52.0	59.1	100.0
	Total	22	88.0	100.0	
Missing	System	3	12.0		
Total		25	100.0		

Figure 13. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Religious Exposure. [Data Set]. Page 232

Veteran

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Non-veteran	15	60.0	60.0	60.0
	A military veteran	10	40.0	40.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 14. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Veteran Status. [Data Set]. Page 233.

Combat

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No combat	19	76.0	76.0	76.0
	Experienced combat	6	24.0	24.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 15. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Combat Experience. [Data Set]. Page 236.

Drug_Use

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No history of drug use	20	80.0	87.0	87.0
	Known to use drugs	3	12.0	13.0	100.0
	Total	23	92.0	100.0	
Missing	System	2	8.0		
Total		25	100.0		

Figure 16. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Drug Usage. [Data Set]. Page 237.

Married

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never married	5	20.0	20.0	20.0
	Married at least one time	20	80.0	80.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 17. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Marriage. [Data Set]. Page 239.

White_Supremacy

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Does not embrace white supremacy	5	20.0	20.0	20.0
	Ideology includes white supremacy	20	80.0	80.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 18. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: White Supremacy. [Data Set]. Page 240.

Antigovernment

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No anti-government grievences	2	8.0	8.0	8.0
	Holds anti-government grievences	23	92.0	92.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 19. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Anti-government. [Data Set]. Page 242.

Antisemetic

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Is not anti-Semetic	6	24.0	24.0	24.0
	Is anti-Semetic	19	76.0	76.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 20. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Anti-Semitic. [Data Set]. Page 246.

Christian_Identity

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Does not adhere to Christian Identity	12	48.0	48.0	48.0
	Adheres to Christian Identity	13	52.0	52.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 21. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Christian Identity. [Data Set]. Page 248.

Odinism

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Does not adhere to Odinism	23	92.0	92.0	92.0
	Adheres to Odinism	2	8.0	8.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 22. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Odinism. [Data Set]. Page 251.

Poverty

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Has not experienced poverty	22	88.0	88.0	88.0
	Has experienced poverty	3	12.0	12.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 23. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Poverty to Income. [Data Set]. Page 251.

Misogynist

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Is not misogynistic	4	16.0	16.0	16.0
	Is Misogynistic	21	84.0	84.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 24. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Misogynism. [Data Set]. Page 252.

Divorced

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Has not experienced divorce	14	56.0	63.6	63.6
	Has experineced divorce	8	32.0	36.4	100.0
	Total	22	88.0	100.0	
Missing	System	3	12.0		
Total		25	100.0		

Figure 25. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Divorce. [Data Set]. Page 254.

Islamophobic

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Is not Islamophobic	3	12.0	12.5	12.5
	Islamophobic	21	84.0	87.5	100.0
	Total	24	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	4.0		
Total		25	100.0		

Figure 26. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Islamophobia. [Data Set]. Page 254.

AntiLGBTQ

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No LGBTQ hatred	1	4.0	4.0	4.0
	Hatred for the LGBTQ community	24	96.0	96.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 27. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Anti-LGBTQ+. [Data Set]. Page 255.

Political_History

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	.00	17	68.0	68.0	68.0
	1.00	8	32.0	32.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 28. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Political History [Data Set]. Page 256.

Criminal_History

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No criminal history	17	68.0	68.0	68.0
	Has a criminal history	8	32.0	32.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 29. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Criminal History [Data Set]. Page 257.

Xenophobic

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not anti-immigration	14	56.0	58.3	58.3
	Anti-immigration	10	40.0	41.7	100.0
	Total	24	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	4.0		
Total		25	100.0		

Figure 30. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Xenophobic [Data Set]. Page 257.

Siblings

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Does not have a sibling	4	16.0	16.0	16.0
	Has at least one sibling	21	84.0	84.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 31. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Siblings. [Data Set]. Page 258.

Name	Year of Birth

Louis Beam	**1946**
William Potter Gale	**1916**
Timothy McVeigh	**1968**
John Trochmann	**1944**
Matthew Hale	**1953**
Robert Jay Matthews	**1953**
Gordan Kahl	**1920**
Richard Butler	**1918**
Robert Gregory Bowers1	**1972**
Richard Louis Dear Jr.	**1958**
Steven Carrillo	**1989**
James Alex Fields Jr.	**1997**
Ivan Harrison Hunter	**1997**
Patrick Wood Crusius	**1998**
David Lane	**1938**

Richard Wayne Snell	**1930**
Randel Weaver	**1948**
William Luther Pierce	**1933**
Elmer Stuart Rhodes	**1965**
Michael Brian Vanderboegh	**1952**
Terry Lynn Nichols	**1955**
Robert Boliver DePugh	**1923**
Thomas Linton Metzger	**1938**
Wesley Albert Swift	**1913**
Enrique Tarrio	**1984**

Figure 32. Tucker, M. (2022). Subjects and Year of Births. [Data Set]. Page 260.

Correlations

		Sex_Gender	Race	IQ	Mental_Illness
Sex_Gender	Pearson Correlation	.[a]	.[a]	.[a]	.[a]
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.	.	.
	N	25	25	23	25
Race	Pearson Correlation	.[a]	1	.064	-.123
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.		.772	.558
	N	25	25	23	25
IQ	Pearson Correlation	.[a]	.064	1	-.511*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.772		.013
	N	23	23	23	23
Mental_Illness	Pearson Correlation	.[a]	-.123	-.511*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.558	.013	
	N	25	25	23	25

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

a. Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant.

Figure 33. Tucker, M. (2022). Biological Correlate Analysis. [Data Set]. Page 261.

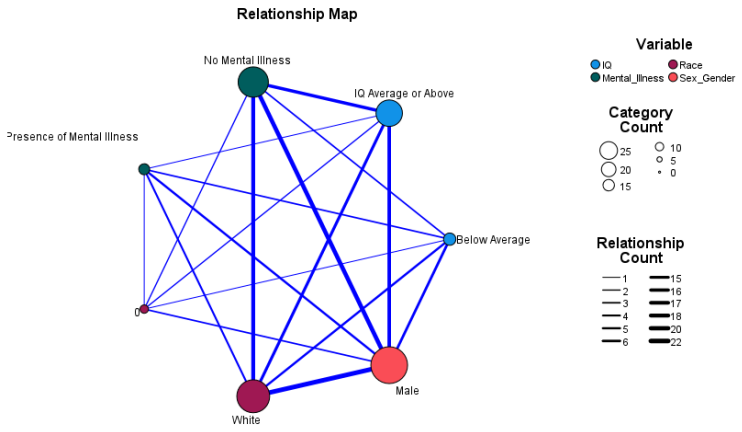

Figure 34. Tucker, M. (2022). Relationship Map: Biological Correlates. [Data Set]. Page 264.

Correlations

		Married	Employment	Relgious_Exposure	Family_Dysfunction	Siblings
Married	Pearson Correlation	1	.064	.431*	-.043	.346
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.772	.045	.849	.135
	N	25	23	22	22	20
Employment	Pearson Correlation	.064	1	-.023	.085	-.055
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.772		.924	.713	.827
	N	23	23	20	21	18
Relgious_Exposure	Pearson Correlation	.431*	-.023	1	.242	.310
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.045	.924		.303	.226
	N	22	20	22	20	17
Family_Dysfunction	Pearson Correlation	-.043	.085	.242	1	-.169
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.849	.713	.303		.517
	N	22	21	20	22	17
Siblings	Pearson Correlation	.346	-.055	.310	-.169	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.135	.827	.226	.517	
	N	20	18	17	17	20

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Figure 35. Tucker, M. (2022). Significant Life Course Causational Relationship. [Data Set]. Page 264.

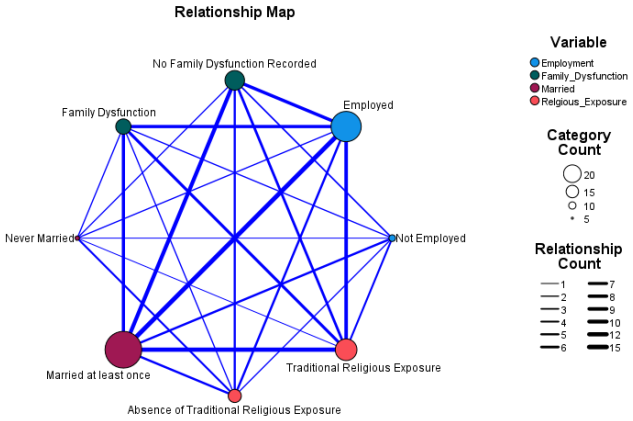

Figure 36. Tucker, M. (2022). Relationship Map: Life Course Causational Relationship. [Data Set]. Page 265.

Correlations

		Divorce	Urbanicity	Education	Poverty_to_Income
Divorce	Pearson Correlation	1	.174	.252	.250
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.440	.270	.261
	N	22	22	21	22
Urbanicity	Pearson Correlation	.174	1	.193	.044
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.440		.366	.835
	N	22	25	24	25
Education	Pearson Correlation	.252	.193	1	-.243
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.270	.366		.253
	N	21	24	24	24
Poverty_to_Income	Pearson Correlation	.250	.044	-.243	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.261	.835	.253	
	N	22	25	24	25

Figure 37. Tucker, M. (2022). Less Significant Life Course Causational Relationship. [Data Set]. Page 266.

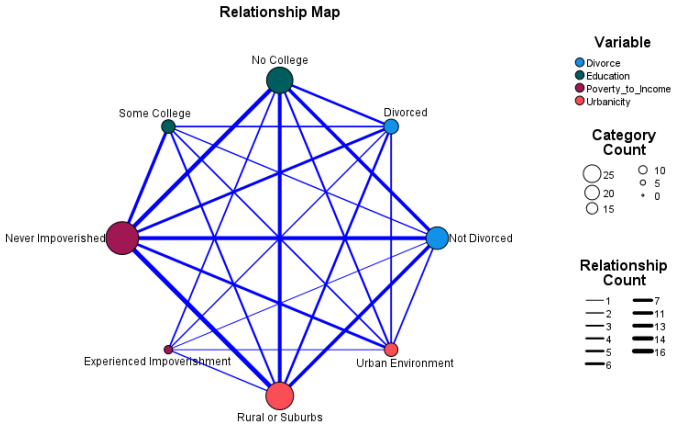

Figure 38. Tucker, M. (2022). Relationship Map: Less Significant Life Course. [Data Set]. Page 268.

Correlations

		Peer_Group_Involvement	Age_at_Radicalization	Simultaneous_Memberships
Peer_Group_Involvement	Pearson Correlation	1	.000	.514**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		1.000	.009
	N	25	25	25
Age_at_Radicalization	Pearson Correlation	.000	1	-.129
	Sig. (2-tailed)	1.000		.540
	N	25	25	25
Simultaneous_Memberships	Pearson Correlation	.514**	-.129	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.540	
	N	25	25	25

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Figure 39. Tucker, M. (2022). Significant of Radicalization Correlates (Version 1). [Data Set]. Page 269.

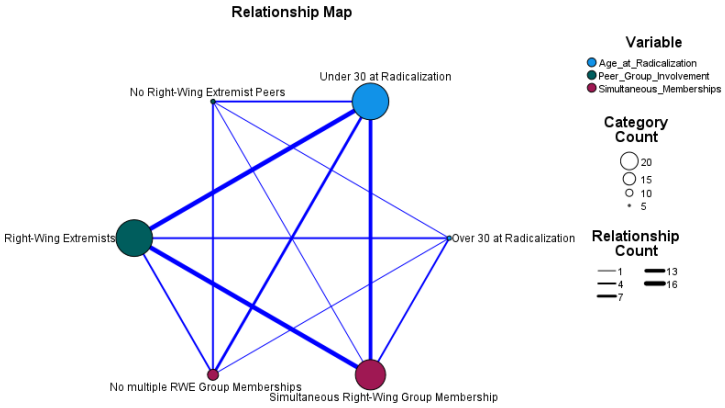

Figure 40. Tucker, M. (2022). Relationship Map: Radicalization Correlates (Version 1). [Data Set]. Page 269.

Correlations

		Veteran_Status	Combat_Experience	Poltical_History
Veteran_Status	Pearson Correlation	1	.688**	.140
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<.001	.504
	N	25	25	25
Combat_Experience	Pearson Correlation	.688**	1	.217
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001		.298
	N	25	25	25
Poltical_History	Pearson Correlation	.140	.217	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.504	.298	
	N	25	25	25

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Figure 41. Tucker, M. (2022). Significant of Radicalization Correlates (Version 2). [Data Set]. Page 272.

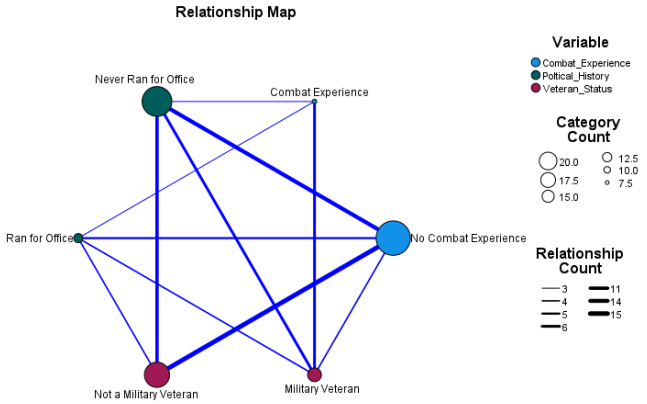

Figure 41. Tucker, M. (2022). Relationship Map: Radicalization Correlates (Version 2). [Data Set]. Page 272.

Correlations

		AntiLGBTQ	Islamophobia	Differential_Sex_Roles	Xenophobia
AntiLGBTQ	Pearson Correlation	1	.552**	-.089	.468*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.005	.672	.018
	N	25	24	25	25
Islamophobia	Pearson Correlation	.552**	1	-.169	.845**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.005		.430	<.001
	N	24	24	24	24
Differential_Sex_Roles	Pearson Correlation	-.089	-.169	1	-.190
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.672	.430		.362
	N	25	24	25	25
Xenophobia	Pearson Correlation	.468*	.845**	-.190	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.018	<.001	.362	
	N	25	24	25	25

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Figure 42. Tucker, M. (2022). Correlation of Basic Right-Wing Ideologies (Version 1). [Data Set].

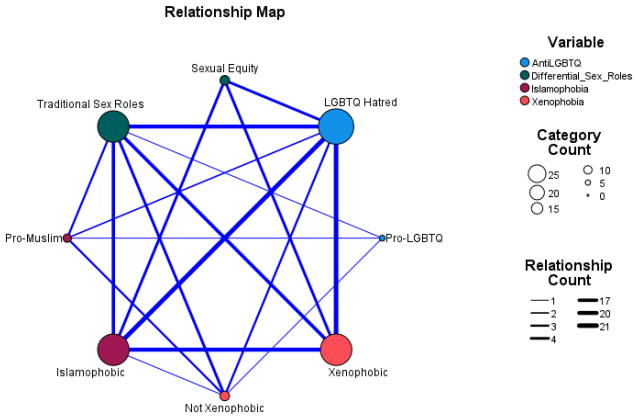

Figure 43. Tucker, M. (2022). Relationship Map: Basic Right-Wing Ideologies (Version 1). [Data Set]. Page 275.

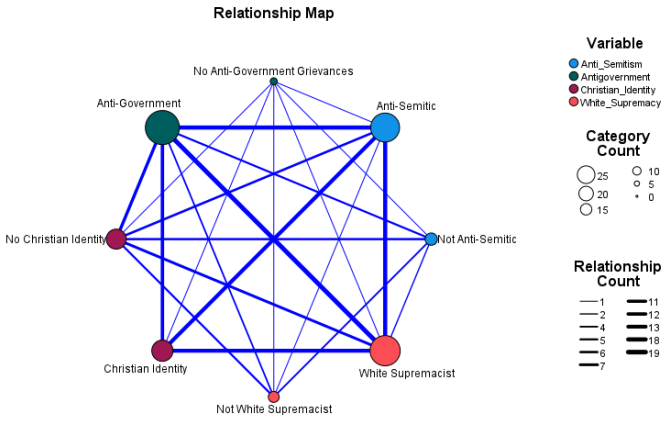

Figure 44. Tucker, M. (2022). Relationship Map: Advanced Right-Wing Ideologies (Version 1). [Data Set]. Page 276.

Test Subjects	Biological Correlates	Life Course Correlates	Radicalization Involvement	Right-Wing Extremist Ideologies	Advanced Right-Wing Extremist Ideologies
		Married (20)			
		Employed (17)			
		Traditional Religious Exposure (13)	Peer Involvement (20)		Anti-Government Grievances (23)
	Sex/Gender (25) Male	Family Dysfunction (10)	Radicalized <30 Years of Age (20)	Anti-LGBTQ+ (24)	White Supremacy (20)
Right-Wing Extremists (25)	Race (22) White	Siblings (10)	Simultaneous Memberships (17)	Islamophobic (21)	Anti-Semitic (19)
	IQ Average or Above (17)	Divorce (8)	Veteran Status (10)	Different Roles Based on Sex (21)	Christian Identity (13)
	Presence of Mental Illness (5)	Urbanicity (7)	Politically Active (8)	Xenophobia (21)	Odinism (2)
		College Educated (7)	Combat Experience (6)		
		Experienced Poverty (3)			
		Drug Use (3)			

Figure 45. Tucker, M. (2022). Categorized Significance Chart. (Version 1). [Data Set]. Page 278.

List of Abbreviations

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives (ATF)

Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC)

Zionist Occupied Government (ZOG)

Covenant, Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA)

Ku Klux Klan (KKK)

Christian Defense League (CDL)

Anti-Defamation League (ADL)

Militia of Montana (MOM)

Bureau of Land Management (BLM)

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Overview

The January 6, 2021, insurrection in Washington, D.C., has not only brought right-wing extremism out of the shadows of American politics but has highlighted the need for further research on right-wing extremist and their use of violence (Walter, 2022). Research has shown that many right-wing extremist groups have inserted the tenets of their ideology into the mainstream political conversation (SPLC, 2022a; Mudde, 2019; Levitas, 2002). Right-wing extremism rejects the democratic process, pluralism, and equality to build a nation where inequity is a natural occurrence and the government is there to protect the rights of the native, white majority (SPLC, 2022a; Mudde, 2019; Levitas, 2002). Instead of embracing democracy, right-wing extremists prefer politically motivated violence and authoritarianism over the democratic process currently used in the United States.

Most government funded terrorism-related research supported by the focuses on the group or organizational levels, not the individual (Stern, 2014). Sageman (2014) submits that the world of academia, despite increased levels of government funding since the events of September 11th, 2001, is no closer to answering the question of why individuals engage in right-wing extremist violence. Radil and Castan-Pinos (2019) insist that research on terrorism focuses on the group level and that decisions to commit acts of violence form at the individual level. Crenshaw (2000) supports Radil and Castan-Pino's research indicating that the individual decides to employ violence in support of their ideology, not the group.

When extremist behavior is viewed on the individual level, the answer to why someone decides on a particular life course is difficult to decipher (Stern, 2014; Crenshaw, 2000). When determining an individual's predisposition to the use of extremist violence, group milieu and social status is a vital factor that affects decision-making; however, the decision to engage in political violence is that of the individuals, not the group (Crenshaw, 2000). Other events that occur during a person's life course will act as primary determining factors as to whether that individual commits to the use of violence or not (Stern, 2014; Crenshaw, 2000).

Regardless of how technologically advanced they are, countries that are in a post-conflict state experience a sharp rise in violence within their borders (Suhrke & Berdal, 2013). This level of violence is increased further by the formation of extremist groups and counter groups pushing a specific political agenda (Suhrke & Berdal, 2013). Belew (2018) suggests that the rise of violence within the United States doubled after the cessation of the Vietnam War. This increase in radicalization and violence in post-conflict societies adds to the significance of research that focuses on the individual right-wing extremist decision-making process.

This study examines Rapoport's (2017) Terrorism Wave Theory, which suggests that a new wave of terrorism is being formed. Kaplan (2007) suggests that this new, fifth wave of terrorism will have specific characteristics that cause the actors to use high levels of violence. Additionally, Kaplan (2007) suggests that terrorist groups will form from small, localized cells, making it difficult for law enforcement agencies to identify and infiltrate their ranks. This research is essential to law enforcement agencies charged with using their limited resources to counter acts of terrorism from these tribal groups. Pape (2022) indicates that right-wing

extremism is supported by an increasing number of Americans who now measure their memberships in the millions.

The research will start with a biographical study, *ex-post*, into the life course of twenty-five right-wing extremists. Next, the biographical study will focus on thirty biological and circumstantial correlates that affect individual decision-making. Finally, the study will answer the question, what are the correlates of right-wing extremism that causes the person to decide to use violence in the name of their ideology. The outcome of this research will assist law enforcement, the intelligence community, and the judicial system in determining an individual right-wing extremist's risk to the nation.

Background

The United States has officially ended the War on Terror with the evacuation of Afghanistan. Regardless of their geographic location, economic condition, or form of political governance, post-conflict countries experience a sharp rise in violence (Suhrke & Berdal, 2013; Belew, 2018; Murthy & Lakshminarayana, 2006; Steenkamp, 2005). Smaller, more hardline radicalized groups typically begin to develop (Boyle, 2014). The growth of a radicalized organization causes the development of counter-groups such as ANTIFA (Kaplan, 2000).

Belew (2018) indicates a widespread view among Vietnam veterans that the government betrayed them during the war. This view led to the expansion of the anti-government militia movement (Belew, 2018). Steenkamp (2005) argues that the alarming levels of violence in post-conflict societies, now in a state of rebuilding and peace, suggest that a cycle of violence exists

that is not just politically motivated. The Global War on Terror created 3 million the United States military veterans with a median age of 37 years old, leaving a large pool of applicants trained and experienced in using violence (Shane, 2021).

Rapoport's (2017) Wave Theory of Terrorism suggests that terrorism comes into existence in unique, generational waves. Each wave is distinct yet built upon the preceding waves. Rapoport (2017) identified the first wave of terrorism as the Anarchist wave that existed from 1878–1919. The first wave began in Russia, quickly spread globally, and is characterized by political assassinations. Rapoport's (2017) second wave of terrorism, coined the Anti-Colonial Wave, is characterized by weaker nations searching for sovereignty and self-rule. Diaspora support from the populace of other nations was vital to the movements occurring in third-world nations (Kaplan, 2016).

The second wave of terrorism began to ebb in the 1960s, giving way to the New Left Wave of terrorism. Again, many terrorist organizations sprang up with the help of communist Russia and embraced an anti-American sentiment (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004). The third wave of terrorism is kidnappings and airplane hijackings (Kaplan, 2016; Rapoport, 2017). The fourth wave of terrorism is called the Religious Wave because Islamic terrorism is at the center of the fourth wave (Kaplan, 2016). The actors within the fourth wave hoped to create a powerful conglomerate within the Middle East able to counter the power of the United States; however, those dreams faded with the American destruction of the Islamic State (Kaplan, 2016).

Delegitimization theory argues that each group has an initial conflict with an "inferior" group and a later, different conflict with the government (Sprinzak, 1995). New groups begin to radicalize themselves by focusing on other out-groups, usually minorities, that they feel threaten their privileges (Sprinzak, 1995). Initially, violence occurs in hate crimes rather than acts of terrorism (Sprinzak, 1995); however, when the group ideology shifts to the belief that the government is not properly using its authority to protect them, antigovernment hate ensues. Belew (2018) suggests that white power activities increasingly saw the state as their enemy. Right-wing extremist ideology can include the hatred of specific minority groups, anti-government fervor, the adoption of racist ideologies, or a combination of grievances and conspiracy theories centered against multiple out-groups (Mudde, 2019; Levitas, 2002).

Pape (2022) suggests that the January 6, 2021, insurrection has revealed that right-wing extremist ideology has become mainstream. Additionally, a study by the Chicago Project on Security and Threats (CPOST) suggests that there are 21 million Americans who believe that Biden is an illegitimate President and that the use of violence is necessary for restoring Trump to the White House (Pape, 2022). Pape (2022) suggests that these Americans are active and dangerous, with two million having attended a right-wing protest in the last twelve months. Additionally, according to Pape (2022), a large contingent of these Americans own firearms- approximately eight million- and have served in the military.

Research suggests that social media platforms allow homophily by ideology, acting as echo chambers for radicalized ideologies (Boutyline & Willer, 2016). Additionally, right-wing extremist groups use traditional websites, social media services, and social media outlets to

recruit new members predisposed to extremist ideologies (Boutyline & Willer, 2016). Belew (2018) suggests right-wing extremist groups have turned their recruitment efforts toward trained military veterans to increase their capacity to commit violence.

The FBI must walk a tightrope as it investigates right-wing extremists initially protected by the 1st Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (Confronting the Rise of Domestic Terrorism, 2019). According to Assistant Director McGarrity (2018), the FBI uses every available investigatory tool to ensure the safety of the American public and the offender's Constitutional Rights by providing a proven methodology that identifies specific correlates related to right-wing extremism. As a result, the FBI will better understand which investigatory subjects are predisposed to committing violent acts and which subjects still embrace a peaceful democratic procedure (McGarrity, 2018).

The threat of right-wing extremism to the country's security was on display during the events of January 6, 2021, when large crowds stormed the Capitol to derail the certification of a legitimate election. Moreover, Pape (2022) suggests that right-wing extremist ideologies have become mainstream in the Republic Party, resulting in a fissure between the two major political parties that has the potential to spiral into acts of domestic terrorism.

Situation of Self

Walter (2022) suggests that rifts in political ideology within the United States have the potential of ending in a second Civil War or the Balkanization of the United States into two separate countries. Maitra (2021) suggests that increased radicalization, the use of politically

toxic rhetoric, and widespread use of violence that goes unanswered by the criminal justice system increases the risk to American social cohesion. Under such conditions, extremist groups form and are met by counter-groups that drag unwilling participants into the fray. Additionally, domestic political violence in the United States has historically victimized the innocent. Therefore, there must be a motivation to identify and stop right-wing extremists predisposed to committing extreme acts of violence before they strike the public.

Problem Statement

This study aims to identify the biological and circumstantial correlates of right-wing extremism at the individual level. The first problem that exists is that most of the current research is conducted at the organizational or group levels; however, the decision to commit an act of violence is determined by the individual (Crenshaw, 2000; Stern, 2014). In addition, due to the difficulty of gaining access to first-hand official information concerning right-wing extremists who have committed terrorism, this research uses secondary, indirect sources (LeFree & Dugan, 2007).

The correlates extracted *ex-post* from the life course of the twenty-five right-wing extremist subjects will be used to create a measurement model of significance that will assist in data analysis. Additionally, this study will construct relationship maps to assist in evaluating and analyzing the data. Finally, this research asks the question, what are the biological and circumstantial correlates present in the life course of a right-wing extremist that causes them to decide to commit acts of violence?

The Purpose Statement

This biographical study aims to reveal and understand the correlates that exist in the life course of twenty-five known right-wing extremists who committed and supported acts of violence within the United States. Biological and circumstantial correlates are generally defined as characteristics and events that occurred within the subjects' life course, which have a relationship to each other and have led the person to use violence. Correlation research design guides a study by investigating the relationship between two or more variables. The correlation between the variables can be positive, having both variables change in a similar direction; negative, where the variables change in opposing directions; or zero, where the variables have no relationship.

Significance of the Study

Kaplan (2007) suggests that the fifth wave of terrorism is formed by tribal, localized groups using extreme forms of violence to their political advantage. Because of the deep divisions in United States politics, Kaplan's (2007) fifth wave theory suggests that American right-wing extremists will target members of the left. Additionally, Countries that engage in warfare experience increased violence throughout their domestic population (Suhrke & Berdal, 2013; Archer & Gartner, 1976; Boyle, 2014).

Research conducted by Archer and Gartner (1976) suggests that homicide rates in post-war societies increase drastically and, in some cases, double. Murthy and Lakshminarayana

(2006) suggest that all members of society are affected by the war, not only the returning soldiers. Belew (2018) indicates that violent crime doubled after the Vietnam War.

Political parties within the United States are becoming more extreme, creating a physical showdown between right-wing extremists and counter-groups that form to address their activities (Walter, 2022; Crenshaw, 2000). The United States' global war on terror has left the country in a state of rising post-conflict violence. Additionally, the war has created a class of Americans competent and experienced in committing acts of violence. Pape's (2022) suggestion that right-wing extremism is becoming mainstream and has attracted twenty-one million followers suggests that federal law enforcement is vastly outmatched and unable to investigate even a small percentage of the threats posed by these groups. This research will identify and separate high-risk individual right-wing extremists from those that do not embrace the use of violence over the democratic process.

Research Questions

Schmid (2014) suggests that a critical aspect of a person's decision to engage in political violence centers around their level of radicalization. McCauley and Moskalenko (2011) utilize a biographical study to identify elements in a terrorist's life course to highlight the radicalization process. McCauley and Moskalenko (2011) argue that radicalization on the individual level can occur due to a single defining moment or perceived injustice. Revenge against a single perpetrator can turn into a grievance against an entire class of people (McCauley & Moskalenko,

2011). This study will identify historical triggering events that increased right-wing extremist activities.

Right-wing extremists can join a political or social group based on the group's grievances without having any specific harm caused to them personally (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2011). Individual right-wing extremists operate in a social environment that helps form and maintain their ideology (Kaplan, 1995). Right-wing extremists join different far-right groups simultaneously or at different stages of their radicalization, making it difficult for researchers to zero in on one specific ideology that leads to violence (Kaplan, 1995; Atkins, 2011). This study will ask, what is the effect of group milieu on the individual decision-making process? Additionally, does membership in multiple right-wing extremist groups simultaneously synergistically affect the individual's choice to commit violence? Analyzing the individual's life course is vital in determining what factors affected their decision to commit a violent act. The presence or absence of the correlates within the matrix will answer the question, what biological and circumstantial correlations in right-wing extremists occurring during their life course have caused them to commit acts of extreme political or social violence?

This study will reveal the presence or absence of thirty correlates with the life course of the test subjects. In addition, this study will create a measurement model using IBM's SPSS software to answer the question of what level of magnitude each correlates commands on the individual's decision-making process. Finally, network analysis will be conducted on the data to determine the relationship between correlates.

Definition of Terms

Terrorism- The use or threatened use of violence to pursue a political, social, or religious objective.

Radical Right- An individual or group that holds far-right ideologies yet still believes in the democratic system for electing government officials (Bjorgo, 2014).

Right-Wing extremism- an individual or group that holds far-right ideologies legitimizes the use of violence (over the democratic process) to further their political agenda and embraces an authoritarian form of government (Bjorgo, 2014).

Alt-Right or Far-Right Ideology- Is a group of ideas shared by most right-wing extremist groups, including authoritarianism, anti-communism, anti-democratic, militant nationalism, nativism, protectionism, and the notion that violence is legitimate to further their right-wing agenda (Bjorgo, 2014).

Anarchism: believed that the state was the source of societal evil and injustice.

*Anti-Colonial*ism: Third-world countries wanting complete sovereignty and independence from first-world imperialists.

Left-Wing Radicalism: The idea of replacing capitalism with socialism or communism and redistributing a nation's wealth.

Nativism- A central ideological factor of right-wing extremism featuring a combination of nationalism and xenophobia (Mudde, 2019).

Ethnopluralism- The goal of nativism is an ethnocracy, whereas citizenship is based on ethnicity, and immigrants that fail to assimilate are immediately expelled (Mudde, 2019).

Fascism- Right-wing ideology embraces the idea that all state power rests in a single leader who requires absolute loyalty from the citizenry (Mudde, 2019). Likewise, all corporations are subservient to the central government (Mudde, 2019).

Tribalism- Localized groups linked together by blood ties, communities, social and economic factors, or shared ideology, usually having a centralized leadership.

Summary

Within the United States, right-wing extremist ideologies are becoming more mainstream (Pape, 2022). By projecting their ideology to mainstream conservatives, right-wing extremist groups have drastically increased their ability to recruit new members. The global War on Terror has left the United States in a state of post-conflict characterized by increased violence. The war has increased the commitment and capabilities of many right-wing extremist groups. Kaplan's (2007) fifth wave of terrorism theory suggests that the war, including the United States, is entering a new era of terrorism characterized by its use of extreme violence committed by small, localized tribal groups against political rivals.

The tribal, localized cells in Kaplan's (2007) Fifth Wave Theory suggest that right-wing extremist groups will be structured using local assets, making it difficult for law enforcement to identify and infiltrate (Beam, 1992). Pape (2022) indicates that right-wing extremist groups have attracted a massive number of supporters, making the idea of law enforcement intervention without risk assessment impossible. Crenshaw (2000) suggests that group ideology plays an important, secondary role in the individual's decision-making process; however, events and occurrences within the individual's life course are more vital in directing the individual's decision to use violence or not. This study will identify the presence or absence of thirty correlates within the life course of twenty-five right-wing extremists. Additionally, the study will gauge the significance of each correlate on the individual's decision-making process.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

The research in this study will focus on the life course events that have affected the decision-making process for twenty-five right-wing extremists. Group ideology is not a vital correlate in the decision-making process; however, it is a factor in molding individual ideology (Crenshaw, 2000). Because group ideology significantly affects individual ideology and decision-making, this research analyzes the evolution of right-wing extremism ideology from a historical perspective, starting in the post-Civil War era and moving forward until the present. Kaplan's (2007) Fifth Wave Theory suggests that the identification and profile of a modern-day

right-wing extremist will assist law enforcement in focusing their limited resources on the proper individuals and groups.

The review of the current related literature on right-wing extremism suggests that a biographical *ex-post* study on the life course of known right-wing extremists can be used to identify correlates related to the subject's decision-making process (Stern, 2014; Crenshaw, 2000). The subjects utilized within the study were identified as essential figures within the right-wing extremist movement by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), academic researchers, and respected journalists. All the subjects are American, live in the United States, and operated within the country.

Theoretical Framework

Biographical research studies have been undertaken in diverse areas, including critical race theory, health studies, management and business, identity theory, feminism, and case studies on sexuality (Bornat, 2008). Bornat (2008) suggests that all biographical research focused on meaning and accounting confirms and complicates the understanding of the emerging social processes and relationships throughout the person's life course. Through modern technology, the researcher no longer must sit with an apprehensive subject to elicit accurate information to reconstruct factors that existed during their life course (Bornat, 2008). Instead, a subject's information is now memorialized on many electronic platforms that capture their words, body language, and facial expressions (Bornat, 2008).

By its very nature, a biographical study is all-encompassing and encourages a deep understanding of the factors that influence a subject's decisions (Stern, 2014; Bornat, 2008). Actors are profoundly affected by the social groups that have left an undeniable mark on their socio-psychological makeup (Kerodal, Freilich, Chermak & Suttmoeller, 2015; Bjorgo, 1995; Kaplan, 1995; Stern, 2014). Creating a biographical reconstruction of the subject's life course may be possible to understand why and how right-wing extremists decide to commit violent political attacks (Stern, 2014).

Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford (1950) state, "each variable is but an abstraction when lifted out of the total context in which it operates" (p. 31). Individuals can only be studied if an analysis of their components is made, and those components are judged in relationship to one another (Adorno et al., 1950). When using a biographical study to uncover significant correlations in each subject, the components of an individual must be unavoidably generalized for analysis (Adorno et al., 1950). In this study, data sets lifted from the life course events of the test subjects are compared to the significance of the correlate in the public domain.

Adorno et al. (1950) argue that the benefit of having identified "cases" or individual subjects in advance allows researchers to list possible correlates in "concrete terms" (p. 33). Adorno et al. (1950) chose specific subjects in their research because of their highly violent behavior and are not the typical subject in the general population. Mimicking Adorno et al. (1950), the test subjects analyzed in this study are atypical right-wing extremists known for their violent rhetoric and behaviors. Additionally, Adorno et al. (1950) suggest that purposely adding

women to the subject list of subjects, regardless of their lack of extreme, violent behavior, will cause the study to be imprecise, lengthy, and unfocused.

Adorno et al. (1950) provided a survey to a broader array of possible subjects, placed its subject on a generalized authoritative personality scale, and selected subjects to be further interviewed based on their responses to the survey. Only subjects that scored very high and very low on the survey questions were interviewed (Adorno et al., 1950). Because most of the subjects in this study are deceased, killed by law enforcement, or servicing lengthy prison terms, it is impractical to follow this modeling. Kridel (2022) suggests that a reconstruction of a test subject's life course using indirect information is necessary when other accepted forms of research are impossible.

This study will use open-source documentation to reconstruct the life course of twenty-five right-wing extremists. The study will mirror much of the research techniques previously used by Adorno et al. (1950) by only analyzing the life course events of subjects at the extremes of far-right ideology. Subjects will be selected accordingly, based on their extreme behavior, use of political violence, and the amount of open-source data available for the study's biographical requirements. The study will extract biological and circumstantial correlates by analyzing the subjects' biographies. The following correlates will be reviewed and listed in a matrix:

- Age
- Sex
- Race

- Intelligence Quotient (I.Q.)
- Presence of Mental Illness
- Employment
- Education
- Peer Group Involvement
- Family Dysfunction
- Urbanicity
- Simultaneous Memberships
- Religious Exposure
- Veteran Status
- Combat Veteran
- Drug Usage
- Marital Status
- White Supremacy Ideology
- Antigovernment Ideology
- Anti-Semitic Ideology
- Christian Identity

- Odinism
- Poverty to Income Ratio (Poverty)
- Misogyny
- Divorce
- Islamophobia
- Anti-LGBTQ+ Rights
- Political Activity
- Criminal History
- Xenophobia
- Presence of Siblings

The subject's birth year will also be included in the matrix to provide a historical perspective. The life courses of the following right-wing extremists will be examined during this study:

1. Louis Beam Jr. (Leaderless Resistance)

2. William Potter Gale (Posse Comitatus)

3. Timothy McVeigh (Oklahoma City Bomber)

4. John Trochmann (Militia of Montana)

5. Matthew Hale (Church of the Creator)

6. Robert Jay Matthews (Leader of The Order)

7. Gordan Kahl (Posse Comitatus)

8. Richard Girnt Butler (Neo-Nazi)

9. Robert Gregory Bowers (Tree of Life Shooter)

10. Robert Lewis Dear Jr. (Planned Parenthood Shooter)

11. Steven Carrillo (Boogaloo Movement)

12. James Alex Fields, Jr. (White Supremacist and neo-Nazi)

13. Ivan Harrison Hunter (Boogaloo Movement)

14. Patrick Wood Crusius (El Paso, Texas Shooting)

15. David Lane (The Order)

16. Richard Wayne Snell (The Covenant, The Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA)

17. Randal Claude "Randy" Weaver (Ruby Ridge)

18. William Luther Pierce (The Author of the Turner Diaries)

19. Elmer Stuart Rhodes (The Oath Keepers)

20. Michael Brian Vanderboegh (Three Percenters)

21. Terry Lynn Nichols (Oklahoma City Bombing Accomplice)

22. Robert Boliver DePugh (Minutemen Militia)

23. Thomas Linton Metzger (Aryan Brotherhood/ Neo-Nazi)

24. Wesley Albert Swift (Christian Identity)

25. Enrique Tarrio (Proud Boys)

This research aims to identify which correlates hold a vital role in the decision-making process of the right-wing extremist considering the use of violence. First, a Measurement Model will be constructed to reveal the significance of each correlation using IBM's SPSS software. Then, once the Measurement Model is created, bivariant correlation analysis will be used to determine the relationship of each categorized correlate within the study. Relationship mapping will be constructed to give a visual representation of these relationships.

Related Literature

The review of the research includes the evolution of different right-wing extremist ideologies. Individuals can accept various right-wing extremist beliefs or simultaneously embrace multiple ideologies. For example, within the white power movement, this study reveals that adherents initially saw other races as inferior and meant to be ruled; however, as white groups and individuals attempted to increase black social status and wealth, they also became

targets of white hatred. Additionally, anti-Semitism creates conspiracy theories against other perceived enemies, such as the federal government.

The evolution of right-wing extremism continues the emphasis on racial superiority, anti-Semitism, and anti-government grievances as it began focusing on anti-union and anti-communist movements (Levitas, 2002). Right-wing conspiracy theories suggest that a global Jewish conspiracy is occurring as the Jews have infiltrated the American government, are working for the benefit of foreign actors, and are intent on replacing the white race through immigration (Levitas, 2002). Individual right-wing extremists adhere to Christian Identity as a religion to provide them with the moral and ethical support to subjugate out-groups (Kaplan, 1997).

In the modern era, triggering events attract the attention of right-wing extremists who concoct complex conspiracies to support their increasingly dangerous ideologies. The militia movement gained popularity after the failed Vietnam War (Belew, 2018). Right-wing extremists begin to mix ideologies after meeting in person at the Aryan Nation compound in Hayden Lakes, Idaho (Levitas, 2002).

Rapoport (2017) suggests that historically, terrorism trends exist in unique waves with unique characteristics. Rapoport (2017) suggests that each wave is generational, and as the preceding wave begins to subside, another wave begins to gain momentum. Kaplan (2007) suggests that the current wave of global terrorism, coined the Religious Wave, is beginning to

ebb, making way for a New Tribal Wave of Terrorism. The Tribal Wave is characterized by the extreme use of political violence and rape committed by localized, tribal groups of individuals.

Right-Wing Extremism (1865-1914)

White Supremacy/White Power Movement

White supremacy ideology argues that white people are superior and should dominate society at the expense of all other racial groups (Levitas, 2002). In addition, the ideology of the white supremacy movement supports the idea of the sovereignty of the white Anglo-Saxon people, who have natural rights that eclipse those of the racially diverse government (Levitas, 2002). Finally, members of the White Power movement believe that a primary function of a legitimate government is to support white privilege and protect white citizens from non-whites (Levitas, 2002).

White supremacists believe that blacks breed crime and are less intelligent than whites, and couples that engage in interracial relationships are "race traitors" (Dees & Corcoran, 1997; Levitas, 2002). White supremacists target the Jewish population, suggesting that Jews are clannish, corrupt, and greedy (Levitas, 2002). White supremacists that also adhere to Christian Identity embrace the idea that Jews are the children of Satan and worthy of extermination (Dees & Corcoran, 1997; Levitas, 2002; Kaplan, 1997). The modern white supremacy movement's ideology suggests that the United States government, controlled by the Jews, will give up its sovereignty to an evil cabal of the wealthy elite (Dees & Corcoran, 1997; Levitas, 2002). White supremacists suggest that a New World Order will be created to subjugate the American people

and that every white person's duty is to take up arms against the tyrannical, Jewish-controlled government (Dees & Corcoran, 1997; Levitas, 2002).

The white power movement is a consortium of groups and sub-groups who identify as neo-Nazi, Klansmen, racist skinheads, observance of Christian Identity, and some militia movement members who seek to violently overthrow the United States federal government (Belew & Gutierrez, 2021). Belew and Gutierrez (2021) suggest that specific phrases are synonymous with the white power movement, such as white wellness, white advocate, pro-white, white rights advocate, and related terms. White supremacy is an interwoven set of personal beliefs, ideology, history, and religion (Belew & Gutierrez, 2021). Scholars have explored the idea that there exists intersectionality in many people that allows them to be victimized for their race and then victimized again for other self-identifiable attributes such as their sexual orientation and gender (Belew & Gutierrez, 2021). Individuals who adhere to white supremacy ideologies can be violent or nonviolent; individuals can profit from a white supremacy system without being part of a white supremacy movement or holding white supremacist beliefs (Belew & Gutierrez, 2021).

A primary characteristic of the white power movement is its extreme anti-immigration stance (Lee, 2000). Neo-Nazis, like all white supremacy groups, have adopted an ideology that embraces anti-immigration and has morphed further to become anti-communist and anti-liberal (Lee, 2000). In addition, high levels of xenophobia and extreme nationalism among members of the white supremacist movement have developed into nativism (Mudde, 2019).

Ku Klux Klan.

By the end of the Civil War, the south was leveled to the conditions of the frontier (Wade, 1987). Although the President granted pardons for many of the confederate militaries, southern institutions that were used to elevate the status of white people were abolished by the Thirteenth Amendment (Wade, 1987). Southern households experienced the mass exodus of their former slaves; many headed toward the northern states (Wade, 1987; Du Bois, Bois, & Burghardt, 1996). The white elite, former slaveholders, no longer enjoyed the high, unchallenged position on the antebellum socioeconomic ladder.

To assist the displaced former slaves, the northern states created the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands, also referred to as the Freedmen's Bureau (Du Bois, Bois, & Burghardt, 1996). The Freedmen Bureau, despised by the southern elite, acted as the ward of the newly freed black population (Du Bois, Bois, & Burghardt, 1996). The Freedmen's Bureau was able to create black schools, acted as an arbitrator for black labor, demanded equitable pay for formerly enslaved people, created hospitals, and fed 21 million people (History Editors, 2022; Wade, 1987).

Almost immediately following the creation of the Freemen's Bureau, the reports of freed blacks being subjected to a reign of terror by wandering gangs of white guerrilla raiders began to flood into the Bureau (Wade, 1987; Du Bois, Bois, & Burghardt, 1996). The formerly enslaved population fell victim to violence on a previously unseen level (Wade, 1987; Du Bois, Bois, & Burghardt, 1996). State laws were enacted to reduce the black laborers to serfs, slaves of the

state, who had no legal recourse within the state judicial institutions (Du Bois, Bois, & Burghardt, 1996). By 1872, Congress had dissolved the Freemen's Bureau under the pressure of southern politicians (History Editors, 2022).

Southern whites believed that freed blacks should continue to act as subserviently as they did under the antebellum slave codes (Wade, 1987). Social changes, such as a black man hunting or saluting a southern white woman, shocked the white elites, who still believed they were the white master class (Wade, 1987). Among whites, southern women are considered inaccessible to black men and act as a surety for perpetuating the pure white race (Wade, 1987). In the south, women were meant to be protected from black men (Wade, 1987).

While in existence, the Freemen's Bureau was able to feed millions of people, erect numerous schools, build hospitals and provide medical care, negotiate labor contracts, help formerly enslaved people legalize their marriages, and find lost family members (History Editors, 2022). However, unfortunately, under the shadow of the Freemen's Bureau, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) began to develop (History Editors, 2022). Southern elites saw a need for the KKK to counter the radical reconstruction initiatives forced on the south by the federal government (Wade, 1987).

The KKK was founded in the town of Pulaski, Giles County, Tennessee, in late 1865 by six returning confederate soldiers (Wade, 1987). Before the Civil War, the Giles County region was a central hub for slave trading, and nearly half the population was black; however, after the Civil War, the southern economy was in shambles, and employment was non-existent (Wade,

1987). Six former confederate soldiers decided to form a club and suggested that the club be known as "the circle." However, the group translated the *circle* into Greek, "*kuklos"* (Wade, 1987). Another member added the Scottish word "*Klan"* into the group's name; hence, the Ku Klux Klan was born (Wade, 1987).

From the start, KKK members attacked formerly enslaved people by making nocturnal visits to their residences and confiscating firearms (Wade, 1987). Groups of self-described regulators, bands of young white former confederate soldiers who were already patrolling the countryside tormenting and victimizing black citizens, quickly gained Klan membership (Wade, 1987). Becoming more organized, Klan leadership designed a national hierarchy, heightened secrecy, and developed political aims; additionally, Klan members began to dress up in more elaborate customs to protect their anonymity and to spark additional fear in the black community (Wade, 1987). The Klan aided the local gentry by attempting to re-establish and maintain the racial hierarchy that was in place prior to the Civil War (Baker, 2007).

Protestantism views labor as a dignified way for people to climb the social ladder without preconceived barriers such as class affiliation (Baker, 2007). Nevertheless, the former enslavers continued to see formerly enslaved people as cheap, unorganized labor. Furthermore, the Enforcement Acts passage proved that the Washington legislatures were choosing the black race over the white race, disrespecting white privilege, and ridiculing southern citizens (Baker, 2007).

A primary purpose of the KKK was to prevent the reconstruction efforts imposed on the southern states by the northern Civil War winners (Froner, 2011). As a result, Washington's

efforts to combat racially motivated violence and promote the Civil Rights of the formerly enslaved people were immediately subverted by Klan activities (Froner, 2011).

The Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution guaranteed due process and protection under the law for all people, regardless of class status (Froner, 2011). However, Klan violence was used to suppress the black vote and led to the passage of the Ku Klux Klan Act, 1871. The President now had the right to intervene and protect the four million formerly enslaved people and their white supporters from extralegal violence and terrorism committed by the Ku Klux Klan (Froner, 2011). Froner (2011) credits the Ku Klux Klan Act with breaking the Klan's use of widespread violence, especially in South Carolina, where over 2000 Klansmen fled the state (SPLC, 2022b; Frontier, 2011).

Christian Identity

Religion is a significant component of the White supremacy movement (Kaplan, 1997). Stemming from British Israelism (Anglo-Israelism), The Christian Identity movement suggests that a series of Bible verses identify Caucasians as the real "ten lost tribes of Israel" (Dees & Corcoran, 1997; Barkun, 1997; Kaplan, 1997). Early Christian identity members disagreed on whether the chosen people of God included all Teutonic people or was the growing supremacy of England, evidence that the ten tribes of Israel were consolidated into just the island nation of England (Barkun, 1997). The lack of a cohesive belief system caused the Christian Identity movement to abandon a hierarchal structure like that enjoyed by the Roman Catholic church (Barkun, 1997). The lack of a hierarchal structure allows the Christian Identity principles to be

adopted by other right-wing extremist groups and even links Christian Identity to far-right political movements (Barkun, 1997). Newly recruited Christian Identity adherents would change the tenets of the religion to fit their belief systems (Barkun, 1997)

A primary characteristic of the Christian Identity movement is that it argues that Jews are the direct biological offspring of Satan, dead set on stealing the culture of white Christian Identity advocates (Dees, & Corcoran, 1997; Barkun, 1997; Kaplan, 1997). Kaplan (1997) explains that Christian Identity believers identify minorities and immigrants as "beasts of the earth" (Genesis 1:25, English Standard Version). Christian Identity argues that minorities are easily manipulated by their Jewish masters (Barkun, 1997; Kaplan, 1997).

The Christian Identity movement is the dominant religion in the white supremacy movement and provides a theological bond between members of different white supremacy organizations (Barkun, 1997; Lee, 2000). Christian Identity links white supremacy groups to anti-immigration organizations and fits nicely into the ideology of neo-Nazism (Barkun, 1997; Brenneman, 2005). In addition, Christian Identity looks at Catholic immigrants as followers of a foreign religion and headed by a foreign leader, the Pope, highlighting the division between the Rome Catholic religion and Christian fundamentalist (Brenneman, 2005).

Christian Identity separates from other Christian adherents by differentiating between the Christian Bible's rapture and an "End of Days" scenario adopted by millenarians (Barkun, 1997; Kaplan, 1997). Christian Identity followers do not believe in the "End of Days" as identified in the Christian bible as the rapture; instead, these Millenarians- who believe in the Armageddon

scenario- imagine a continued fight between the pure Aryan race against every other race (Dees & Corcoran, 1997; Barkun, 1997; Kaplan, 1997; Belew, 2018). Until this final battle is ushered in by the return of Jesus Christ, Identity believers say that they must endure and survive the torment of the Jews (Kaplan, 1997).

Levitas (2002) suggests that the Christian Identity movement stole the idea of the Covenant between God and his chosen people for themselves. Barkun (1997) suggests that the idea of such extreme anti-Semitism occurred by combining a synthesis of the Christian religion and elements of century-old beliefs in the occult. The idea that Christians are the chosen people is embraced by right-wing extremists who then cast Jews as evil (Levitas, 2002). Historically, other religious sects, such as the Puritans and the Rastafarian, have attempted to seize upon the Jewish idea that they are the chosen people; however, Christian Identity adherents look to replace the Jews by usurping Jewish identity. As a result, Christian Identity has been a central attraction in white supremacy groups, including the Aryan Nation, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), and several neo-Nazi groups.

Anti-Tax Movement/Posse Comitatus

Before the Civil War, federal troops were often deployed during federal elections to maintain the peace and tranquility of the polling booths (Baker, 1999). Troops would also ensure that the person attempting to vote was eligible to vote (Baker, 1997). After the Civil War, federal troops were present at polling booths to thwart former Confederate soldiers from voting while protecting the right to vote of newly freed slaves (Baker, 1999). During Reconstruction, the

Union authorities placed northern soldiers into southern states to act in a law enforcement capacity (Hammond, 1997). By 1878, the Reconstruction Era had ended, and the south answered the previous use of federal troops in southern states by pressuring the passage of the Posse Comitatus Act (PCA) (Baker, 1999). The PCA made it unlawful for the United States military troops to engage in civilian law enforcement, including arrest, search and seizure, and criminal investigation (Hammond, 1997; Baker, 1999).

Before establishing professional police departments, outnumbered law enforcement officers, sheriffs, and justices would deputize ordinary civilians to assist them with the capture of alleged criminals, maintain the peace, and address public nuisances (Rao, 2008). These deputized civilians were known as the *posse comitatus,* and this tradition would later be poisoned and corrupted by right-wing extremists in the form of the sovereign citizen movement (Rao, 2008).

Chapter Review (1865-1914)

Right-wing extremism was primarily characterized by white supremacy in the period marked by the end of the Civil War. As the federal government passed legislation to protect the former slave population, southern whites realized that the government was no longer in the business of protecting their rights on the socioeconomic hierarchy within southern society. As a result, southern right-wing extremist hatred began to include any white person who elevated the position of black people, the Republican party, and the federal government.

Christian Identity provided a moral legitimacy to the use of violence against blacks and members of the white race that were helping to improve the lives of the former slave population.

Additionally, Christian Identity brought an anti-Semitic characteristic into the post-Civil War period and suggested that Jews were the literal children of Satan out to destroy an Aryan culture. The United States government used troops to maintain order in the southern states and control Klan activities. Using federal troops to control state citizens was an abomination to southern whites, which outlawed the practice after the period of Radical Reconstruction ended.

Right-Wing Extremism (1915-1959)

In 1915, the KKK, supported by white Protestants in Georgia, experienced a second era of resurgence. The movement was supported by the new motion picture industry, specifically, the release of a D.W. Griffith film, *The Birth of a Nation*. Based on Thomas Dixon's novel, *the Clansmen*, the movie was an attempt by southern elites to rewrite the history of the south, proclaiming that the Klan redeemed southern pride from the shame of losing the Civil War (Wade, 1987). In addition, the film depicted black men as strong, sexually uncontrollable beasts only inhibited in their sexual deviance by Klan violence (Wade, 1987). A private viewing highlights the film's success by members of the Supreme court, members of Congress, and President Wilson, who referred to the film as "history with lightning" (Wade, 1987).

Klan ideology focused on black vote repression and adopted the idea that white men must protect their pure, white women from black men (Wade, 1987). KKK ideology embraced the legitimization of violence used to control the behavior of non-white minorities, including members of the Catholic and Jewish communities (Levitas, 2002; SPLC, 2022b). The American Communist Party spread from the northern states into the south and began to organize labor

(Wade, 1987). Communist Party policy supported the idea of integration and promoted activities were black and white party members would lodge and eat together, infuriating southern Klan segregationists (Wade, 1987). Levitas (2002) suggests that Klan ideology believes that Jewish nature is communist Bolshevism and the theme that Jews are communist is well popularized within the white supremacy community.

In the early decades of the 20th century, the Klan waged war against labor unions and communist party activities (Wade, 1987). By 1951, John O. Beaty published his antisemitic, anti-communist book, *The Iron Curtain Over America*, which perpetuated the belief that Jews were religious and racial imposters (Bjorgo, 2014; Levitas, 2002). The right-wing extremist community widely embraced the notion that modern European Jews converted to Judaism, not pure Semites (Levitas, 2002). The *Khazar theory* supports the idea that Jews are imposters and suggests further that Ashkenazic (European) Jews are Bolsheviks and have no legitimate claim to Palestine (Israel) (Levitas, 2002).

This era of the Klan ended with infighting, stories of sexual impropriety, and poor media exposure (SPLC, 2022b). The Great Depression caused the Klan to dissolve as the nation experienced widespread poverty (Wade, 1987). By 1936, Klan leadership liquidated most of the KKK's assets, including their Imperial Palace. As the Klan experienced a financial setback, Klan members continued to oppose resident Roosevelt's New Deal policies as part of an evil communist ploy (Wade, 1987). The American media compared the philosophy of Adolf Hitler in Germany to the ideology of the American Ku Klux Klan in the south, placing an insurmountable barrier in the way of second-era Klan expansion (Wade, 1987).

Klan ideology gained another formal enemy, the United States federal government, with the 1954 United States Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (Levitas, 2002). Before the *Brown* decision, right-wing extremist group ideology embraced anti-Semitism, anti-communism, white supremacy, and hatred for Catholics and immigration (Levitas, 2002). However, the *Brown* decision was a direct government attack against white supremacy, caused right-wing extremists to militarize themselves, and triggered a "Massive Resistance" doctrine against federal government involvement in state legislation (Levitas, 2002).

Chapter Review (1915-1959)

The second resurgence of the Klan is marked by the group's continued racial hatred of blacks and the added belief that labor unions were a communist plot to destroy America. The *Khazar theory* suggested that members of the Jewish community, specifically Ashkenazic (European) Jews were Bolsheviks looking to undermine white Americans using communism. Klan ideology, including racial superiority, was marred by Hitler's Nazi party, which also adhered to the idea of racial superiority. The Great Depression laid waste to the Klan as the leaders sold the organization's assets to survive financially.

The *Brown* decision forced racial integration in southern school districts, causing the Klan to declare war against the federal government. Right-wing extremist groups began to militarize themselves. The racial hatred toward black people now included immigrants and Catholics. Christian Identity suggested the enemies of the Aryan race were all non-white races.

Right-Wing Extremism (1960-1987)

The KKK saw the third resurgence during the Civil Rights period of the 1960s as it greatly opposed the segregation policies of the Civil Rights decade (SPLC, 2022b). Vietnam veterans brought back military tactics and integrated them within the Klan's ideology (SPLC, 2022b). Louis Beam, a Vietnam veteran and Klansman, developed the idea of a "leaderless resistance (SPLC, 2022b; Wade, 1987; Belew, 2018). Beam employed emerging technology to consolidate KKK and neo-Nazi groups under one umbrella organization that shared anti-Semitism (SPLC, 2022; Wade, 1987; Belew, 2018). Unfortunately, the Klan's prosperity has been adversely affected by lawsuits, infighting, and an inspiration to move away from the traditional ideology that alienates modern right-wing extremists (SPLC, 2022). Bjorgo (2014) suggests that law enforcement's ability to efficiently and effectively infiltrate the ranks of KKK organizations caused leaders to face lengthy terms of incarceration.

Racist Skinheads

The racist skinhead movement began in England during the 1960s and has transformed into a global social movement, initially spreading as soccer hooligan groups (Pollard, 2016). In the 1980s, the group maintained its image of having a shaved head but further gained notoriety by entering the "Oi!" music scene (Pollard, 2016). Oi!, an offshoot of the punk rock movement, is further characterized by its racist lyrics and calls for street violence (Pollard, 2016). The followers of Oi! Bands, including "Screwdriver" and "Blood and Honor," spread racist and xenophobic music across Europe (Pollard, 2016).

Posse Comitatus /Anti-Government Movement

Based on the racist foundation of the Christian Identity doctrine, Gale recruited right-wing extremists to mobilize against minority communities and the public officials who tried to protect them (Levitas, 2002). Posse's legal doctrine used obscure legal texts from the Magna Carta, Britain's common laws, and misrepresentations of the United States Constitution to legitimize the use of violence over the western democratic process (Berlet, 1995). Berlet (1995) suggests that posse comitatus members drew their ideology from constitutional rights that they believe only apply to their members. Gale used the militias as the armed wing of the posse comitatus to oppose taxes and scapegoat federal officials, abortion providers, and gun control advocates (Hoffman, 2006; Berlet, 1995). Lee (2000) suggests that Gale's posse comitatus used confusing arguments and reactionary conspiracy theories to oppose big government, propagate racism, dismiss gun control, and advocate for misled constitutional protections in a new form of Americanized fascism. Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford, R. (1950) suggest that fascism is more dangerous to civil rights when it exists within democracy than fascism opposes democracy.

In the 1980s, a retired United States Army Lieutenant and Christian Identity reverend, William Potter Gale, preached that the Constitution was the law of the land (Levitas, 2002). Gale suggested that if a politician or government official passed or enforced unconstitutional legislation, any citizen could call for the creation of a *posse comitatus* (Levitas, 2002). The posse could arrest the public official and put them on trial before a civilian jury (Levitas, 2002).

When the Soviet Union fell, white supremacists and the evangelist right lost a significant recruitment tool to attract new members using the vision of an apocalyptic future at a Soviet nuclear war (Belew, 2019). The idea of a new enemy, a Jewish-led Zionist Occupied Government (ZOG) with the United States, would emerge for both the white supremacist and the right-wing evangelist movement (Belew, 2019). White supremacist ideology evolved and fixated on the notion that the United States federal government was led by an international group of elitists, wholly evil, and fixated on the destruction of the white race (Belew, 2019).

Christian Identity follower Klansman William Gale's hatred for the federal government stems from an ideology that views federal income tax as a communist plot to redistribute the country's wealth (Levitas, 2002). Belew (2018) points out that right-wing extremists view America's perceived loss in Vietnam as a government betrayal. Gale, a Vietnam veteran, embraced Posse Comitatus beliefs and tactics to harass IRS agents (Levitas, 2002). Vietnam veterans shared their military experience with untrained right-wing extremist groups, which expanded the footprint of the militia movement nationally (Belew, 2018; Levitas, 2002). Militia and Patriot groups embraced the idea that the Hollywood film industry, like the federal government, was controlled by Jews as a propaganda machine (Levitas, 2002; Belew, 2018). Posse Comitatus groups, militia and patriot organizations, and Christian Identity adherents began to cross circles, sharing members and mixing ideologies to suit their purposes (Belew, 2018).

Farm Crisis

During the Great Depression, many American farmers lost their farms due to volatile swings in the prices of agricultural products (Levitas, 2002). The Roosevelt Administration assists farmers by loaning them money while using their products as collateral (Levitas, 2002). If the prices remained low, the farmers would keep the loan money and forfeit the product to the government (Levitas, 2002). However, if the product price went higher than the loan value, the farmers could sell their products at the market and make a profit (Levitas, 2002). If a farm entered the governmental protection program, the government could restrict the farmer's production (Levitas, 2002).

In 1976, the Secretary of Agriculture, Earl L. Butz, believed farms should grow bigger or be sold to another farmer who wanted to grow (Levitas, 2002). To support his ideology, Butz sold off thousands of government-owned storage bins allowing the United States to sell larger quantities of grains internationally (Levitas, 2002). Foley (2015) suggests that many mid-western farmers adopted the belief that politicians were attempting to dismantle the American farm system. This policy caused smaller farmers to go bankrupt as agricultural products' prices hit all-time lows (Foley, 2015; Levitas, 2002). Levitas (2002) explains that when agriculture prices dropped and increased rates increased, nearly one-third of all American farmers went into insolvency.

In 1977, American farmers were disgusted by the low prices they received for their goods and began to mobilize (Foley, 2015; Levitas, 2002). Area farmers in Colorado formed the

American Agriculture Movement (AAM) to have Congress raise the price of their farm products or stop producing food (Levitas, 2002). Many small farmers were on the brink of bankruptcy when Posse Comitatus and Sovereign Citizen members approached the organization and began to give free legal advice (Levitas, 2002). Unfortunately, many farmers embraced posse conspiracy theories and refused legitimate legal advice, which had disastrous consequences on the family farmers (Levitas, 2002). Foley (2015) suggests that the average American farmer retreated from politics, only embracing candidates that promised to limit the federal government's power.

In February 1979, thousands of tractors descended on Washington, D.C. (Foley, 2015; Levitas, 2002). Members of the AAM presented Congress with a manifesto complete with Posse Comitatus wording (Levitas, 2002). The document accused members of Congress of war crimes, treason, and usurping the people's right to self-governance (Levitas, 2002). Pamphlets disbursed through the Capitol mirrored the anti-government and anti-Semitic themes of the Posse Comitatus community (Levitas, 2002). Posse Comitatus leadership vilified the press and government officials as being controlled by "Jew money barons" and "land-grabbing Jews" (Levitas, 2002, p. 178).

Barnett (2000) argues that the value of the American dollar increased 70 percent over the currency of other major purchasing countries. This increase made it difficult for foreign countries to purchase American agricultural exports (Barnett, 2000). The overabundance of agricultural products causes their prices to collapse (Barnett, 2000). Foley (2015) points out that by 1985, the average farmer's income had dropped by 83 percent, from $35,174 to $6,000. Bankers attempted

to seize farmland even if the farmers were profitable under the notion that the collateral of the farm itself made the loans too risky (Foley, 2015). Farmers battled back against the banks by creating no-bid auctions where potential buyers for a seized farm would bid no more than a dollar (Foley, 2015).

The 20th century began with 39 percent of Americans living on rural farmlands and ended with a mere 1.5 percent (Foley, 2015). Foley (2015) suggests that farmers became worn down by Washington politics, and many remaining farmers joined the militia movement. The farm crisis of the 1970s and 1980s bolstered the ranks of far right-wing groups such as sovereign citizens and posse comitatus, as frustrated farmers looked for ways to maintain their vocation, lifestyles, and life savings (Barnett, 2000; Foley, 2015). The Patriot movement hatched from the farm crisis as groups of marginalized farmers looked to right-wing extremist groups to assist them against incompetent government policies (Levitas, 2002). Sovereign citizens and Posse Comitatus groups spread popular conspiracy theories and traditions of embracing nativism, anti-Semitism, anti-immigration, and Christian Identity throughout the mid-west farm communities (Levitas, 2002).

Neo-Nazis/Aryan Nation

Lee (2000) suggests that by the early1980s, the Ku Klux Klan had allied with neo-Nazis in the United States. The Aryan Nation, the KKK, and the neo-Nazi movement began to recruit members and open offices nationally (Lee, 2000) heavily. As the members of the KKK, neo-Nazi groups are extremely anti-Semitic and anti-immigration and embrace the notion of a social

hierarchy based on racial superiority (Lee, 2000; Levitas, 2002). Hitler's propaganda machine used the romantic notion of Nordic gods being connected by blood to Nazi military elite units to create religion-based racism and nationalism (Neher, 2017). Bjorgo (2014) indicates that neo-Nazi groups can use past imagery and ideology to attract recruits into their ranks by reconstructing an era of a golden age.

Original neo-Nazi ideology includes a strong embrace of millenarianism (Whitsel, 2001; Kaplan, 1997). Millenarianism believes that the apocalypse is imminent and is followed by 1000 years of Christian peace and prosperity (Kaplan, 1997). The idea of an apocalypse is important to neo-Nazi groups as they see themselves as active participants in the *End of Days* scenario that see the destruction of this world and a rebirth of a new world where they are at the top of the social hierarchy (Kaplan, 1997).

Chapter Review (1960-1987)

In the period following the Vietnam War, veterans returned home with the idea that the federal government betrayed them during the war. Louis Beam spread the idea of "leaderless resistance," declaring war on the federal government in 1983. Militia groups began to take a foothold in the mid-western United States.

The farm crisis expanded the ranks of the Sovereign Citizen movement and the Posse Comitatus. Klan members, led by William Gale, added the idea that taxes were a communist plot. The notion of the Zionist Occupied Government suggested that Jews were in command of

the federal government, and activities intended to subjugate white people with governmental power spread throughout right-wing extremist group ideologies.

Posse Comitatus groups revised historical facts to fit into their ideology, absorbed Christian Identity as a religious movement, and purposely misrepresented United States law.

Right-Wing Extremism (1988-Present)

In the late 1980s, the KKK had found a surprising ally in many black preachers from Houston, Texas, who were united against homosexuality (Wade, 1987). The Klan headquarters had been moved to Hayden Lake, Idaho, and united with the Aryan Nation (Wade, 1987). The Klansmen at the Hayden lake compound accepted Christian Identity as their new religion, further embracing the idea of anti-Semitism over racist hatred (Wade, 1987). The Aryan Nation compound was home to Klansmen, neo-Nazis, militant survivalists, Posse Comitatus members, and Christian Identity ideologues (Wade, 1987).

In July of 1998, a group of Aryan Nation security guards shot at and detained a mother and son whose vehicle backfired (SPLC, 2022h). Attorney Morris Dees of the Southern Poverty Law Center sued the Aryan Nation on behave of the victims and won a $6.3 million lawsuit against the organization, causing them to forfeit the Hayden Lake compound (SPLC, 2022h).

Racist Skinheads

The largest skinhead group, the "Hammerskins Nation," took route during the late 1980s in Dallas, Texas, and adopted a leaderless resistance hierarchal structure of Louis Beam. In

contrast, other skinhead groups had a structure like that of the Hells Angels Motorcycle Club (Pollard, 2016). In the 1990s, many more racist skinhead groups began to form and accept the Christian Identity religion as set forth by the Church of the Creator (COTC) founder Ben Klassen and Matthew Hale (Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), 1999). By the 1990s, the racist skinhead movement had spread to America, Canada, and Australia (Pollard, 2016).

Additionally, more extreme, and increasingly violent subcultural groups, such as "Combat18," began to emerge onto the Oi! Scene (Pollard, 2016). In most countries, these groups adopted a "cult of heterosexual hyper-masculinity" that supported the use of violence against homosexuals (whom the group equates to pedophiles), abortion advocates, immigrants, Jews, and people of color "race traitors" (Pollard, 2016). Currently, skinhead organizations suggest that they are the "Vanguard" of the white, working, middle-class who are victims of their government disloyalty (Pollard, 2016). Skinhead ideology is primarily inspired by the neo-Nazis and the idea of National Socialism (Pollard, 2016).

Patriot/Militia Movements

The origins of the patriot and militia movements are founded on Christian Identity and driven by posse comitatus organizations (SPLC, 2022c). In the aftermath of the Vietnam War, a groundswell of right-wing paramilitary militia units began to form, believing that political and military leaders had betrayed the soldiers and trivialized their sacrifice (Lee, 2000; Belew, 2018). White supremacist and domestic terrorist Louis Beam called for soldiers to "bring it on home," meaning to bring the Vietnam War back to the United States (Belew, 2018, p. 3). Although the

media downplayed white power groups, The FBI identified *The Order* as the most severe threat to the United States (Belew, 2018). In addition, the farm crisis of the 1970s and 1980s bolstered the ranks of the patriot movement as farmers mobilized against hostile government policies (Levitas, 2002; Foley, 2000).

Lee (2000) argues that 25 percent of an estimated 225 far-right paramilitary groups had direct ties to white supremacy. Although this relationship places the white supremacy ideology in the minority within many militias, it is a guiding factor that dictated the militia movement (Lee, 2000). Belew (2018) suggests that a military loss in Vietnam, economic turmoil, and the Watergate investigation caused many Americans to lose trust in the federal government. Government mistrust expanded by the 1970s farm crisis, spawning an anti-immigrant backlash (Levitas, 2002; Foley, 2000). Vietnam War inspired the cultural framework of the militia movement as observed in the militaristic characteristics of the groups (Belew, 2018). The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Terrorism (1995) suggested that militia groups are fanatically anti-government, overwhelmingly racist, and legitimize the use of violence in support of what they perceive as government encroachment on their constitutional rights.

In 1992, before the Oklahoma City bombing, the FBI had assets living within the Hayden Lake compound and reported to their handlers that Christian Patriots were amassing at the Hayden Lakes compound (Wright, 2007). As a result, the militia movement grew, using the Militia of Montana (MOM) as a prototype and embracing Louis Beam's tactical strategy of having a leaderless resistance (Wright, 2007).

Neo-Nazis/Aryan Nation

Recently, in the United States, the hardcore members of the extreme right rose to approximately 25,000 members and some 150,000 supporters, making them a minuscule percentage of the radical right (Kaplan, 1997; Lee, 2000; Belew, 2019). Aryan Nation leaders Louis Beam and Kirk Lyons began cultivating a closer relationship with the American patriot/militia movement and utilized modern social media to expand the movement's memberships (Lee, 2000). Famous neo-Nazi William Pierce, who authored *The Turner Diaries*, supported Louis Beam's idea of leaderless resistance and lone-wolf terrorism (Belew, 2018; Kaplan, 1997).

Belew (2019) suggests that the militia movement developed and grew during and after the Vietnam War. Many veterans and militia members believed that the United States government turned its back on Vietnam veterans and the Vietnam War (Belew, 2019). This sentiment increased the militia movement's hate for the federal government (Belew, 2019). Kaplan (1997) suggests that regardless of the small size of the neo-Nazi footprint in the right-wing extremist community, the neo-Nazi ideology is influential and able to bridge the ideological differences between differing right-wing extremists.

Odinism

Neopagan Odinism is a belief system that reconstructs the Viking-era pantheon and has taken an essential role in the white supremacy movement by acting as a bridge between white supremacy and the mystical (Kaplan, 1997). Odinism, as a religion, appeals to the racial identity

of white supremacists, combining it with the historical glory of pre-Christian Nordic society. However, equally appealing to members of the white supremacist movement is the theological flexibility that Odinism, as a religion, provides, such as anti-Semitism (Bjorgo, 1995).

Odinism began to spread across Germany during the pre-Nazi, Weimar Republic (Kaplan, 1997). The Odinist movement was adopted by several key figures in the Nazi party as a revival of Germanic paganism (Kaplan, 1997). According to Kaplan (1997), Odinism allows its adherents to solidify as a group under one religion, support conspiracy theories and other mystical beliefs, real or imagined, evoke a warrior ethos, adopt white supremacy, and revive idealized Germanic tribal collective values.

Christian Identity

The most profound Christian Identity movement was the Covenant, Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA), which emerged from obscurity in the 1980s (Kaplan, 1997). The group is known for using its compound as a training facility for militia movement members (Kaplan, 1997). Kaplan (1997) suggests that the rhetoric of the CSA caused increased government scrutiny and ended with a large law enforcement raid on the compound. The leader of the CSA, James Ellison, elected to become a government witness, while other members chose violence (Kaplan, 1997). Other members became frustrated at the group's inability to turn violent rhetoric into violent action (Kaplan, 1997). CSA member, Richard Snell, was executed on April 19, 1995- the day of the Oklahoma City bombing- for the murder of a black Arkansas state Trooper (Kaplan, 1997).

Kaplan (1997) argues that the Christian Identity movement fractured in North America and did not have a significant role in creating the anti-government movement. Most white supremacists believe that Jews are in control of the American government and important American institutions such as the media, Hollywood, and higher academia (Barkun, 1997; Kaplan, 1997). White supremacy movements use the term Zionist Occupied Government (ZOG) to describe the Jewish takeover of the federal government (Dees & Corcoran, 1997; Lee, 2000). Barkun (1997) submits that the Christian identity movement is primarily religious rather than political.

Bjorgo (1995) suggests that Christian Identity caused a marked change in right-wing extremist groups that had previously only embraced a standard political ideology. Groups that may have started with a narrow white supremacy ideology experienced a dynamic organizational change that caused the members to become more isolated from society (Bjorgo, 1995). Following individual exposure to Christian Identity, members withdrew to isolated compounds in rural areas of the country (Dees & Corcoran, 1997; Bjorgo, 1995). Bjorgo (1995) suggests that the survivalist movement is based on Christian identity principles, such as the self-reliance of the white individual.

Sovereign Citizens

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, white power groups attacked government infrastructure directly and used counterfeiting and assassinations to delegitimize citizen confidence in government oversight (Belew, 2018). Crenshaw (1995) suggests that group

ideology can have an overarching effect on an individual's belief system; however, the individual's beliefs and motivations lead to acts of violence. In 1983, white power movements declared that they were at war with the federal government (Belew, 2018). According to Sprinzak (1995), this declaration suggests that the white power movement no longer viewed the federal government as an apparatus protecting white privileges and was now illegitimate.

During the first half of the 1990s, the federal government engaged in unfortunate law enforcement actions that alienated the right-wing community (Wright, 2007; Levitas, 2002). In 1992, federal law enforcement agents attempted to enforce an arrest warrant on Randy Weaver, a right-wing extremist from Ruby Ridge, Idaho (Wright, 2007; Levitas, 2002). The law enforcement action led to the death of Weaver's wife, Vicky Weaver, their 14-year-old son, Sammy Weaver, and a federal Marshal, William Dugan (Wright, 2007; Dobratz, Shanks-Meile & Hallenbeck, 2003). The right-wing groups that began to amass near the compound to show support for the Weaver family were mainly Christian Identity adherents and members of the Patriot movement (Wright, 2007).

In 1993, the federal government attempted to execute a search warrant at a Christian religious compound in Waco, Texas, that ended in the fiery death of scores of Branch Davidian adherents, along with their leader, David Koresh (Doyle, 2003; Wright, 2007). Members of the radical right galvanized support and gained to unify against the federal government's actions at both Ruby Ridge and Waco, Texas (Wright, 2007). Upon review of law enforcement's affidavits used to obtain the Branch Davidian search warrants, numerous mistakes and lies were unveiled,

further undermining the federal government's legitimacy in the eyes of Right-wing extremist groups (Wright, 2007).

With the events of Waco, Texas, and Ruby Ridge, Idaho, as a backdrop, the 1993 Brady Bill and the 1994 Crime Control Bill were seen as significant governmental assaults against the rights of the American public by many right-wing extremist groups (Wright, 2007). Members of the Christian Identity and Patriot movements saw the gun control bills as focusing on their 2nd Amendment rights; additionally, the laws elicited a comparison by right-wing extremists to the *Cohen Laws* described in Pierce's *The Turner Diaries*. Christian Identity and Patriot follower, Timothy McVeigh, answered the government's deficiencies and oppressive legislation with the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah federal building in Oklahoma (Belew, 2018; Wright, 2007).

Berger (2016) and Van Ness (2011) suggest that the sovereign citizen movement is based on an alternate history steeped in conspiracy theory and arcane, misrepresented legal rulings. Sarteschi (2021) and Berger (2016) indicate that the sovereign citizens' ideology is a form of anti-government extremism that places the individual above the law through an arcane and fictitious belief system. Within the sovereign citizen movement, capitalization and punctuation in legal documents are essential in understanding what they consider to be the true meaning of judicial law and legal authority (Berger, 2016). Self-proclaimed sovereign citizen "gurus" use obscure legal texts and fraudulent historical beliefs within American history to form an erroneous narrative concerning legal jurisprudence (Van Ness, 2011; Berger, 2016).

Sarteschi (2021) indicates that historically, sovereign citizens were older, white males; however, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) (2010) has found that has been a significant increase in the number of black sovereign citizens; who refer to themselves as "Moors." Whether the sovereign citizen group is black or white, the ideology distinguishes itself from other like-minded right-wing extremist groups by embracing a primary extreme anti-government stance (ADL, 2010). The ADL (2010) points out that most other groups that hold an anti-government ideology, including the KKK and the posse comitatus, have wavered in their anti-government rhetoric and commitment. A second distinguishing characteristic of the sovereign citizen movement is its adherence to pseudohistorical, pseudo-legal, and conspiratorial beliefs (Van Ness, 2011; ADL, 2010). In the 1960s, sovereign citizens first formed to question the authority of the federal government to tax the income of its citizenry, and that idea developed into the questioning of the federal government itself (Van Ness; 2011; ADL, 2010).

SPLC (2022f) suggests that different posse comitatus groups focus on different avenues of anti-government protests. For example, some posse groups that embrace the Common Law Court and National Assembly Members use Bible verses, misrepresented texts from the Constitution, and old English law to create a piecemeal legal style jargon (SPLC, 2022f). Common-Law and National Assembly Members see the United States court system as illegitimate and only use it to file false claims. These false civil claims are paper terrorism against perceived enemies, including state and federal employees or other government officials (Van ness, 2011; SPLC, 2022f). Van Ness (2011) suggests that Sovereign citizens use personal checks to overpay everyday household bills to be issued a large refund.

Constitutional sovereigns suggest that the federal government is illegitimate and abuses its authority to suppress the rights of citizens (Van Ness, 2011; SPLC, 2022f). The Bundy and Hammond ranchers and their supporters are examples of constitutional sovereign citizens who believe that the federal government cannot collect grazing fees (SPLC, 2022f). In addition, Kalinowski (2019) suggests that constitutional sovereigns believe that the individual states own all federal lands despite a 1935 United States Supreme Court decision suggesting otherwise.

Galactic sovereign citizens adhere to the notion that then-President Bill Clinton and fifteen members of Congress passed the National Economic Security and Reformation Act, 2000, in secret abolishing the federal income tax system, changing the court system from a maritime court to a constitutional sovereignty court, and ushered in world peace (SPLC, 2022f). In addition, the SPLC (2022f) suggests that galactic sovereigns embrace the idea that many politicians and public figures are alien reptiles in disguise.

Black Sovereign Citizens

The *Moors* are an African American group of sovereign citizens who believe they are the descendants of Moroccan-Moors and are given special privileges through the 1786 Moroccan American Treaty of Friendship (SPLC, 2022f). Members of Moor groups embrace the idea that they are indigenous people and are granted the same privileges as the American Indians (SPLC, 2022f). The primary tactic used by Moor members is to squat in foreclosed properties and commit destructive acts of vandalism if forced to leave (SPLC, 2022f). Within the Moors,

sovereign citizen communities are "gurus" who sell fraudulent license places and driver's licenses (SPLC, 2022f).

Fourteenth Amendment.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution guaranteed citizenship and equal civil and legal rights to all formerly enslaved people (Stein & Bauer,1995). Stein and Bauer (1995) argue that the 14th Amendment stopped the southern states from depriving United States citizenship to freed blacks and their descendants. The Fourteenth Amendment indicates that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are c "citizens of the United States and the state wherein they reside." Sovereign citizens suggest that this clause creates second-class citizens whose rights are limited and inferior to the first-class citizens who derive their citizenship from the original United States Constitution (Berger, 2016).

Commercial Law.

Sovereign citizens believe common laws stem from Christian doctrine and supersede any legitimate laws legislated by the governing authorities (Berger, 2016). Outside of Common law legal primacy, separate sovereign citizen groups define and interpret common laws differently. For example, the District of Columbia Organic Act of 1871 revoked the city charters of Georgetown and Washington and created the District of Columbia (Whyte, 1951). Due to the Civil War, sovereign citizens believed that by 1871, the United States was bankrupted and

purchased by corrupt bankers (Berger, 2016). Additionally, the Organic Act incorporated the United States and placed its citizens under a new set of *commercial laws*.

Title 28 of the United States legal codes provide for the organization of the country's legal system, including the organization of the federal courts, the Department of Justice, and court procedure (Cornell School of Law, 2022). Within Title 28, § 3002 (15) (A) (B) (C), the code refers to the United States government as "a Federal corporation" (Cornell School of Law, 2022). Sovereign citizens suggest that federal laws extend corporate law, known as Admiralty Laws, over the entire country (Berger, 2016). In addition, sovereign citizens believe that corporate law reveals itself within the court system by pointing out specific language and methods of punctuation (Berger, 2016).

Common-Law.

Sovereign citizens distinguish between people governed under common law and those governed under the fourteenth Amendment's corporate laws (Berger, 2016). Sovereigns consider themselves citizens governed only under common law, not the illegitimate laws derived from legislators or court rulings (Berger, 2016). The Uniformed Commercial Codes are a comprehensive set of laws that regulate all commercial transactions in the United States (Uniformed Law Commission (ULC), 2022). Because these codes have been adopted uniformly in every state, interstate business can be conducted and maintained under the same legal rules (ULC, 2022). State courts will also make rulings standardized, regardless of their jurisdictional authority (ULC, 2022).

Sovereign citizens embrace the idea that the Uniformed Commercial Codes are an enumerated list of illegitimate commercial laws. Loopholes and areas of the codes grant those invoke certain legal privileges (Berger, 2016).

Sovereign Citizen Privileges.

The Uniformed Commercial Codes provide a standard for state-issued driver's licenses, bank account information, and property ownership that sovereign citizens hold illegitimate and non-binding (Berger, 2016). Sovereign citizen ideology suggests that legal documents and state-issued licenses refer to a "straw man" or corporation with the same name as the sovereign (Berger, 2016). Because government documents are inauthentic and denote the identification of a fictitious corporation, sovereign citizens believe that if they sign such documents, they cause themselves to be subjected to commercial laws such as debt collection, arrest, prosecution, and foreclosure (Berger, 2016). Berger (2016) indicates that sovereign citizens believe that they can avoid the trappings of commercial laws by including the phrase "Without Prejudice UCC 1-308" next to their signature on any legal document (p. 5).

Sovereign citizens believe they are not responsible for any debt amassed under their corporate name (Berger, 2016). Under sovereign citizen ideology, any government agency that attempts to collect any debt can be held liable for its actions (Berger, 2016). Sovereign citizens often file bogus lawsuits against government workers or attempt to arrest them under fictitious legal authority (Berger, 2016). Official government acts that deny a sovereign citizen their perceived privileges are considered an "act of war" and allow the sovereign citizen to commit

acts of violence (Sarteschi, 2021; Berger, 2016). The legitimization of violence within the sovereign citizen movement has caused the FBI to label movement members as domestic terrorists (Sarteschi, 2021).

Sovereign citizens suggest the existence of a government-owned "Treasury Direct Account" that receives foreign funds when a person is born and is issued a birth certificate (Berger, 2016). According to the sovereign citizen publication, *Redemption Theory*, each sovereign citizen can reclaim those funds through legal filings (Sarteschi, 2021; Berger, 2016). Sarteschi (2021) suggests that sovereign citizens are most widely known for paper terrorism. Groups within the sovereign citizen movement often sell kits containing instructions on filing fraudulent financial claims against government agents, banks, and businesses that have "wronged" group members (Sarteschi, 2021; Berger, 2016). These financial claims usually involve large sums of money aimed at the government official without any cause, lending to the moniker "paper terrorism" (Sarteschi, 2021).

The ideology of the sovereign citizen movement questions the federal government's legitimacy using pseudohistory, conspiracy theories, and factitious legal doctrine as evidence (Sarteschi, 2021; Berger, 2016). As a result, they commit acts of paper terrorism and hold themselves above the law (Sarteschi, 2021). Sovereign citizen members hold that the illegitimacy of the government extends to its use of driver's licenses, legal documents, law enforcement authority, and judicial authority (Berger, 2016; Sarteschi, 2021; ADL, 2010). Gurus within the movement hold themselves as legal experts, charging possible recruits and unknowledge people large sums of money in return for fictitious legal filings (Sarteschi, 2021; Berger, 2016). In

addition, the group relies on violence against government agents who attempt to interfere in sovereign citizen criminality, debt avoidance, or paper terrorism (Sarteschi, 2021; J. Gruenewald, Dooley, Suttomoeller, Chermak, Freilich, 2016).

Chapter Review (1988-Present)

Many right-wing extremist groups have spread out from their strictly racist pasts and are now laced with anti-government sentiments. Christian Identity provides right-wing extremist group members with religious justification for using violence against non-group members. Additionally, modern Christian Identity believers have moved the ideology toward anti-Semitism. The Two Seed Doctrine argues that Jews are the literal offspring of Satan and that during the rapture, there is no heavenly power that will rescue the white believer during the rapture. Christian Identity adherents believe they will survive by their guile, food supplies, and stockpiles of military-style weapons. Christian Identity fits into the orthodoxy of Neo-Nazi groups and white supremacists, and the militant belief in the militarization of the white populace is popular among militia/patriot groups. Additionally, the idea that a nefarious Jewish organization controls the government to subjugate the white race is attractive to white supremacists, anti-government adherents, and anti-Semites.

Rapoport's Terrorism Wave Theory

Rapoport (2017) suggests that global terrorism develops into existence in unique waves and is determined by current events. Each wave of terrorism lasts approximately one generation, or a forty-year cycle, and defines the group's primary motivations and tactics (Radil & Castan

Pinos, 2019; Kaplan, 2007; Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004). Radil and Castan Pinos (2019) point out that wave theory misses the individual circumstances of the actors and focuses only on group dynamics, ideology, and tactics.

Rapoport, Cronin, and Ludes (2004) suggest that there have been four distinct waves of international terrorism and that the fourth, the religious wave, is being to subside. Kaplan (2007) theorizes that the fifth wave of terrorism will be uniquely tribal, mimicking the rise of the Khmer Rouge. The Khmer Rouge was greatly influenced by Mao's Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the failed cultural revolution that followed the party's rise to power (Kaplan, 2007). According to Kaplan (2007), domestic terrorism may be influenced by international historical trends and current global events, but the source of the violence will be uniquely tribal.

The first wave of modern terrorism, coined by Rapoport (20'7) as the Anarchist Wave, began in 1881 with the assassination of the Russian Czar, Alexander II. After that, the wave spread across the globe with the help of the telegraph and the railroad system (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004). The first wave of terrorism saw the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, which plunged the world into World War I, and the execution of United States President William McKinney (Andrews, 2018).

The second wave of terrorism expanded as the first wave began to ebb in the aftermath of WWI. Many countries worldwide were seeking their sovereignty and wanted to decolonize from western world powers (Radil & Castan Pinos, 2019). Rapoport (2017) called the second wave of

terrorism "The Anti-Colonial" wave. The second wave began to slow in the 1960s (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004).

Rapoport (2017) labeled the third wave of terrorism "The New Left" wave and is characterized by a widespread anti-American phenomenon (Kaplan, 2016). Airplane hijackings and kidnappings became the most widely used tactic during this era (Kaplan, 2016). In addition, left-wing groups thought of themselves as the vanguard for poorer, third-world countries (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004).

The fourth wave of terrorism, labeled by Rapoport as the "Religious Wave," is marked by religiously motivated violence (Kaplan, 2016). This wave culminated with the United States entering two wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and clearing out twenty years later, none the better for it (Kaplan, 2016).

As the religious wave slows, the materialization of the fifth wave of terrorism is evident and has been marked as the "New Tribalism" by Kaplan (2016). Kaplan (2007) suggests that this wave will be marked by groups using extreme forms of violence. Additionally, this next wave will be focused on ethnicity and the rise of right-wing extremism (Kaplan, 2016). The idea of right-wing extremist groups, heavily armed, moving into rural areas of the country and drawing closer to authoritarianism supports the significance of this study.

The First Wave of Terrorism

Rapoport (2017) suggests that Russia was humiliated during the Crimean War (1853–1856) and decided to westernize. This decision to westernize freed 25 million poor surfs who

could not afford to buy land, causing them to become a burden on the Russian economy (Rapoport, 2017). A small group of anarchists formed from university students became known as the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) (Rapoport, 2017). In 1881, the group assassinated Alexander II, beginning the "Anarchist Wave" of terrorism (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004; Rapoport, 2017). The main tactic employed during the first wave of terrorism was political assassinations (Rapoport, 2017). The invention of the railroad and the telegraph helped the anarchist propaganda machine move the ideology globally (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004).

On September 6, 1901, The Anarchist Wave of Terror reached the United States with the assassination of President William McKinley (Andrews, 2018). President McKinley was conducting a meet and greet at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York when an avowed anarchist named Leon Czolgosz gunned him down (Andrews, 2018). Czolgosz had purchased a .32 caliber Iver Johnson revolver, the same handgun used by anarchist Gaetano Bresci to assassinate King Umberto of Italy on July 29 (Andrews, 2018).

First-wave terrorist groups saw the positive yet slow social changes occurring in Europe as being able to pacify the masses or those revolutionaries that were only minimally supportive of the group's cause (Radil & Castan Pinos, 2019). First-wave terrorist organizations adopted the tactic of utilizing extreme violence, in the public eye and against political figures, as being able to tip the public's consciousness toward their cause. The assassin would embrace the idea of "propaganda by deed" to ignite fear and social change within the population (Garrison, 2004). First-wave terrorists saw themselves as freedom fighters, using terrorism as a tool of social

change (Garrison, 2004). To stem the use of martyrdom, the Russian authorities stopped the practice of public trials, vying instead for private executions (Rapoport, 2017)

The Second Wave of Terrorism

The Anarchist Wave of Terrorism began to ebb with the end of the First World War, giving way to the "Anti-Colonial" wave (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004). The ideology behind the second wave of terrorism was decolonization by dismantling western empires that had existed for hundreds of years (Radil & Castan Pinos, 2019). Garrison (2004) suggests that the idea of self-determination replaced anarchism. Second-wave terrorist groups adopted an ideology that suggested that individual citizens were members of a national group capable of governing themselves (Radil & Castan Pinos, 2019). Second-wave terrorists were now more supportive of creating new, sovereign nations rather than attempting to change the dynamics of an existing government (Radil & Castan Pinos, 2019).

The victors of WWI used the newly formed League of Nations to institute mandates, allowing first-world countries to control and govern the poorer third-world nations until the third-world governments were capable of sovereignty (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004). In the aftermath of World War II, colonial powers dissolved their empires, causing the formation of Pakistan, India, the Philippines, Egypt, Ghana, and Nigeria (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004). Anti-colonial terrorism was limited to countries where unique problems hindered the ability of self-determination or when a country had a high population of natives and colonials (Rapoport, 2017; Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004).

Second-wave terrorism focused on assassinating law enforcement personnel, hoping they would be replaced by military units (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004). However, anti-colonial terrorist groups believed that military units would engage in an unwarranted crackdown and use of force to control the civilian population and quickly lose the support of the people (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004). Terrorist organizations spent their limited resources conducting hit-and-run attacks against government units while taking on the self-image of nationalistic heroes (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004). The idea was that if national groups publicly formed bonds with international terrorist groups, they would lose their hero image among the country's population (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004). Second-wave terrorist groups softened their language to avoid the scorn of media groups and gain support from international organizations such as the League of Nations (Rapoport, 2017). Second-wave terrorists avoided civilian deaths by primarily attacking law enforcement units after warning the civilian population (Rapoport, 2017).

The Third Wave of Terrorism

The Anti-Colonial Wave of Terror existed from the 1920s up until the start of the Vietnam War, then gave way to a new era of terrorism that Rapoport (2017) labels as the "New Left" (Radil & Castan Pinos, 2019). During this era, terrorist groups formed with the idea that they were the vanguard for third-world nations against the modern and repressive west (Rapoport, Cronin, Ludes, 2004). Many third-wave terrorist organizations adopted a Marxist/Leninist ideology (Radil & Castan Pinos, 2019). The Cold War was in full effect, and many western terrorist groups received support from the Soviet Union for training, weapons, and

moral support (Rapoport, Cronin, Ludes, 2004). As a result, third-wave terror groups became transnational, training and working with each other against a common enemy (Radil & Castan Pinos, 2019).

Terrorist organizations are constantly modifying and changing their tactics. Due to the transitional nature of third-wave groups, the tactics changed, inflicting terror on an international scale (Horgan & Braddock, 2012; Radil & Castan Pinos, 2019). Third-wave terrorist organizations saw the success of the Viet Cong against the overwhelming military forces of the United States as a chink in the armor of the first-world countries (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004). In the aftermath of the Vietnam War, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) took the place of the Viet Cong as the primary victim of the west (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004). PLO leadership capitalized on the support they had received from Leftists on a global scale and the Soviet Union by becoming the international training grounds for transnational terrorists (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004).

Hostage-taking and airplane hijacking were primary characteristics (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004). Before 9/11, hijackings were relatively common and ended without violence (Nelson, 2016). Nelson (2016) suggests that from 1968 to 1972, more than 130 American airplanes were hijacked, sometimes with more than one hijacking on the same day. Many hijackings ended with the flight being diverted to a communist country, such as Cuba, or a third-world Middle Eastern country, such as Egypt, where the hijackers would attempt to extort millions of dollars for the hostages' release (Nelson, 2016). The United States government was moved into action to prevent hijackings when in November 1972, three hijackers threatened to

crash a commuter airplane into the atomic reactor at Oak Ridge National Laboratory in Tennessee (Nelson, 2016).

Third-wave terrorist groups, like their first-wave predecessors, utilized assassinations to get publicity for their causes (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004). For example, the Baader-Meinhof Gang, also known as the Red Army Faction (RAF), was a West German terrorist group that killed more than 30 people, wounded 93 people, took 162 hostages, and robbed 35 banks to bring violent revolution against the Federal Republic during the social turbulence of the 1970s and early 1980s (Aust, 2008). Like the First Wave of Terrorism, assassinations included politicians; however, the group also targeted world business leaders who were symbols of capitalism (Aust, 2008). In addition, the group also attempted to assassinate international leaders, such as NATO Commander-in-Chief General Alexander Haig, using a sophisticated explosive device (Smith & Moncourt, 2013).

The Fourth Wave of Terrorism

The third wave began to ebb in the early 1980s and gave way to the fourth religious wave of terrorism by 1979 (Rapoport, 2001). Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon destroyed much of the training grounds used to support local, regional, and international terrorism, significantly reducing the life span of the third wave (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004). Internationally, terrorist groups declined from approximately 200 to only 40 (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004). Rapoport (2017) suggests that the size of the terrorist groups contributed to the decline in third-wave attacks. The nationalist groups of the third wave could not attract more than a few hundred

core-group members and a few thousand for soft support, with the PLO being the exception, with 25,000 members (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004). The Fourth Wave of Terrorism, or "Religious Wave," created uniquely larger organizations containing thousands of members (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004).

Al Qaeda had 5,000 hardcore members in 72 countries (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004). From the beginning, Islamic extremist groups focused their attacks on western targets, specifically against the United States (Rapoport, Cronin, & Ludes, 2004). One unique characteristic of fourth-wave terrorism is state sponsorship (Byman, 2005). Islamic theocracies financially support fourth-wave groups by providing equipment and training, giving the group a physical location to conduct attacks without being countered by intelligence and law enforcement organizations (Byman, 2005). Nation-states that sponsor religious terror groups use terrorism to influence government officials in other regional countries, topple or disrupt opposing regimes, and counter United States interests (Byman, 2005). In addition, by supporting the terrorist organizations, the country's leadership bolsters their domestic power and gains regional sympathy from the Islamic world (Byman, 2005).

Just as the first-wave assassination of Franz Ferdinand in June of 1914 led to World War I, the fourth-wave attack on the World Trade Centers dragged the United States into two major global conflicts (Belasco, 2009). Belasco (2009) suggests that the funding necessary for the United States' engagement in Iraq and Afghanistan is approximately $1 trillion annually. Like the first wave of terrorism, fourth-wave actors find it easy to move internationally and receive support from Middle Eastern host nations (Rapoport, 2001). International efforts to contain

counter-terrorist activities are hindered by country disagreement and by the interests of the international communities that do not coincide with each other (Rapoport, 2001).

The Fifth Wave of Terrorism

Terrorism is a phenomenon that is deeply rooted in modern culture (Rapoport, 2001). However, as the religious wave of terror begins to subside, the flag of another cause will be taken up for other reasons and with other unique characteristics (Rapoport, 2001). Kaplan (2007) points to the actions of the Khmer Rouge as a possible predecessor to the fifth wave of terrorism. Influenced by Mao's attempts to reform China into a global power and supported by the Viet Cong and China's CCP, the Khmer Rouge slowly built their power base in the western jungles of Cambodia during the 1960s (Chandler, 2018).

In 1975, the Khmer Rouge won a civil war and came to power. The first few days after the Khmer Rouge took power, they cleared all the major cities of inhabitants, including places of worship, schools, medical facilities, libraries, and factories (Kiernan, 2002). Any person or group that refused to leave the city was immediately executed (Kiernan, 2002). Cambodia became a prison camp with 8 million citizens imprisoned and another 1.5 million forced to work until starvation (Kiernan, 2002). To destroy social groups outside the government, the Khmer Rouge waged war against the educated, the wealthy, and the employed (Kiernan, 2002).

Kiernan (2002) suggests that the main force of the Khmer Rouge, controlled by the Marxist leader Pol Pot, was pro-communist supporters of China and Vietnamese governments. Many local and regional groups identified as Khmer Rouge, who were little more than criminals

and held no fundamental ideology. Norodom Sihanouk was a statesman and the former King of Cambodia (Kiernan, 2002). The forces of Norodom Sihanouk opposed the communist Khmer Rouge. (Kiernan, 2002). Even after their defeat, Sihanouk's forces were nationalistic and supported by the United States (Kiernan, 2002). Kiernan (2002) points out that Sihanouk fled Cambodia and lived in exile; however, the United Nations continued to view him as the leader of Cambodia.

As the Khmer Rouge attempted to reengineer the Cambodian society into an agrarian utopia, thousands of families were executed, died of starvation, fell to diseases, or were worked to death (BBC., 2018). During Pol Pot's reign, thousands of students were tortured and executed, and anyone who spoke a foreign language or wore eyeglasses (BBC, 2018). In 1979, the Khmer Rouge was overthrown by Vietnamese troops who drove the Cambodian leadership back into the jungle (BBC, 2018). Pol Pot was arrested in 1997, found guilty during a public trial, and served one year of house arrest before dying of natural causes (BBC, 2018).

Hallmarks in the United States

Walter (2022) suggests that guerrilla wars, insurgencies, and civil wars have historically centered around ethnic or religious conflict. Heterogenous and ethnically diverse nations, like the United States, have a higher probability of experiencing an outbreak of conflict (Walter, 2022). The United States is currently experiencing many factors that elevate the risk of an armed conflict (Walter, 2022). Additionally, the United States is undergoing a factionalized political

system where both political parties are rigid, comparative in size, and have had leaders that base their electability on ethnic or religious nationalism (Walter, 2022).

Kaplan (2007) points out that terrorist groups develop their ideology from the milieu of the current terrorist wave. As a result, the terrorist group becomes radicalized further and may develop an ideology dissimilar from their original influences or mentors (Kaplan, 2007). These changes are no different for the domestic right-wing extremist in the United States who becomes radicalized further and changes their worldview based on other life course factors. Kaplan (2007) suggests that groups and individuals that change cut ties with outsiders whose milieu is not reflective of their own. An essential concept for the isolated group to embrace is racial purity (Kaplan, 2007). Kaplan (2007) suggests that people who espouse old-world beliefs must be cleansed from society (Kaplan, 2007).

Hitler's Nazi party was obsessed with the notion of racial superiority and what he called the Aryan master race (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (HMM), 2022). Nazi ideology proposed that the Jewish people were inferior, weak, parasitic, and worthy of extermination (HMM, 2022). Kaplan (2007) suggests that five-wave terror groups believe in the idea of human perfectibility and a new society's immediate ability to create a new version of men and women. Kaplan (2007) surmises that if a five-wave terror group were able to gain the state's power, it would result in genocidal violence. Terror groups' use of violence prior to assuming power would have no other use than publicly displaying the group's power (Kaplan, 2007).

Kaplan (2007) suggests that five-wave terror groups, whether initially supported by a foreign organization, will retract into localized tribes of extremist actors who are nationalistic, ethnocentric, and racially pure. Government intervention can cause the individual group members to give up the use of violence but will never cause the actors to return to a pre-extremist ideology (Kaplan, 2007). German fascism yearns for national rebirth and creating a "new man" (Walter, 2022).

A prominent belief of right-wing extremist groups is the idea that an Aryan that has the natural right to rule over all other races and ethnicities (Walter, 2022). The belief in anti-Semitism and racism are reoccurring central principles in the ideology of fifth-wave actors, whether the group milieu embraces fascism or ethnopluralism (Kaplan, 2007; Walter, 2022). Walter (2022) explains that ethnopluralism argues for the division of society along racial lines, but although segregated, each race is equal. Fifth-wave terrorism ideology empowers the populace's radical right to create an ethnocracy that determines citizenship by ethnicity (Walter, 2022). A dominant feature in the radical right ideology is the combination of xenophobia and nationalism, known as *nativism* (Walter, 2022). Nativism supports the localized tribal mentality of fifth-wave terror groups who wish to expel immigrants from the country who fail to assimilate quickly enough and to a certain degree (Walter, 2022).

Kaplan (2016) suggests that right-wing extremist groups formed during the Tribal Wave of terrorism will contain individuals who believe that society is unredeemable, causing them to withdraw into rural and wilderness areas of the country. Many groups will be obsessed with the idea of race purity and embrace the idea of a new utopia (Kaplan, 2016). This pure race supports

the notion that other races are unnecessary, and that genocide is necessary to rid the world of their existence (Kaplan, 2016). Women are necessary to produce children, and during the fifth wave making, rape is a common occurrence (Kaplan, 2016). Kaplan (2016) indicates that fifth-wave groups primarily will embrace authoritarianism and misogynistic by nature.

Summary of Wave Theory

Rapoport's terrorism wave theory is one of the most cited works in the study of terrorism (Horgan & Braddock, 2012). Terrorism wave theory suggests that there are models of terrorism that are generational, historical, and classified terrorist groups in time based on widely shared ideologies and tactics (Radil & Castan Pinos, 2019). Wave theory supports the idea that right-wing extremist actors, heavily armed, will formulate the next wave of global terrorism and are willing to use extreme forms of violence against their perceived enemies (Kaplan, 2016). Additionally, the groups will be authoritarian, creating a hierarchy with themselves at the top and answering to only those above them (Kaplan, 2016).

Post-Conflict Societies

Countries that engage in warfare experience increased violence throughout their domestic population (Suhrke & Berdal, 2013; Archer & Gartner, 1976; Boyle, 2014). Research conducted by Archer and Gartner (1976) suggests that homicide rates in post-war societies increase drastically and, in some cases, double. Boyle (2014) points out that the increased violence is unrelated to the war or its causes and often appears as a mix of personal attacks, criminal

activity, or politically motivated violence. Murthy and Lakshminarayana (2006) suggest that all members of society are affected by the war, not only the returning soldiers.

Suhrke and Berdal (2013) point out that wars create social disorganization. Wars legitimize violence and cause society to experience a collective form of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (Suhrke & Berdal, 2013). Distrust flows throughout the post-conflict society leading to increased violence, including rape, domestic violence, and homicides (Suhrke & Berdal, 2013). De Mel (2007) suggests that society becomes more militarized when politicians use the military for civil events.

When militarized, the society gradually experiences the importance of force and the use of violence within their society (De Mel, 2007). Walter (2022) points out that it is commonplace to see armed right-wing extremists entering capitol buildings, attending social justice protests, and providing "security" for like-minded politicians. Archer and Gartner (1976) suggest that even modernized and technologically advanced countries are not immune to such increases in post-conflict violence (Archer & Gartner, 1976).

The Vietnam War extremely affected American politics and culture as people of all political ideologies saw the war as a government betrayal (Belew, 2018). The combat during the Vietnam War included using military force against both supportive and ambivalent enemy forces put additional strain on the returning veterans (Belew, 2018). Many veterans harboring anti-government sentiments remained disorganized; however, Themnér (2011) explains that veterans who have access to former military supervisors or top-tier politicians can quickly mobilize into

an organized force. Centralized leadership has the power to create groups not based on political ideology but on ethnic heritage and race (Walter, 2022).

The United States has been at war in Iraq and Afghanistan for two decades. These wars will increase the legitimization of violence within the United States for years after their conclusion. Right-wing extremist organizations have focused their recruitment efforts on military veterans and law enforcement personnel (Belew, 2018). The following three countries: Yugoslavia, Sri Lanka, and Rwanda, suffered from great civil strife and violence as their citizens based their allegiance on ethnicity and not citizenship. They are included in this study to support the idea that the United States is not immune to civil strife and even Civil War due to its prominence on the world stage.

Yugoslavia

In Yugoslavia circa 1981, Milosevic rallied the Serbian majority within the country to seize power by emphasizing ethnic heritage over political ideology (Walter, 2022; Ramet, 2018). Once firmly in power, Milosevic preyed upon Serbian nationalism and undermined the opposition's political power (Ramet, 2018). Ramet (2018) suggests that the politicians and ethnic Albanian leadership that opposed Milosevic had little insight or realization that the Serbian objective was to cleanse the country of non-Serbians. The ensuing Civil War led to the fragmentation of Yugoslavia along ethnic lines (Sekelj, 1993). In the United States, right-wing extremists embrace a strong sense of military and pro-white nationalism that mirrors Milosevic's conditions to solidify Serbian obedience, creating a Civil War (Mudde, 2019). Walter (2022)

suggests that ethnic nationalism does not occur without discriminatory policies and leadership stoking fears in their constituency.

Sri Lanka

In the aftermath of Sri Lanka's 1948 independence from British rule, the majority class of Sinhalese immediately began subjugating the minority Tamils (Swamy, 2008). Many Sinhalese were western educated Buddhists and spoke English, so they used to separate themselves from their Hindu-Tamil counterparts (Swamy, 2008). In 1956, the ruling class passed legislation that made the Sinhala language the sole official language used within government organizations (Swamy, 2008).

This act blocked the Tamil citizenry from holding a government job (Swamy, 2008). Large-scale anti-Tamil violence throughout Sri Lanka (Swamy, 2008). In 1971, Sri Lankan Prime Minister Bandaranaike launched an anti-Tamil campaign (Swamy, 2008). Tamil elected politicians saw the government as disingenuous toward the Tamil people causing many to walk out on the governmental duties (Swamy, 2008). Moreover, the Sinhalese-run government failed to protect Hindu holy sites with the same vigor they protected Buddhist sites (Swamy, 2008). As a result, the Tamils and Sinhalese first divided themselves along ethnic identity and other religious lines (Walter, 2022; Swamy, 2008).

Tamil leadership began to push for a separate Tamil state in the northeast of the island nation, where large concentrations of Tamil lived (Walter; 2022, Swamy, 2008). In May 1976, The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) was formed in the northeast district of Sri Lanka

and immediately began to engage Sri Lankan security forces in minor armed clashes (Swamy, 2008). By 1983, the LTTE escalated these armed conflicts into a full-scale insurgency and caused other like-minded groups to form and take arms against the Sri Lankan government (Swamy, 2008). Walter (2022) points out that the most volatile countries are those that have two opposing dominant groups. When these groups' ratio is between 40 percent to 60 percent of the population, there is a significant chance that the divisions will lead to armed conflict (Walter, 2022). Saad (2021) suggests that the American population identifies as 36 percent conservative, 35 percent moderate, and 25 percent liberal, which is dangerously close to the margins set by Walter (2022).

Rwanda

Long-standing socioeconomic divisions caused the Rwandan Civil War and the eventual genocide of the Tutsi and Hutu people (Alluri, 2009). The Tutsi people were the in-group within Rwanda, allowing them to receive education and access to money, cattle, and land. In contrast, the Hutu people had limited opportunities outside of being physical laborers (Alluri, 2009). In 1959, the Hutus overthrew the Tutsi King of Rwanda and killed many Tutsi civilians, causing hundreds of thousands of Tutsis to flee neighboring Uganda (Alluri, 2009). In the early 1990s, a Tutsi army formed, returned to Rwanda, and attacked the Rwandan security forces (Alluri, 2009). As a result, a fierce Civil War erupted involving the use of highly violent youth militias (Alluri, 2009).

The Hutu government elite pushed an extreme ideology that enlisted civilians to seek out and kill Tutsis with machetes (Alluri, 2009). Kaplan (2007) suggests that violent groups are not formed independently but evolve from an established milieu. Walter (2022) suggests that ethnic nationalism does not occur without the presence of a strong central leader that can stoke the fears and insecurities within most of the group. Rhetoric that impeaches the credibility of the out-groups creates an echo chamber of fearmongering that is self-sustaining, inflames, and directs feelings of anger in the dominant group toward the out-groups (Walter, 2022). In a society in the transitional phase of moving away from democracy, political messaging can be amplified by politicians' use of the media (Walter, 2022). The ideology of the in-group, fearing replacement, stems from a leader who stokes fear and anger between constituents to hold onto their positions of power within the society (Walter, 2022).

Government Delegitimization Theory

Right-wing extremist ideology suggests that they are the majority group under constant attack by the out-group who wishes to replace them as the dominant social leaders (Bjorgo, 1995). According to Sprinzak (1995), violence against the out-group, and eventually acts of terrorism against the government, only occurs when the majority group feels threatened, made to feel insecure, or replaceable (Bjorgo, 1995). Right-wing extremists first look to the government to protect their rights and position of privilege over minority community members (Sprinzak, 1995). Then, the right-wing extremist legitimizes violence, in the form of "hate crimes," against the minority group that they feel is encroaching on the extremist's rights (Sprinzak, 1995).

Sprinzak (1995) theorizes that delegitimization occurs, and the far-right groups come to terrorism after realizing that the government is not invested in solving their grievances.

Sprinzak's (1995) Delegitimization Theory argues that each group has an initial conflict with an "inferior" group and a later, different conflict with the government (Sprinzak, 1995). New groups begin to radicalize themselves by focusing on other groups, usually minorities, that they feel threaten their privileges (Sprinzak, 1995). Violence occurs in hate crimes rather than acts of terrorism (Sprinzak, 1995); however, when the group ideology shifts to the belief that the government is not properly using its authority to protect them, anti-government hate ensues. Belew (2018) suggests that white power activities increasingly saw the state as their enemy. As a result, extreme groups often believe that the minority group is controlling the government or that the government is Illegitimate, and the violence shifts to acts of terrorism (Sprinzak, 1995).

Although a small subgroup of far-right ideologues legitimizes the use of violence in the furtherance of their political ideology, the majority still support the democratic practices of the United States (Bjorgo, 1995; Kerodal, Freilich, Chermak & Suttmoeller, 2015). As a result, right-wing groups begin to use violence, first against group members that they identify as the enemy and then against government institutions they believe act against the group's interests in favor of enemy interests. Right-wing members view their leadership as not using sufficient levels of violence to become cells within the organizations (Kaplan, 1995; Kerodal, Freilich, Chermak & Suttmoeller, 2015; Crenshaw, 2000).

Academic research has focused on individual hate group activities, including political action, nonviolent activism, and criminal behavior; however, research focusing on the individual correlates of right-wing extremists is painfully inadequate and suggests that a subject's criminal history is the primary characteristic that correlates to their use of violence (Kerodal, Freilich, Chermak & Suttmoeller, 2015; Bjorgo, 1995).

Research suggests that individuals with a propensity for violence and a violent criminal history more strongly seek membership in right-wing extremist groups that use violence (Kerodal, Freilich, Chermak & Suttmoeller, 2015; Bjorgo, 1995). Stern (2014) argues that government funding is for "the creation of large datasets and quantitative analyses" (P. 607). More qualitative research is necessary to determine what correlates are present in the individual that leads the person to turn toward politically motivated acts of violence (Stern, 2014; Sageman, 2014).

Triggering Events

Under the microscope of Kaplan's (2016) Fifth Wave Theory, Government Delegitimization Theory suggests that right-wing extremist groups focusing on committing acts of violence against others from the out-group will change tactical considerations and attack government institutions and agents. Government action can drastically affect the behavior of right-wing extremist groups and individuals (Hoffman, 2000). The first event that prodded right-wing extremist groups into action against the federal government occurred in 1992, at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, when ATF agents attempted to arrest a right-wing extremist named Randy Weaver

on weapons charges (Wright, 2007; Dobratz, Shanks-Meile & Hallenbeck, 2003). The event ended with the death of Weaver's wife and child without government accountability being enforced.

The second event that suggested to a wide array of right-wing extremists that they were at war with the federal government was the ATF's 1993 raid of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas (Wright, 2007). This incident ended in the death of seventy-six Branch Davidians, including twenty-five children, as the compound was inadvertently set on fire by government authorities. During the raid, traditional media outlets showed images of law enforcement agents using military equipment, including a Bradley fighting vehicle, against United States citizens.

In the aftermath of the events at Ruby Ridge and Waco, Texas, federal legislators passed a series of assault weapons bans that right-wing extremist groups saw as an effort to disarm the American population. These gun control measures galvanized the extreme right against the federal government (Wright, 2007). Wright (2007) suggests that the events at Ruby Ridge, Waco, Texas, combined with anti-gun legislation, led to the Oklahoma City bombing by right-wing extremist Timothy McVeigh and the formation of the first significant militia group, the Militia of Montana (MOM).

In 2014, federal agents from the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) attempted to seize the livestock of a sovereign citizen named Clive Bundy. Bundy asked for assistance from right-wing extremist militia and Patriot groups around the country, who quickly came to his aid.

However, learning from their past mistakes, the federal government backed down to the resistance from the heavily armed right-wing extremists.

In 2006, Oregon rancher Dwight Hammond and his son Steven caused an unauthorized fire on federal land and were prosecuted for the incident. Both Hammonds were sentenced to one year in jail; however, federal prosecutors appealed their sentences, requesting a more significant period of incarceration. Ammon Bundy, Clive Bundy's son, responded to the Hammond ranch with members of an armed right-wing extremist group leading to a violent confrontation with federal law enforcement officials.

White supremacist William Pierce wrote a dystopia novel, *The Turner Diaries*, which right-wing extremists embrace as a blueprint for starting a race war. This study contains a summary of the novel because it has inspired many right-wing extremists' decision to use violence, including Timothy McVeigh and members of the violent right-wing extremist group known as *The Order*.

Ruby Ridge, Idaho

In 1992, Randy Weaver, a member of the Aryan National Congress, manufactured and sold illegal sawed-off shotguns to a federal law enforcement informant (Dobratz, Shanks-Meile & Hallenbeck, 2003). Federal law enforcement officers from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) approached the Weaver house. They offered Weaver the chance to become a police informant rather than face prosecution. Weaver angrily refused and withdrew to his secluded mountain-top compound in Ruby Ridge, Idaho (Dobratz, Shanks-Meile & Hallenbeck,

2003). Members of the United States Marshal Service began a surveillance operation on the Weaver compound by were soon detected by Weaver's dog (Belew, 2018; Wright, 2007; Dobratz, Shanks-Meile & Hallenbeck, 2003). Subsequently, Weaver, his fourteen-year-old son, Sammy Weaver, and Kevin Harris, his son's young friend, entered into a firefight with the federal agents, resulting in Weaver's son, his dog, and a U.S. Marshal (Dobratz, Shanks-Meile & Hallenbeck, 2003).

The following day, members of the local SWAT team and agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigations were deployed around the Weaver compound. However, they were unaware that Weaver's son had been previously killed (Dobratz, Shanks-Meile & Hallenbeck, 2003). Upon observing Weaver and Harris, an FBI sniper began to shoot, resulting in both individuals being wounded and Randy Weaver's wife, Vicky, being inadvertently killed when a bullet went through the window of the residence (Wright, 2007; Belew, 2018; Dobratz, Shanks-Meile & Hallenbeck, 2003). The Weaver standoff caused the federal government to militarize the agents on the Weaver compound scene (Belew, 2018). Belew (2018) indicates that word of the Weaver standoff circulated, and white power activists began to arrive to show their support. White supremacists were arrested while resupplying Randy Weaver with weapons (Belew, 2018). After 11 days, Weaver surrendered, was arrested, and received medical attention (Wright, 2007; Belew, 2018; Dobratz, Shanks-Meile & Hallenbeck, 2003).

In the aftermath of the Ruby Ridge incident, Weaver framed the news around the incident to suggest that he and his family were victims of government tyranny (Wright, 2007; Dobratz, Shanks-Meile & Hallenbeck, 2003). Weaver insisted that the federal government targeted him

because he was a follower of Christian Identity; additionally, a government informant coerced Weaver into modifying and selling him shotguns because he knew Weaver badly needed money to support his family (Wright, 2007; Dobratz, Shanks-Meile & Hallenbeck, 2003). Weaver made it known that the government had pressured him into spying and informing other church members (Lynch, 2002; Dobratz, Shanks-Meile & Hallenbeck, 2003). Finally, Weaver publicly gave a different version of events concerning the initial interaction with the U.S. Marshal surveillance team that blamed the agents for the shootings (Dobratz, Shanks-Meile & Hallenbeck, 2003).

D'Angelo (2018) argues that every individual is susceptible to the influences of news media framing. Additionally, a state prosecutor eventually indicted the sniper who shot Vicky Weaver; however, the charges were dismissed, and Randy Weaver received an out-of-court settlement of $3.1 million (Lynch, 2002). Several other supervising FBI agents were disciplined internally by the agency after it came to light that they obstructed justice and destroyed evidence (Lynch, 2002). Junas (U.K.) suggests that the Ruby Ridge incident inflamed the extreme right, caused the militia movement to expand its memberships radically, and led to increased and widespread distrust in the federal government by militia members. Other militia leaders, including Militia of Montana member John Trochmann, gave effective alternate media appearances around the country using direct mail, faxes, videos, talk radio, T.V., and even computers linked to the internet to support Weaver and stoke anti-government sentiments nationally (Junas, UK).

The Branch Davidians of Waco, Texas

On February 28, 1993, seventy-five agents from the ATF attempted to serve a search warrant at the "Mount Carmel" compound of the Branch Davidians (Wright, 2007; Newport, 2006). The Bureau had previously conducted month-long surveillance of the compound. The agents had received military training; however, the initial raid ended in the shootout death of four ATF agents and an unknown number of Branch Davidians (Newport, 2006). The FBI was called to assume control, and a prolonged siege ensued (Newport, 2006). However, the FBI was no longer facing millennial believers; they were now facing a group determined to vanquish the wicked (Newport, 2006). The siege ended with the Mount Carmel compound in flames and numerous dead Branch Davidians (Newport, 2006; Wright, 2007).

The government identified David Koresh, the group's leader, as a dangerous sexual deviant who stockpiled firearms and homemade grenades for a pending millenarian scenario (Newport, 2006). Wright (2007) suggests that Koresh had invited law enforcement agents to inspect the compound before the raid but refused his offer. This refusal by the ATF inflamed militia groups and mainline gun advocates (Wright, 2007). The government's refusal to work with Koresh and avoid their high-risk course of action was echoed through gun rights circles, numerous gun rights and patriot publications, radio programs, and news outlets (Wright, 2007). The militia movement framed the siege at Mount Carmel as government tyranny and overreach. A post-incident government investigation revealed that the initial search warrants for the Branch Davidian compound were flawed and based on unqualified witnesses, further exacerbating far-right militia groups (Wright, 2007). The ATF garnered military assistance in planning and

coordinating the raid by fabricating a drug nexus and alleging that there was an active methamphetamine lab operating out of Mount Carmel (Wright, 2007).

Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh was one of the patriot/militia members to hold a vigil outside Mount Carmel, supporting the Branch Davidians and distributing far-right propaganda (Wright, 2007). In addition, McVeigh was interviewed by *The Daily Campus*, a college newspaper, and repeated Posse Comitatus ideological positions, including the idea that only the county sheriff was authorized to serve a search warrant (Wright, 2007). The aftermath of the Branch Davidian saga supported the right-wing extremist declaration that they were at war with the federal government (Wright, 2007).

The Assault Weapons Ban

The passage of the 1993 Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act (Brady Bill) and the 1994 Act to Control and Prevent Crime (Crime Control Act) galvanized the militia movement (Wright, 2007). Heavily armed militia groups saw federal attempts at gun control as a conspiracy to deprive the American people of their 2nd Amendment rights and then all their constitutional rights (Edel, 1995). Wright (2007) and Edel (1995) suggest that militia leaders saw gun control legislation as a multiple-themed conspiracy integrating government abuse of power, the idea of a cabal developing a New World Order that subjugates free Americans, and the fear of an impending apocalypse. In addition, militia groups pointed to the national trend of militarizing local police forces as proof of an impending government takeover (Wright, 2007).

Patriot groups strategically aligned themselves with gun advocacy groups swelling their ranks and increasing their political power (Wright, 2007). From the passage of the Brady Bill, armed citizen militia turned to a narrative that suggested they were forming strictly for defensive means, to defend the Constitution, and protect American citizens from government overreach (Edel, 1995; Wright, 2007). Levitas (2002) and Wright (2007) indicate that the Michigan militia was the largest in the country, claiming ten thousand members in sixty-three of the state's eighty-three counties. Wright (2007) suggests that members of the militia movement used gun shows to meet, radicalize, and recruit new members. Witkowski (2014) argues that the gun show culture is used to promote a libertarian and right-wing political agenda. Wright (2007) indicates that the Oklahoma City bomber, Timothy McVeigh, attended eighty gun shows in forty states two years prior to the Oklahoma bombing. The gun show culture created a face-to-face outlet for right-wing extremists outside the purview of law enforcement (Wright, 2007).

Bundy Ranch/Hammond Ranch

Cliven Bundy is a Mormon and a sovereign citizen who has owned a Nevada ranch in his family for over one hundred and fifty years (Fox News, 2017). The federal government owns 87 percent of the land in Nevada and has tasked the Bureau of Land Management with managing the land's various uses, including cattle grazing (Bureau of Land Management (BLM), 2022; McSweeney, 2013; O'Toole, 2016). During the Clinton administration, the state sovereignty movement began to take hold in mid-western states (Levitas, 2002).

Levitas (2002) suggests that the state sovereignty movement was made of farmers, ranchers, miners, and loggers who believed they were entitled to federally owned resources without any obstructions from the government. The United States government mandates the BLM to charge fees for or prohibit its citizens' use of federal lands (BLM, 2022; Hughes, 2016). However, as early as 1989, Cliven Bundy failed to pay fees for his cattle to graze on federal lands indicating that the land belonged to the state of Nevada (Hughes, 2016). In 1993, Bundy's license to have cattle on federal lands was canceled due to the federal government's attempts to protect the then-endangered desert tortoise (Prokop, 2015; Hughes, 2016). Bundy refused to pay fines for cattle grazing on public lands (O'Toole, 2016; CBS, 2016; Prokop, 2016; Hughes, 2016).

In April 2014, BLM armed agents and armed contractors attempted to seize Cliven Bundy's cattle to auction them (Prokop, 2015). Bundy went to the Pacific Patriot Network, a consortium of armed militia groups from Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, for help (CBS, 2016). As a result, hundreds of protesters arrived at the Bundy ranch, including numerous members of armed militia groups (Prokop, 2015). On April 12, The BLM leadership, fearing another Branch Davidian quagmire, elected to vacate the area without any law enforcement action (Prokop, 2015).

Dwight Hammond and his son Steven Hammond are ranchers in Oregon (O'Toole, 2016). In 2001 and 2006, without the federal government's consent, the Hammonds set fire to federal lands as a sensible method commonly used to improve wildlife habitat, increase land productivity, and control wildfire (O'Toole, 2016). The BLM concluded that the 2001 fire was

set on Hammond land and spread to include 139 acres of federal land; however, the 2006 fire created a public hazard, was believed to be set on federal land, and required the local fire department to extinguish the flames (O'Toole, 2016). The Hammonds were initially sentenced in federal court to one year in jail and fined $400,000. However, the prosecutors for the case invoked an anti-terrorism law, demanding that the Hammonds return to prison for an additional four-year term (O'Toole, 2016).

Ammon Bundy, the son of Cliven Bundy, traveled to Oregon to support the Hammonds (O'Toole, 2016). Ranchers who espouse political ideologies from both the left and the right have long requested more control of federal lands from the government (Stock, 2017). Stock (2017) suggests that western American ranchers believed that the government had placed regulations and restrictions on ranchers with the intent to impoverish them. Ammon Bundy, a sovereign citizen, brought armed militia members to the Hammond protests, which resulted in a 41-day standoff with federal agents.

Danvers (2021) reports that the standoff resulted in the shooting death of Oregon Patriot member Robert LaVoy Finicum and the wounding of Ammon Bundy's brother, Ryan Bundy. Ammon and Ryan Bundy were acquitted at a trial, Cliven Bundy was acquitted after an 18-month pre-trial incarceration period, and President Trump pardoned the Hammonds, allowing them to be released from prison early (Danvers, 2021).

Militia of Montana

John Trochmann's *Militia of Montana (MOM)* became a model for the militia movement nationally and can trace its roots to the neo-Nazi and White supremacist movements (Belew, 2018; Lee, 2000). Trochmann established MOM in 1994 and quickly downplayed the group's racist ideology to attach a more comprehensive array of recruits and denounced white supremacy even though there was still evidence to the contrary (Belew, 2018; Lee, 2000). Trochmann's methodology was supported by Louis Beam and Kirk Lyons, both ardent White Supremacists (Lee, 2000). Trochmann embraced the idea of the North American Free Trade Agreement as a government attempt to create a New World Order and subjugate the American public (Mulloy, 2004). Mulloy (2004) suggests that militia groups attempt to define Americanism by emphasizing historical events. Right-wing extremist groups live within a historical myth to advance their ideological preferences (ADL, 2020; Mulloy, 2004).

Trochmann is best known for his "sinister global conspiracies controlling the U.S. government" (Junas, UK). Trochmann's call to arms against the United States government was quickly answered; by 1994, approximately 10,000 militia members were observed in 40 states (Junas, UK). Belew (2018) suggests, "…between 1992 and 1996 there were around 25,000 "hardcore white supremacists and an additional 150,000 to 175,000 "active sympathizers who buy literature, make contributions and attend periodic meetings" (pp. 195-196). MOM ideology embraced the notion of the New World Order conspiracy theory, the idea that gun rights were a universal need to revolt against the federal government directly. The 14th Amendment was used to replace white citizens' social position (ADL, 2020). MOM developed a relationship with the

sovereign citizen movement by adopting the idea that landowners were sovereign; the owners were protected from government action on their property (ADL, 2020).

The Turner Diaries

Violent extremists on the right, including Robert Jay Matthews and Timothy McVeigh, have long drawn inspiration from the 1978 dystopian novel, *The Turner Diaries,* written by a racist and the leader of the American Nazi Party, William Pierce (1933-2002) (Michael, 2012). Dr. William Pierce was a tenured professor teaching physics at the University of Oregon and the founder of a racist organization known as the National Alliance (Michael, 2012). Pierce was instrumental in forming the ideology of the white power movement based on the tenants of militant neo-Nazism (Belew, 2018; Michaels, 2012; Bjorgo, 2014; Levitas, 2002).

The plot of The Turner Diaries reiterates and describes the hopes and aspirations of the white power movement (Levitas, 2002). The story's protagonist, Earl Turner, joins a neo-Nazi group called "The Organization." Eventually, the group's leadership, "The Order," after the ZOG of the United States legislated a series of repressive laws that included gun confiscation (Pierce, 1999; Levitas, 2002). The novel perpetuates the Christian Identity belief that Jews are the children of Satan and describes the Black race as cannibals and far inferior to the white race (Pierce, 1999; Levitas, 2002). In the Turner Diaries world, Pierce (1999) suggests that Israel controls the United States, and that Adolf Hitler was a great leader.

In the fictional world of The Turner Diaries, Pierce (1978) writes that in response to a police crackdown led by Black activists, Earl Turner's group creates a bomb from a mixture of

fuel oil and fertilizer (Levitas, 2002). The explosive device is used to bomb the FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C. Pierce (1978) suggests killing innocent civilians, including women and children, is the only way to subvert the federal government's authority. Levitas (2002) suggests that William McVeigh adhered to this ideology when he scouted and targeted the Alfred E. Murray building in Oklahoma City. After obtaining nuclear weapons, Pierce's novel describes the dream of the white power movement, revenge, entitling it, 'the Day of the Rope," where tens of thousands of "race traitors" are executed by hanging from any available structure (Pierce, 1978; Levitas, 2002). The Turner Diaries concludes with the revolutionaries starting a nuclear apocalypse and using chemical and biological weapons to sterilize the world of all non-white races (Pierce, 1978; Pierce, 1999; Levitas, 2002).

Freilich, Chermak, and Caspi, D. (2009) indicate that within the framework of *The Turner Diaries,* Pierce exposes his steps to achieve global white supremacy with the first step involving the reeducation of the white race. Michaels (2012) suggests that Pierce sees the United States run by Jews who promote individualism to prevent whites from joining together. Pierce's novel propelled him up the ranks of the white power movement allowing him to take advantage of white power politics (Freilich et al., 2009). Freilich et al. (2009) suggest that the decline of the Aryan Nation in the 1980s allowed Pierce to increase his importance within the white power movement.

The SPLC (2022d) suggests that Pierce's *The Turner Diaries* supports the ideology of right-wing extremist groups, including the idea of a ZOG, the Black community is subhuman and a destructive force in modern society, the federal government is the enemy of the American

people. The use of extreme violence against a non-combative, civilian population is essential to subverting a corrupt government. The novel is rifted with the idea that many far-right conspiracy theories are factual. The Turner Diaries supports the use of weapons of mass destruction and highlights specific government buildings right-wing extremists need to destroy to start a "race war" (SPLC, 2022; Pierce, 1978).

Group Ideology Verses Individual Ideology

Group ideology reveals aspects of the individual's belief system (Crenshaw, 2000). Different far-right groups embrace different degrees of right-wing ideologies, and some groups are more susceptible to their members committing acts of political violence than others (Kaplan, 1995). Additionally, right-wing extremists join different far-right groups simultaneously or at different stages of their radicalization, making it difficult for researchers to zero in on one specific ideology that leads to violence (Kaplan, 1995; Atkins, 2011). Finally, individual group members use extreme violence to strengthen the group attributes and spread responsibility for the attack to other members (Doosje, Zebel, Scheermeijer, & Mathyi, 2007). Kaplan (1995) argues that individual right-wing extremists operate in a milieu that helps form and maintain their ideology; however, their final decision to employ violence is their own.

Group ideology plays an important role in the decision-making process of the individual terrorist (Crenshaw, 2000). Crenshaw (2000) indicates that historically group ideology is affected by social, political, and economic conditions. Several factors may have relevance to the decision to employ domestic terrorism: the life course of the individual terrorist; the group or

individual terrorist's capabilities; the ability to participate in a legitimate political process; and the availability of gainful employment (Crenshaw, 2000; Pape, 2022).

Individual characteristics are essential in embracing terrorism (Stern, 2014; Crenshaw, 2000). Government actions can radicalize individuals and trigger them to engage in terrorism (Crenshaw, 2000). Crenshaw (2000) suggests that government ideology shapes the opposition's belief system by creating unfair or harsh conditions for the individual. Extremist groups use the opportunities created by the government to indoctrinate recruits (Crenshaw, 2000). More importantly, Crenshaw (2000) suggests that an organization's general ideas and goals may not be unique or clearly understood by group adherents; however, they represent what the group and individual members want.

The life course of these twenty-five individual right-wing extremists will be analyzed:

· Louis Beam Jr. (Leaderless Resistance)

· William Potter Gale (Posse Comitatus)

· Timothy McVeigh (Oklahoma City Bomber)

· John Trochmann (Militia of Montana)

· Matthew Hale (Church of the Creator)

· Robert Jay Matthews (Leader of The Order)

· Gordan Kahl (Posse Comitatus)

· Richard Girnt Butler (Neo-Nazi)

· Robert Gregory Bowers (Tree of Life Shooter)

· Robert Lewis Dear Jr. (Planned Parenthood Shooter)

· Steven Carrillo (Boogaloo Movement)

· James Alex Fields, Jr. (White Supremacist and neo-Nazi)

· Ivan Harrison Hunter (Boogaloo Movement)

· Patrick Wood Crusius (El Paso, Texas Shooting)

· David Lane (The Order)

· Richard Wayne Snell (The Covenant, The Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA)

· Randal Claude "Randy" Weaver (Ruby Ridge)

· William Luther Pierce (The Author of the Turner Diaries)

· Elmer Stuart Rhodes (The Oath Keepers)

· Michael Brian Vanderboegh (Three Percenters)

· Terry Lynn Nichols (Oklahoma City Bombing Accomplice)

· Robert Boliver DePugh (Minutemen Militia)

· Thomas Linton Metzger (Aryan Brotherhood/ Neo-Nazi)

· Wesley Albert Swift (Christian Identity)

· Enrique Tarrio (Proud Boys)

Biographical Reviews

Louis Beam Jr. (KKK and Aryan Nation*)*

Louis Beam was born in rural Lufkin, Texas, the eldest of four siblings (Winter, 2011; Belew, 2018; SPLC, 2022e). Beam was the only member of his working-class family to align with right-wing extremist groups or espouse racist ideology (SPLC, 2022e). Beam was a medaled army veteran who saw 18 months of combat during the Vietnam War and returned home, as argued by what he saw as communist protests of the war (SPLC, 2022e). Beam's father was a World War II combat veteran, and his son volunteered for enlistment early in the war (Belew, 2018).

Beam saw the effects of Agent Orange, increased levels of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) in American service members, and America's retreat from the Vietnam War as a betrayal against the American people (Belew, 2018; Winter, 2011; SPLC, 2022e). Belew (2018) indicates that Beam was a white supremacist before his military service, suggesting that there were documented incidents of Beam hanging Confederate flags in the barracks and opposing the Civil Rights movement. Beam invoked his experiences in Vietnam as the primary

factor in shaping his worldview (Belew, 2018). Jones (2021) suggests that 37 percent of lone offender terrorists in the United States between 1972 and 2015 were military veterans.

Beam became an active member of the Alabama United Klans of America and was a suspect in the 1970 bombing of a radio station (SPLC, 2022e). Within the white supremacy movement, it is common to be a member of several different right-wing extremist groups simultaneously; Beam was a member of the KKK and, later, the Aryan Nation (Winter, 2011). Although Beam was an influential writer with the right-wing extremist communities, he failed to graduate from college in 1974 (Winter, 2011; SPLC, 2022e).

Louis Beam was a self-described white nationalist who attempted to modernize and solidify the broken fractions of KKK organizations throughout the United States (Kaplan, 1997). However, Beam insisted that law enforcement agencies quickly and easily infiltrated organizations like the KKK (Kaplan, 1997). Beam cited the works of Col. Ulius Louis Amoss, who in 1962 developed the idea of "leaderless resistance" (Beam, 1992). Beam (1992) was the author of several right-wing extremist works that helped the white supremacy movement transition from the Civil Rights era of the 1960s into the era of the anti-government, paramilitary right-wing militia movement of the 1980s and 1990s (Winter, 2011).

The SPLC (2022e) indicates that Be "m was a follower of t" e Christian Identity movement. Winter (2011) suggests that Beam was able to transform the traditional Protestant Fundamentalist religion of the 1970s Klan to resemble the Christian Identity movement that supports the idea of Aryan dominance. By the late-1970s, David Duke, the Grand Dragon of the

Louisiana Knights, decided to rebrand the KKK as a democratic, nonviolent association fully committed to the American election process (Winter, 2011). However, Duke's plan caused a rift in the KKK, where many members still saw themselves as authoritarian and accepted the use of violence to maintain their social positions (Dobratz, & Shanks-Meile, 2000; Winter, 2011). Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (2006) suggest that many white segregationists of the 1960s moved to the more radical idea of white separatism, embracing the idea that America, or part of it, should be strictly governed by white people. Beam stated that he intended to purge the country of every non-white influence (Dobratz & Shanks-Meile, 2006).

Beam (1987) argues that America's current political, economic, religious, and ethnic circumstances force the white people to submit to the appalling conditions, move elsewhere, or rebel against the government. In his writings, Beam (1987) advocated for assassinations against Civil Rights leaders and political leaders. Beam (1992) suggests that acts of violence should be conducted in small cells or single-person units to avoid possible detection by law enforcement. Garfinkel (2003) that small cells operate without coordination or input from a leader. Beam (1992) indicates that federal prosecutors rely on informers within an organization to act as intelligence officers; these government agents are used to provide prosecutorial information so that rogue District Attorneys can prosecute patriots. Garfinkel (2003) suggests that underground extremist groups adopted Beam's leaderless resistance strategy from the left and the right.

By 1984, Beam had allied with the KKK and several white supremacy groups (SPLC, 2022e). According to the SPLC (2022e), Beam and two other white power activists began using the early internet for communications and recruitment efforts. In April 1987, federal prosecutors

indicted Beam and thirteen associates with the crime of seditious conspiracy to overthrow the government (Belew, 2018; Winter, 2011). Federal prosecutors suggested that Beam was planning to assassinate a federal judge and FBI agent and attack America's critical infrastructure through bombings and sabotage (Winter, 2011). Beam fled to Chapala, Mexico, fearing federal indictment, and the FBI added him to their notorious Ten Most Wanted list (SPLC, 2022e). After a shootout with the Mexican police that left one police officer critically injured, Beam was extradited to Arkansas for trial (SPLC, 2022e). Beam and his co-conspirators were acquitted of all charges (Belew, 2018; SPLC, 2022e).

Upon acquittal, Beam started the right-wing extremist magazine *The Seditionist* and revised his earlier idea of leaderless resistance (SPLC, 2022e). Beam insisted that the only way for an underground movement to succeed is to act in a phantom cell structure (Kaplan, 1997). Belew (2018) and the SPLC (2022e) suggest that Beam called for the cells to act independently, taking orders from the deeds committed by earlier cells. Kaplan (1997) suggests that Beam imaged the standoff at Ruby Ridge within the framework of a governmental war against the far-right. Beam used the events of Ruby Ridge and the raid of the Branch Davidian compound to unify the fragmented white power movement (Kaplan, 1997).

After the failed raid at the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, Beam attended a press conference under the notion that he was a reporter for *The Jubilee*, a white power magazine distributed by William Pierce (Kaplan, 1997). During the briefing, Beam became unruly, started a shoving match, and was ultimately arrested and charged with criminal trespass (Kaplan, 1997). Kaplan (1997) indicates that government officials feared an organized descension of white power

groups onto the Davidian compound, making any law enforcement action difficult and unlikely. Levitas (2002) indicates that Beam founded United Citizens for Justice and organizations that demanded the indictment of government officials involved in the Ruby Ridge controversy.

The Southern Poverty Law Center (2022e) states that Beam gave his last public speech in 1996 and had been suffering the effects of Agent Orange exposure. In 1999, Beam predicted that members of every political persuasion would align themselves against the government (SPLC, 2022e). Beam lives in rural Texas with his fifth wife and remains a hero in the right-wing extremist culture (SPLC, 2022e). In 2002, Beam was accused and acquitted of sexually molesting his two young daughters during a custody dispute with his fourth ex-wife (SPLC, 2022e).

Correlates for Louis Beam

Age:	Louis Beam began his radicalization process under the age of thirty.
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
IQ:	Average to above average. Beam was able to think critically and develop military and recruitment tactics. Additionally, Beam distributed right-wing propaganda.
Mental Illness:	Not Present; however, he did suffer from PTSD
Employed:	Yes
Education:	High school educated
Peer Involvement:	Yes, Beam was a member of the KKK and founder of the Aryan Nation.
Family Disfunction:	No, the Beam family had four siblings, none of which are extremists
Urbanicity:	No, Beam grew up in rural Lufkin, Texas
Multi-Group:	Yes, Beam organized the KKK and founded the Aryan Nation. He was an adherent to Christian Identity.
Religious Exposure:	No, Beam's father was a military veteran.
Veteran Status:	Yes, Beam was a Vietnam Veteran
Combat Status:	Yes, Beam was a helicopter machine gunner during the Vietnam War.
Drug Usage:	No, there is no indication of drug usage in Beam's published life course.
Married:	Yes, Beam was married five times and currently lives with his fifth wife.

White Supremacy:	Yes
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	Yes
Christian Identity:	Yes
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No, at no time was Beam impoverished during his life course.
Date of Birth:	1946
Misogynist:	Yes, Beam believed that women played a subservient role to men.
Divorced:	Yes, Beam experienced divorce four times
Islamophobic:	Yes, as the founder of the Aryan Nation Beam's personal ideology suggests that he believes in racial and religious superiority.
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes, Beam is homophobic
Politically Active:	No, Beam never ran for office
Criminal History:	No, the research suggests that Beam did not have a criminal history prior to his full radicalization into the KKK. By 1970, when he was accused of a bombing, he was already radicalized into right-wing extremism.
Xenophobia:	Yes, Beam believed in racial superiority. He fled to Mexico to avoid prosecution in the United States and shot a Mexican federal police officer.
Siblings:	Yes, Beam was the oldest of four children.

William Potter Gale (Posse Comitatus)

William Potter Gale was a white male born on November 20, 1916 (Levitas, 2002). Gale was the fourth of five children to a non-practicing Jewish father (Levitas, 2002). His father came from a line of devout Russian Jews fleeing to the United States because of religious prosecution (Levitas, 2002). William Potter Gale was a reverend in the Christian Identity movement and an early member of the posse comitatus movement (Levitas, 2002). The SPLC (2022f) suggests that Gale began his radicalization while a member of the John Birch Society. Boylan (2004) points out that Gale was the youngest Lieutenant Colonel to serve under General MacArthur, where he trained Filipino guerrillas to fight the Japanese. Gale retired from the army in 1950 and found employment with Hughes Aircraft (Boylan, 2004). Gale had a failed run for the governorship of California, on the Republic party ticket, in 1962 (Boylan, 2004).

Gale became a figure in the white supremacy movement, even introducing Klansmen Wesley Swift to Richard Butler of the Aryan Nation (Boylan, 2004). Gale used his membership with area VFWs to recruit former service members into the CDL (Boylan, 2004). Gale, replicating the success of the *Minutemen Militia* group, created the *Gale's Rangers*, an early militia organization Gale intended to use for guerrilla warfare (Boylan, 2004). During the early 1960s, Gale rubbed elbows with the elite members of the white supremacy movement, the early militia movement, the KKK, and the Christian identity church (Boylan, 2004; Kaplan, 1997).

Kaplan (1997) suggests that Christian Identity adherents, including Gale, have always legitimized violence; however, until the Order and the Oklahoma City bombing, the Christian Identity call for violence was subdued. Kaplan (1997) and Boylan (2004) indicate that Gale, along with Reverend Wesley A. Swift, unified the Christian Identity with the creation of the Christian Defense League (CDL). Boylan (2004) suggests that the CDL's ideology was a mixture of anti-communism, anti-Semitism, anti-Castro activities, white supremacy, and overall hatred for left-leaning politics. Winter (2011) indicates that posse comitatus ideology incorporates Christian Identity with tax protesting and vigilante attacks on law enforcement. Levitas (2002) adds that the Christian Identity movement and Posse Comitatus ideology both legitimize the use of violence.

Kopel (2014) suggests that the idea of a sheriff eliciting the help of ordinary citizens to enforce the law dates to Alfred the Great. According to Gale, posse comitatus members were granted the same authority as the sheriff to arrest anyone, including politicians, that violated the Constitution (Kopel, 2014). Levitas (2002) indicates that under Gale's definition, any citizen can

call for the creation of a posse. Barkun (1989) suggests the primary characteristics of the Posse Comitatus are Christian Identity, white supremacy, anti-Semitism, belief in Jewish conspiracy theories, admiration for Nazi Germany, and a belief in millenarism. Gale espoused a particular hatred for Jews and communists, whom he suggests have taken over the Hollywood movie industry (Levitas, 2002).

Levitas (2002) indicates that Gale had adopted Christian Identity as early as 1953. His devotion to the movement continued after a 1954 successful land deal that allowed him to move to a prestigious West Hollywood home. Gale rubbed elbows with the Hollywood elite in this new location, such as John Wayne's son, Pat, and cast members of *The Mickey Mouse Club* (Levitas, 2002). In addition, gale suggested that Hollywood was a Bolshevik propaganda machine where Jews spread communism nationally (Levitas, 2002).

In 1957, Gale announced his plan to run for the governor of California under the Constitution Party ticket (Levitas, 2002). Levitas (2002) suggests that Gale's campaign demanded typical radical-right ideas, including abolishing the income tax and promoting states' rights after the *Brown v. Board of Education Topeka, Kansas* decision. Unfortunately, a failed campaign, the Constitution Party, failed to obtain the 50,000 necessary signatures and was removed from the ballot (Levitas, 2002). The importance of this failed election is that Gale immediately lost faith in democracy and continued to legitimize the use of violence (Mudde, 2019; Levitas, 2002). In addition, the election and Gale's public anti-Semitism rants on radio broadcasts alienated Gale from his family (Wright, 2007; Levitas, 2002).

In 1969, Gale helped to find the Posse Comitatus (Wright, 2007; Barkun, 1997). Wright (2007) argues that Gale was instrumental in bridging the gap between Christian Identity groups, the Aryan Nation, and Posse Comitatus organizations. Gale's initial position was that the increased authority of the federal and state governments robbed the American people of their rights and was contrary to the ideas promoted in the United States Constitution (Wright, 2007).

Fueled by racism and anti-government hatred, Posse Comitatus members began imitating pro-gun rhetoric into their ideology (Wright, 2007). Belew (2018) points out that Gale's 1986 conviction for plotting to bomb an Internal Revenue Office supports his anti-government fervor. Baumgarten, Gans, Purcell, Rose, and Schwartz (1995) indicate that Gale and four other conspirators were charged with conspiracy, mailing threatening letters, and attempting to interfere with the administration of internal revenue laws. Upon conviction, all defendants received a one-year custodial prison sentence; however, Gale died four months later (Baumgarten et al., 1995).

The sovereign citizen belief system focuses on the federal and state governments' illegitimacy, including the judicial systems. Many sovereign subgroups embrace Christian Identity, racism, and fantastical conspiracy theories. All sovereign citizen groups hold a pro-firearms stance, legitimizing violence, especially against government officials, and the idea that they hold special privileges that other United States citizens do not. After failing to obtain public office, Gale discredited the democratic system, causing him to garner an authoritarian view of government (Wright, 2007; Levitas, 2002).

Correlates of William Potter Gale

Age: Gale was radicalized prior to the age of 30

Sex: Male

Race:	White
IQ:	Average or Above Average. Gale successfully invested money, made real estate dealings, and articulated a political platform during a gubernatorial race.
Mental Illness:	There is no sign that Gale has a mental illness
Employed:	Gale was employed or wealthy enough not to work.
Education:	Yes, Gale was a Lieutenant-Colonel under General MacArthur.
Peer Involvement:	Yes, Gale was involved with Wesley Shift, Richard Butler, and the extremist Church of Jesus Christ.
Family Dysfunction:	No, although the family fled from Russia, there is no sign of dysfunction.
Urbanicity:	No, however, Gale moved to the suburb of Glendale, California as an adult.
Multi-Group:	Yes, Gale was a Posse Comitatus member, embraced Christian Identity,
Religious Exposure:	Yes, Gale's relatives are devout Jews exposing him to traditional religion; however, his father rejected the religion.
Veteran Status:	Yes, Gale was a Lieutenant-Colonel under General MacArthur.
Combat Status:	Yes, Gale was a Lieutenant-Colonel under General MacArthur.
Drug Usage:	No, there is no sign of drug use in Gale's biographical information.
Married:	Yes, Gale was married.
White Supremacy:	Yes
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	Yes, Gale had a strong hatred for Jews and communists.

Christian Identity:	Yes, Gale embraced Christian Identity in 1953 and suggested that the religion supported the tenants of the tax-protest movement.
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1916
Misogynist:	Yes, Gale believed that women had a different role than men.
Divorced:	Unknown
Islamophobic:	Yes, Gale was a white nationalist
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes, Gale espoused LGBTQ+ hatred
Politically Active:	Yes, Gale ran for the Governorship of California
Criminal History:	No, there is no indication of pre-radicalization criminality.
Xenophobia:	Yes, Gale was a white supremacist and white nationalist.
Siblings:	Yes, Gale was one of five children

Timothy McVeigh (Oklahoma City Bomber)

The most notorious right-wing extremist was Timothy McVeigh, who was known for his April 19, 1995, the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah federal building in Oklahoma City. The truck bomb used in the bombing caused 759 injuries and 167 fatalities, including 19 children (Mallonee, Shariat, Stennies, Waxweiler, Hogan, and Jordan, 1996; Madeira, 2012). There were 361 people in the Murrah building at the time of the blast, and 319 suffered an injury (Mallonee et al., 1996). Mallonee et al. (1996) indicate that the Oklahoma City bombing resulted in the most significant number of fatalities in the United States, except for the September 11 attacks in New York City. Stickney (1996) indicates that the blast caused severe widespread structural damage to most of the surrounding buildings. For the explosion, McVeigh used a mixture of

ammonium nitrate and nitromethane fuel contained in several 55-gallon drums placed in the rear of a Ryder rental truck (Wright, 2007; Stickney, 1996). Post bombing, McVeigh repeated James Ellison, saying that it was necessary to have a high "body count" regardless of the victim's affiliation to the federal government (Wright, 2007). Stickney (1996) suggests that the main target of the bombing attack was Robert Ricks, the lead spokesman for the ATF at the Waco, Texas standoff.

Stickney (1996) suggests that witnesses tied two white males in their twenties to a Ryder rental truck almost immediately after the blast. During the post-blast investigation, the government established a tie between Timothy McVeigh and Elohim City, Oklahoma (Wright, 2007). Shook, Delano, and Balch (1999) suggest that Elohim City is primarily a Christian Identity colony; however, Wright (2007) suggests that the community at Elohim City also harbors neo-Nazi and white supremacy adherents. Government informant, Carol Howe, told her government handlers that in 1994, she overheard two men, Andreas Strassmeir and Dennis Mahon, discussing the bombing of the Alfred Murray federal building (Wright, 2007).

Wright (2007) suggests that Strassmeir was a German national and a known white supremacist and that Mahon was the leader of the White Aryan Resistance (WAR). Howe suggested that a man named "Tim Tuttle"- an alias of Timothy McVeigh- was present during the conversation (Wright, 2007). Howe's testimony suggests that the government was aware of the Oklahoma bombing plot prior to the attack (Wright, 2007). Dees and Corcoran (1997) suggest that the government's failed raids and Ruby Ridge and Waco, Texas enflamed McVeigh's anti-government views, triggering him to plant the truck bomb in Oklahoma City.

Dees and Corcoran (1997) argue that the connection between the bombing of the Murrah building and the narrative that exists in William Pierce's storyline within *The Turner Diaries* cannot be overstated. During his arrest, photocopies of Pierce's novel were found in the vehicle that he was using. Research conducted by Belew (2018) supports the idea that McVeigh was mirroring the initial attack on a federal building as described in Pierce's dystopian novel.

Wright (2007) reports that in November 1983, members of the CSA leadership, including James Ellison, Richard Wayne Snell, and Kerry Noble, cased out the Alfred Murrah buildings as a possible target of a violent attack. The men discovered that the building had minimal security and many unprotected government workers were present (Noble, 2011). Wright (2007) suggests that Ellison indicated to his fellow conspirators that they needed many deaths to make the government take notice and garner attention to their cause. Initially, CSA members intended to shoot a homemade rocket at the Murrah building; however, canceling the plan after a test rocket exploded prematurely, injuring its maker (Wright, 2007; Noble, 2011). Belew (2018) argues that Ellison and Snell's idea was to bomb the Murrah building.

An FBI raid on the CSA compound in Arkansas on April 19, 1985, delayed the Oklahoma City bombing (Wright, 2007). Noble (2011) suggests that the FBI's raid came dangerously close to ending in widespread bloodshed; however, the FBI employed Ellison's pastor, Robert Millar, to act as an intermediary and successfully end the standoff peacefully. Noble (2011) suggests that Ellison planned attacks to increase group cohesion and support his leadership position within the CSA. Belew (2018) suggests that CSA members firebombed a synagogue and several Jewish-owned businesses, blew up a natural gas pipeline in Fulton,

Arkansas, and leveled a gay community church in Springfield, Missouri increased CSA scrutiny by law enforcement agencies. Five days after the FBI raid, Snell shot and killed a pawn shop owner and a black Arkansas State Trooper attempting to apprehend him (Belew, 2018; Wright, 2007).

April 19, 1995, was the second anniversary of the raid on the Branch Davidian compound that ended in the death of seventy-six people, including twenty-one children (Wright, 2007). Belew (2018) indicates that April 19, 1985, was the date of the government's raid on the CSA compound in Arkansas. The authorities scheduled Richard Wayne Snell's execution on the day of the Oklahoma City bombing, giving more significance to the date (Belew, 2018). The government had received information concerning the Oklahoma City bombing prior to its occurrence (Dees & Corcoran, 1997; Belew, 2018). The government's informant, Carol Howe, who lived in Elohim City, informed the government that group members were planning something apocalyptic to start a racially motivated holy war (Dees & Corcoran, 1997; Belew, 2018).

McVeigh's bombing of the Murrah building was a logical act carried out under the microscope of the white power movement (Belew, 2018; Dees & Corcoran, 1997). While parking the Ryder rental truck adjacent to the Murrah building, McVeigh wore a *Tree of Liberty* tee shirt (Belew, 2018). McVeigh, Fortier, and Nichols worked as a phantom cell and acted according to Louis Beam's doctrine of leaderless resistance (Wright, 2007; Belew, 2018). Belew (2018) suggests that the cell members carried out a robbery of gun dealer Roger Moore to support the costs of the bombing. The bombing mimicked the blueprint for a racially motivated

war as depicted in The Turner Diaries (Lee; 2000; Belew, 2018; Wright, 2007; Dees & Corcoran, 1997).

On the morning of the bombing, McVeigh parked the rented Ryder truck filled with the fertilizer bomb adjacent to the Murrah building, lit a five-minute and two-minute fuse, exited the truck, and simply walked away (Wright, 2007; Belew, 2018). Then, McVeigh got into a getaway car, which did not have a license plate, and slowly drove northbound out of the city (Belew, 2018). An hour and fifteen minutes after the explosion, Oklahoma State Trooper Charles Hanger stopped McVeigh's vehicle (Wright, 2007; Belew, 2018). Trooper Hanger found that McVeigh had a pistol in his possession, placed him under arrest, and transported him to the courthouse in Perry, Oklahoma (Wright, 2007).

Belew (2018) suggests that the standard operating procedure for a white supremacist in McVeigh's position is to shoot the police officer and flee the scene; however, Hanger's tactics allowed him to arrest McVeigh without a physical struggle. McVeigh's person and vehicle contained numerous items that support the notion that he was a white supremacist (Belew, 2018; Wright, 2007). The police recovered photographed excerpts of *The Turner Diaries*, a business card from neo-Nazi Strassmeir, extremist literature such as quotes from Winston Churchill and Patrick Henry, and writings from Waco, Texas (Belew, 2018; Wright, 2007).

Due to the arrest, the FBI was alerted and confirmed that McVeigh matched a description of the bombing suspect (Wright, 2007). The FBI was able to track the Ryder truck rental back to the Kansas rental office where McVeigh rented it (Stickney, 1996; Wright, 2007). The

authorities connected McVeigh to the bombing prior to his release (Stickney, 1996; Wright, 2007; Belew, 2018). Dees and Corcoran (1997) and Belew (2018) suggest that McVeigh was connected to a cell of active participants in the bombing and was not a "lone wolf" terrorist. Belew (2018) suggests that the FBI did not follow up on solid leads that would have revealed the presence of a conspiracy and that McVeigh's execution supported the notion that the bombing was the work of a lone wolf terrorist.

After conviction, McVeigh was sentenced to die by lethal injection (Belew, 22018; Dees & Corcoran, 1997; Wright, 2007). McVeigh went on a strict diet to lose weight and to appear like a concentration victim (Wright, 2007). In addition, McVeigh wanted to televise the execution to the public (Wright, 2007). On June 11, 2001, Timothy McVeigh was executed at Terre Haute, Indiana (Madeire, 2012). In addition, the Oklahoma City bombing co-conspirators Terry Nichols and Michael Frontier were found guilty of their participation and sentenced to life without the possibility of parole and 12 years imprisonment, respectively (Madeire, 2012).

McVeigh's connection to Elohim City, the Christian identity movement, his passion for *The Turner Diaries,* and his close connection to known neo-Nazis suggest that he harbored racist and anti-government beliefs (Lee, 2000; Wright, 2007). In addition, McVeigh espoused Ellison's belief that a "body count" would draw attention to their cause, suggesting that McVeigh was involved in the Patriot movement and harbored anti-government resentments (Wright, 2007). Wright (2007) described Timothy McVeigh as a twenty-seven-year-old army veteran who was likable, soft-spoken, and friendly. In addition, Wright (2007) suggests that McVeigh was articulate, inquisitive, and possessed a higher-than-average intelligence level.

Stickney (1996) suggests that racial prejudice beliefs are prominent in McVeigh's hometown of Pendleton, NY. White residents profess a feeling of being cheated out of economic opportunities and forced into a working-class lifestyle due to the presence of other races and immigrants, especially immigrants from the Middle East (Stickney, 1996). The work-class style of the town denied the residents of Pendleton the opportunity to become culturally aware (Stickney, 1996). Stickney (1996) submits that local distrust in government translated to the national level with the assassination of John F. Kennedy, the Watergate Scandal, the creation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and the tragedies at Ruby Ridge and Waco, Texas.

The Correlates of Timothy McVeigh

Age:	McVeigh was 27 years old when he committed the Oklahoma City bombing.
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
IQ:	Research reveals that McVeigh had an above-average IQ.
Mental Illness:	No
Employed:	No
Education:	No
Peer Involvement:	Yes, McVeigh's two army buddies were both involved in right-wing extremist movements.
Family Disfunction:	No
Urbanicity:	No, McVeigh grew up in rural New York State.

Multi-Group:	Yes, a biographical study revealed McVeigh was involved in multiple right-wing extremist groups simultaneously.
Religious Exposure:	No
Veteran Status:	Yes
Combat Status:	Yes, McVeigh saw combat during Desert Storm
Drug Usage:	Yes, research suggests that McVeigh would use methamphetamines, especially when driving long distances.
Married:	No
White Supremacy:	Yes
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	Yes
Christian Identity:	Yes
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1968
Misogynist:	Yes, McVeigh embraced the notion that women had specific roles.
Divorced:	No
Islamophobic:	Yes
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes
Politically Active:	No
Criminal History:	No
Xenophobia:	Yes, McVeigh embraced *Replacement Theory*
Siblings:	Yes, McVeigh had one sister that testified against him at his trial.

John Trochmann (Militia of Montana)

In the rural town of Noxon, Montana, John Trochmann and his brother, David Trochmann, formed the Militia of Montana (MOM) in reaction to the passage of the Brady Bill (Dees & Corcoran, 1997). In 1994, Montana served as the center for the early militia movement (Belew, 2018). John Trochmann was an ally of Louis Beam and an adherent to Beam's idea of a leaderless resistance strategy (Dees & Corcoran, 1997; Belew, 2018). Trochmann was also a follower of Christian Identity (Dees & Corcoran, 1997). In the aftermath of the Ruby Ridge standoff, MOM became the premier militia group in the country. The group used its far-right newsletter, *Taking Aim*, to recruit new members and pedal right-wing extremist videotapes, books, and manuals (Dees & Corcoran, 1997).

Trochmann believed that the passage of the Brady Bill and the standoffs at Ruby Ridge and Waco meant that the New World Order was becoming more active (Dees & Corcoran, 1997). In addition, Trochmann had previously met Randy Weaver at the Aryan Nation compound in the late 1980s and was the principal target during the investigation that ensnared Weaver by the ATF (Wright, 2007). ADL (2020) indicates that Trochmann's militia was an anti-government reaction to the events of Ruby Ridge and Waco.

Adherents to MOM see elements of the New World Order actively subjugating white American citizens and that government-enforced gun control creates a vulnerable population (ADL, 2020). As a result, Trochmann was able to attract people to join his militia, who were simultaneously members of the Christian Identity, anti-tax protest, and sovereign citizens

movements (ADL, 2020). The militia movement, under Trochmann, was highly anti-communist and adhered to the belief that communist elements within the federal government were determined to confiscate the civilian population's firearms, place patriots in concentration camps, and suspend the United States Constitution (ADL, 2020). The passage of the Brady Bill and the 1994 Assault Weapons Ban, which banned the ownership of military-style firearms, allowed MOM to organize and attract many members (Wright, 2007). However, in the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing, militia membership crashed due to their relationship with Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols (ADL, 2020).

Trochmann circulated training videos detailing how to escape from FEMA-run concentration camps and suggested other military training techniques (Wright, 2007). Trochmann (2022) suggests that the United States government will subject its citizens to food shortages, foreign and domestic troop attacks, law enforcement and military-style weapons systems, and biological and chemical warfare. Trochmann (2022) suggests that the purpose of the government takeover is to lower the population of the United States to 150,000 citizens and the world population to less than 2 billion people. Trochmann (2022) indicates that the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) has a program that allows foreign globalists to purchase large quantities of federal land.

Wright (2007) suggests that Trochmann disseminated warnings of a United Nations taking over the country but first needed to neutralize unorganized militias. Trochmann believed that it would be easy for an infiltrated government to disarm the organized National Guards in each state but more challenging to deal with armed patriot groups (Wright, 2007). Trochmann

utilized Beam's idea of leaderless resistance and suggested keeping cell membership to seven or fewer to thwart attempts by the government to infiltrate the phantom cell (Wright, 2007). By 1994, there were 441 armed groups with the militia movement located in all fifty states (SPLC, 2022c). Berlet and Lyons (2000) indicated that by 1990, there were twenty-five thousand militia members nationally.

In March 1995, Trochmann and six other MOM members were arrested for carrying concealed firearms and terrorizing county jail officials in Musselshell, Montana (Wright, 2007). Levitas (2002) suggests that the men also carried plastic handcuffs and radios because they planned to kidnap a local judge. Morlin (1995) indicates that Assistant Attorney General John Connor dismissed the charges against Trochmann due to a lack of evidence. Trochmann and other militia members, including Timothy McVeigh, used the gun show subculture to communicate and recruit new members (Wright, 2007; Belew, 2018). Wright (2007) suggests that gun shows provided militia members with an unlimited supply of firearms and ammunition.

Prior to the Oklahoma City bombing, Trochmann put the patriot movement on high alert, suggesting that members should retaliate against the federal government on the second anniversary of the incident at Waco (Lee, 2000). Trochmann and his militia members were delighted by the timing of the bombing (Lee, 2000). However, the militia movement lost members due to the government crackdown following the Oklahoma City bombing, a lack of damage caused by Trochmann's Y2K prediction, and the public revelation of the racist origins of the movement (Medina, Nicolosi, Brewer, Simon, & Andrew, 2018). Senator Max Baucus suggests that most MOM soft supporters were repelled by Trochmann's anti-Semitic and racist

rhetoric (Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Terrorism, 1995). MOM member Robert Fletcher suggested that the militia movement had several million members nationally (Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Terrorism, 1995).

Trochmann, a white male, was 51 years old when he carried a firearm in a courthouse and was charged with conspiring to kidnap a judge (Morlin, 1995). Larizza (1996) suggests that militia groups form to protect their independent voice from government overreach and perceived government injustices. Larizza (1996) indicates that militia leaders, such as Trochmann, use their militia groups to return the federal government to its original constitutional mandates. Trochmann organized and recorded training videos, wrote survival manuals, and was able to recruit many like-minded people into his militia group (Lee, 2000).

In a 1995 Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Terrorism hearing, Senator Arlen Spector suggested that militia groups were protected under the constitution and had the right to speak freely. In the same hearing, Senator Max Baucus suggests that Trochmann was able to link three different and formally separate militia groups together through philosophy and personal ties (Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Terrorism, 1995). Senate Baucus indicates that MOM has twenty-five to thirty hardcore leaders and five hundred passive supporters (Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Terrorism, 1995). Trochmann articulated the militia movement's contempt for the President's abuse of executive orders to marginalize Congress and infringe on states' rights (Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Terrorism, 1995).

Trochmann called the federal tax system tyrannical and suggested that the funds bailed out the world's banking elite and militarized the local police (Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Terrorism, 1995). Pointing to the ATF's raids in Waco, Texas, and Ruby Ridge, Idaho, Trochmann argued that the federal government was using tanks and snipers against its citizenry (Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Terrorism, 1995). In addition, Trochmann suggested that the American military was under foreign actors and governments (Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Terrorism, 1995).

Trochmann expanded his congressional testimony by highlighting the militia movement's belief that the federal government uses the law oppressively and without cause, hides evidence in criminal cases, and encroaches on civil liberties (Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Terrorism, 1995). Finally, Trochmann testified that militia groups are formed to offset large standing armies and are vigilant against politicians that commit treason while in office (Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Terrorism, 1995). Trochmann expressed rage against the media, suggesting they were a "rumor gossip mill of disinformation" bent on destroying the American way of life (Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Terrorism, 1995).

The Correlates of John Trochmann

Age:	Above 30 when he was radicalized by the events at Ruby Ridge, Idaho
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
IQ:	Average to above average IQ is necessary to create high levels of propaganda, logistically form a militia group, and articulate ideology

Mental Illness:	None found
Employed:	Yes
Education:	No
Peer Involvement:	Yes, Trochmann was connected first with his brother and then with Louis Beam.
Family Dysfunction:	Unknown
Urbanicity:	No, Trochmann grew up in Rural Noxon, Montana.
Multi-Group:	Yes, Trochmann embraced Christian Identity, founded an anti-government militia group, and socially engaged with KKK members.
Religious Exposure:	Unknown
Veteran Status:	No, Trochmann was not a military veteran
Combat Status:	No
Drug Usage:	No
Married:	Yes
White Supremacy:	Yes
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	Yes
Christian Identity:	Yes
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1944
Misogynist:	Yes, Trochmann embraced the idea of specific roles for women
Divorced:	Unknown
Islamophobic:	Yes

Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes
Politically Active:	No, although Trochmann did testify at a congressional hearing
Criminal History:	No
Xenophobia:	Yes, Trochmann espoused Replacement Theory
Siblings:	Yes, Trochmann had a brother who was also a militia founder

Matthew Hale (Church of the Creator)

In 1973, Ben Klassen wrote several racist texts that became the foundation for the Church of the Creator (SPLC, 2022g). The Church of the Creator adopted a narrative that suggested that global Jews were attempting to enslave white people (SPLC, 2022g). The Church of the Creator attracted racist skinheads known for their willingness to commit street-level acts of violence, mainly against minorities (SPLC, 2022g). Michaels (2010a) indicates that the Church of the Creator doctrine was a stringent critique of Christianity that appealed to Odinists and right-wing extremists involved in the white power music scene. Klassen's ideology suggested that Christianity was a Jewish invention and a slave religion (Michaels, 2010a). In 1993, Klassen committed suicide, and Hale began to lead the Creativity movement, along with the Church of the Creator (Michaels, 2010a; SPLC, 2022g). However, the Church of the Creator ideology maintained a presence in the white power music scene (Michaels, 2010a). During this time, Canadian white power musician, George Eric Burdi, developed the movement's most well-known acronym, RAHOWA, which stands for Racial Holy War (Michaels, 2010a).

Hale was a white male born in 1971 and began to form a racist ideology early in his life (Michaels, 2010). Hale group up the son of a retired police officer and the youngest of four boys

in the suburbs of East Peoria, Illinois (SPLC, 2022g; Michaels, 2010b). When Hale was nine years old, his parents had a turbulent divorce (Michaels, 2010b). Shortly after the divorce and into Hale's teenage years, he began to read books such as T*he Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, Adolph Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, and the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche (Michaels, 2010b). Then, as a law student at Southern Illinois University, Hale revived the Creativity Movement and rebranded the Church of the Creator as the World Church (WCOTC) of the Creator (Michaels, 2010b).

After graduating from law school, Hale was denied admittance to the Illinois State Bar because of his unconventional neo-Nazi political beliefs (SPLC, 2022g; Michaels, 2010b). The bar's refusal to admit Hale into its rankings enraged WCOTC member, Benjamin Smith, causing Smith to embark on a shooting spree throughout Illinois and Indiana (Michaels, 2010b). As law enforcement moved in to arrest Smith, he committed suicide with a self-inflicted gunshot wound (Michaels, 2010b). Smith's actions brought national attention to the WCOTC and Hale (Michaels, 2010b). As a result, the SPLC (2022g) conducted a civil lawsuit campaign against the WCOTC. At its peak, the WCOTC had several hundred followers, mostly young people who appreciated the Church's nihilistic vision (SPLC, 2022g). Hale promoted the Church by appearing on major news outlets and garnered media attention by attempting to recruit children (SPLC, 2022g). Eventually, infighting and a trademark lawsuit that required the WCOTC to give up its websites caused the movement to collapse (Michaels, 2010b; SPLC, 2022g).

The WCOTC's security chief, Tony Evola, became an FBI informant and turned in evidence to the authorities indicating Hale wanted to find and kill U.S. District Court Judge Joan

Humphrey Lefkow (Michaels, 2010b; SPLC, 2022g). As a result, Hale was found guilty of one count of solicitation of murder and sentenced to forty years in prison (Michaels, 2010b; SPLC, 2022g). After Hale's arrest and conviction, WCOTC disintegrated and fragmented (Michaels, 2010b). During its existence, the WCOTC had a profound effect on expanding Odinism and other neo-pagan religious movements (Michael, 2010b). In addition, the WCOTC's attempt to unite all white people against the idea of a Jewish conspiratorial elite force has made its way into other racist movements (Michaels, 2010b).

The Correlates of Mathew Hale

Age:	Under 30 when radicalized
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
IQ:	Average IQ as the leader of the World Church of the Creator
Mental Illness:	None Present
Employed:	Yes
Education:	Hale attended both college and law school
Peer Involvement:	Yes, hale was indoctrinated into right-wing church society at a young age
Family Dysfunction:	Yes, the family suffered a turbulent divorce when hale was nine years old. Hale was raised solely by his father.
Urbanicity:	East Peoria, Illinois suburbs
Multi-Group:	Yes, neo-Nazi groups, Racist Skinheads, and Odinists
Religious Exposure:	Yes, introduced to right-wing religious organizations by Ben Klassen
Veteran Status:	No

Combat Status:	No
Drug Usage:	No
Married:	Yes
White Supremacy:	Yes
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	Yes
Christian Identity:	No
Odinist:	Yes
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1971
Misogynist:	Yes, Hale believed that white women were meant to reproduce
Divorced:	Yes, Hale's wife left him after three months of marriage.
Islamophobic:	Yes, Hale believed that other religions were evil
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes, hale suggested that Homosexuals be put to death.
Politically Active:	No
Criminal History:	Yes, Hale was arrested for threatening black people with a firearm, littering, and public flag burning.
Xenophobia:	Yes, Hale was a white nationalist and believed that America was for Whites only.
Siblings:	No

Robert Jay Matthews (Leader of The Order)

Robert Jay Matthews, a white male, was born on January 16, 1953, in the rural town of Marfa, Arizona (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1990). Matthews' father was the former mayor of the town;

however, due to financial problems, the family moved to the city of Phoenix, Arizona, when Matthews was four years old (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1990). Matthews adopted a hardcore, anti-communist and anti-tax political view (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1990). In his early twenties, Matthews was raised in a Baptist family, became interested in Mormonism, was baptized, and joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons) in 1969 (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1990). Winters (2011) indicates that Matthews founded the *Sons of Liberty* in 1971 but continued to associate with the *Young Republics* and members of the *John Birch Society*. The Sons of Liberty evolved into an anti-government, anti-tax militia group (Winters, 2011; Flynn & Gerhardt, 1990). Matthews and the Sons of Liberty's first major violent act came in 1972 when they raided a local television station and took the staff hostage to draw attention to their causes (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1990). After the incident, Matthews briefly fled to California to avoid arrest, then returned to Arizona a year later (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1990).

In July 1973, Matthews suffered his first arrest and conviction for tax evasion (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1990). After his conviction, Matthews left Arizona and settled in Metaline Falls, Northern Pend Oreille County in Washington State (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1990). Winters (2011) suggests that the northern region of Washington state was a hotbed of Christian Identity and Aryan Nation activity, causing Matthews to leave the Mormon church and adopt Christian Identity. As a result, Matthews became a significant figure in the Christian Identity, white power, and militia movements (Winters, 2011). In June 1983, Matthews attended a white power rally held by Aryan Nation leader Richard Butler (Winters, 2011). Winters (2011) indicates that

Butler's preaching had a profound effect on Matthews and caused him to attend the Aryan World Congress in Hayden Lake, Idaho, the following year.

After attending the Aryan World Congress meeting, Mathews, Bruce Carroll Pierce, and David' Eden' Lane accepted Butler's call to arms and established the violent white supremacist group, *The Order* in Metaline Falls, Washington (Dees & Corcoran, 1997; Kaplan, 1997; Wright, 2007; Winters, 2011). Like many white supremacy militia groups, Matthews used William Pierce's *The Turner Diaries* as a blueprint for violent revolution (Berlet & Lyons, 2000). Starting in 1983, Matthews and the Order declared war on the federal government and launched an offensive that resulted in the group robbing several banks, electronic stores, and a Brink's armored car (Wright, 2007; winters, 2011). Wright (2007) suggests that these illegal activities netted the Order $3.6 million in 1984 alone; however, Matthews had dropped a pistol at the robbery scene, giving the FBI valuable evidence (Winters, 2011). Matthews distributed the proceeds to white supremacy groups associated with Butler, Louis Beam, and William Pierce's National Alliance (Wright, 2007). Inspired by *The Day of the Rope* written in *The Turner Diaries*, Matthews planned to destroy dams, public utilities, water suppliers, and communication lines to disrupt the ZOG (Wright, 2007). In addition, Kaplan (1997) indicates that members of the Order developed a counterfeiting operation using an Aryan Nation printing press.

Smith (2017) suggests that Berg had previously received a call during his radio show from a Christian Identity adherent that became argumentative and then verbally combative. Law enforcement authorities could trace the Berg murder back to members of the Order, including Matthews, who was the "lookout" during the homicide (Levitas, 2002; Smith, 2017).

The FBI arrested fellow Order member Tom Martinez for the counterfeiting operation (Winters, 2011). Martinez became an FBI informant and led police to an Oregon hotel room where several Order members, including Matthews, were hiding (Winters, 2011). During an FBI raid, a firefight ensued, allowing an injured Matthews to escape after wounding a federal agent (Winters, 2011).

After narrowly escaping a hotel room in Oregon, the FBI tracked Matthews to a remote house on Whidbey Island, Washington (Winters, 2011; Kaplan, 1997; Levitas, 2002). After a three-day standoff that involved one hundred agents and multiple gun battles, the FBI attempted to illuminate the inside of the house with a flare and accidentally set the structure ablaze (Smith, 2017). Smith (2017) suggests that the FBI called for Matthews to surrender; however, Matthews fired at the agents with a machine gun. Ultimately, the structure's roof caved and fell on top of Matthews, killing him (Smith, 2017).

Kaplan (1997) argues that the tactics employed by the Order were much different from the phantom cells and lone-wolf terrorism suggested by Louis Beam. Kaplan (1997) suggests that Matthews was a charismatic and visionary leader whose life demonstrates the effect that group Milieu has on the actions and ideology of the individual. On June 18, 1984, members of the Order gunned down Jewish radio host Alan Berg outside of his Denver, Colorado, apartment (Levitas, 2002; Smith, 2017). Matthews's ideology began as anti-communist with an anti-government element; however, due to the milieus that Matthew aligned with, he became racist, anti-Semitic, and conspiratorial. Kaplan (1997) suggests that Matthews was able to lionize the

Order, making them able to recruit more members and galvanize alliances between like-minded movements.

The Correlates of Robert Jay Mathews

Age:	Under 30 years old when he founded the Sons of Liberty extremist group.
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
IQ:	Yes, average, or above IQ
Mental Illness:	No
Employed:	Yes
Education:	No, I only graduated high school.
Peer Involvement:	Yes, heavy peer involvement in right-wing extremist groups
Family Dysfunction:	Yes, heavy financial burdens
Urbanicity:	Yes, born in rural Marfa, Arizona, moved to Phoenix, Arizona age 4
Multi-Group:	Yes
Religious Exposure:	Yes, exposed to Mormonism and Christianity as a child.
Veteran Status:	No
Combat Status:	No
Drug Usage:	No
Married:	Yes, to Debbie McGarrity
White Supremacy:	Yes
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	Yes

Christian Identity:	Yes
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1953
Misogynist:	Yes
Divorced:	Unknown
Islamophobic:	Yes
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes
Politically Active:	No
Criminal History:	Yes
Xenophobia:	Yes, Matthews was a white nationalist
Siblings:	No

Gordan Wendell Kahl (Posse Comitatus)

Gordan Wendell Kahl was a farmer and part-time mechanic born in 1920. Kahl, a white male, was the oldest of five children and was raised on a 240-acre farm in central North Dakota (Levitas, 2002). Kahl was a terret gunner for a B-52 bomber during World War II, achieved the rank of sergeant, and earned a host of different medals, including two purple hearts for injuries in combat (Levitas, 2002). Upon returning from the war, Kahl increased the size of the family farm to 400 acres; however, he moved his family to California and took up a job as a mechanic fixing farm equipment (Levitas, 2002). Kahl would return to the farm in the spring and summer but preferred the mild Californian winters (Levitas, 2002). By the 1950s, Kahl had embraced Christian Identity ideology, leaving the Mormon Church (Levitas, 2002).

Levitas (2002) suggests that Kahl left the Mormon church because he believed communists and members of the Free Masons had overrun it. Friends described Kahl as a hard-working family man with six children, quiet and humble; however, he was an avid anti-government tax protester (Levitas, 2002; Wright, 2007). In addition, Levitas (2002) suggests that Kahl strongly believed in the control of the ZOG and in the idea of an international Jewish conspiracy to subjugate free white Americans.

Wright (2007) suggests that Kahl had joined the Posse Comitatus movement by the early 1980s, had visited the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord (CSA), and had drummed up a relationship with James Ellison (Corcoran, 1990). Corcoran (1990) suggests that Ellison saw Kahl as a "Christian survivalist" who could join the ranks of the Christian patriot movement. Levitas (2002) argues that Kahl had joined the Posse Comitatus movement in 1973 and moved from California to Texas to work in the oil fields. While in Texas, Kahl lived out his Posse Comitatus beliefs, did not pay taxes, and refused to register his vehicle or apply for a driver's license (Levitas, 2002).

In 1975, Kahl and five other Posse members went on television and protested the government's tax policies (Levitas, 2002). Levitas (2002) points out that Kahl had not paid his tax obligations to the government in the eight years prior to the television protest. As a result, Kahl was visited by a revenue officer, arrested, and charged with failing to file his taxes for 1973 and 1974 (Levitas, 2002).

During his trial, Kahl attempted to enact his Posse ideologies as a defensive strategy in court (Levitas, 2002). Kahl was convicted and sentenced to one year in prison; however, the imprisonment just served to strengthen Kahl's anti-government ideology (Levitas, 2002). As a condition of Kahl's probation, he was ordered to pay twenty-five thousand dollars in back taxes; however, Kahl refused, and a portion of his farm was seized (Levitas, 2002). Levitas (2002) suggests that Kahl met with an apprehensive federal marshal, after which the marshal concluded that it was better to avoid confrontation with Kahl.

During the meeting with the federal marshal Kahl indicated that he thought he was charged because he was a Christian, was tried illegally, and was wrongly convicted (Levitas, 2002). Kahl took his family back to Arkansas and began to recruit farmers into the posse comitatus ranks actively and met with members of the CSA (Levitas, 2002). When a farm's eviction led to an auction, Kahl would make an effort to stop the foreclosure by threatening any would-be buyers (Wright, 2007). Kahl organized posse comitatus meetings where the whites-only members were heavily armed (Levitas, 2002). After a meeting, four federal marshals and two local sheriff's deputies attempted to apprehend Kahl for an outstanding arrest warrant (Levitas, 2002; Wright, 2007; Corcoran, 1990). A firefight commenced killing five of the six law enforcement officers and seriously wounding Kahl's oldest son, Yorie (Corcoran, 1990; Levitas, 2002; Wright, 2007).

After the firefight, Kahl insisted that his actions were in self-defense and fled to a CSA safehouse four miles north of Smithville (Wright, 2007). Kahl was able to survive in the safehouse for four months with the help of CSA members; however, Kahl was betrayed by a

member's daughter who hoped to collect the twenty-five-thousand-dollar reward for Kahl's capture (Wright, 2007). According to Wright (2007), a task force containing federal, state, and county law enforcement personnel surrounded the dwelling where Kahl was hiding. Another firefight erupted Kahl and the County Sheriff, Gene Matthews, were killed (Levitas, 2002; Flynn & Gerhardt, 1990). Not realizing that Kahl was dead, the task force poured fuel down the chimney, causing the dwelling to burst into flames (Levitas, 2002; Flynn & Gerhardt, 1990).

Doosje, Zebel, Scheermeijer, and Mathyi (2007) argue that Incidents of extremist violence by an individual group member strengthen the group ideology. Crenshaw (2000) suggests that government actions can strengthen group cohesion and increase levels of violence. Wright (2007) indicates that Kahl was a significant figure in many different right-wing extremist groups, including Posse Comitatus, Christian Identity, farmer protests, anti-tax protests, CSA, anti-government movement, and the Patriot movement. Regardless of group association, right-wing extremist leadership created a narrative from Kahl's death that mobilized the first wave of Patriot insurgency and violence (Wright, 2007).

Law enforcement in Kansas saw the Kahl shootout as a reason to become militarized, asking legislators for the funds to purchase fifty mini-14 semiautomatic rifles (Levitas, 2002). The ADL began to push six states: Kanas, Nebraska, Missouri, Idaho, Oregon, and Wisconsin, to outlaw private militia training (Levitas, 2002). Crenshaw (2000) suggests that government reactions and crackdowns can cause extremist group members to increase their level of commitment. In the wake of the Kahl incident, the legislative reaction caused conservative

political organizations, including the pro-gun National Rifle Association, to solidify and oppose the ADL's efforts to combat militia groups (Levitas, 2002).

The Correlates of Gordan Wendell Kahl

Age:	Under 30 years old when radicalized
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
IQ:	Average IQ, able to comprehend complex ideologies
Mental Illness:	No
Employed:	Yes, mechanic
Education:	No
Peer Involvement:	Yes, other farmers who were involved in right-wing extremism
Family Disfunction:	No
Urbanicity:	No, raised on a farm in Wells County, North Dakota
Multi-Group:	Yes, Posse Comitatus, early sovereign citizen, anti-Sedentism
Religious Exposure:	Yes, Mormonism
Veteran Status:	Yes
Combat Status:	Yes
Drug Usage:	No
Married:	Yes
White Supremacy:	Yes
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	Yes

Christian Identity:	Yes
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1920
Misogynist:	Yes, embraced the idea that women have a specific role
Divorced:	No
Islamophobic:	Yes
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes
Politically Active:	No
Criminal History:	Yes, anti-tax arrests protesting
Xenophobia:	Yes
Siblings:	Yes, oldest of five children

Richard Girnt Butler

Butler was an aeronautical engineer from California and a U.S. Air Force veteran credited as the founder of the Aryan Nation (Dobratz & Shanks-Meile, 2000; Dees & Corcoran, 1997). Freilich, Chermak, and Caspi (2009) indicate that Butler's parents exposed him to racism early in his life but only fully embraced it after seeing India's caste system while stationed there during World War II.

In the 1960s, Butler met and befriended Wesley Shift, a preacher who left the Methodist church and embraced the Christian Identity movement (Balch, 2006). According to Freilich, Chermak, and Caspi (2009), Butler's interactions with Swift gave him new insights that led him to take over the Christian Identity church when Swift died. Butler purchased a 20-acre parcel of

land in Hayden Lake, Idaho, and made it the center of the Christian Identity church (Lee, 2000; Dees & Corcoran, 1997; Freilich et al., 2009). Lee (2000) suggests that Butler realized that Christian Identity was the glue that could hold various factions of the white power movement together. As a result, Butler created the Aryan Nation as the political/military arm of the Christian Identity church (Freilich et al., 2009).

Levitas (2002) indicates that Butler established the Kootenai County Christian Posse Comitatus after adopting Richard Gale's posse comitatus ideology that protested taxes, restriction on gun rights, and government overreach. In 1975, Butler and fifty other Christian Identity-Posse Comitatus members attempted to arrest a police officer who had testified against a posse member in a criminal proceeding (Levitas, 2002). Freilich et al. (2009) suggest that the Aryan Nation became the largest and most active white supremacy group because Butler provided a clear message- Jews were the spawn of Satan and Blacks were inferior beasts- and a definitive plan to separate from the United States. Butler suggested his "10 percent" plan where white people would amass in Idaho, Washington, Oregon, Montana, and Wyoming to form a white nation (Balch, 2006). Dees and Corcoran (1997) suggest that Butler believed that the End Times was imminent and that creating a white nation was necessary for white survival.

Levitas (2002) suggests that Butler was not charismatic enough to expand the Church the way Swift did, causing its membership to dwindle to include Swift's daughter and a few of Butler's friends. However, Butler erected several buildings on the Hayden Lake property, including a Christian Identity chapel, kitchen, office, and printing press, to create a compound (Levitas, 2002). The creation of the Hayden Lake compound gave white supremacy groups a safe

place to meet and attracted essential people in the white supremacist movement, such as Louis Beam of the Ku Klux Klan (Bjorgo, 1995).

The Aryan Nation attracted neo-Nazis and survivalists to the compound by offering high-level firearms training (Bjorgo, 1995). Robert Matthews created the right-wing extremist group, The Order, around the area of Hayden Lake, used members of the Aryan Nation, and borrowed the group's printing press for a counterfeit money scheme (Bjorgo, 1995; SPLC, 2022h). Hayden Lake provided a location for other right-wing extremists to meet and exchange ideological differences (Dees & Corcoran, 1997).

In 1987, Butler and thirteen other white power movement leaders were charged with seditious conspiracy to overthrow the United States government (Belew, 2018). The trial took place at Fort Smith, Arkansas, where prosecutors suggested that links between white power groups planning extreme acts of domestic terrorism existed (Belew, 2018). In addition, evidence was released during the trial that suggested members of the white power movement were acquiring weapons stolen from military bases to attack the nation's critical infrastructure (Belew, 2018). However, the trial ended with the acquittal of all defendants, rendering a black eye to the government's law enforcement community (Belew, 2018).

Belew (2018) suggests that the Fort Smith trials revealed that the white power movement relied heavily on a personal network that women members established. Although the right-wing extremist movements deny women the right to engage in combat and leadership roles within the organizations, they work to forge ties between the various extremist groups (Belew, 2018). The

white power movements place the woman's body on a pedestal, relying on women to keep the race pure (Belew, 2018). Belew (2018) suggests that ideas that punctuate womanhood, including sexuality and fertility, are entrenched in racial ideology.

Bjorgo (1995) suggests that Butler's prison outreach programs were fundamental in creating the Aryan Brotherhood, a prison gang that sprung up in southern California. In exchange for helping members of the Order, The Order gave a large portion of their criminal proceeds to Butler (Bjorgo, 1995). Dees and Corcoran (1997) suggest that the Hayden Lake compound attracted Randy Weaver and significantly impacted Weaver's racist ideology. Louis Beam returned to Hayden Lake after his failed attempt to subjugate the Vietnamese fishermen in Galveston, Texas (Dees & Corcoran, 1997). Unscathed by the criminal activities that his devotees were committing, the Southern Poverty Law Center successfully brought civil litigation against Butler (Dees & Corcoran, 1997). The lawsuit subjected the Hayden Lake compound to seizure and Butler to bankruptcy (SPLC, 2022h). The SPLC (2022h) suggests infighting following the successful lawsuit against Butler drove the Aryan Nation into collapse. In 2004, Butler died in his sleep (SPLC, 2022h).

Dees and Corcoran (1997) describe Butler as a Hitler-worshipping leader of the militant right-wing extremist movements; however, Butler's background as an aeronautical engineer provides some sense of his high-level intellectual capacity. Butler was also a combat veteran exposed to racism early in life (Freilich, Chermak & Caspi, 2009). Butler's group milieu includes the Christian Identity ideology, suggesting that Butler held deep-seated anti-Semitic, racist, xenophobic, and white supremacy ideations (Barkun, 1997; Kaplan, 1997). Butler's support for

neo-Nazi groups proves that he was fundamentally anti-Semitic and racist. Butler's attendance as a defendant in the Fort Smith trials showcases his anti-government views and belief in the ZOG (Belew, 2018).

The Correlates of Richard Girnt Butler

Age:	Under the age of 30. Butler was radicalized as a child
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
IQ:	Above average
Mental Illness:	No
Employed:	Yes
Education:	Yes, aeronautical engineer
Peer Involvement:	Yes
Family Dysfunction:	Yes, his Parents exposed Butler to racism at a young age
Urbanicity:	Yes
Multi-Group:	Yes
Religious Exposure:	Yes
Veteran Status:	Yes
Combat Status:	No
Drug Usage:	No
Married:	Yes
White Supremacy:	Yes
Anti-Government:	Yes

Anti-Semitic:	Yes
Christian Identity:	Yes
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1918
Misogynist:	Yes
Divorced:	No
Islamophobic:	Yes
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes
Politically Active:	Yes
Criminal History:	Yes, he attempted to arrest a police officer.
Xenophobia:	Yes, foreigners were communists
Siblings:	No

Robert Gregory Bowers (Tree of Life Shooter)

Robert Gregory Bowers was a white male, born September 4, 1972, and lived in a small apartment located in the suburban town of Baldwin, Pennsylvania (Ailworth & Hagerty, 2018). High school classmates described Bowers as a "ghost," a loner that did not socially interact (Ailworth & Hagerty, 2018). Ailworth and Hagerty (2018) suggest that neighbors support this claim, indicating that Bowers had few visitors or friends visit him. Balingit, St. Martin, and Berman (2018) claim that Bowers left high school before graduating and obtaining employment as a truck driver.

Bowers was active on the conservative social media platform, *Gab.com*, where he would post about the threat that Jews and immigrants posed to the United States (Ailworth & Hagerty, 2018). Raymond (2018) suggests that Bowers disliked President Donald Trump, referring to him as a "globalist." Barrouguere (2019) suggests that Gab.com is a social media platform accepting right-wing extremist posts, including neo-Nazi ramblings. Bowers's social media posts refer to illegal immigrants as "invaders" and refer to the Jews as a problem (Ailworth & Hagerty, 2018). Many of Bowers' posts reflect Christian Identity ideology, referring to Jews as the children of Satan (Barrouguere, 2019). In addition, Bowers highlights his hatred for the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), a Maryland-based, non-profit Jewish organization that focuses on assisting refugees globally (Raymond, 2018; Casiano, 2018). Gessen (2018) suggests that right-wing extremist organizations vilify the HIAS as a Jewish scheme that benefits Jews to the detriment of the Christian population.

HIAS is known for working with the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees to assist displaced immigrants, including members of the LGBT community, in relocating to the United States (Gessen, 2018). Casioan (2018) reports that the predominantly white area of Baldwin is changing due to immigration. Choinere (2019) reported that on October 27, 2018, Bowers entered the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, armed with a semiautomatic rifle and pistol and opened fire on Jewish parishioners as they were engaged in prayer.

CBS News reported that Bowers murdered eleven people and critically injured another six people, including four responding police officers (Casiano, 2018; Choinere, 2019). Once in

custody, Bowers suggested his rampage aimed at explicitly killing Jews (Choinere, 2019; Ailworth & Hargety, 2018). The United States Attorney's Office and the FBI quickly adopted the case, acquired a forty-four-count indictment against Bowers, and are currently seeking the death penalty (U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ,) 2019a).

Bowers was forty-six years old at the time of the shooting and, by all accounts, suffered from a poorly structured childhood. Bowers's parents divorced when Bowers was a toddler (Balingit, St. Martin, & Berman, 2018). In 1979, Bowers's father was indicted for rape and committed suicide (CBS News, 2018). Bowers's mother remarried and moved Bowers to Florida until the marriage ended one-year late (Balingit, St. Martin, & Berman, 2018). Bowers returned to Pennsylvania after his mother's failed marriage to be raised by his maternal grandparents (Balingit, St. Martin, & Berman, 2018). Multiple sources describe Bowers as a white male, 46 years old at his violent episode, who became radicalized online. The research suggests that Bowers is anti-Semitic, racist, introverted with possible mental illness, and embraced conspiratorial theories.

The Correlates of Robert Gregory Bowers

Age:	Over the age of 30, when radicalized
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
IQ:	Below average
Mental Illness:	Yes
Employed:	Yes

Education:	No
Peer Involvement:	No
Family Dysfunction:	Yes, the father committed suicide
Urbanicity:	Yes, I grew up in the suburbs
Multi-Group:	No
Religious Exposure:	Yes
Veteran Status:	No
Combat Status:	No
Drug Usage:	Unknown
Married:	Unknown
White Supremacy:	Yes
Anti-Government:	No
Anti-Semitic:	Yes
Christian Identity:	Yes
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	Yes
Date of Birth:	1972
Misogynist:	No
Divorced:	Yes
Islamophobic:	Yes
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes
Politically Active:	No
Criminal History:	No

Xenophobia: Yes

Siblings: No

Robert Lewis Dear Jr. (Planned Parenthood Shooter)

On November 27, 2015, at 11:45 am, Robert Lewis Dear, Jr., a white male, drove to the Planned Parenthood clinic in Colorado Springs, Colorado, to wage war because the clinic offered abortion services (DOJ, 2019b). When Dear arrived at the clinic parking area, he started shooting a semiautomatic rifle at a person in or around the clinic (DOJ, 2019b). Finally, after killing a woman and injuring three other people, including a police officer, Dear gained access to the clinic's interior (DOJ, 2019b). Dear killed three people, including a police officer, and wounded eight others during the incident, including four police officers (DOJ, 2019b). After a five-hour standoff, police were able to take Dear into custody (DOJ, 2019b).

Once in custody, Dear was taken to the state authorities, charged with first-degree murder, and federal authorities revealed a 65-count indictment (DOJ, 2019b). Subsequently, the court ordered that Dear take a battery of mental competency evaluations which determined that he could not stand trial (DOJ, 2019b). By December 2021, a federal magistrate declared that Dear was mentally incapable of standing trial primarily because he could not comprehend the criminal charges levied against him or assist in his defense (Bradbury, 2021). Williams and Blankstein (2015) reveal that Dear was a 53-year-old white male at the time of the attack on the Planned Parenthood clinic.

Dear was born in South Carolina, raised in rural North Carolina, and moved in a trailer in rural Hartsel, Colorado, in 2014 (Williams & Blankstein, 2015). Dear had maintained a 5-acre

parcel of land and lived with a woman, Stephanie Michelle Bragg, age 44, and a dog (Mitchell, 2016). Dear's neighbors described him as combative and politically unyielding (Mitchell, 2016). Mitchell (2016) reported that Dear had been previously married, had children, and divorced in 2000.

Mitchell (2016) suggests that Dear had a criminal record of domestic violence and firing a gun into a neighbor's yard after a verbal dispute. In 2001, Dear was charged with unlawful peeping and animal cruelty; however, the charges were dismissed once he moved (Allen, 2017). Allen (2017) suggests that Dear is unemployed. Williams and Blankstein (2015) suggest that Dear had embraced conspiracy theories; however, he is a single-issue domestic terrorist opposed to abortion.

The Correlates of Robert Lewis Dear Jr.

Age:	Under the age of 30, when radicalized
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
IQ:	Lower than average
Mental Illness:	Yes
Employed:	No
Education:	No
Peer Involvement:	No
Family Dysfunction:	Unknown
Urbanicity:	No, raised in a rural environment

Multi-Group:	No
Religious Exposure:	No
Veteran Status:	No
Combat Status:	No
Drug Usage:	Unknown
Married:	Yes
White Supremacy:	No
Anti-Government:	No
Anti-Semitic:	No
Christian Identity:	No
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	Yes
Date of Birth:	1958
Misogynist:	Yes, record of domestic violence
Divorced:	Yes
Islamophobic:	No
Anti-LGBTQ+:	No
Politically Active:	No
Criminal History:	Yes
Xenophobia:	No
Siblings:	No

Steven Carrillo (Boogaloo Movement)

Steven Carrillo is a former United States Airforce Staff Sergeant and member of the Boogaloo Bois movement (Jones, Doxsee, & Harrington, 2020). Within the Airforce, Carrillo was a highly trained team leader for the Phoenix Ravens, a group of security agents trained to protect aircraft while in hostile environments (Moon & Almasy, 2022). Carrillo is a veteran that served stateside in Utah and Texas and overseas in Kuwait (Moon & Almasy, 2002)

On May 29, 2020, Carrillo conducted a drive-by shooting outside the Oakland, California, federal building, killing and wounding two Federal Protective Services officers (Moon & Almasy, 2022). Moon and Almasy (2022) suggest that Carrillo and an unidentified co-conspirator were using a white van to survey a Black Lives Matter protest, opened the passenger-side door of the van, and fired nineteen shoots at the officer resulting in his death.

After Carrillo's arrest, he admitted to law enforcement authorities that his anti-government views entitled him to commit acts of violence against federal law enforcement officials (Moon & Almasy, 2022). Carrillo received a forty-one-year prison sentence and a lifetime of supervision following his release (Moon & Almasy, 2022). Carrillo emerged as the primary suspect for June 22, 2020, murder involving a Santa Cruz County, California, sheriff's deputy (Moon & Almasy, 2022). During a shootout with a Santa Cruz sheriff's officer, Carrillo allegedly wrote Boogaloo Bios' slogans on the side of a stolen vehicle in his blood (Moon & Almasy, 2022). In addition, Carrillo wrote to other members of the Boogaloo movement using

WhatsApp and asked them to assist him in fighting the police (Pérez de Acha, Hurd, & Lightfoot, 2021).

Danahy (2022) suggests that the Boogaloo movement emerged in the 1990s due to increased governmental gun control efforts. Members of the Boogaloo movement mimicked the other right-wing extremist groups by coming further radicalized by the incidents at Ruby Ridge and Waco, Texas (Danahy, 2022). Danahy (2022) indicates that the Boogaloo movement is in decline; however, it has been able to maintain ties to members of the militia movement, including the One Percenters and the Oath Keepers. Danahy (2022) suggests that the movement is decentralized and uses an anti-government ideology to maintain group cohesion. Pérez de Acha, Hurd, and Lightfoot (2021) argue that during the investigation into Carrillo, the government was stunned to uncover that the Boogaloo movement maintained a central command to establish a high level of coordination, planning, and communications during protests and counter-protests.

The Boogaloo movement's ideology embraces the idea that another American Civil War is imminent and that their primary targets are law enforcement personnel (Danahy, 2022). Ong (2020) suggests that the lack of a centralized hierarchy within the right-wing extremist movement leaves members to navigate the vast ideological ocean of right-wing extremism. There are characteristics such as anti-Semitism, racism, white supremacy, anti-government, anti-tax, anti-abortion, and replacement theory without a formal indoctrination process (Ong, 2020). The incoherence of right-wing extremist ideology causes the individual right-wing extremists

predisposed to conspiracy theory and a sense of victimhood to defy the researcher's intentions of categorizing them into a group milieu (Ong, 2022).

Pérez de Acha, Hurd, and Lightfoot (2021) suggest that Carrillo was a thirty-two-year-old, Airforce veteran, engaged to be married, a brother, and a father at the time of the attack. According to Pérez de Acha, Hurd, and Lightfoot (2021), Carrillo's brother stated that Carrillo had a history of mental illness. Carrillo intended to start a second Civil War by killing police officers he viewed as the enforcers of a corrupt government (Danahy, 2022; Pérez de Acha, Hurd, & Lightfoot, 2021). Pérez de Acha, Hurd, and Lightfoot (2021) suggest that Carrillo grew up in Burbank, California as the son of an undocumented father who committed domestic violence against Carrillo's mother.

At the age of five, Carrillo and his brother lived on their grandparent's farm in Jalisco, Mexico (Pérez de Acha, Hurd, & Lightfoot, 2021). After several years, Carrillo and his brother moved to the United States and lived with their father in a small rural community in northern California. While in the Airforce, Carrillo was radicalized, first as a pro-gun rights advocate and later as a Libertarian (Pérez de Acha, Hurd, & Lightfoot, 2021). Pérez de Acha, Hurd, and Lightfoot (2021) suggest that in 2015, Carrillo was in a severe motor vehicle accident that adversely affected his mental health. In 2018, Carrillo's wife committed suicide, and Airforce leadership believed that Carrillo's mental health was in such a state of disrepair that they seized his firearms (Pérez de Acha, Hurd, & Lightfoot, 2021).

The Boogaloo movement has a special forces group known as the *Grizzly Scouts* that train together in a rural area of northern California (Pérez de Acha, Hurd, & Lightfoot, 2021). On April 10, 2020, Carrillo was applied to the "Grizzly Scouts (Pérez de Acha, Hurd, & Lightfoot, 2021). The Grizzly Scouts are an armed Constitutional militia that instructed members only to wear black uniforms during their clandestine missions and advised that it may be necessary to conduct operations in any environment (Pérez de Acha, Hurd, & Lightfoot, 2021). The group leader made it clear to Carrillo that his military background, which included advanced combat techniques and weapons training, was highly respected within the unit (Pérez de Acha, Hurd, & Lightfoot, 2021). Pérez de Acha, Hurd, and Lightfoot (2021) suggest that within the Boogaloo Bois, the Grizzly Scout unit consisted of 27 highly trained members near Mariposa County, California.

Wolfson and Stall (2021) suggest that California is the home of the most significant number of *Black Lives Matter* (BLM) protests. The BLM protests caused a substantial increase in right-wing extremist-based counter-protests, who can coordinate their efforts by maintaining relationships with local law enforcement agencies, mainly through connections with individual officers (Wolfson & Stall, 2021). Pérez de Acha, Hurd, and Lightfoot (2021) suggest that Carrillo thought that BLM protests would hasten the appearance of the 2nd American Civil War and that violent Boogaloo Bois involvement helped their cause. Carrillo stated that he believed the police assisted the BLM protesters and were willing instruments of tyranny (Pérez de Acha, Hurd, & Lightfoot, 2021).

Wolfson and Stall (2021) suggest that the right-wing extremists utilize car ram attacks against BLM protesters and that California accounts for more car-ramming attacks than any other state. However, the Grizzley Scouts predominantly used firearms against law enforcement officers rather than protesters (Pérez de Acha, Hurd, & Lightfoot, 2021). After Carrillo murdered the Federal Protection officer, he drove to his father's residence and constantly communicated with members of the Grizzley Scouts (Pérez de Acha, Hurd, & Lightfoot, 2021). Pérez de Acha, Hurd, and Lightfoot (2021) suggest that the group's communications focused on the idea of future attacks against law enforcement officers. In the shooting aftermath, law enforcement officials determined that Carrillo's father owned the van used in the murder (Pérez de Acha, Hurd, & Lightfoot, 2021).

On June 6, 2020, several Santa Cruz Sheriff's Officer members responded to Carrillo's father's residence in Ben Lomond, California (Pérez de Acha, Hurd, & Lightfoot, 2021). Carrillo was already hiding on the property and communicating with other Boogaloo members, asking for reinforcements (Pérez de Acha, Hurd, & Lightfoot, 2021). Pérez de Acha, Hurd, & Lightfoot (2021) suggest that Carrillo began firing at deputies, hurling homemade bombs, and hijacking vehicles when there was no indication that fellow Boogaloo members were coming to his aid. One sheriff's deputy was shot; however, Carrillo was apprehended (Pérez de Acha, Hurd, & Lightfoot (2021).

Carrillo was a Hispanic, thirty-two-year-old Airforce veteran who had a tumultuous childhood rift with domestic violence. After being apprehended, Carrillo repeated QAnon conspiracy narratives, including a belief that Democratic leaders were involved in an ongoing

child sex ring (Pérez de Acha, Hurd, & Lightfoot (2021). Family members suggest that Carrillo suffered from mental health issues before he enlisted in the Airforce and that the military did not provide any additional health care (Pérez de Acha, Hurd, & Lightfoot (2021). Moon and Almasy (2022) indicate that Carrillo graduated from high school and had advanced military training. Pérez de Acha, Hurd, and Lightfoot (2021) suggest that Carrillo was divorced and maintained a relationship with his father and brother.

The Correlates of Steven Carrillo

Age:	Under 30 years old when radicalized
Sex:	Male
Race:	Hispanic
IQ:	Below average
Mental Illness:	No
Employed:	Yes
Education:	No
Peer Involvement:	Yes
Family Dysfunction:	Yes
Urbanicity:	No
Multi-Group:	No
Religious Exposure:	Unknown
Veteran Status:	Yes
Combat Status:	No
Drug Usage:	No

Married:	No
White Supremacy:	No
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	No
Christian Identity:	No
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1989
Misogynist:	No
Divorced:	No
Islamophobic:	No
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes
Politically Active:	No
Criminal History:	No
Xenophobia:	No
Siblings:	Yes

James Alex Fields Jr. (White Supremacist)

The weekend of August 11-12, 2017, was marked by a Unite the Right rally held in Charlottesville, Virginia. The event began at 9:00 pm when two-hundred and fifty white supremacists descended on the grounds of the University of Virginia in an area where a statue of Thomas Jefferson stood (Keith & Thornton, 2021). The group shouted slogans familiar to right-wing extremists and white power movement adherents, such as "Blood and Soil" (Keith &

Thornton, 2021). Thirty counter-protesters, primarily students, stood, arms interlocked, protesting the statue's existence (Keith & Thornton, 2021). When the two groups met, physical altercations erupted into a public affray of violence (Keith & Thornton, 2021).

The scene repeated itself on August 12, 2017, when members of the white power movement entered Emancipation Park to protest the removal of a statue of Robert E. Lee (Keith & Thornton, 2021). Keith and Thornton (2021) suggest that white power members carried Confederate flags, swastikas, and Nazi symbols as they recited white power slogans. Hopkins (2019) indicates that many large counter-protesters and law enforcement officials met the white power protest, causing the Virginia Governor to declare an emergency and order the police to disperse the crowds.

Keith and Thornton (2021) indicate that the group of white supremacists and the counter-protesters spilled into the streets of Charlottesville as tensions rose. Twenty-year-old White supremacist James Alex Fields Jr. of Ohio rammed counter-protesters with a Dodge Challenger, resulting in the death of a 32-year-old paralegal named Heather Heyer (Keith & Thornton, 2021). Mickolus (2019) indicates that Fields injured thirty-five other protesters, five critically. Fields were almost immediately apprehended and charged by the state with murder and assault, while the federal authorities charged fields with a hate crime (Price, 2018). Bromwich (2017) indicates that Fields was born in Kenton, Kentucky.

Fields' father was killed in a motor vehicle accident before Fields was born, causing him to be raised by his paraplegic widowed mother (Blinder, 2017). Fields' maternal grandparents

had previously died in a murder-suicide in 1984 (Shapiro, Crites, Vozzella, & Cox, 2017). Fields' mother moved to the rural area of Monclova Township, Lucas County, Ohio, for better employment opportunities (Shapiro, Crites, Vozzella, & Cox, 2017). Fields was employed as security guard and had a history of mental illness (Hernández, Gillum, Miller, & Hendrix, 2017). Price (2018) indicates that Fields took medication for many mental illnesses, including depression, bipolar disorder, anxiety, and schizophrenia.

Hopkins (2019) suggests that Fields was diagnosed with bipolar disorder at age six and received treatment for a schizoid personality disorder diagnosis as a young adult. In 2015, Fields attempted to join the United States Army; however, he was quickly discharged (Pilcher, 2017). Hernández et al. (2017) suggest that Fields has a long history of committing and threatening acts of violence against his mother. One such act of domestic violence occurred when Fields threatened to kill his mother with a butcher's knife, resulting in Fields being arrested and held in a juvenile detention center (Hernández et al., 2017). In addition, Pilcher (2017) suggests that Fields had adopted a neo-Nazi ideology and ideologized Hitler's Germany. However, there is no indication that Fields was formally connected to any right-wing extremist group, only that he has exhibited anti-Semitic and racist behavior in the past (Hopkins, 2019).

The Correlates of James Alex Fields Jr.

Age:	Under the age of 30, when radicalized
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
IQ:	Below average

Mental Illness:	Yes
Employed:	Yes
Education:	No
Peer Involvement:	No
Family Dysfunction:	Yes
Urbanicity:	No
Multi-Group:	No
Religious Exposure:	No
Veteran Status:	No
Combat Status:	No
Drug Usage:	Yes
Married:	No
White Supremacy:	Yes
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	Yes
Christian Identity:	No
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1997
Misogynist:	Yes
Divorced:	No
Islamophobic:	Yes
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes

Politically Active: No

Criminal History: Yes

Xenophobia: Yes

Siblings: No

Ivan Harrison Hunter (Boogaloo Movement)

On May 28, 2020, three days after the murder of George Floyd at the hands of a white police officer, protesters burned down the Minneapolis, Minnesota, Third Police Precinct to the ground (Sinha, 2021). To black protesters, the Third Precinct was the physical manifestation of over-aggressive police tactics that were believed to have led to the Floyd killing (Sinha, 2021). Ivan Harrison Hunter, the 26-year-old self-described leader of the Texas Boogaloo Bois, drove from San Antonio, Texas, to join the George Floyd protests (Kriner & Lewis, 2021; DOJ, 2020). During the burning of the Third Precinct, Hunter fired thirteen rounds into the building with an AK 47 assault-style rifle as other protesters were already in the building looting (Kriner & Lewis, 2021; DOJ, 2020).

The DOJ (2020) indicates that Hunter returned to Texas and posted several posts on social media platforms describing the violence in Minnesota. As part of a federal investigation, federal law enforcement and local police conducted a motor vehicle stop and executed a search warrant on Hunter. Hunter was wearing a ballistic vest in San Antonio, Texas, and recovered three rifles, several pistols, and hundreds of rounds of ammunition (Omar, 2021; DOJ, 2020).

Sinha (2021) suggests that Hunter saw the George Floyd protests as an opportunity to exploit the racial tensions between the black community and law enforcement authorities.

Further, Sinha (2021) suggests that Hunter used a firearm during the riot to increase the belief among law enforcement authorities that groups, including *Black Lives Matter* (BLM), had a high propensity to employ violence than they did (Sinha, 2021). Sinha (2021) suggests that the Boogaloo movement is committed to sparking a second Civil War between the government and the civilian population. Using an assault-style firearm, Hunter hoped to expand the violence exhibited in Minneapolis into a broader conflict (Sinha, 2021).

Sinha (2021) suggests that Hunter embedded himself into the ranks of the BLM protesters to ensure that observers, including the media, would associate Hunter's violent conduct with BLM. In the aftermath of the incident, federal police established a connection between Hunter and the fugitive cop killer and Boogaloo member Steven Carrillo (DOJ, 2020). Kriner and Lewis (2021) suggest that the Boogaloo movement is a decentralized, anti-government, anti-authority movement that attracts a broad range of individuals who hold other social and political ideologies outside the group's milieu. The Boogaloo movement's fixation on government failures, specifically law enforcement, allows for conflicting ideologies to coincide and join in a common bond (Kriner & Lewis, 2021). Kriner and Lewis (2021) suggest that members of the Boogaloo Bois attempt to align themselves with BLM protesters to increase the black community's rage toward law enforcement.

Ivan Hunter is a white male who was 26 years old at the time of his involvement with the right-wing extremist group, the Boogaloo Bois (Omar, 2021). Hunter lives in the suburban town of Boerne, Texas. In September 2021, Hunter pleaded guilty to a single count of federal rioting that carries a maximum incarceration period of five years (Sepic, 2021). Hunter admitted that he

had gone to Minneapolis from Texas to infiltrate the BLM protests to create chaos between the protesters and law enforcement (Sepic, 2021). Sinha (2021) suggests that Hunter wanted to stigmatize the BLM movement by committing acts of violence against the police and the use the violence as a form of propaganda for the Boogaloo movement.

The Correlates of Ivan Harrison Hunter

Age:	Under the age of 30, when radicalized
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
IQ:	Unknown
Mental Illness:	No
Employed:	Unknown
Education:	Unknown
Peer Involvement:	Yes
Family Dysfunction:	Unknown
Urbanicity:	No, I grew up in the suburbs of Boerne, Texas
Multi-Group:	No
Religious Exposure:	No
Veteran Status:	No
Combat Status:	No
Drug Usage:	No
Married:	No
White Supremacy:	Yes

Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	Yes
Christian Identity:	No
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1997
Misogynist:	Yes
Divorced:	No
Islamophobic:	No
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes
Politically Active:	No
Criminal History:	No
Xenophobia:	Yes
Siblings:	No

Patrick Wood Crusius (El Paso, Texas Shooting)

On August 3, 2019, twenty-one-year-old Patrick Wood Crusius entered a Wal-Mart in El Paso, Texas, armed with a rifle (Carter, 2020; Gonzalez, 2021). The subsequent attack left twenty-two people dead, and another twenty-four people seriously injured (Gonzalez, 2021). In addition, Crusius published a manifesto online expressing racial hate and a white supremacist ideology (Trump, 2019). President Trump (2019) suggests that Crusius suffered from mental instability after the attack. Bleiberg (2020) suggests that Crusius was diagnosed with severe, lifelong neurological and mental disabilities that prohibited him from possessing a firearm and

should be cause for Crusius to avoid the death penalty. In addition, defense lawyers for Crusius suggest that he has a low intelligence level that requires him to receive special education while enrolled in school (Bleiberg, 2020).

Carter (2020) indicated that Crusius was charged with twenty-three counts of a hate crime resulting in death which could result in the death penalty. Crusius posted racist content on the white supremacist social platform *8chan*, stating that he would kill Hispanic people because they were invading Texas and simply defending his country (Hayden, 2019; Carter, 2020). Crusius lived in a northern Dallas suburb of Allen, Texas, graduated Plano Senior High School, and attended Collin College for two years (Eiserer, 2019). Although Crusius lived in a middle-class town, he was unemployed before the shooting and had recently moved out of his grandparent's house (Counter Extremist Project, 2022). Crusius's father is a mental health therapist and advocate for victims of gun violence (Parry & Boswell, 2019). Parry and Boswell (2019) indicate that Crusius is one of four siblings. His father admits to being an alcoholic for most of his life and that alcoholism caused him to divorce Crusius's mother.

Hayden (2019) suggests that the El Paso attack mirrors the previous "lone wolf" attacks in New Zealand and Poway, California, where the attackers published their intentions on 8chan prior to engaging in a mass shooting. Hayden (2019) suggests that Crusius, who is a white male, is a white nationalist that embraced the conspiratorial belief that whites are being systematically replaced in Western countries. Within his online postings, Crusius refers to the white power idea of acceleration which refers to the movement’s intention of accelerating the country’s next Civil War (Hayden, 2019). White power adherents believed that after the second American Civil War,

they would be able to create a nation exclusively for white people and a government without Jewish influence (Hayden, 2019). Furthermore, in his online posts, Crusius chastises the federal government for allowing too many people to degrade the environment (Counter Extremist Project, 2022).

The Correlates of Patrick Wood Crusius

Age:	Under the age of 30 when first radicalized
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
IQ:	Unknown
Mental Illness:	Yes
Employed:	Unknown
Education:	No
Peer Involvement:	No
Family Disfunction:	Yes
Urbanicity:	Yes, the suburbs of Allen, Texas
Multi-Group:	No
Religious Exposure:	Yes
Veteran Status:	No
Combat Status:	No
Drug Usage:	No
Married:	Yes
White Supremacy:	Yes

Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	Yes
Christian Identity:	Yes
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1998
Misogynist:	No
Divorced:	No
Islamophobic:	Yes
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes
Politically Active:	No
Criminal History:	Unknown
Xenophobia:	Yes
Siblings:	No

David Eden Lane (The Order)

David Eden Lane was born in 1938 in a rural area of Iowa (Michael, 2009). Lane described his father as a violent alcoholic and his mother as an uneducated farm girl (SPLC, 2022i; Michael, 2009). Michael (2009) indicates that Lane's father would prostitute his mother out to his friends for beer and gambling money. When Lane was four years old, his father abandoned the family (Michael, 2009). Lane was adopted at the age of five, describing his new mother as an intelligent woman and his new father as a Christian zealot (Michael, 2009).

Michael (2009) indicates that his new father forced Lane to attend church services, leading to Lane's disgust with Christianity.

Barker (1993) suggests that Lane graduated high school in Aurora, Colorado, and attended one year of college before dropping out to attempt a run at becoming a professional golfer. Lane was critical of capitalism and higher education establishments (Coates, 1987). Lane got married at a young age and obtained a job as a real estate agent; however, he lost his license because he refused to sell houses in white neighborhoods to black people (SPLC, 2022i; Michael, 2009).

During the 1960s, Lane became a member of the anti-communist organization, the John Birch Society, and embraced the idea that the west was entangled in a Zionist conspiracy (Michael, 2009). In 1973, Lane embraced Christian Identity and established a close relationship with Reverend Richard Butler of the Aryan Nation (Michael, 2009). Lane became disinterested in the Christian Identity movement and began to follow Odinism, and maintained his anti-Semitic worldview (SPLC, 2022i; Michael, 2009). Kaplan (1997) suggests that Odinism has a well-adopted orthodoxy that promotes the idea that Jews are the enemy of the white race. Lane joined the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in 1979, only to be removed two years later for distributing neo-Nazi literature during Klan events (Michael, 2009). Lane became a supporter and organizer for the Aryan Nation, where he distributed thousands of racist pamphlets in libraries and bookstores (Levitas, 2002; Michael, 2009). Lane could not find employment due to his racist behaviors, and his wife filed for divorce (Michael, 2009). Lane moved to the Aryan Nation compound at Hayden Lake, Idaho (Michael, 2009).

In September 1983, Lane and Robert Matthews joined the military unit within the Aryan Nation, known as *The Order.* Belew (2018) suggests that the Aryan Nation World Congress was held in Hayden Lake in July of 1983, leading to a declaration of war by the white supremacy movement against the federal government. As a tactic in this war, Order members were determined to bomb America's critical infrastructure, undermine United States' currency, assassinate government officials, including law enforcement officers and judges, and attempt to create a separate nation within the United States strictly for white citizens (Belew, 2018). Both Matthews and Lane sought to use *The Turner Diaries* as the primary blueprint for creating a race war (SPLC, 2022i; Dees & Corcoran, 1996). To that end, members of the Order commenced on an interstate crime spree which included robbing banks, armor cars, pornography stores, and by counterfeiting United States currency (Dees & Corcoran, 1996; SPLC, 2022i). Dees and Corcoran (1996) suggest that the crime wave netted $4.3 million, which Matthews distributed nationally to white power movement groups.

Members of the Order, following the design written in *the Turner Diaries*, created a list of intended assassination victims and engaged in homicides (Dees & Corcoran, 1996). The group's first victim was a white power member, Walter West, who was thought to be a government informant (Dees & Corcoran, 1996). The group then targeted radio shock-jock Alan Berg outside his Denver apartment building for having an on-air argument with Lane a few months prior (Dees & Corcoran, 1996; Levitas, 2002; Belew, 2018).

On June 18, 1984, members of the Order shot Berg multiple times with a MAC-10 machine pistol as the D.J. stood in his driveway (Michael, 2009; Belew, 2018). After the Berg

killing, Lane, along with other members of the Order, were apprehended and tried for their crimes (Belew, 2018). Lane was found guilty of racketeering and conspiracy after the FBI connected him to the counterfeiting operation, resulting in a forty-year prison sentence (Michael, 2009; Belew, 2018; SPLC, 2022i). In addition, Lane drove the getaway car in the Berg murder and was sentenced to one hundred and fifty years in prison (Michael, 2009; Belew, 2018; SPLC, 2022i).

Lane had developed the religion of Odinism to include a racist and anti-Semitic orthodoxy (Kaplan, 1997). Michael (2009) suggests that Lane attempted to use Odinism to wean white people off Christianity. Lane had visions and dreams of cleansing the earth of Jewish influence using violence, which he entangled with Odinism (Kaplan, 1997). Kaplan (1997) suggests that the goal of Lane's Odinism was to destroy the American system before it allowed the white gene pool to be tainted.

While in prison, Lane coined the 14-word white power phrase, "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children" (SPLC, 2022i). Lane's ideology suggests that the white race is superior to all other races as an element of "natural law" (SPLC, 2022i). Lane advised members of the Aryan race to have compassion for other inferior races who have all benefitted from the creative genius of the Aryan people (Kaplan, 1997). Lane indicates that history is false, and that natural science reveals the superiority of the white race (Kaplan, 1997). Lane developed the *88 Precepts* that use natural law as a basis for white superiority (SPLC, 2022i). The precepts are heavily focused on sexuality and the role of white women within the white power movement (Belew, 2018; Kaplan, 1997). Belew (2018) suggests that the

white power doctrine promotes white women to have three or more children to guarantee the survival of the white race.

In the German language, Odin is known as Woden, Woten, or Wuoton (Donnelly, 2022). The SPLC (2022i) indicates that Lane used the term Woten and suggested that it was an acronym for “Will of The Aryan Nation.” Although Odinism did not propagate racism, Lane’s ideology made it the centerpiece of his religious fervor (SPLC, 2022i). Lane’s new religion is Wotanism, which suggests a racist form of Odinism (SPLC, 2022i). Lane died in prison on May 28, 2007, setting off memorial services within England, Germany, Russia, Ukraine, and the United States (SPLC, 2022i). Lane’s 14-88 ideology continues to be embedded in the doctrine of the white power movement; however, his dream of a separate white nation continues to be unobtainable (SPLC, 2022i).

The Correlates of David Eden lane

Age:	Over the age of 30 when radicalized
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
IQ:	Average
Mental Illness:	No
Employed:	No
Education:	No
Peer Involvement:	Yes
Family Disfunction:	Yes, violent, alcoholic father and immature mother

Urbanicity:	Yes, raised in Aurora, Colorado
Multi-Group:	Yes
Religious Exposure:	Yes, stepmother was a Christian zealot
Veteran Status:	No
Combat Status:	No
Drug Usage:	No
Married:	Yes
White Supremacy:	Yes
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	Yes
Christian Identity:	No
Odinist:	Yes
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1938
Misogynist:	Yes
Divorced:	Yes
Islamophobic:	Yes
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes
Politically Active:	No
Criminal History:	Yes
Xenophobia:	Yes
Siblings:	No

Richard Wayne Snell (The Covenant, The Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA)

Richard Wayne Snell was a white male born in rural Iowa in 1930 (Pruden, 2020). Snell's father was a pastor at the Church of the Nazarene, an evangelical Methodist church that grew out of Arkansas in the 1940s (Pruden, 2020). Pruden (2020) suggests that Snell was initially interested in becoming a church minister. Snell married Mary Jo Snell, and the two had three children together (Pruden, 2020). In 1988, Snell was acquitted with thirteen co-defendants of sedition at the Fort Smith trials (Pruden, 2020; Levitas, 2002).

In 1971, James Ellison created the right-wing extremist group, *The Covenant, The Sword, and the Arm of the Lord* (CSA). He purchased an isolated 220-acre compound in Bull Shoals Lake, Arkansas, believing that the apocalypse was imminent (Ford, 2022). The CSA was a militia that had loose affiliations with other violent right-wing extremist groups, including the Order, the Aryan Nation, and the Militia of Montana (Ford, 2022). CSA doctrine embraced Christian Identity, considered the Jewish people as the children of Satan, black minorities as Beasts, held strong anti-government views, and were obsessed with the idea of purifying the United States for whites (Ford, 2022). Ellison named the compound, Zarephath-Horeb, and suggested that it would act as an Ark for white people to survive the end of days (Ford, 2022).

Ford (2022) suggests that Richard Wayne Snell was a CSA member; however, Hays (1986) suggests that law enforcement investigators could only prove that he was a sympathizer and strong supporter of the organization. In addition, Ellison made statements that God sent Snell to help the CSA steal (Levitas, 2002). Levitas (2002) suggests that Snell was a posse comitatus sympathizer and a follower of the Christian Identity movement who was enraged by the February

13, 1983, killing of posse leader Gordan Kahl at the hands of law enforcement officers. Burghardt (2001) suggests that Snell was a fascist operative, held deep white power beliefs, and was an active member of the CSA. While imprisoned on a double homicide charge, Snell wrote for neo-Nazi publications (Burghardt, 2001). Burghardt (2001) indicates that Snell had ties to right-wing extremist groups in Elohim City, Oklahoma.

On November 1, 1983, under the shadow of the farm crisis and Kahl's death, Snell attempted to blow up a natural gas pipeline in Fulton, Arkansas; however, the explosion only dented the pipe (Belew, 2018; Levitas, 2002). Ten days later, Snell robbed a Texarkana pawnshop, killed the owner (William Stump), and brought the proceeds to the CSA compound (Wright, 2007; Levitas, 2002).

On June 30, 1984, Snell killed Arkansas State Trooper Louis Bryant during a motor vehicle stop (Wright, 2007; Ford, 2022; Levitas, 2002; Belew, 2018). Wright (2007) suggests that Snell killed Trooper Bryant because he had a trunk full of weapons, including several hand grenades, transporting them back to Elohim City. Hays (1986) reveals that four other Arkansas state troopers died in a motor vehicle crash during Trooper Bryant's funeral procession, causing the court to justify the death sentence further.

After the murder of the Arkansas state trooper, law enforcement officials set up roadblocks around Broken Bow, Oklahoma, which ensnared Snell (Pruden, 2020). Snell engaged law enforcement personnel in a shootout, was shot six times, and captured (Wright, 2007; Pruden, 2020). Pruden (2020) suggests that the firearm Snell used to combat the police was traced to the earlier Stump murder. Belew (2018) suggests that Snell had Louis Beam's *Essays of*

a Klansman book in the trunk of his vehicle when he was captured. Snell was returned to Arkansas, convicted of both homicides, and sentenced to death by lethal injection (Levitas, 2002; Pruden, 2020; Belew, 2018, Hays, 1986).

Prior to his execution, Mary Jo Snell petitioned the governor for clemency and asserted that her husband was defending himself against the actions of Trooper Bryant (Levitas, 2002). The Militia of Montana published an article citing the significance of the April 19th date of Snell's execution as the anniversary of Lexington and Concord and the government's incineration of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas (Levitas, 2002). Burghardt (2001) indicates that prior to the Oklahoma City bombing, Snell passed comments to prison officials on four or more occasions, indicating that there would be a bombing and it would be blamed on Islamic extremists. Wright (2007) and Levitas (2002) suggest that Snell and several other CSA members cased the Murrah building for a possible attack in November 1983 and informed Ellison of the building's structural weaknesses. Prior to being executed, Snell stated, "Governor Tucker, look over your shoulder. I would not trade places with any of you or any of your political cronies. Hell has victory. I'm at peace" (Levitas, 2002, p. 7).

Snell embraced white power movement ideologies at a young age, including anti-government beliefs; however, he did not commit acts of violence until he was deeply engaged in the milieu of white supremacy groups. In addition, research reveals that Snell was exposed to religious fervor at a young age (Pruden, 2020). While in prison, Snell wrote in neo-Nazi and anti-government publications (Burghardt, 2001). In addition, Levitas (2002) reveals that Snell had a connection to the Oklahoma City bombing that occurred on the date of his own execution.

After his execution, Snell was buried at the Elohim compound by Christian Identity minister Robert Millar (Shook, Delano, & Balch, 1999).

The Correlates of Richard Wayne Snell

Age:	Radicalized under the age of 30
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
IQ:	Average
Mental Illness:	No
Employed:	Yes
Education:	No
Peer Involvement:	Yes
Family Disfunction:	No
Urbanicity:	No, raised in rural Iowa
Multi-Group:	Yes
Religious Exposure:	Yes
Veteran Status:	No
Combat Status:	No
Drug Usage:	No
Married:	Yes
White Supremacy:	Yes
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	Yes

Christian Identity:	Yes
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1930
Misogynist:	Yes
Divorced:	No
Islamophobic:	Yes
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes
Politically Active:	No
Criminal History:	Yes
Xenophobia:	Yes
Siblings:	No

Randal Claude "Randy" Weaver (Ruby Ridge)

Randel Claude "Randy" Weaver is a white male, born on January 3, 1948, in the rural area of Villisca, Iowa (Sunsigns, 2017). Weaver was raised in a traditional Christian family, one of four siblings, and at age eleven, he was baptized. Weaver graduated high school and briefly attended community college before dropping out to join the military (Sunsigns, 2017). Randy Weaver joined the United States Army to become a Green Beret during the Vietnam War (Belew, 2018). Weaver was honorably discharged from the military in 1971 without being deployed to Vietnam and married Victoria Jordison the same year (McWilliams, 2017; Walter, 1996). The deeply religious couple moved, along with their three children, to a twenty-acre,

remote compound in the Ruby Ridge area of Northern Idaho (Levitas, 2002; McWilliams, 2017; Wright, 2007). Weaver took a job at the John Deere factory in Waterloo, Idaho (Belew, 2018).

Belew (2018) indicates that the Weavers had embraced the Christian Identity ideology and were already white separatists prior to their move. Wright (2007) suggests that the Weavers were increasingly embracing right-wing extremist ideologies and conspiracy theories promoting an anti-government fervor. In Idaho, Weaver developed ties to members of the Aryan Nation, whose compound of Hayden Lake was located in the next county (Wright, 2007). Walter (1996) suggests that the Weavers arrived in Idaho at the height of the white power movement and the beginning of the militia mobilizations. In addition, the farm crisis was fueling the intensity of the anti-government movement (Walter, 1996). Dobratz, Shanks-Meile, & Hallenbeck (2003) suggests that the Weavers saw the federal government as an illegitimate and unjust authority.

Belew (2018) contends that the Weavers lived off the grid without running water and homeschooled their children. The Weaver family expanded when they adopted fourteen-year-old Kevin Harris (Belew, 2018). Randy Weaver trained his family in using firearms, which they carried with them on the compound (Belew, 2018). Randy Weaver ran for sheriff in Naples, Idaho, promoting a posse comitatus brand of law enforcement by promising only to enforce specific laws that the people viewed as legitimate (Belew, 2018). Belew (2018) indicates that Weaver attended Aryan Nation events, including the Aryan Nation World Congress, at least three times.

When Weaver was at the 1989 Aryan Nation World Congress, he was approached by Gus Magisono, whose real name was Kenneth Fadely, an ATF informant (Wright, 2007; Belew,

2018). Wright (2007) suggests that Magisono told Weaver that he was a weapons dealer looking to stockpile weapons for a new insurgency. Magisono convinced Weaver to alter the barrel lengths on two shotguns, making them a half-inch shorter than was federally legal, for three hundred dollars (Wright, 2007; Belew, 2018; Levitas, 2002). Bjorgo (1995) suggests that the government entrapped Weaver into selling the illegal firearms to Magisono. Randy Weaver refused to become a government informant and was arrested on weapons-related charges in January 1991 (Levitas, 2002; Belew, 2018). Dobratz, Shanks-Meile, & Hallenbeck (2003) indicates that Randy Weaver became angry with the government's proposition of becoming an informant and retreated to his hilltop compound to avoid arrest after missing his initial court date.

Wright (2007) suggests that the government's federal investigation was focused on the Aryan Nation and Richard Butler. Wright (2007) suggests that the government was not initially interested in prosecuting Weaver; however, he was targeted in the hope that he would provide information concerning Aryan Nation leaders Chuck Howarth and militia leader John Trochmann. Howarth, a former Klansman, and posse comitatus adherent had previously been convicted of conspiring to blow up the IRS office in Denver, Colorado, and the offices of two federal judges (Wright, 2007; Levitas, 2002). Dobratz, Shanks-Meile, & Hallenbeck (2003) indicates that to avoid arresting Weaver without violence, they placed undercover agents in a broken-down vehicle on Weaver's way to town. When Randy and Vicky Weaver stopped to assist the agents, Randy was placed under arrest (Dobratz, Shanks-Meile, & Hallenbeck, 2003). Officials charged Randy Weaver with weapons offenses, and he was released after posting bail

(Dobratz, Shanks-Meile, & Hallenbeck, 2003). However, Weaver retreated to his remote mountain compound and refused to attend future court hearings causing the issuance of a warrant for Weaver's arrest (Dobratz, Shanks-Meile, & Hallenbeck, 2003).

Federal law enforcement authorities attempted to negotiate with Randy Weaver, causing Vicky Weaver to write two threatening letters to the United States Attorney's Office in Boise, Idaho (Belew, 2018; Wright, 2007). The government produced a threat assessment of the Weaver family based on faulty information gathered from government informants that were never vetted for accuracy (Wright, 2007; Dobratz, Shanks-Meile, & Hallenbeck, 2003). As a result, the United States Marshal Service formed an elite team of agents to surveil the Weaver compound (Dobratz, Shanks-Meile, & Hallenbeck, 2003; Levitas, 2002; Wright, 2007; Belew, 2018). On August 21, 1992, the Weaver's dog revealed the presence of a surveillance team in the woods around the Weaver compound (Belew, 2018; Wright, 2007; Levitas, 2002).

The surveillance team retreated down the mountainside with the family dog, Sammy Weaver, and Harris in pursuit (Wright, 2007). Marshal William Degan shot the family dog prompting Sammy Weaver to return fire (Wright, 2007). As Sammy Weaver turned to run, he was struck by two bullets, one in his back that exited through his chest (Wright, 2007). Harris returned fire with a hunting rifle and killed Marshal Degan (Wright, 2007). Harris and Randy Weaver recovered Sammy's body and retreated to the cabin, initiating an eleven-day standoff (Wright, 2007).

The following day, Harris and Randy Weaver left the cabin and walked to a small barn where they had placed Sammy's body (Wright, 2007). A government sniper shot Randy Weaver

in the arm, causing both men to begin to run back to the cabin (Wright, 2007). Wright (2007) indicates that another sniper bullet was fired, passed through Harris's upper left arm, and struck Vicky Weaver, killing her. Bo Gritz, a former special forces commander, was brought to the scene and successfully negotiated a surrender and end to the standoff (Wright, 2007).

Dobratz, Shanks-Meile, and Hallenbeck (2003) argue that the federal agents violated the law by shooting Randy Weaver, Vicky Weaver, and Harris, who were not imminent threats. Lon Horiuchi, the sniper who made the shots, later stated that he believed Randy Weaver was planning to shoot at a police helicopter (Dobratz, Shanks-Meile, & Hallenbeck, 2003). Horiuchi believed that if Harris could get to the cabin, he would have been a physical threat to law enforcement (Dobratz, Shanks-Meile, & Hallenbeck, 2003). Weaver received sixteen months in prison in the aftermath of the Ruby Ridge standoff; Harris was acquitted on all charges (Belew, 2018; Levitas, 2002). Belew (2018) suggests that two FBI agents admitted falsifying evidence by staging photographs during Weaver and Harris's murder trial. During a civil proceeding, Weaver was awarded $3.1 million for the deaths of Vicky, and Sammy Weaver and Harris received another $380 thousand (Levitas, 2002; Belew, 2018). Lee (2000) indicates that right-wing extremist groups, including members of the militia movement, strongly supported Weaver by creating groups such as *Citizens for Justice*.

Kaplan (1997) suggests that the siege at the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, and the standoff at Ruby Ridge, Idaho led directly to the Oklahoma City bombing two years later. Dees and Corcoran (1996) point out that the Oklahoma City bombing took place on the anniversary of the Branch Davidian siege. Additionally, Levitas (2002) suggests that Weaver and

Harris became heroes to the members of the extreme right. Dozens of new militia groups were motivated to form after what was perceived as government overreach (Levitas, 2002). Right-wing extremist groups see the militarization of civilian law enforcement agencies as a preparation for a war against the American public (Levitas, 2002).

Dobratz, Shanks-Meile, and Hallenbeck (2003) suggest that it is possible that Weaver was entrapped into selling the shotguns to Magisono and that the government initiated the Weaver investigation under false pretense. Belew (2018) suggests that Weaver supporters met at the 1992 Estes Park summit to discuss the events of Ruby Ridge. The summit caused right-wing extremists from different ideological backgrounds to unify (Belew, 2018). Members of single-purpose organizations such as anti-abortionists and anti-communists joined hands with militia groups, white separatists, Christian Identity adherents, and white power leaders (Belew, 2018).

The Correlates of Randal Claude Weaver

Age:	Under 30 when radicalized
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
IQ:	Average or above
Mental Illness:	No
Employed:	No
Education:	No
Peer Involvement:	Yes
Family Disfunction:	No

Urbanicity:	No
Multi-Group:	Yes
Religious Exposure:	Yes
Veteran Status:	Yes
Combat Status:	Yes
Drug Usage:	No
Married:	Yes
White Supremacy:	Yes
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	Yes
Christian Identity:	Yes
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	Yes
Date of Birth:	1948
Misogynist:	Yes
Divorced:	No
Islamophobic:	Yes
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes
Politically Active:	Yes
Criminal History:	Yes
Xenophobia:	Yes
Siblings:	Yes

William Luther Pierce (The Author of the Turner Diaries)

William Luther Pierce was a white male, born on September 11, 1933, to a middle-class family in Atlanta, Georgia (ADL, 2005; Reed, 2002). Pierce grew up with one brother who later assisted him in the white power movement and excelled academically (Reed, 2002). After graduating high school, a year early, Pierce earned a bachelor's degree from Rice University and a master's and doctorate in physics from the University of Colorado (Reed, 2002). Pierce was employed as a professor at Oregon University and worked on rocket propulsion systems at Pratt & Whitney laboratory before entering politics. The ADL (2005) indicates that Pierce was briefly a member of the John Birch Society.

In 1966, Pierce moved to Washington, D.C., and became active in both the American Nazi Party and National Socialist White People's Party, becoming the movement's leader after the assassination of George Lincoln Rockwell in 1967 (ADL, 2005; Reed, 2002; Levitas, 2002). In 1968, Pierce joined the *National Youth Alliance* (NYA), a right-wing extremist group that embraced neo-Nazi ideology (ADL, 2005).

Due to infighting, the NYA broke into various factions, with Pierce's faction becoming the *National Alliance* (ADL, 2005). Pierce moved to Hillsboro, West Virginia, where he published white power news bulletins and began a record company, Resistance Records, that focused on white power music (SPLC, 2022; Levitas, 2002j). The SPLC (2022j) suggests that Resistance Records produced $10 thousand per month for Pierce and the National Alliance. In addition, the white power music scene allowed the National Alliance to recruit new members from the fifteen to twenty-five age group (SPLC, 2022j).

In 1978, Pierce wrote his masterpiece, *The Turner Diaries*, a self-published novel that he wrote under the pseudonym name, Andrew Macdonald (Reed, 2002). The dystopian novel is set in the 1990s. It depicts the story of a neo-Nazi group that can overthrow the United States government, start a global race war, and launches a nuclear holocaust (Pierce, 1999; Levitas, 2002). The plot of the novel refers to the "Day of the Rope," a point in the revolution where mass executions are performed on people who are considered "race traitors" (Pierce, 1999). Reed (2002) suggests that The Turner Diaries heavily influenced Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh and Robert Jay Matthews, the leader of the violent right-wing extremist group, The *Order*. Levitas (2002) suggests that Louis Beam was inspired by the clandestine plans portrayed in Pierce's novel.

Pierce's ideology embraces National Socialism and neo-Nazism; however, the ADL (2005) suggests that Pierce knew that Nazi imagery was repugnant to mainstream Americans. Pierce elected to write articles, use social media, and broadcast his political beliefs over the radio; instead of using Nazi imagery to make a public spectacle (ADL, 2005). Despite the platform he chose to use, Pierce's messages similarly attacked minorities, promoted anti-government sediments, suggested violent revolution, and depicted Jews as the root of all economic, social, and political turmoil (ADL, 2005). Pierce legitimized the use of violence against Jews and interracial couples during his speeches and writings; however, Pierce has distanced himself from movements that have engaged in the use of violence (ADL, 2005).

Reed (2002) suggests that Pierce maintained relationships among right-wing extremist movements globally. The ADL (2005) suggests that Pierce was able to maintain contact and

develop ties with white power leadership from Europe through his white supremacy laced music. Pierce made efforts to maintain and strengthen ties with white power groups in Germany by attending rallies and speaking at White Power unity events (ADL, 2005).

Pierce died on July 23, 2002, at 68 (ADL, 2005). Pierce left a legacy of thirty-five hate group cells with fifteen-hundred members (ADL, 2005). Pierce was able to attract a wide array of people to the white power movement, from young skinheads to elderly, suit-wearing National Socialists (ADL, 2005). Pierce's writings continue to act as a blueprint for white supremacy ideologues and members of the Patriot movement (ADL, 2005).

The Correlates of William Luther Pierce

Age:	Under 30 years ole when he joined the John Birch Society
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
IQ:	Above Average
Mental Illness:	No
Employed:	Yes
Education:	Yes
Peer Involvement:	Yes
Family Disfunction:	No
Urbanicity:	Yes
Multi-Group:	Yes
Religious Exposure:	Yes

Veteran Status:	No
Combat Status:	No
Drug Usage:	No
Married:	Yes
White Supremacy:	Yes
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	Yes
Christian Identity:	Yes
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1933
Misogynist:	Yes
Divorced:	Yes
Islamophobic:	Yes
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes
Politically Active:	Yes
Criminal History:	No
Xenophobia:	Yes
Siblings:	Yes

Elmer Stuart Rhodes (The Oath Keepers)

Elmer Stuart Rhodes was a mixed-race male, born in 1965, in Granbury, Texas (Homer & Haney, 2022). Rhodes claims that he is ethnical of American Indian and Hispanic ancestry (SPLC, 2022k). After graduating high school, Rhodes joined the Army as a paratrooper and was

honorably discharged after being injured in a nighttime jump (SPLC, 2022k). Rhodes graduated the University of Nevada in 1998 and stepped into politics by helping the failed presidential campaign of the Libertarian candidate, Ron Paul (SPLC, 2022k). Rhodes graduated from Yale Law school and clerked for Arizona Supreme Court Justice Michael D. Ryan before campaigning a second time in Ron Paul's 2008 bid for the presidency (SPLC, 2022k).

In 2009, Rhodes founded the *Oath Keepers* as a Nevada-based non-profit organization that has grown to the largest Patriot/militia group in the United States (Jackson, 2020; Lokay, Robinson, & Crenshaw, 2021). The Oath Keepers suggest that the American Revolution freed American citizens from British tyranny only to have that tyranny replaced by the current federal government (Lokay, Robinson, K. & Crenshaw, 2021). Homer and Haney (2022) indicate that Oath Keeper ideology embraces the idea of a violent insurrection against the United States government for cheating Donald Trump out of his 2020 presidential win. Lokay, Robinson, and Crenshaw (2021) indicate that the group has engaged in armed standoffs against federal law enforcement authorities in the western United States. Jackson (2018) suggests that the Oath Keepers was never a feel-good organization, but rather a movement based on Tea Party ideology that also embraced the threat of violence.

The SPLC (2022k) indicates that Rhodes recruits heavily from the ranks of first responders and that the title "Oath Keepers" refers to their vows to uphold the Constitution in perpetuity. Oath Keeper ideology suggests that the government is attempting to infringe on the rights of its citizens: it may create concentration or re-education camps, confiscate legally owned firearms, allow for foreign invaders to subjugate American citizens, and promote a *New World*

Order conspiracy theory (SPLC, 2022k). Oath Keeper ideology embraces common right-wing extremist conspiracy theories, including a future where a confrontation with the federal government will be necessary to restore lost and stolen constitutional rights (Jackson, 2018). In addition, the government is purposely flooding the west with third-world immigrants (Jackson, 2018).

In 2016, Rhodes used the Oath Keepers as a counterweight against ANTIFA and Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests (Lokay, Robinson, & Crenshaw, 2021). Lokay, Robinson, and Crenshaw (2021) suggest that the Oath Keepers are a national organization engaging in illegitimate protests and legal, political activities. Jackson (2020) indicates that the group's hierarchal structure includes a national board of directors, state, county, and local chapters that periodically release calls to action and statements. Local and state leaders coordinate training exercises and demonstrations while local chapter leaders organize meetings and on-the-ground activities (Jackson, 2020). Jackson (2018) suggests that the Oath Keeper rhetorical strategy has three primary focuses:

1. It causes people to accept Oath Keeper worldview.
2. It provides citizens with a model of appropriate behavior.
3. It helps the group gain support and attract recruits.

Lokay, Robinson, and Crenshaw (2021) indicate that members of the Oath Keepers, including those in leadership positions, were heavily engaged in the violent episodes that occurred on January 6, 2020, during the insurrection at the United States' capitol. The group's

use of violence on January 6, 2020, was a radical change from past accepted behavior during protests, counter-protests, and armed stand-offs (Lokay, Robinson, Crenshaw, 2021). Jackson (2018) suggests that Rhodes exhibited early signs indicating that peaceful political protesting would not be sufficient to change the corrupt federal government radically. SPLC (2022k) suggests that Rhodes influenced members of the Oath Keepers to engage in violent or threatening actions. SPLC (2022k) suggests that Rhodes and Mike Vanderboegh, leader of the right-wing extremist group *The Three Percenters*, have coordinated incidents of armed resistance against the federal government, including the stand-off at the Bundy Ranch in 2014.

The SPLC (2022k) indicates that the Oath keepers were active participants in the January 6, 2020, insurrection in Washington, D.C. members of the group stormed the capitol, and Rhodes was indicted for conspiring to stop the peaceful transfer of presidential power from Donald Trump to Joe Biden (SPLC, 2022k). The Oath Keepers suggest that they were at the capitol to provide security for ally and Trump confidante, Roger Stone; however, the Department of Justice returned indictments against Rhodes and ten other Oath Keepers for charges that include seditious conspiracy (Finn & Barnes, 2022). The government alleges that Rhodes conspired to bring firearms and ammunition near the Capitol in Washing, D.C. for a confrontation with federal authorities if needed (Finn & Barnes, 2022). Lokay, Robinson, and Crenshaw (2021) indicate that no members of the Oath Keepers were charged with weapons offenses stemming from January 6; however, Rhodes had stockpiled weapons close by. Farivar (2021) suggests that the eleven Oath Keepers charged with 212onspireacy were in addition to nine other Oath Keepers who were previously charged with multiple felonious violations. Rhodes continued to

make online threats toward the federal government after the January 6th insurrection and referred to dually elected government officials as “Traitors” (SPLC, 2022k).

Rhodes suggested that Biden was elected due to voter fraud and that the group did not recognize Biden as the president (Lokay, Robinson, Crenshaw, 2021). Lokay, Robinson, and Crenshaw (2021) indicate that the Oath Keepers played a significant part in the January 6, 2020, insurrection and suggest that thirty to forty Oath Keepers were present when the capitol was breached. Rhodes coordinated and advised the Oath Keepers who were taking part in the storming of the capitol; however, Rhodes was not present at the time of the insurrection (Lokay, Robinson, & Crenshaw, 2021). Rhodes is facing a possible twenty-year sentence (Finn & Barnes, 2022).

The Correlates of Elmer Stuart Rhodes

Age:	Under 30 when radicalized
Sex:	Male
Race:	Non-white
IQ:	Above average
Mental Illness:	No
Employed:	Yes
Education:	Yes, law school graduate
Peer Involvement:	Yes
Family Disfunction:	Yes
Urbanicity:	No

Multi-Group:	No
Religious Exposure:	No
Veteran Status:	No
Combat Status:	No
Drug Usage:	No
Married:	Yes
White Supremacy:	No
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	No
Christian Identity:	No
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1965
Misogynist:	Yes
Divorced:	Yes
Islamophobic:	Yes
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes
Politically Active:	Yes
Criminal History:	Yes
Xenophobia:	Yes
Siblings:	Unknown

Michael Brian Vanderboegh (Three Percenters)

Michael Brian Vanderboegh was a white male, born in 1953, and died in 2016 after a bout with cancer (SPLC, 2022l). Vanderboegh first garnered attention when he emerged from the *Sons of Liberty*, an Alabama militia group, speaking out against the government's actions at the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas (SPLC, 2022l).

In 2008, Vanderboegh co-foundered the *Three Percenters*. Initially, Vanderboegh was a single-issue right-wing extremist who threatened violence against any government agency that attempted to enforce gun control laws (SPLC, 2022l). In the mid-2000s, Vanderboegh led the Alabama Minuteman Support Team, who was active along the United States-Mexico border, trying to enforce their brand of illegal immigration (SPLC, 2022l).

The Three Percenters were loosely organized militia members who espoused pro-gun and anti-immigration ideations (SPLC, 2022l). The Three Percenters concept suggests that three percent of the American population successfully fought off British tyranny during the Revolutionary War; however, historians place the actual number between fifteen and twenty-five percent of the American population, and that is not counting support troops (SPLC, 2022l; Tures, 2017). The ADL (2022) suggests that a three-percenter movement is a small group of highly dedicated and competent militia members. The ADL (2022) credits the Three-Percenter movement with helping to support the budding militia movement in 2008. After the slaying of George Floyd, the three percenters increasingly protested government anti-gun legislature, restrictions due to the Corvid-19 disease, and the multiple protests that occurred focused on police use of force (ADL, 2022).

Berlet and Sunshine (2019) suggest that the militia movement has diversified the causes that they exhibit a high level of grievance toward, including LGBTQ rights, restricted federal public land use, restrictive environmental protection laws, and progressive taxation (Berlet & Sunshine, 2019). Restrictive federal laws have inflamed preexisting White Christian nationalism and the Christian right, which is anti-abortion and xenophobic (Berlet & Sunshine, 2019). Members of the Patriot movement, including the three percenters, suggest that it is possible to nullify federal legislation by countering it with local, county, and state laws (Berlet & Sunshine, 2019). The SPLC (2022) indicates that Vanderboegh suffers from debilitating health conditions that allow him to receive a check from the very government that he hates.

Berlet and Sunshine (2019) indicate that Vanderboegh wanted to create a new kind of militia group that was resistant to law enforcement infiltration and supported the idea of nullification. In addition, Vanderboegh published training manuals and dystopian novels that have inspired right-wing extremist acts of domestic terrorism (SPLC, 2022). The ADL (2022) suggests that Vanderboegh's ideology is anti-government, anti-LGBTQ, anti-communist, and belief in the conspiracy of the New World Order; however, the members-only need to embrace an anti-government stance (ADL, 2022). Although the Three-Percenter organization has attempted to stay clear of white supremacy groups, they have most adopted an anti-Muslin ideology (ADL, 2022).

The Correlates of Michael Brian Vanderboegh

Age:	Under 30 when radicalized
Sex:	Male

Race:	White
IQ:	Average
Mental Illness:	No
Employed:	No
Education:	No
Peer Involvement:	Yes
Family Disfunction:	No
Urbanicity:	No
Multi-Group:	Yes
Religious Exposure:	Yes
Veteran Status:	No
Combat Status:	No
Drug Usage:	No
Married:	Yes
White Supremacy:	No
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	No
Christian Identity:	No
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1953
Misogynist:	No
Divorced:	No

Islamophobic:	Yes
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes
Politically Active:	No
Criminal History:	No
Xenophobia:	Yes
Siblings:	Unknown

Terry Lynn Nichols (Oklahoma City Bombing Accomplice)

Terry Lynn Nichols was a white male, born November 1, 1955, in the rural town of Lapeer, Michigan (Fox News, 2001). Nichols was one of four children raised with the responsibility of doing farm chores as a daily ritual (Fox News, 2001). Nichols graduated high school with a 2.6-grade point average and moved on to attend Central Michigan University for one year before returning to the farm after his parents were divorced (Fox News, 2001). In 1981, Nichols got married to a real estate agent and had one son the following year (Fox News, 2001). Nichols was employed in various capacities, working as a salesman and carpenter before enlisting in 1988 at age 33 (Fox News, 2001). After his enlistment, Nichols's wife filed for divorce (Fox News, 2001).

During basic training at Fort Benning, Georgia, Nichols became close friends with fellow Oklahoma City bomber, Timothy McVeigh, sharing the same conservative political views and interests as survivalists (Belew, 2018; Fox News, 2001). Lee (2000) suggests that Nichols and McVeigh were survivalists with fanatical political views. Nichols received an early discharge to care for his son and married a seventeen-year-old, mail-ordered Pilipino bride in 1990 (Fox News, 2001). The woman was six months pregnant when she arrived in the United States and

gave birth to the child in September 1991; however, the child died in an accident in November 1993. Nichols and his wife had two children, one boy, and one girl, and lived in Michigan and Las Vegas (Fox News, 2001).

Fox News (2001) reported that Nichols renounced his citizenship in 1992, indicating that he did not want to be part of the state of Michigan's or the federal government's corrupt system. That same year, Fox News (2001) reported that Nichols was summoned to court over credit card debt and claimed that the judge and court had no jurisdiction over him. Levitas (2002) suggests that Nichols was steeped in right-wing extremist ideology and tried to use posse comitatus tactics to pay off $17 thousand in bank loans. Levitas (2002) argues that William Gale's Posse Comitatus's substantial network of ideas motivated Nichols and McVeigh to bomb the Alfred E. Murrah federal building.

After McVeigh was discharged from the Army, he and Nichols became closer, working together on a Michigan farm owned by Terry Nichols's brother, James Nichols, and selling military surplus equipment at gun shows (Dees & Corcoran, 1996; Belew, 2018; Fox News, 2001). On April 19, 1995, McVeigh and Nichols watched in horror as agents from the ATF raided the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas (Wright, 2007; Fox News, 2001). Wright (2007) suggests that McVeigh, already harboring anti-government sentiments, thought it deplorable that the United States government would employ a Bradley fighting vehicle against its citizens. The Waco raid ended when a gas container caused the Branch Davidian compound to erupt into flames; however, the fiery scene looked like a holocaust (Wright, 2007). McVeigh and Nichols swore to retaliate against the federal government for the failed raid in Waco, Texas

(Belew, 2018; Fox News, 2001). Wright (2007) suggests that Nichols and McVeigh saw the branch Davidian raid and subsequent fire as an act of war committed by the federal government against the American people. Dees and Corcoran (1996) suggest that the militia movement saw the Branch Davidian raid as an ongoing pattern of the federal government's abuse of power.

Belew (2018) suggests that James Nichols had been obsessed with blowing up the Alfred Murrah building since 1988 and could draw a building diagram from memory. Fox News (2001) reports that Nichols and McVeigh worked on their plans for months, buying and stealing bomb components and funding the operation by committing robberies. Levitas (2002) suggests that James Nichols harbored strong Posse Comitatus views. Belew (2018) suggests that Nichols renouncing his citizenship is a typical white power and militia movement tactic called "severance."

Research reveals that Terry and James Nichols were white supremacists involved in the Michigan militia movement (Belew, 2018). McVeigh enlisted the help of an Army buddy, Michael Fortier, to assist him and Nichols in preparation for the bombing (Fox News, 2001). Belew (2018) suggests that Nichols, McVeigh, and Fortier worked as a cell as described in William Pierce's *The Turner Diaries*. In September 1994, Nichols and McVeigh stole blasting caps, dynamite, and other bomb components from a quarry near Nichols's farm (Belew, 2018). In addition, Nichols and McVeigh robbed the home of Roger Moore, a gun dealer from Arkansas, netting $60 thousand in money, guns, silver bars, and gold (Belew, 2018).

Wright (2007) suggests the involvement of other militia cells were needed for the advanced logistic necessary for the Oklahoma bombing to be successful. Nichols watched the

Oklahoma City bombing from his house in Herington, Kansas (Dees & Corcoran, 1996). After McVeigh was arrested, Nichols turned himself in to the police and was held without bail (Dees & Corcoran, 1996). A federal grand jury indicted Nichols with the conspiracy and murder in the deaths of 169 people (Dees & Corcoran, 1996).

Nichols received a life sentence for his role in the Oklahoma City bombing by the federal courts (Wright, 2007). The state court filed murder charges against Nichols, requesting the death penalty; however, the jury acquitted Nichols of murder, finding him guilty of conspiracy (Wright, 2007). Wright (2007) suggests that jury members believed the defense's strategy was that other people were involved in the bombing. Dees and Corcoran (1996) suggest that the militia and white power movements have more supporting members within the public than law enforcement realizes.

The Correlates of Terry Lynn Nichols

Age:	Under the age of 30 when radicalized
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
IQ:	Average
Mental Illness:	No
Employed:	Yes
Education:	No
Peer Involvement:	Yes
Family Disfunction:	No

Urbanicity:	No, grew up and live on a farm
Multi-Group:	Yes
Religious Exposure:	No
Veteran Status:	Yes
Combat Status:	No
Drug Usage:	Yes
Married:	Yes
White Supremacy:	Yes
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	No
Christian Identity:	No
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1955
Misogynist:	No
Divorced:	Yes
Islamophobic:	Yes
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes
Politically Active:	No
Criminal History:	No
Xenophobia:	Yes
Siblings:	Unknown

Robert Boliver DePugh (Minutemen Militia)

Robert Boliver DePugh was a white male, born in April 1923 in Independence, Missouri to the son of the county sheriff (Jones, 1968). Beckemeier (2008 suggests that DePugh grew up around the democratic process and believed that the media and the political machines influenced voters more than the content of the candidate's characters. DePugh achieved average grades during high school, was active in the Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (JROTC), and excelled at physics (Beckemeier, 2008; Jones, 1968). Jones (1968) indicates that DePugh's grandmother had expressed deep feelings to DePugh concerning America's involvement in World War II, suggesting that the United States should let the communists and the fascists kill each other.

After graduating high school, DePugh attended the University of Missouri-Columbia, majoring in electrical engineering (Beckemeier, 2008). DePugh stated that he met his wife while attending the University of Colorado in 1942, where he was studying radar (Jones, 1968). DePugh joined the area the same year and was discharged in 1944 for schizophrenia, depression, and anxiety (Beckemeier, 2008). DePugh never obtained a college degree and became a salesman in 1947, selling various products (Beckemeier, 2008). In 1952, DePugh ran unsuccessfully for a Missouri congressional seat in the same election that his father failed to be elected to the office of the sheriff (Beckemeier, 2008).

DePugh began selling and manufacturing Veterinary pharmaceuticals in 1952 (Stein & Wilma, 1999; Beckemeier, 2008). In 1955, DePugh attempted to pass a bad check and opened several fraudulent bank accounts to save his failing business (Beckemeier, 2008) Beckemeier

(2008) suggests that DePugh paid the money back to the bank, and the charges were dismissed a year later. However, DePugh's business would become more lucrative the following year (Beckemeier, 2008).

In 1960, DePugh founded the Minutemen in response to his fear of a communist takeover of the United States (Stein & Wilma, 1999). Beckemeier (2008) suggests that DePugh was heavily influenced by the anti-communist John Birch Society, which he was kicked out of for expressing extreme views and tactics. DePugh suggested that he had attracted ten thousand members to the Minutemen movement and intended to organize them into a political movement (Stein & Wilma, 1999). Jones (1968) indicates that DePugh moved his company, Biolab, and the Minutemen's headquarters to Norborne, Missouri, a town of nine hundred and fifty people.

DePugh named the Minutemen after the civilian class of volunteer soldiers during the Revolutionary War who pledged to be ready to fight in one minute (FBI, 1981). Lee (2000) suggests that the Minutemen held a uniquely paranoid style, and whites-only memberships have long been part of the American culture. Beckemeier (2008) suggests that DePugh and the Minutemen leadership saw communism as a direct assault against individual rights. DePugh grew the ranks of the Minutemen quickly by publicly advertising the group's anti-communist stance; this quickly attracted the attention of the FBI (Beckemeier, 2008; Lee, 2000). Jones (1968) suggests that the group acquired increased notoriety by conducting military-style training in rural Illinois. DePugh's vision of a guerrilla war taking place on American soil after a perceived communist takeover caused the FBI to surveil the group electronically and caused a separation between mainstream ideology and the group (Stein & Wilma, 1999). Sheer (2005)

suggests that DePugh made numerous threats to use chemical and biological weapons to further the group's goals; however, no such weapons were ever acquired.

DePugh had the Minutemen stockpile conventional weapons around the country for a potential counterattack if communists prevailed in usurping government power (FBI, 1981). In October 1966, nineteen Minutemen were arrested for conspiring to bomb and burn three summer camps in the New York area that they perceived as being run by communists (Nizkor, 1995). The group had managed to acquire firearms, mortars, machine guns, and a bazooka; however, the charges against the group were tossed out of court (Nizkor, 1995).

Nizkor (1995) suggests that the incident gave DePugh a platform, used by DePugh to threaten twenty Congressmen he deemed as having unamerican values. Beckemeier (2008) suggests that DePugh was the sole leader of the organization and that a chain of command did not exist. Stein and Wilma (1999) indicate that in 1968, a police raid on Minutemen compounds netted a cache of weapons, diagrams, and escape plans.

DePugh became a fugitive after he and seven other Minutemen were indicted in Seattle for planning to rob a bank (Nizkor, 1995). After the indictments, DePugh and one co-conspirator, Walter Patrick Payson, went into hiding (Stein & Wilma, 1999; Nizkor, 1995). However, the other seven co-defendants were found guilty, as were DePugh and Payson, upon their capture in New Mexico a year later (Stein & Wilma, 1999). DePugh was sentenced to eleven years in prison upon his conviction but was paroled after serving less than four (Stein & Wilma, 1999).

Upon his release from prison, DePugh failed to revitalize the Minutemen and joined the anti-Semitic group, Liberty Lobby, run by Willis Carto (Levitas, 2002; Nizkor, 1995; Kaplan,

1997). The association with Carto was short-lived, and DePugh collaborated with Ku Klux Klan leader Robert Shelton on another unsuccessful project (Nizkor, 1995). The ADL (1995) indicates that DePugh was arrested in September 1991 by Iowa law enforcement authorities and charged with the sexual exploitation of a 13-year-old child and possessing child pornography. Additionally, DePugh was found guilty of possessing two firearms by a felon and an unregistered machinegun (ADL, 1995). Levitas (2002) suggests that when DePugh was arrested, many Minutemen left the movement and joined Posse Comitatus groups.

William Gale changed Posse tactics and became secretive due to the federal government's infiltration of the Minutemen (Levitas, 2002). Although Gale's primary source of recruitment was members of the tax-protester movement, Posse ranks were expanded by disenfranchised members of the John Birch Society and the Minutemen (Levitas, 2002). DePugh's creation of the Michigan Patriotic Party as a political entity to support the Minutemen and the creation of the newsletter, *On Target* was replicated by later right-wing extremist groups, including the Aryan Nation. The transformation of DePugh's ideology from initially anti-communist to anti-Semitic and then embracing racism reinforces the claim that group milieu changes and strengthens individual ideology (Kaplan, 1995).

The Correlates of Robert Boliver DePugh

Age:	Under 30 when radicalized
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
IQ:	Average

Mental Illness:	No
Employed:	Yes
Education:	Yes
Peer Involvement:	Yes
Family Disfunction:	No
Urbanicity:	No, grew up in rural Independence, Missouri
Multi-Group:	Yes
Religious Exposure:	No
Veteran Status:	Yes
Combat Status:	Yes
Drug Usage:	No
Married:	Yes
White Supremacy:	Yes
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	Yes
Christian Identity:	Yes
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1923
Misogynist:	Yes
Divorced:	No
Islamophobic:	Yes
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes

Politically Active:	Yes
Criminal History:	Yes
Xenophobia:	Yes
Siblings:	Unknown

Thomas Linton Metzger (Aryan Brotherhood/ Neo-Nazi)

Thomas Linton Metzger was a white male, born Thomas Byron Linton to an eighteen-year-old mother on April 8, 1938, in Warsaw, Indiana (Michael, 2016). Metzger's father, although married to his mother for a year, returned to California and had abandoned his family prior to Metzger's birth (Michael, 2016). Soon after Metzger's birth, his mother married Cloice Earl Metzger and had their son renamed Thomas Linton Metzger (Michael, 2016). Metzger described his parents as strict Lutherans and described his childhood as relatively happy without any incidents of racism that he could recall (Michael, 2016).

After graduating high school in 1956, Metzger joined the Army and was stationed in Europe (Michael, 2016). Metzger indicated that this was his first interaction with blacks and other minorities (Michael, 2016). Upon returning home after his three-year commitment, Metzger moved to Las Angeles and found a job repairing car radios (Michael, 2016). While in California, Metzger met his wife who he described as being from a strict Catholic family (Michael, 2016). Metzger converted to Catholicism and indicated that he like the conservative ideology (Michael, 2016). Metzger and his wife remained married and had four children (Michael, 2016).

In the early 1960s, Metzger moved to a suburb of San Diego and obtained a job with Douglas Aircraft (Michael, 2016). Metzger was repulsed by the worker's union that organized in the company, refused to pay union dues, and left the position after five years (Michael, 2016). Metzger opened his own television repair shop and continued to keep abreast of conservative politics (Michael, 2016). Metzger joined the John Birch Society, became a charter leader, and began to study communism and its links to the global banking system (Michael, 2016). Michael (2016) suggests that Metzger became anti-Semitic when he realized that the last names of many of the bankers were Jewish. From the John Birch Society, Metzger began to come into contact with tax protesters and white supremacists who rallied against integration and Civil Rights (Michael, 2016). Metzger began to see capitalism as exploitation of the working class and the Vietnam War as bankrupting the country (Michael, 2016). Metzger refused to pay state and federal income tax from 1972-1976 but relented and paid them after the IRS contacted him (Michael, 2016).

Metzger supported pro-gun rights groups but was disenfranchised by organizations that did not act on their beliefs (Michael, 2016). Michael (2016) suggests that William Potter Gale converted Metzger towards the Christian Identity movement and the Posse Comitatus. Metzger was affiliated with a Christian Identity Church and with Robert DePugh's Minutemen simultaneously (Michael, 2016). In 1974, Metzger met David Duke, a Ku Klux Klan leader who was rebranding the KKK as a more mainstream group (Michael, 2016). Metzger and Duke became close friends and Duke appointed Metzger the Grand Dragon for the state of California (Michael, 2016). Duke and Metzger founded the Border Klan Watch which used Klansmen as

border patrol agents to stem the flow of illegal immigrants into the country along the Mexico border (Michael, 2016; Belew, 2018). Belew (2018) suggests that the border enforcement efforts of the Klan were a publicity stunt that also allowed the group to indoctrinate anti-immigration hostility and violence into their ideology.

Metzger and Duke separated over moral issues and Metzger rebranded the California KKK as the *California Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* (Michael, 2016). Metzger ran for political office on several occasions losing each time (Michael, 2016). Michael (2016) suggests that Metzger's political defeats caused him to change the KKK's focus from attempting to gain mainstream acceptance to recruiting a small number of highly committed followers. From 1975 to 1979, the KKK experienced a surge in their recruitment from sixty-five hundred members to over ten thousand members (Belew, 2018). Belew (2018) suggests that opposition to Klan rallies were continually turning violent with a 450 percent increase occurring in 1979.

On November 3, 1979, a communist-organized group organized an anti-Klan rally in Greensboro, North Carolina (Belew, 2018). Members of the KKK, supported by neo-Nazis attended the rally as a counter-protest (Belew, 2018). In the resulting violence, five protesters were killed, four white and one black, and fourteen Klansmen faced murder chargers (Belew, 2018). Belew (2018) suggested that the Klan had a favorable image in Greensboro among the locals. In subsequent court proceedings, all defendants were acquitted of both state and federal charges by all-white juries (Belew, 2018).

On April 17, 1983, Metzger founded the White American Resistance which changed its name a year later to the White Aryan Resistance (WAR) (Michael, 2016). WAR's ideology was

primarily racist and anti-government has Metzger viewed the federal government as delegitimate and no longer actively protecting the rights of white citizens (Michael, 2016). Metzger was publicly against America's involvement in any foreign war, government regulation, immigration of any kind, and continued to be an enthusiastic tax protester (Michael, 2016).

Michael (2016) suggests that Metzger believed that the sexes were equal but played different societal roles; however, there were biological differences in the races that made Aryan people superior to other races. Metzger was anti-Semitic and viewed Jews as capitalist predators; however, he doubted that Jews controlled the government and believed that there were more white traitors than Jews in the country (Michael, 2016). This change in Metzger's ideology attracted the more violence fragmented Klan leaders, such as Dennis Mahon in Oklahoma and Louis Beam in Texas, who wished to focus violence on the black community (Bjorgo, 1995).

Bjorgo (1995) suggests that Metzger flirted with recruitment efforts to attract skinheads into WAR. Metzger paid the price for his reckless relationship with members of the skinhead movement when he was found liable when members of the East Side White Pride Skinheads assaulted and killed a black Ethiopian college student in Portland, Oregon (Michael, 2016; Bjorgo, 2015). The lawsuit, brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center, suggested that Metzger and WAR were liable for the murder because they had previously motivated and inspired the murders (Michael, 2016; Bjorgo, 1995). The case ended with a twelve million five hundred-thousand-dollar judgement against Metzger, his son, John, and WAR (Michael, 2016; Bjorgo, 1995; Stone, 2020). Bjorgo (1995) indicates that Metzger continued to speak and recruit skinhead members into WAR. Stone (2020) suggests that Metzger's ideology is neo-Nazi,

explaining the continued and risky skinhead recruitment efforts. Michael (2016) suggests that many liberals were against Dees' use of civil proceedings to find defendants liable and one Jewish organization even attempted to have the verdict overturned. Metzger, seeing Dees as a Jew, suspected that the reason for the civil suit was purely financial (Michael, 2016).

Drawing inspiration from William Pierce's, *The Turner Diaries*, Robert Jay Mathews founded a domestic terrorist organization known as *The Order* (Michael, 2016; Belew, 2018; Wright, 2007; Levitas, 2002). The group went on a crime spree, robbing stores, banks, and armor vehicles and producing three million six hundred thousand dollars in criminal proceeds (Levitas, 2002). Mathews gave Metzger two-hundred and fifty thousand dollars (Levitas, 2002; Michael, 2016; Belew, 2018).

At the 1986 Aryan National Congress held at Hayden Lake, Metzger suggested racial separation and submitted maps depicting black and white areas of the country (Michael, 2016). The Aryan Nation acted as a lightning rod for the white power movement to unite and to engage in militia, paramilitary activities (Belew, 2018). Belew (2018) points to a Klan rally and cross-burning in 1983, that was attended by Aryan Nation leaders Richard Butler and David Tate as an indication of KKK and Aryan Nation unity. Belew (2018) suggests that by 1980, the white power movement believed that it was possible to seize territory, populate it with white people and defend it militarily.

The unification and militarization of the white power movement would play an important role in defending the white state. As white power leadership embraced a pro-nationalism ideology, the position of white women in the movement became elevated (Belew, 2018).

Metzger embraced Louis Beam's idea of leaderless resistance and suggested that the role of the above-ground movement was to support the clandestine activities of warrior cells (Michael, 2016). Metzger thought that clandestine white power groups should be unified by ideology and not necessarily networking (Michael, 2016).

Metzger spoke in front of a Louis Farrakhan, known for his support of racial separation, rally of fourteen thousand black people supporting Farrakhan's black separatist ideology (Michael, 2016). Michael (2016) suggests that Metzger gave Farrakhan a one-hundred-dollar donation to the cheers of the black crowd. Instead of criticizing the attacks on the World Trade Center, Metzger indicated that the white power movement should use them as inspiration and as a road map for creating a domestic terrorist infrastructure like Al-Qaeda possesses (Michael, 2016).

Michael (2016) suggests that Metzger bridged the gap between David Duke's KKK of the 1970s and the revolutionary, leaderless revolutionaries of the 1980s and 1990s. Metzger influenced right-wing extremists to embrace the idea of leaderless resistance and continues to suggest that the creation of a vanguard is necessary to secure the future of the white race (Michael, 2016). Metzger died November 4, 2020, of Parkinson's disease and was survived by his wife, Mary Arnold, six children – Carolyn, Dorraine, John, Lynn, Rebecca, and Laurie along with nine grandchildren and one great-grandchild (Stone, 2020).

The Correlates of Thomas Linton Metzger

Age:	Under the age of 30 when radicalized
Sex:	Male

Race:	White
IQ:	Below average
Mental Illness:	No
Employed:	Yes
Education:	No
Peer Involvement:	No
Family Disfunction:	Yes
Urbanicity:	No, Metzger grew up in Warsaw, Indiana
Multi-Group:	Yes
Religious Exposure:	Yes
Veteran Status:	Yes
Combat Status:	No
Drug Usage:	No
Married:	Yes
White Supremacy:	Yes
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	Yes
Christian Identity:	No
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1938
Misogynist:	Yes
Divorced:	No

Islamophobic:	Yes
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes
Politically Active:	No
Criminal History:	No
Xenophobia:	Yes
Siblings:	Unknown

Wesley Albert Swift (Christian Identity)

Wesley Albert Swift was a white male, born in Jersey City, New Jersey, in 1913, the son of a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church South (Marinacci, 2015; Bochicchio, 2021). Marinacci (2015) indicates that the Methodist Episcopal Church South split with the mainstream Methodist Church over the latter's anti-slavery position. At eighteen-years-old years old, Swift joined his father's church as a minister and moved to Los Angeles, California to study at Philip E.J. Monson's Kingdom Bible College (Marinacci, 2015; Bochicchio, 2021). Monson taught an early version of Christian Identity that was still known as British-Israelism, taught that Jews were imposters and not the lost tribes of Israel as referred to in biblical scripture (Marinacci, 2015). Swift embraced an ideology that suggested that the real chosen people of God were dispersed in north and Western Europe, and they were white (Marinacci, 2015).

Bochicchio (2021) explains that Swift believed that the bible covenant with God was not with a nation of people but with a race of people. Bochicchio (2021) states that Swift's Christian Identity had a major political-religious impact on right-wing extremist group ideology, including neo-Nazis, nativists, Ku Klux Klan members, nationalist Christianity, Christian Identity adherents, anti-communist groups, and segregationists.

Marinacci (2015) argues that Swift adhered to the *Two Seed Theory* that promotes the notion that Jews are the direct offspring of Satan (or is demonic representative) and that Aryan races are God's chosen people. Bochicchio (2021) supports Marinacci's idea that Christian Identity adherents embrace the Two Seed Theory and suggests that they believe in an End of Days scenario where a race war will end with the white race triumphing over the other inferior races. Unlike the teachings of the Calvinist Church, which promotes the idea that salvation comes from faith in the teachings of Jesus Christ, Christian Identity advocates believe that salvation is based entirely on one's race (Bochicchio, 2021; Barkun, 1997). Noll (2010) suggests that historically, opposing factions rely on biblical interpretation to support their arguments. Swift preached that white people were the chosen children of God, the masters of the planet and that they should no longer submit to the idea of Christianity (Marinacci, 2015).

In 1945, Swift teamed up with Christian Identity preacher Gerald L.K. Smith and pushed an ideology that included white supremacy, the Two Seed Theory, and the notion that Jews were using Hollywood to subvert the white Christian race (Marinacci, 2015; Barkun, 1997). Swift focused on southern California Ku Klux Klan members, burning crosses at his rallies, and creating a rifle range for paramilitary training exercises (Marinacci, 2015). Marinacci (2015) indicates that around 1946, Swift founded the Church of Jesus Christ – Christian and preached anti-Semitism, anti-communism, and Christian Identity white supremacy. Levitas (2002) suggests that Swift made no distinction between communists and Jews.

In the early 1950s, Swift met William Potter Gale, who was organizing the California Rangers (Marinacci, 2015). The California Rangers was the military arm that acted as the

umbrella group for a host of right-wing extremist organizations (Marinacci, 2015). Gale began teaching Swift's version of British-Israelism in his ministry and coined the phrase "Christian Identity" to describe the new tenants embraced by Swift (Marinacci, 2015). Marinacci (2015) argues that adherents to Christian Identity do not believe that the biblical Rapture will usher in the King"om of God but will begin with the start of a global race war. Swift preached that white Americans should prepare themselves for a race war, and law enforcement agencies arrested many Christian Identity followers for stockpiling weapons and explosives (Marinacci, 2015).

Swift's health was declining by the end of the 60s as he had diabetes and cardiovascular disease (Marinacci, 2015). On October 8, 1970, Swift traveled to a health clinic in Tijuana, Mexico, and died in the waiting room from a heart attack (Marinacci, 2015). Prior to his death, Marinacci (2015) explains that he had befriended white supremacist Richard Girnt Butler, who took over Swift's ministry. Butler transformed Swift's church into the Aryan Nation and militarized its congregation (Marinacci, 2015). In addition, Butler purchased and built a twenty-acre white supremacist compound in Hayden Lake, Idaho, and used the property to unify the white power movement (Marinacci, 2015; Lee, 2000; Dees & Corcoran, 1997; Freilich et al., 2009).

The Correlates of Wesley Albert Swift

Age:	Under 30 years old when radicalized
Sex:	Male
Race:	White
IQ:	Average

Mental Illness:	No
Employed:	Yes
Education:	No
Peer Involvement:	Yes
Family Disfunction:	No
Urbanicity:	Yes, Jersey City, NJ
Multi-Group:	Yes
Religious Exposure:	Yes
Veteran Status:	No
Combat Status:	No
Drug Usage:	No
Married:	Yes
White Supremacy:	Yes
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	Yes
Christian Identity:	Yes
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No
Date of Birth:	1913
Misogynist:	Yes
Divorced:	No
Islamophobic:	Yes
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes

Politically Active:	No
Criminal History:	No
Xenophobia:	Yes
Siblings:	Unknown

Henry "Enrique" Tarrio (Proud Boys)

Gavin McInnes founded the Proud Boys in 2016 based on his worldview, which included the promotion of racism, misogamy, Islamophobia, and violence (O'Conner, 2018; Kutner, 2020). Kutner (2020) suggests that many of the first members of the Proud Boys were attracted to the organization because they liked McInnes's brand of humor and considered him a comedian. In September 2016, McInnes took the group public and suggested that its name refers to the members being proud that they are white (Kutner, 2020). Kenes (2021) suggests that the Proud Boys are a fight club that embraces an anti-immigration, anti-Trans, and anti-Muslim stance and uses street-level violence against left-wing counter-protesters. O'Conner (2018) suggests that the Proud Boy's ideology is focused on free speech, gun rights, and traditional gender roles; however, although the group disavows racism, the group's actions and propaganda supports the idea of a white nationalism agenda.

Kutner (2021) suggests that the Proud Boys operate with an all-male membership and has four different degrees of membership: the first degree of membership requires the adherent to recite the Proud Boys creed; the second degree of membership requires the adherent to be continually punched until they can name five kinds of breakfast cereal; the third-degree adherent

must get Proud Boys symbols tattooed on their bodies; and the fourth-degree adherent must commit a violent act I the name of the group (Kutner, 2021).

Grieg (2021) suggests that President Trump created a permissive atmosphere around the emergence of right-wing extremist groups that allowed the Proud Boys to recruit heavily. Kutner (2021) argues that the Proud Boys are the new face of right-wing extremism, one that recruits using shared male grievances. O'Conner (2018) suggests that the Proud Boys use technology and social media to spread group ideology and recruit new members.

In August 2017, members of the Proud Boys attended a Unite-the-Right rally organized in Charlottesville, Virginia, to protest the removal of confederate statues (Kenes, 2021; Kutner, 2021; Sankin & Pham, 2017). Sankin and Pham (2017) suggest that the right-wing extremist groups held the rally as a show of force against left-wing counter-protesters. Kenes (2021) indicates that one person was killed and nineteen injured during the melee between protesters and counter-protesters. Barnes (2017) suggests that McInnes quickly disavowed the group's anti-Semitic and racist views suggesting that the group openly supports Jewish and minority membership. Kutner (2021) indicates that the FBI classified the Proud Boys as a domestic terrorist organization causing McInnes to leave the organization.

Tarrio is an Afro-Cuban male, born in 1984 in a section of Miami known as Little Havana because of the large number of Cuban expatriates that live there (O'Conner, 2018). Tarrio stated that his parents taught him conservative principles and, as a first-generation Cuban exile, he knows the dangers of communism (O'Conner, 2018). Tarrio's parents divorced when he was young; however, both parents were involved in raising him (O'Conner, 2018). In 2019,

Henry “Enrique” Tarrio, a self-described Afro-Cuban, became the chairmen of the Proud Boys (Kenes, 2021; O’Conner, 2018).

In May 2017, Tarrio worked a party for Milo Yiannopoulos, met a member of the Proud Boys, and joined the group shortly after the meeting (O’Conner, 2018). To become a fourth-degree Proud Boy, Tarrio assaulted a member of ANTIFA, a far-left group, and threw fireworks into a crowd (O’Conner, 2018). Tarrio failed to become a United States congressman, indicated that members of the Proud Boys intend to run for political office, and suggested that the organization believes in the democratic process (O’Conner, 2018). In addition, Tarrio has espoused anti-Semitic views and has embraced conspiracy theories (O’Conner, 2018).

In 2004, Tarrio was arrested for stealing a motorcycle, convicted, and sentenced to three years of probation (O’Conner, 2018). Tarrio was briefly married and returned to a suburb of Miami to run a poultry farm (O’Conner, 2018). In 2013, Tarrio served a 16-month federal prison sentence to rebrand diabetic test strips and sell them online (O’Conner, 2018). In January 2021, Tarrio was arrested in Washington, D.C., for possession of two high-capacity firearm magazines, stealing a Black Lives Matter flag, and lighting it on fire during a rally (Roston, 2021). Pusatory and Flack (2021) indicate that Tarrio received five months in jail for the flag burning and attempting to obtain a high-capacity magazine. Additionally, the FBI stated that they arrested Tarrio to stop him from being present at January 6, 2021, capitol riot (Roston, 2021).

Roston (2021) suggests that Tarrio was an FBI informant from 2012 to 2014. His information led to the arrest and conviction of numerous criminals for drug dealing, illegal gambling, and human trafficking (Roston, 2021). At Tarrio’s sentencing hearing in 2014, his

defense attorney acknowledged that the information Tarrio supplied to the FBI led to the convict of thirteen criminals (Roston, 2021). Additionally, Roston (2021) suggests that Tarrio has led the Proud Boys in several acts of violence at protests and at counter-protests in Washington, D.C., and Portland, Oregon.

The FBI alleges that after Tarrio's release from custody for burning the BLM flag, he met with five co-conspirators and planned to obstruct the certification of President Joe Biden's electoral victory (Reilly, 2022). Tarrio was not present in Washington, D.C. on January 6, 2021; however, he was charged with one count of conspiracy to obstruct an official proceeding, one count of obstruction of an official proceeding, one count of obstruction of law enforcement during a civil disorder, two counts of destruction of government property and two counts of assaulting, resisting, and impeding certain officers (Reilly, 2022). As a result, Tarrio is being detained prior to his trial (Reilly, 2022).

Kutner (2020) suggests that individuals who join the Proud Boys for the excitement, curiosity, or humor are quickly radicalized into an ideology containing race preservation, conspiracy theories, and misogamy. The group milieu of the proud boys espouses neo-Nazi phrases and memes and embraces white nationalism, male victimhood, Islamophobic, anti-Muslim, and anti-LGTBQ ideology (Kutner, 2020). Kutner (2020) suggests that Proud Boys' ideology suggests that the group believes in radical traditionalism and the subjugation of females.

The Correlates of Henry "Enrique" Tarrio

Age:	Under the age of 30 when radicalized
Sex:	Male
Race:	Hispanic and Black
IQ:	Below average
Mental Illness:	No
Employed:	Yes
Education:	No
Peer Involvement:	Yes
Family Disfunction:	No
Urbanicity:	No, Miami, Fl.
Multi-Group:	No
Religious Exposure:	No
Veteran Status:	No
Combat Status:	No
Drug Usage:	No
Married:	Yes
White Supremacy:	No
Anti-Government:	Yes
Anti-Semitic:	Yes
Christian Identity:	No
Odinist:	No
Poverty Ratio:	No

Date of Birth:	1984
Misogynist:	Yes
Divorced:	Yes
Islamophobic:	Yes
Anti-LGBTQ+:	Yes
Politically Active:	Yes
Criminal History:	Yes
Xenophobia:	No
Siblings:	No

Summary

A review of the related literature for this study suggests that countries that are in a state of post-conflict suffer a dramatic increase in violence regardless of the country's wealth or technological advancement (Suhrke & Berdal, 2013; Archer & Gartner, 1976; Boyle, 2014). The United States is currently in a post-conflict state due to the two decades of war. Walter (2022) suggests that America is in a politically awkward position, having equal numbers of conservatives and liberals, that renders it susceptible to a second Civil War. Centralized leadership can separate groups further, not based on political ideology, but on ethnicity and race (Walter, 2022). Historically, this separation has occurred in countries such as Yugoslavia, Sri Lanka, and Rwanda ending in death based on ethnic cleansing.

Hate groups that are high on the socioeconomic ladder initially look to the government to protect their positions from the minority out-groups that they feel are looking to replace them

(Bjorgo, 1995). When the government does not come to their rescue, it is seen as delegitimate and worthy of the in-group's wrath (Belew, 2018). The current literature suggests that the American White Power movement sees the federal government as an institution that acts in direct conflict with their goals (Belew, 2018).

Rapoport's (2017) Terrorism Wave Theory suggests that the current, Religious Wave of Terrorism is slowing down. Kaplan (2007) suggests that the Religious Wave will soon be replaced by the New Tribal Wave of Terrorism. Kaplan (2007) explains that the characteristics of the Tribal Wave suggest that right-wing extremist groups will begin to form in localized cells of like-minded actors. Beam (1992) formulated the idea of a leaderless resistance when plotting terrorist attacks. These ideas used together make it difficult for law enforcement to identify and infiltrate right-wing extremist groups that conditions suggest are gearing up for a violent, anti-government campaign.

Group ideologies have an influence over the belief system of their members; however, the decision to use violence is strictly an individual choice (Crenshaw, 2000). The literature review suggests that historically, right-wing extremism in the United States was centered on racial superiority (Wade, 1987). Government intervention during the period of Radical Reconstruction made southern whites see the federal government as illegitimate (Wade, 1987). Anti-Semites, including neo-Nazis, suggested that Jews were involved in the subjugation of the white population on a global scale, had infiltrated the American government, and were using minorities to replace whites within the American hierarchal system (Levitas, 2002). Other White Power organizations embraced Christian Identity which identified Jews as the literal off-spring

of Satan (Barkun, 1997). The Covenant, Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA) emerged in the 1980s under the banner of Christian Identity; however, the group was able to absorb elements of the militia movement into their ideology (Kaplan, 1997). White Power right-wing extremist groups began to move onto rurally located compounds away from opposing organizations and law enforcement.

The related literature suggests that historically, there have been triggering events that have heightened the insecurities of right-wing extremist groups. The farm crisis of the late 1970s and early 1980s highlighted the callousness of the federal government toward working-class, mid-western whites (Levitas, 2002). The origins of the patriot and militia movements, founded in Christian Identity and driven by posse comitatus organizations, found easy recruitment in the mid-western farmer suffering under the lack of federal government intervention (SPLC, 2022c).

The Vietnam War was seen as a betrayal of the American soldiers, trivializing their sacrifice, and allowing militia groups to gain in membership and financial prowess (Lee, 2000; Belew, 2018). The sovereign citizen movement, based on an alternate history steeped in conspiracy theory and arcane, misrepresented legal rulings, gained adherents during the farm crisis as farmers looked in all directions to save the family farm from what they viewed as a corrupt banking system (Van Ness, 2011). At its core, the Sovereign Citizen movement looked to protect the privileges that white farmers traditionally enjoyed under federalism (Sarteschi, 2021; Gruenewald, et al., 2016).

William Pierce's dystopian novel, *The Turner Diaries*, provided right-wing extremist groups with a blueprint for world domination (Levitas, 2002). Influencing the violent actions of

many right-wing extremists, Pierce's ideology brought together the ideas of white supremacy, anti-government grievances, anti-Semitism, and anti-out-group conspiracy theories (Levitas, 2002).

The 1992 stand-off in Ruby Ridge, Idaho, followed by the government's use of military weapons and snipers sent the right-wing extremist community into a frenzy of activity (Wright, 2007; Belew, 2018; Dobratz, Shanks-Meile & Hallenbeck, 2003). The incident solidified white supremacists, anti-government protesters, members of the anti-gun control movement, and militia groups (Lynch, 2002; Junas (U.K.).

The 1993 siege at the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas highlighted the use of government military grade weapons and tactics against American civilians and ended with right-wing extremist groups declaring that they were at war with the federal government (Wright, 2007). Timothy McVeigh would volunteer to be publicly interviewed by a local television station where he immediately propagandized Posse Comitatus ideological positions (Wright, 2007).

The passage of the 1993 Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act (Brady Bill) and the 1994 Act to Control and Prevent Crime (Crime Control Act) was seen by the right-wing extremist movement as an attempt to disarm law abiding citizens to control them more easily (Edel, 1995; Wright, 2007). The right-wing extremist movement made travelling gun shows a method of resistance and an avenue of communication (Wright, 2007). Militia movements used the opportunity to recruit heavily (Wright, 2007).

The ranchers in the mid-west believe that they should be able to use federal land without interruption; however, the United States government mandates the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) charge fees for or prohibit its citizens' use of federal lands (BLM, 2022; Hughes, 2016). The incident at the Bundy and Hammond ranches were seen by the right-wing extremist community as government overreach (Prokop, 2015). When Bundy refused to make payment and called for armed resistance, the right-wing extremist movement was energized and received legitimization when BLM agents backed down (O'Toole, 2016; CBS, 2016; Prokop, 2016; Hughes, 2016).

The related literature suggests that biographical studies have been successfully used in a host of different research projects (Bornat, 2008). Stern (2014) suggests that a biographical study could provide insight into the right-wing extremist's decision-making process. Crenshaw (2000) indicates that the individual decision-making process is affected by a series of life course events and not solely on membership in an extremist group. Bornat (2018) suggests that biographical studies are all-encompassing and reveal in-depth knowledge concerning an individual's cognitive thinking process.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

Overview

This study is qualitative in design and uses biographical research to reveal a set of thirty biological and circumstantial correlates present or absent in the life course of the twenty-five right-wing extremist test subjects. The correlates are analyzed for significance and their relationship to each other. The life course correlates are placed into categorizes dependent on their functions.

Relationship maps are constructed to visually support the significance and relationship of each categorized correlate.

Everyone within this study has developed a unique ideological pattern that embraces numerous features, themes, and trends (Adorno, et al., 1950). The presence and degree of difference or similarity of these variables within each person must be compared to those found in other subjects (Adorno, et al., 1950). Subjects will be chosen by the impact of their behavior on the broader movements that they represent and by the availability of the information necessary to analyze the correlates present and absent from their life course (Doosje, Zebel, Scheermeijer, & Mathyi, 2007).

The subject's membership within a right-wing radical group known for points of view will be attributed to the individual in a generalized sense (Adorno, et al., 1950). There is no attempt to determine how a specific group developed or accepted these views, only that the group professes to have them (Adorno, et al. 1950). In the absence of additional counter-data, a member or leader of a neo-Nazi group or an adherent to Christian Identity would be considered to hold anti-Semitic and white supremacy views. An individual who has achieved a high level of education as compared to the public would be marked as having a higher level of intelligence.

Design

The researched is a qualitative study using a biographical research design. The study is qualitative and relies on a deep dive into the life course events of the test subjects. Previous research in terrorism has focused on the group or organizational levels (Stern, 2014). The group approach has not brought academia any closer to determining why an individual right-wing

extremist chooses to use violence (Stern, 2014). By focusing on the life course of the individual right-wing extremist, the researcher can determine what variables have influenced the test subject's decision-making process and brought them to conclude that violence was an acceptable method to further their ideology (Crenshaw, 2000; Stern, 2014).

The correlates used in this study are both biological and circumstantial. Biological markers have successfully identified borderline and antisocial personality disorder (ADP) in the prison inmate population (Horn, Potvin, Allaire, Côté, Gobbi, Benkirane & Dumais, 2014). Horn et al. (2014) confirms the importance of biological markers when studying individual behavior. Research conducted by Zimmer-Gembeck and Helfand (2008) utilized a combination of biological and circumstantial correlations to analyze adolescent subjects' behavior. Horn et al. (2014) argues, "A consideration of profiles of people, rather than of exclusive diagnoses, might yield clearer relationships" (p. 441).

Biological factors can form a physical, physiological, neurological, chemical, or genetic condition and impact how an individual thinks or acts (Staff Writer, 2020). Elias, Elias, and Elias (1990) argue that age and disease are primary factors influencing behavior. Latzer (2020) suggests that racial prejudice, poverty, cultural violence, and the level of urbanicity affect crime rates. Research by Oh, Nicholson Jr, Koyanagi, Jacob, and Glass (2021) controls for sex, age, income to poverty ratio, and ethnicity and found that urbanicity led to adverse behaviors in members of the black community.

Agnew (2005) suggests that deviant behavior is centered around personality traits and interactions with "family, school, peers, and work" (p. 1). Bernard, Snipes, and Gerould (2016)

argue that several internal demographic characteristics influence deviant behavior, such as age, sex, and race. This study will consider biological factors, including age, sex, intelligence quotient (I.Q.), race, and the presence of mental illness to reveal the significance of these correlates on the individual right-wing extremist.

Bernard, Snipes, and Gerould (2016) suggest that family dysfunction, peer group membership, educational performance, and peer victimization are behavioral factors. Adorno, et al. (1950) identified anti-Semitism, ethnocentrism, ideology, politics, vocation and income, and religious exposure as essential factors in determining the socio-psychoanalytical makeup of an individual. The circumstantial factors will include marriage, employment, traditional religious exposure, family dysfunction, the presence of siblings, criminal history, divorce, urbanicity, educational achievement, drug use, and the presence of poverty. Other significant correlates include age of radicalization, peer involvement in right-wing extremist activities, simultaneous group memberships, veteran status, military combat experience, and previous political activity.

Individual right-wing extremists operate in a milieu that helps form and maintains their ideology, with some groups becoming more susceptible to committing acts of political violence (Kaplan, 1995). This study will focus on group memberships within radical and extremist groups that formed the individual's milieu or social environment, suggesting that the group's ideology is reflective of the subject's ideology (Kaplan, 1995). The ideological correlates used within this study is anti-government, anti-Semitic, white supremacy, Christian Identity, and Odinism.

Research Questions

What are the biological and circumstantial correlates present within the right-wing

extremist that predisposes them to committing acts of violence?

What correlates taken from the right-wing extremist's life course, cause them to decide whether to use violence?

Of the correlates identified within the right-wing extremist's life course, which have a significant impact on the individual's decision-making process?

Setting

All the subjects within this study were born, were raised, and were active within the United States. The subjects were selected due to their impact on the right-wing extremist movement as identified by the SPLC, academic scholars, and respected journalists. Many of the individuals within this study have long been a part of the right-wing extremist movement, their behaviors have been accurately documented by trusted sources, and many have been arrested or killed for their beliefs.

The right-wing extremism is comprised of a variety of different movements and ideologies. Early right-wing extremist groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan, had a structured hierarchy to including organizations on the local, state, and federal levels. Basing their ideology on racial superiority, these groups would affiliate themselves to other ideologies that added to the belief systems. Neo-Nazis adhered to racial superiority; however, they also focused their hatred on anti-Semitism. Other groups accepted conspiracy theories that range from a Zionist Occupied Government (ZOG) in Washington, D.C. to the notion that a cabal of Jews are conspiring globally to replace white people on the socioeconomic ladders within western society. Militia and Patriot organizations, embracing anti-government beliefs, accepted the tenets of Christian

Identity to add white supremacy, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and islamophobia to their ideology. Other groups mixed and matched their ideological preferences to support their ideology. As right-wing extremists embrace authoritarianism, most right-wing extremist groups are led by a dynamic leader (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950).

Participants

There are twenty-five known right-wing extremists research subjects within this study. The thirty correlates used in this study are theoretical and are devised to produce a theory that can reveal which correlates adversely affect the individual's decision to use violence to further their ideology. The sample pool for this study includes right-wing extremists from twenty-two different organizations or ideological perspectives.

This research does not call for a specific geographic location other than the participants are American and operate within the boundaries of the United States. Glesne (2016) suggests that it is acceptable to use participants that are bound by ideology and group cohesion rather than geographic boundaries. Additionally, qualitative research is challenged when it addresses studies that are large enough to require random sampling (Glesne, 2016). This study will utilize extreme sampling from members of the right-wing extremist movements (Glesne, 2016). These individuals stand out-are extreme- because of their right-wing extremist rhetoric, criminal behavior, and use of violence.

Procedures

The data from this study is obtained from indirect, secondhand sources to include academic book, biographies, studies, journals, and periodicals. Much of the information as found on Google Scholar and in the Liberty University Library. Because the information is open

source, Institutional Review Board (IRB) permission is not necessary for the collection of this study's data. The correlates of the right-wing extremist subjects are analyzed using IBM's SPSS software, used to create a Measurement Model from the data sets. The measurement model is able to show the significance of each correlate examined leading to the creation of a Pathway Analysis. The Pathway Analysis is used to visually show the reader the relationship of the variables within the study.

The Researcher's Role

This researcher has no relationship, personal or otherwise, with any of the participants within this study. The design of this study was developed according to the suggestions of previous researchers who called for a study that focuses on the individual right-wing extremist decision-making process (Stern, 2014; Crenshaw, 2000). The researcher often extrapolates information from the research-based witness accounts. An example of this extrapolation occurred when a defense attorney described one subject of this study as articulate, having an above average intelligence, and able to comprehend complex legal arguments. In such a case, this study assumes that the individual subject has an above average intelligence.

Data Collection

Because many of the subjects of this study are deceased or are serving lengthy periods of incarceration, gaining access, and conducting an interview was not feasible. The primary method used by this study to collect data was through document analysis. The documents analyzed included biographies published by sources close to the subject, archival records, journals, newspaper articles, artifact analysis such as photographs. The study systematically

reviewed the literature of other academics and right-wing extremist experts from academic institutions, journalists, and the SPLC. Because the documentation read for this study was aimed at identifying predetermined correlates within the subject's life course, the data is presented as literary realism (Glesne, 2016).

Documents selected for review from the SPLC are produced by subject matter experts who are subjected to civil suit if they espouse untrue or libelous information. Academic articles in right-wing extremism that were used in this study were born of the peer-review process and are considered subjective. Journal and newspaper articles selected for this study are from respected news outlets and manufactured by well-known and trusted journalists.

Research Setting

It is suggested that individual research coupled with group research can provide a more expansive view of the extremist landscape. This more expansive view will include common correlates that exist among and between the extremists that were identified during the study and through the review of previous research. The following correlates are pertinent to this study:

1. Age at Radicalization (≤ 30 Years Old)
2. Sex
3. Race
4. Intelligence Quotient (I.Q.)
5. Presence of Mental Illness

6. Employment
7. Education
8. Peer Group Involvement
9. Family Dysfunction
10. Urbanicity
11. Simultaneous Memberships
12. Religious Exposure
13. Veteran Status
14. Combat Veteran
15. Drug Usage
16. Marital Status
17. White Supremacy Ideology
18. Antigovernment Ideology
19. Anti-Semitic Ideology
20. Christian Identity
21. Odinism
22. Poverty to Income Ratio (Poverty)

23. Different Roles based on Sex

24. Divorce

25. Islamophobia

26. Anti-LGBTQ+ Rights

27. Political Activity

28. Criminal History

29. Xenophobia

30. Presence of Siblings

The presence or absence of these correlates will be logged into a matrix for analysis. Because the study is binary, the presence of a correlate in the subject's life course will be indicated by a numeric "1" in the matrix and the absence of the correlate will be logged with the use of a "0" within the matrix.

Name	Sex	Race	Anti-LGBT	Anti-Gove	Islamopho	Diffeential	Xenaphob	White Sup	Age at Rac	Married	Peer Grou	Anti-Seme	IQ	Employed	Simultane	Religion Ex	Christian i	Siblings	Family Dys	Criminal Re	Veteran St	Divorced	Politically	Education	Urbanicity	Combat St	Mental Illn	Drug Usag	Poverty Or	Odinist
Louis Bear	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
William Po	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1		1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Timothy M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
John Troch	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	0		0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Matthew I	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0		0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Robert Jay	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Gordan Ka	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Richard Bu	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Robert Gre	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
Richard Lo	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1		1	0
Steven Car	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0		0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
James Alex	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Ivan Harris	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0			0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0
Patrick W	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1			0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
David Lane	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Richard W	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Randel We	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
William Lu	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Elmer Stua	1	1	1	1		1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0		1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
Michael E	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0		0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Terry Lynn	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Robert Be	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1		0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Thomas L	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0		1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wesley A	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Enrique T	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Dat	25	24	24	23	21	21	21	20	20	20	20	19	17	17	17	13	13	10	10	10	10	8	8	7	7	6	5	3	3	2
Prevalenc	1	0.96	0.96	0.92	0.875	0.84	0.84	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.76	0.739	0.739	0.739	0.59	0.52	0.5	0.454	0.416	0.4	0.36	0.32	0.29	0.29	0.24	0.2	0.13	0.12	0.08

Figure 1. Tucker, M. (2022) Correlates of Right-Wing Extremism. [Data Set].

CHAPTER IV: DATA ANALYSIS

The secondary sources within this study provided accurate information concerning the presence or absents of most correlates used in the study's analysis. If the document review did not provide enough information from the subject's life course to accurately suggest the presence or absence of a correlate, an "unknown" was logged in the matrix. Several times during the life course analysis, information was available that allowed for the researcher to extrapolate a correlate accurately. This process accurately describes the position of the correlate when additional documentation is not available. Qualitative Data Analysis Software (QDAS), specifically, SPSS was used to analysis the significance of the correlates. Additionally, a Pathway Analysis was created that assisted in manufacturing a right-wing extremist profile.

Data was collected by examining occurrences within the subject's life course. A matrix was created utilizing the collected data. The collected data from this study revealed that there are significant correlates that exist in the life course of a right-wing extremist that is vital in predicting right-wing extremist violence. Using SPSS software, this study determined the significance of each individual correlate.

Age at Radicalization

Determining the exact age that a person begins to become entrenched in an ideology is difficult to obtain. The data collected on the collective age of the subjects within this study reveals that 80 percent of the right-wing extremists listed were under the age of thirty when they submerged themselves in extremism. If right-wing extremist violence occurred, this would

suggest to law enforcement that the perpetrator would be a person who was under the age of thirty years old when they began to espouse a right-wing world view.

Age_at_Radicalization

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Over 30 Years of Age	5	20.0	20.0	20.0
	Under 30 Years of Age	20	80.0	80.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 2. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Age at Radicalization. [Data Set].

Sex

For the purposes of this study, sex refers to the biological label given to the subject at their time of birth. The white supremacy movement the female sex holds an important role socially and ideologically (Belew, 2018). When committing violence, white supremacists often invoke the idea that they must protect their white women from racial impurities (Belew, 2018). White supremacists place the female body on a pedestal of purity, believing that only white women can produce white children and secure the future of the white race (Belew, 2018). Women inside white supremacy organizations have the important role of not only procreation, but of forging social ties between right-wing extremist organizations (Belew, 2018). Although they avoid leadership roles and acts of violence, white women support white supremacist men and appeal to mainstream Americans who are potential jurors (Belew, 2018).

The perceived need by white supremacist organizations to protect white women has a drastic effect on white supremacy ideology (Belew, 2018). Belew (2018) argues that white

supremacy political opposition to ideas such as busing, abortion, contraception, welfare, and immigration all emanate from the notion that white women need to be protected from impurity. White supremacist organization act in a militaristic masculine hierarchal structure with women playing an important social role while avoiding violence (Belew, 2018). Right-wing extremism calls for the legitimization of violence over democracy (Levitas, 2002; Mudde, 2019); yet women do not fill the role of warriors within right-wing extremist ideologies. Kaplan (2007) places the role of white women in right-wing extremist organizations as mothers, able to produce pure Aryan children. Pape (2022) found that 93 percent of the January 6, 2021, insurrectionists were white, and 86 percent were males. This study indicates that 100% of its subjects are males.

Sex

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	25	100.0	100.0	100.0

Figure 3. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Sexual Identity. [Data Set].

Race

Belew (2018) suggests that the Vietnam War brought together the paramilitary culture, white supremacy, and anti-communist organizations. Right-wing reverends, including Wesley Shift and William Gale, were quick to make a connection between communists and Jews adding anti-Semitism to the right-wing agenda (Levitas, 2002). The 1952 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kanas* caused the right-wing extremist movement to view the federal government as an entity that no longer protects their self-interests over those of their enemies (Levitas, 2002). Levitas (2002) suggests that white supremacists believed that they were at war

with the federal government and adopted the adage that the Civil War was not about slavery, but states' rights. Prior to the *Brown* decision, right-wing extremist groups were made up of racists, anti-Semites, anti-communists, tax protesters, and nativists who espoused a hatred for Catholics and immigrants; however, now an anti-government fervor was added (Levitas, 2002). The Farm Crisis drastically increased the membership of right-wing extremist groups (Levitas, 2002; Wright, 2007).

White supremacist compounds like that in Hayden Lake, allowed for different right-wing extremists to mingle, solidify their doctrines, plot attacks, and finance each other's operations (Dees and Corcoran, 1996). Right-wing extremist groups saw the incidents at Ruby Ridge, Idaho and Waco, Texas, combined with the Clinton era Brady Bill as a direct assault against the inalienable rights of the American people (Wright, 2007). The militarization of the police in their efforts to feed the War on Drugs fueled the hate that right-wing extremists felt toward the government resulting in the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995 (Wright, 2007; Levitas, 2002; Belew, 2018). Since the roots of the Patriot/militia movement are directly related to the white supremacist movement, it is not difficult to understand that this study's sample of right-wing extremists is 88 percent white and only 12 percent non-white (Tucker, 2022). The 12 percent of non-white right-wing extremists come from recently founded anti-government militia organizations (Tucker, 2022a). Most members within new formed militia groups do not espouse racial hatred.

Race

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Non-White	3	12.0	12.0	12.0
	White	22	88.0	88.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 4. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Race. [Data Set].

Intelligence Quotient (IQ)

This study found that on 26 percent of right-wing extremists analyzed had a below average intelligence quotient (I.Q.); however, most subjects within this study are leaders and founding members of organizations within right-wing extremism (Tucker, 2022a). The right-wing extremist leader must be able to understand contradictive ideologies and form them into a belief system that they would defend with the use of violence, subjecting themselves to imprisonment, and often death. Bernard, Snipes, and Gerould (2016) suggest that early twentieth century criminal theories suggested a link between I.Q. and deviance; however, I.Q. tests revealed that the correlation between low intelligence and criminality are insignificant.

Adorno et al. (1950) suggests that personality traits are important influencers over the decision process of extremists. Grover (2021) indicates that subjects that gravitate to extremist ideologies see the world in terms of black and white. Adorno et al. (1950) suggests that an authoritarian personality trait can overwhelm cognitive thinking and decision making. Additionally, Adorno et al. (1950) suggest that patterns of dominance and submission form in childhood and later develop into a hardened belief system. The extremist has a disdain for the things that are viewed as weak and embraces strength (Adorno, et al., 1950). The authoritarian

accepts conventionalism, a rigid social hierarchy, stereotypical thinking, and is preoccupied by conspiracies and immoral behaviors (Adorno et al., 1950). Because of the limitations of the study, personality traits were not subjected to collection and analysis.

IQ

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Below Average IQ	6	24.0	26.1	26.1
	Average or Above IQ	17	68.0	73.9	100.0
	Total	23	92.0	100.0	
Missing	System	2	8.0		
Total		25	100.0		

Figure 5. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Intelligence Quotient. [Data Set].

Mental Illness

There is no mention of mental illness in the biographical analysis of the life course of 80 percent of the subjects (Tucker, 2022a). Violence and mental illness are intricately connected in the worlds of psychology and media; however, most subjects who have been identified with a mental illness and stabilized through treatment do not create an increased risk of violence (Rueve & Welton, 2008; Weatherstone & Moran, 2003). Criminologists suggest that 4 percent of violence criminal offenders suffer from a major mental illness (Rueve and Welton, 2008). Bernard, Snipes, and Gerould (2016) suggest that major mental illnesses can be over diagnosed within the population and efforts to predict violence behavior through psychiatrics have been woefully wrong. Finally, the research of Weatherstone and Moran (2003) indicates that there is no correlation between mental illness and terrorism. The overrepresentation of mental illness

within the data of this study may be caused by judicial personnel who do not grasp the motivation behind the subject's extreme use of violence.

Mental_Illness

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No sign of mental illness	20	80.0	80.0	80.0
	Mental Illness is present	5	20.0	20.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 6. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Mental Illness. [Data Set].

Employment

The data reveals that 73.9 percent of the right-wing extremists analyzed within this study were employed (Tucker, 2022a). Hirschi (1969) suggests that employment is a conventional prosocial activity that can significantly lower deviant behavior that can increase the person's societal attachment and commitment, significantly lowering their deviant behavior. Bernard, Snipes, and Gerould (2016) suggest that later research found no connection between a person's participation in prosocial activities and decreased levels of deviant behavior. Pape (2022) suggests that 25 percent of right-wing extremists are unemployed at the time of their arrest. Within this study, it is unclear what effects employment played on the individual's decision-making process whether to use violence or not.

Employment

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Employed	6	24.0	26.1	26.1
	Employed	17	68.0	73.9	100.0
	Total	23	92.0	100.0	
Missing	System	2	8.0		
Total		25	100.0		

Figure 7. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Employment. [Data Set].

Education

This study revealed that 29.1 percent of the right-wing extremists analyzed attended post-secondary schools (Tucker, 2022a). Research has revealed that environmental factors influence an individual person's IQ level, educational performance, and income ability (Rowe, Vesterdal, and Rodgers, 1998). Additionally, research conducted by Rowe, Vesterdal, and Rodgers (1998) suggests that genotypes also influence the phenotypical associations among IQ, educational performance, and income ability. Therefore, educational performance influences the individual's decision-making process during their life course.

McDill, and Coleman (1965) challenge previous research that suggests a parent's socio-economic class holds the most influence on a high school student's decision to attend post-secondary education. Peer group and urbanicity play a more vital role in a person's decision to further their education or not (McDill & Coleman, 1965). The matrix revealed that every subject that did attend a post-secondary educational institutions had peers involved in right-wing extremist movements; however, 45.8 percent of other right-wing extremists that also had peers involved in right-wing extremist movements did not attend a post-secondary high school

(Tucker, 2022a). Additionally, 100 percent of subjects that attended some amounts of post-secondary education were employed and were never impoverished during their life course (Tucker, 2022a).

Education

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No College	17	68.0	70.8	70.8
	Some college	7	28.0	29.2	100.0
	Total	24	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	4.0		
Total		25	100.0		

Figure 8. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Education. [Data Set].

Peer Group Involvement

The data comprised within the matrix supports the ideas put forth by McDill and Coleman (1965) that suggest that peer group is a major correlate in determining whether an individual seeks secondary education. The matrix indicates 80 percent of the subjects have close personal relations with other members of right-wing extremist groups. Additionally, of the 33.3 percent of subjects that sought secondary education, 100 percent also had peers involved in right-wing extremist groups (Tucker, 2022a).

Peers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No peer group involvement	5	20.0	20.0	20.0
	Peers Involved in Right-Wing Extremism	20	80.0	80.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 9. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Peer Involvement. [Data Set].

Family Disfunction

The data revealed form the biographical studies into the life course events of the subjects suggests that 45.4 percent had experienced family dysfunction (Tucker, 2022a). Farrington (2011) suggests that a dysfunctional family could include poor child rearing methods, having too many children, poor parent-child relationships, and lack of supervision when the child is age six to eleven. Rebellion (2002) suggests that a primary contributing factor in juvenile delinquency is the absents of at least one biological parent. Glaeser and Sacerdote (1999) suggest that one-third to one-half of all inner-city crime is explained by the presence of single-parent households. Using open-source materials to reveal family dysfunction is difficult; however, the data reveals only family dysfunction that is well documented.

Laub and Sampson (2009) suggest that other events in an individual's life course, such as marriage, can negate or change the adverse effects of family dysfunction that commonly lead to deviant behavior. Bosick and Fomby (2018) indicate that the level of family stability can predict future levels of juvenile delinquency in adolescents. The matrix reveals that 70 percent of subjects that experienced family dysfunction were married; however, 37.5 percent of those same subjects were divorced (Tucker, 2022a).

Family_Dysfunction

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No family dysfunction	12	48.0	54.5	54.5
	Experienced family dysfunction	10	40.0	45.5	100.0
	Total	22	88.0	100.0	
Missing	System	3	12.0		
Total		25	100.0		

Figure 10. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Family Dysfunction. [Data Set].

Urbanicity

Vlahov and Galea (2002) define urbanicity as the impact that living in an urban area causes on the life course of the individual. The matrix suggests that 28 percent of subjects were reared in a city, revealing that 72 percent of the right-wing extremists studied were from rural or suburban areas of the country (Tucker, 2022a). Life in America's inner cities provide criminals with more access to criminals and less chance of being apprehended or recognized (Glaeser & Sacerdote, 1999). Right-wing extremists living in rural areas have an advantage in avoiding law enforcement, neighbor, and witness scrutiny.

Urbanicity

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Suburbs or rural	18	72.0	72.0	72.0
	City	7	28.0	28.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 11. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Urbanicity. [Data Set].

Multiple-Simultaneous Memberships

Research has revealed that it is common for right-wing extremists to belong to more than one right-wing extremist group simultaneously (Kaplan, 1995; Atkins, 2011). Different right-wing extremist groups adhere to different ideologies and demand different levels of commitment from their members (Kaplan, 1995). However, Belew (2018) points out that the size of an organization does not gauge the level of the individual member's level of commitment. Group membership has a vital role in forming individual ideology and reflects the motivations of both the group and the individual members (Crenshaw, 2000). All right-wing extremist ideologies, regardless of group, give support to their members- the in-group- and subjugate the out-group (Mudde, 2019).

Rousseau (2001) suggests that group membership and commitment to an organization is developed from personal experiences that build into a schema. The accepted schema determines how the individual categorizes new information and concepts (Rousseau, 2001). Initially the person's schema is simple; however, as the person categorizes even simple events into their worldview, their schema becomes more complex (Rousseau, 2001). Rousseau (2001) suggests that as the schema of the organization and its members becomes more complete, appropriate behavior can be identified and used to support each other.

Van Poelje (2015) suggests that both the group and the individual must accept each other for membership to occur. For this to occur, some level of norms and ideology existed in the individual prior to group membership (Rousseau, 2001). Group ideology is used to complete the person's individual schema (Rousseau, 2001). Crenshaw (2000) acknowledges the influence

of group membership; however, individuals make decisions based on other factors within their world view.

The changes in the country's demographics, political landscape, and economic forces play a vital role in the formation of group and individual ideologies (Adorno et al., 1950). Adorno et al. (1950) suggests that psychological affinity to the right or left forces ideology closer to fascism on the right and Marxist communism on the left during tumultuous periods. Right-wing extremist ideologies, formed prior to group acceptance are reinforced by the initial group and forwarded on to subsequent groups that further radicalize both the group and the individual. The matrix suggests that 80 percent of subjects have belonged to multiple right-wing extremist groups simultaneously (Tucker, 2022a). This creates a conga line for further radicalization and ideological shift; however, it is still the individual's decision to commit an act of violence or not (Crenshaw, 2000).

Simultaneous_Membership

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Single group memberships	8	32.0	32.0	32.0
	Simultaneous memberships	17	68.0	68.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 12. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Simultaneous Group Membership. [Data Set].

Religious Exposure

Aly and Striegher (2012) suggest that religion plays a role in the radicalization process that leads to extremism. (Aly & Striegher, 2012). Initially, religion can provide for the individual's basic need of self-identification, social acceptance, and giving a meaning to life; however, religion defines in-group and out-group membership, legitimizes the use of violence, and provides a narrative of victimization (Aly & Striegher, 2012). The hypothesis in this study suggests that individuals that have been exposed to high levels of traditional religious fervor are more apt to accept the negative aspect of non-traditional extremism once engulfed within an extremist ideology.

The matrix suggests that 59 percent of the subjects were exposed to significant levels of traditional religious doctrine prior to their extremist activities (Tucker, 2022a). Frenken, Bilewicz, and Imhoff (2022) suggest that people that accept conspiracy theories are more religious. Additionally, the study found that there is a significant positive correlation between the endorsement of a conspiracy theories and right-wing conservatism (Frenken, Bilewicz, & Imhoff, 2022). This is not a strictly American, right-wing extremist characteristic. Roccas and Schwartz (1997) suggest that the in countries where there is a visible Christian public presence, there is a greater conspiracy theory acceptance rate.

Traditional Religion

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not exposed to traditional religion	9	36.0	40.9	40.9
	Exposed to traditional religion	13	52.0	59.1	100.0
	Total	22	88.0	100.0	
Missing	System	3	12.0		
Total		25	100.0		

Figure 13. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Religious Exposure. [Data Set].

Veteran Status

Schaeffer (2021) indicates that less than 7 percent of the United States population is identified as a military veteran of the United States armed forces. The matrix suggests that 40 percent of the subjects listed within the study are United States military veterans (Tucker, 2022a). Belew (2018) suggests that the significant levels of military veterans involved in right-wing extremist groups can be traced to the Vietnam War and the common view among veterans that the United States government betrayed their efforts. Additionally, French and Ernest (1955) suggest that members of the military are more apt to embrace right-wing extremist characteristics such as authoritarianism.

The 1983 declaration of war by certain right-wing extremist group leaders against the United States government was a fundamental shift from white supremacy groups engaging in vigilante violence against minorities (Belew, 2018). The formation of white supremacy compounds, such as the Aryan Nation's Hayden Lake, allowed for the exchange of racist, antisemitic, and anti-government beliefs resulting in the melding of right-wing extremist

ideologies. The multi-group ideologies increased levels of commitment among veteran members who were already competent in the use of military tactics, weapons, and target acquisition.

Veteran

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Non-veteran	15	60.0	60.0	60.0
	A military veteran	10	40.0	40.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 14. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Veteran Status. [Data Set].

Combat Veteran Status

The matrix suggests that 24 percent of the study's right-wing extremist subjects are combat veterans (Tucker, 2022a). Elbogen et al. (2014) suggests that returning veterans returning home create a significant risk of violence to the civilian population. Elbogen (2014) indicates that 20 percent of combat veterans met the criteria for Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), 2 percent had a moderate to severe Traumatic Brain Injury, 24 percent were diagnosed with depression, and 27 percent were alcoholics. Elbogen (2014) reported that 32 percent of the combat veterans utilized violence in the one-year period prior to the study and 11 percent used a weapon or near fatal levels of violence. The high levels of violence use among the veteran population are driven by a veteran population that had PTSD and were misusing alcohol (Elbogen, Johnson, Wagner, Sullivan, Taft, & Beckham, 2014). Undoubtedly, combat veterans pose an increased risk of violence to the civilian population and are overrepresented in the membership of right-wing extremist groups.

Combat

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No combat	19	76.0	76.0	76.0
	Experienced combat	6	24.0	24.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 15. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Combat Experience. [Data Set].

Drug Usage

This study revealed that 13 percent of the analyzed subjects use or misused illegal drugs (Tucker, 2022a). The United States Department of Health and Human Services (2014) indicates that 9 percent of the population abuses illegal substances daily, while over 50 percent of people have used illegal substances in the past. Carlsson (2021) suggests that the use of drugs and alcohol are historically linked to the use of violence. Although people that engage in heavy drug use are more susceptible to joining right-wing extremist groups, they are vulnerable to law enforcement and maybe rejected by the group. Once accepted into the groups, Carlsson (2021) suggests that the individual with substance abuse issues will continue to stay within the group out of necessity and survival. Additionally, groups leadership will have a greater ability to control and use an addicted member of the group (Carlsson, 2021).

Although drug abusers are easier to recruit, retain, and use for nefarious purposes, they are also more vulnerable to law enforcement pressure. Additionally, many right-wing extremist groups that adhere to racial supremacy promote the idea of blood purity and disallow drug use (Carlsson, 2021). Carlsson (2021) suggests that drug use can increase confusion, social

isolation, and anxiety which are characteristics that make the person less valuable to right-wing extremist groups.

Drug_Use

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No history of drug use	20	80.0	87.0	87.0
	Known to use drugs	3	12.0	13.0	100.0
	Total	23	92.0	100.0	
Missing	System	2	8.0		
Total		25	100.0		

Figure 16. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Drug Usage. [Data Set].

Marriage

Hirschi (1969) suggests that people are born with criminal intend and that society controls their use of deviant behavior by providing them with prosocial interaction, values, and institutions. Bernard, Snipes, and Gerould (2016) suggest that marriage may lower crime rates by separating an individual from his peer group. Pritchett and Moeller (2022) suggest that social bonding theory had no effect on extremist group behavior. Ideology and the dynamics of the right-wing extremist group is a better predictor of violence than is a social control mechanism such as marriage (Pritchett & Moeller, 2022). The matrix revealed that 80 percent of subjects were married at least once during their life course (Tucker, 2022a). The size of the organization and the person's position within its hierarchal structure are better variables in determining whether the individual will choose to engage in the use of violence or not (Pritchett & Moeller, 2022).

Married

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never married	5	20.0	20.0	20.0
	Married at least one time	20	80.0	80.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 17. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Marriage. [Data Set].

White Supremacy

Bjorgo (2014) suggests that terrorism and political violence moved toward the extreme right and embraced the ideas of racism, extreme nationalism, and nativism. The idea of white supremacy holds a vital role in the ideology of right-wing extremism and supports the primary idea that inequalities between people should be based on race and national origin (Bjorgo, 2014). Mudde (2019) indicates that white supremacy ideology celebrates individual differences and positions in the socio-economic hierarchy and identifies themselves as the elite and superior to others based on racial differences.

White supremacy suggests that members of the out group, non-whites, and immigrants should be treated in an inferior manner and inferior legal status (Bjorgo, 2014). White supremacists legitimize the use of violence when they feel that their status in the socio-economic hierarchy is threaten or being tested (Bjorgo, 2014). This makes determining the number of white supremacists and their supporters difficult to gauge outside of a national situation involving members of the out-group (Bjorgo, 2014). Certain right-wing extremist groups adhere to an ideology that is focused on anti-Semitism and includes the idea of white supremacy. Neo-

Nazi groups have supported Black Muslim minister Louis Farrakhan because he is primarily anti-Semitic and suggests a separation of people based on their race (Lee, 2000).

The most extreme right-wing ideology is fascism which is primarily anti-democratic in nature and supports the idea of a strong, all powerful central leader (Mudde, 2019). According to Mudde (2019), the state is an ethical, legal, and spiritual institution that commands the full submission of the citizenry. Fascist groups reject the idea of democracy and replace it by legitimizing the use of violence against out-group members. Additionally, a fascist believes that the economy is separated into corporate and military groups that work together, organically, for the betterment of the state (Mudde, 2019). People are divided into groups with the Aryan people at the top of the hierarchy (Mudde, 2019). White supremacist who are fascists suggest that it is the right of the Aryan people to rule or exterminate people of lesser groups. Neo-Nazis believe that Jewish people are morally and physically inferior to the Aryans; however, they are politically and economically strong (Mudde, 2019).

White supremacist groups hold anti-Semitic, racist, and Islamophobic views to legitimize the creation of an ethnocracy (Mudde, 2019). Within an ethnocracy, citizenship is based on ethnicity and immigrants that do not assimilate should be repatriated with their country of origin (Mudde, 2019). All Muslims are identified as being fundamentalists and dangerous to western civilization (Mudde, 2019).

Belew (2018) suggests that the number of white supremacist groups in the United States are growing smaller; however, the members that remain within these groups are more dedicated and dangerous. Johnson (2020) suggests that the threat from white supremacist groups is on the

rise, domestically and globally. Previously, the threat from white supremacy had been viewed as a domestic issue; however, because of a shared ideology, social media interaction, and global nature of the movement it should be viewed as a global pandemic (Johnson, 2020). Sullivan and Brenner (2021) report that the United States government has concluded that the greatest domestic threat facing the nation is racially motivated violent extremists.

The matrix suggests that 75 percent of the subjects hold white supremacist ideologies (Tucker, 2022a). White supremacy is a dangerous ideology because it legitimizes the use of violence when a white supremacist feels that their dominant social or economic position is being threatened by a member of a different creed. The overrepresentation of white supremacy within the subjects of this study reveals the danger that this group of individuals has presented. Pape (2022) found that right-wing extremists that hold white supremacist beliefs and who had be known to commit violent acts prior to radicalization, were the most likely to commit acts of extreme violence. The matrix suggests that 28 percent of the right-wing extremist subjects have criminal records and hold white supremacist beliefs.

White_Supremacy

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Does not embrace white supremacy	5	20.0	20.0	20.0
	Ideology includes white supremacy	20	80.0	80.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 18. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: White Supremacy. [Data Set].

Anti-Government

The Farm Crisis of the late 1970s and early 1980s put the federal government at odds with small town family-farmers from the mid-west (Levitas, 2002). To save the family farm, mid-west farmers reached out to right-wing extremist groups including the members of the sovereign citizen movement for help (Levitas, 2002). This bolstered the ranks of right-wing extremist groups in mid-western states.

Vietnam veterans breathed air into the militia movement upon returning home from the war (Belew, 2018). The events in Ruby Ridge, Idaho, Waco, Texas, and Clinton-era gun reform legislation caused conservative groups to mobilize into armed militias (SPLC, 2022c; Belew, 2018; Lee, 2000). The police actions showed a lack of government accountability when dealing with right-wing groups and spawned a drastic expansion within the ranks of the militia movement (Belew, 2018). The militarization of local police forces caused militia groups to embrace the idea that the government was bent on subjugating the population using military force. The Militia of Montana (MOM) under the leadership of John Trochmann suggested that militia groups were necessary to balance the government's monopoly on military power and stop any scheme that the government may have that uses force against its own citizenry (Dees & Corcoran, 1996).

Militia groups formed and mixed with white supremacist groups not only ideologically but by creating personal relationships (Dees & Corcoran, 1996). White supremacist compounds, like the Aryan Nation compound at Hayden Lakes, Idaho allowed for militia groups to physically meet with other right-wing extremist groups, including white supremacists and neo-Nazis

(Wright, 2007). Interactions between right-wing antigovernment adherents and white supremacists has caused a paradigm shift causing an increase in nativism, anti-immigration, and white supremacy within the militia movement (Pendergast, 2020). During these meetings, the events that led to the Oklahoma City bombing were set into motion (Wright, 2007).

The matrix suggests that 92 percent of subjects hold anti-government sentiments and 78.2 percent of those holding anti-government views simultaneously hold white supremacy ideations (Tucker, 2022a). Ong (2020) suggests that there is a convergence of ideologies within the right-wing extremist movement that includes the conflated opinion that white Americans are being replaced by people of color within the country's social and economic hierarchy. Members of different right-wing extremist groups have bonded their ideologies due to the government's reaction to the Covid-19 pandemic, increases in illegal immigration levels, and internet conspiracy narratives launched by groups such as QAnon (Ong, 2020). Ong (2020) suggests that right-wing extremist rhetoric has increased on internet platforms such as Reddit and 4chan during the pandemic, calling for members to weaponize and prepare for a second Civil War.

Antigovernment

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No anti-government grievences	2	8.0	8.0	8.0
	Holds anti-government grievences	23	92.0	92.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 19. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Anti-government. [Data Set].

Anti-Semitism

Ong (2020) suggests that anti-government groups carefully craft narratives that suggest the United States government is being controlled by Jews. Adherents to the ZOG conspiracy theory suggest that the Jewish run government is eroding the Constitutional rights of the American citizens, decaying the economy, and allowing foreign actors to subjugate white Americans (Ong, 2020). Balleck (2018) suggests that anti-Semitism is widespread in most right-wing extremist ideologies. Additionally, active right-wing extremist groups such as the Aryan Nation and National Alliance have espoused unmatched level of hatred toward the Jewish people indicating that they are literally, the children of Satan (Balleck, 2018).

The matrix indicates that 76 percent of subjects studied hold anti-Semitic views (Tucker, 2022a). Beirich (2021) suggests that the right-wing extremist conspiracy theories associate Judaism with communism and that the Jewish people are acting in concert to economically enslave white people. Additionally, Beirich (2021) suggests that anti-Semitism is spreading within the right-wing extremist communities. Sales (2020) suggests that anti-Semitic hate crimes increased by 14 percent in 2019. Additionally, the number of hate related homicides nearly doubled (Sales, 2020).

Antisemetic

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Is not anti-Semetic	6	24.0	24.0	24.0
	Is anti-Semetic	19	76.0	76.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 20. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Anti-Semitic. [Data Set].

Christian Identity

The matrix revealed that 52 percent of the subjects adhere to Christian Identity as a religion (Tucker, 2022a). Christian Identity followers believe in an ideology that promotes white supremacy, anti-Semitism, and racism (Sharpe, 2000; Shook, Delano, & Balch, 1999; Pendergast, 2021). Shook, Delano, and Balch (1999) suggest that the Aryan Nation compound in Hayden Lakes, Idaho served as a Mecca for Christian Identity adherents. Christian Identity promotes the idea that northern Europeans are the real lost tribe of Israel, the chosen people of God, and that the Jewish people are impostures (Sharpe, 2000; Shook, Delano, and Balch, 1999). Believers hold that Jews are the descendants of Satan, control the global financial system, and use other minority groups as their pawns (Shook, Delano, and Balch, 1999).

The militia movement is engrained in the Christian Identity community (Shook, Delano, and Balch, 1999). Additionally, the common right-wing extremist view that God's laws hold precedence over the American legal system brings adherents into conflict with government authorities and promote an anti-government sentiment (Shook, Delano, and Balch, 1999). Sharpe (2000) suggests that Christian Identity promotes the idea that Armageddon, the destruction of the world, is imminent and will lead to a great victory for the Aryan people. The *End of Days* scenario embedded in Christian Identity supports anti-government groups, survivalist, anti-Semitic organizations, and white supremacy leading to an expansion of membership within those ranks (Sharpe, 2000). The frequent overlap of right-wing extremist ideologies bond under the flag of Christian Identity, calling for a world dominated by white people (Sharpe, 2000). Christian Identity, much like Islamic extremism, provides religious

justification to legitimizes the use of violence against non-members, non-whites, government officials, or any member of the community that is viewed as working as a pawn in a Jewish led conspiracy (Sharpe, 2000).

Christian_Identity

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Does not adhere to Christian Identity	12	48.0	48.0	48.0
	Adheres to Christian Identity	13	52.0	52.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 21. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Christian Identity. [Data Set].

Odinism

An insignificant number of subjects within the study- 8 percent- adhere to Odinism as a religion (Tucker, 2022a). Nilan (2019) suggests that Odinists are anti-immigration and resort to street level vigilantism in furtherance of their doctrine. Odinist groups promote Nordic exercise a perverted form of Nordic mythology and use online rhetoric to attract adherents that are willing to utilize violence (Nilan, 2019). Although American Odinism supports white supremacy ideology, it has a small footprint within the right-wing extremist movement.

Odinism

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Does not adhere to Odinism	23	92.0	92.0	92.0
	Adheres to Odinism	2	8.0	8.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 22. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Odinism. [Data Set].

Poverty Over Income

The matrix reveals that 12 percent of the subject had experienced poverty during their life course (Tucker, 2022a). Taylor (2020) suggests that poverty alone is not a significant driver of right-wing extremist radicalization or violence. Additionally, Taylor (2020) indicates that vulnerable people and mental illness plays a more vital role in the radicalization process. However, economic grievances are well documented as a primary complaint emanating from right-wing extremist groups (Piazza, 2017).

Poverty

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Has not experienced poverty	22	88.0	88.0	88.0
	Has experienced poverty	3	12.0	12.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 23. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Poverty to Income. [Data Set].

Differential Sex Roles (Misogynistic)

The matrix suggests that 84 percent of subjects hold views suggesting that women play a different role in society than men do (Tucker, 2022b). Sharpe (2000) suggests that many right-wing extremist groups are preoccupied with the idea of white people being replaced by minorities and mixed-race people and have resorted to polygamy to increase their numbers. Many right-wing extremists are obsessed with racial purity and prohibit interracial marriage and dating (Sharpe, 2000). Sharpe (2000) suggests that right-wing extremists oppose abortion as an

instrument of white decimation. Sharpe (2000) suggests that the most dangerous right-wing extremists believe in their divine duty of protecting women and the continued procreation of the white race. Women are seen to play a different role within the right-wing extremist community where they are seen as vessels for reproduction and leaders of social networking between various right-wing extremist groups (Levitas, 2002; Sharpe, 2000). This misogynistic view is purposely misinterpreted as a traditional Christian supported family structure by right-wing extremist groups.

Different_Sex_Roles

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Is not misogynistic	4	16.0	16.0	16.0
	Is Misogynistic	21	84.0	84.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 24. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Different Sex Roles. [Data Set].

Divorce

Anderson and Scherer (2020) indicate that the national divorce rate in the United States is 46.6. The matrix suggests that the divorce rate among the subjects within the study is 36.3 percent (Tucker, 2022b). Multiple divorces were not included in the data which may have had a significant impact on the divorce rate as it relates to the subjects in the study. Additionally, the low divorce rate could be related to the Christian related belief system with right-wing extremist ideology.

Divorced

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Has not experienced divorce	14	56.0	63.6	63.6
	Has experineced divorce	8	32.0	36.4	100.0
	Total	22	88.0	100.0	
Missing	System	3	12.0		
Total		25	100.0		

Figure 25. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Divorce. [Data Set].

Islamophobia

Mudde (2019) suggests that right-wing ideology supports the idea that all Muslims are extremists. Ernest (2013) suggests that there is a fear and suspicion of Muslims in the American population. Right-wing extremist groups hold that Islam is not a religion, but a political movement meant to replace the United States Constitution with Sharia law (Ernest, 2013). Ernest (2013) indicates that right-wing extremist groups, through the internet, have been able to financially capitalize on Islamophobia in the public. By shifting attention to Islamic terrorism, right-wing extremist groups have been able to attract recruits, have their ideology become more mainstream, and financially prosper as an anti-Muslim force (Ernest, 2013). The matrix indicates that 87.5 percent of the study's subjects hold Islamophobic views.

Islamophobic

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Is not Islamophobic	3	12.0	12.5	12.5
	Islamophobic	21	84.0	87.5	100.0
	Total	24	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	4.0		
Total		25	100.0		

Figure 26. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Islamophobia. [Data Set].

Anti-LGBTQ+

Sharpe (2000) suggests that adherents to Christian Identity believe that homosexuals should be put to death. Although the skinhead movement is centered around the working-class and exudes hegemonic masculinity, Borgeson and Valeri (2017) suggest that within the skinhead movement there are openly gay men groups. Gay men within the skinhead movement reinforce their masculinity and enjoy the erotic nature of the skinhead look that promotes the wearing of tight jeans, no shirts, and ultra-masculine attitude (Borgeson & Valeri, 2017).

Hunsberger (1996) found that most fundamentalist religious adherents have an unfavorable view of homosexuals. Sharpe (2000) suggests that right-wing extremists view homosexuals as traitors to the white race. Klansman Louis Beam called for the homosexuals to be given the death penalty (Perry, 2004). This study revealed that 96 percent right-wing extremists hold hostile attitudes toward homosexuality (Tucker, 2022b).

AntiLGBTQ

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No LGBTQ hatred	1	4.0	4.0	4.0
	Hatred for the LGBTQ community	24	96.0	96.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 27. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Anti-LGBTQ+. [Data Set].

Politically Active

More than half the insurrectionists that stormed the capitol in Washington, D.C. on January 6, 2021, came from counties that Biden had won in the previous election (Pape, 2022). Pape (2022) suggests that a significant number of those arrested in connection to January 6, 2021, were from areas of the country where the number of white people are declining. Baracskay (2009) suggests that the First Amendment protects freedom of the press and allows for citizens to speak, assemble, and petition the government for change. The First Amendment acts as a safety valve for those citizens that are politically unhappy. Additionally, running for office allows citizens to express their opinions and affords them a platform to be heard. This study suggests that 32 percent of the subjects ran for public office (Tucker, 2022b). All the subjects that campaigned for office lost their elections.

Political_History

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	.00	17	68.0	68.0	68.0
	1.00	8	32.0	32.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 28. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Political History [Data Set].

Criminal History

This study reveals that 40 percent of the subjects had prior criminal records before they engaged in their most vehement act of violence (Tucker, 2022b). Developmental theories in criminology suggest that a small percentage of offenders account for a large portion of crime (Bernard, Snipe, and Gerould, 2016). Additionally, the is a correlation between an offender's past brushes with the law and their future behavior (Jensen et al., 2020). Jensen et al. (2020) suggest that pre-radicalization criminal behavior, including the use of violence, is a vital tool in predicting post-radicalization use of violence in right-wing extremists. A primary predictor suggests that those right-wing extremists that committed acts of violence as juveniles, were more like to commit political violence as adults (Jensen et al., 2020). Additionally, the right-wing extremists that embraced white supremacy were more likely to engage in pre-radicalization crime than right-wing extremists that engaged in different ideologies (Jensen et al., 2020).

Criminal_History

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No criminal history	17	68.0	68.0	68.0
	Has a criminal history	8	32.0	32.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 29. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Criminal History [Data Set].

Xenophobia

A large percentage, 68 percent, of subjects in this study hold xenophobic and nationalistic views (Tucker, 2022b). Pape (2020) suggests that 75 percent of those involved in the January 6, 2021, insurrection embraced replacement theory. Replacement theory suggests that liberals in western societies are purposely displacing white Americans from their lofty positions on the social and economic hierarchal ladder in favor of immigrants and members of the minority communities (Miller, 2022). Miller (2022) suggests that replacement theory embraces the notion that Jews, liberals, globalists, and multi-culturalists are engaged in a global effort to reduce white political influence and eventually, eradicate the white race.

Xenophobic

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not anti-immigration	14	56.0	58.3	58.3
	Anti-immigration	10	40.0	41.7	100.0
	Total	24	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	4.0		
Total		25	100.0		

Figure 30. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Xenophobic [Data Set].

Siblings

Criminologists have attempted to determine the role of heredity in crime (Bernard, Snipes, & Gerould, 2016). Bernard, Snipes, and Gerould (2016) suggest that a significant number of studies have indicated that greater levels of similarities among siblings. This study reveals that 50 percent of the subjects have at least one sibling (Tucker, 2022b). During the life

course of some subjects, their siblings are involved in right-wing extremism, the siblings of other subjects are not involved. The significance of this correlate is currently unknown.

Siblings

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Does not have a sibling	4	16.0	16.0	16.0
	Has at least one sibling	21	84.0	84.0	100.0
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Figure 31. Tucker, M. (2022). The Significance: Siblings. [Data Set].

The year of the subject's birth was not included in the analysis. The average year of birth for the subject in this study is 1952. The youngest test subject was born in 1998 and the oldest test subject was born in 1916. The following table shows the year of birth for each test subject:

Name	Date of Birth
Louis Beam	1946
William Potter Gale	1916
Timothy McVeigh	1968
John Trochmann	1944
Matthew Hale	1953
Robert Jay Matthews	1953
Gordan Kahl	1920
Richard Butler	1918
Robert Gregory Bowers1	1972
Richard Louis Dear Jr.	1958
Steven Carrillo	1989
James Alex Fields Jr.	1997
Ivan Harrison Hunter	1997
Patrick Wood Crusius	1998
David Lane	1938
Richard Wayne Snell	1930
Randel Weaver	1948

William Luther Pierce	1933
Elmer Stuart Rhodes	1965
Michael Brian Vanderboegh	1952
Terry Lynn Nichols	1955
Robert Boliver DePugh	1923
Thomas Linton Metzger 0	1938
Wesley Albert Swift	1913
Enrique Tarrio	1984

Figure 32. Tucker, M. (2022). Subjects and Year of Births. [Data Set].

Bivariant Correlation Analysis

A Bivariant Correlation Analysis is a form of multiple regression statistical analysis that allows researchers to examine the relationship between dependent variables when there are multiple independent variables (Crossman, 2019). To better under the casual relationships between the correlates, this study conducted a Pathway Analysis. The study developed a diagram that served as a visual representation of the relationship between the variables. SPSS software was used to reveal the actual relationship between correlates. An important aspect of a Pathway Analysis is that it provides estimates of the magnitude and significance of hypothesis causal connections within a set a of variables; however, the Pathway Analysis does not prove the direction of the causation (Crossman, 2019).

Bivariant Correlation of Biological Variables

The biological correlates within this stud include the test subjects' sex, race, intelligence quotient (IQ), and presence of mental illness. Within this study all test subjects are male, twenty-two are white, and seventeen have average to above average IQs. Right-wing extremist

ideologies suggests that women play a different role within the family and organizational unit (Sharpe, 2000).

A bivariant correlation analysis using SPSS reveals the following relationships:

Correlations

		Sex_Gender	Race	IQ	Mental_Illness
Sex_Gender	Pearson Correlation	.[a]	.[a]	.[a]	.[a]
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.	.	.
	N	25	25	23	25
Race	Pearson Correlation	.[a]	1	.064	-.123
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.		.772	.558
	N	25	25	23	25
IQ	Pearson Correlation	.[a]	.064	1	-.511*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.772		.013
	N	23	23	23	23
Mental_Illness	Pearson Correlation	.[a]	-.123	-.511*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.558	.013	
	N	25	25	23	25

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

a. Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant.

Figure 33. Tucker, M. (2022). Biological Correlate Analysis. [Data Set].

The relationship map shows a significance of the relationships between an absence of mental illness, average or above average IQ, male sexual orientation, and the white race. This analysis supports a right-wing extremist profile by suggesting that the individual would be a white, male, of average to above average intelligence.

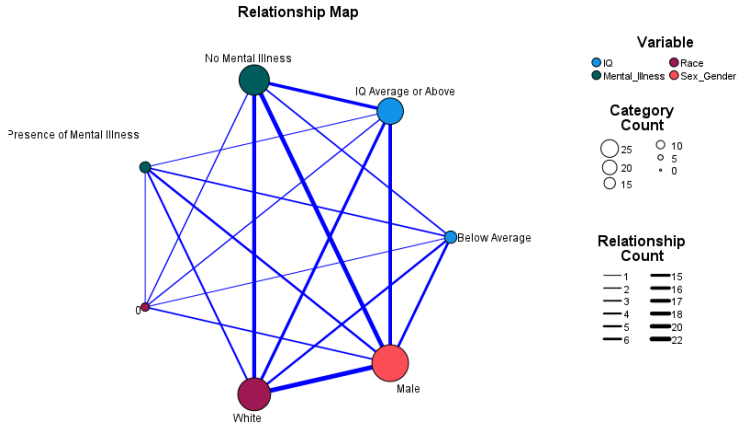

Figure 34. Tucker, M. (2022). Relationship Map: Biological Correlates. [Data Set].

Circumstantial Life Course Correlates

This study is comparing correlates that are experienced by the test subjects during their life course. The five most significant correlates in this category are marriage (20), employment (17), traditional religious exposure (13), family dysfunction (10), and having at least one sibling (10). A bivariant correlation analysis using SPSS reveals the following causational relationships:

Correlations

		Married	Employment	Relgious_Exposure	Family_Dysfunction	Siblings
Married	Pearson Correlation	1	.064	.431*	-.043	.346
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.772	.045	.849	.135
	N	25	23	22	22	20
Employment	Pearson Correlation	.064	1	-.023	.085	-.055
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.772		.924	.713	.827
	N	23	23	20	21	18
Relgious_Exposure	Pearson Correlation	.431*	-.023	1	.242	.310
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.045	.924		.303	.226
	N	22	20	22	20	17
Family_Dysfunction	Pearson Correlation	-.043	.085	.242	1	-.169
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.849	.713	.303		.517
	N	22	21	20	22	17
Siblings	Pearson Correlation	.346	-.055	.310	-.169	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.135	.827	.226	.517	
	N	20	18	17	17	20

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Figure 35. Tucker, M. (2022). Significant Life Course Causational Relationship. [Data Set].

This analysis reveals that there is a strong causational relationship between marriage and religious exposure and having siblings within the family dynamics. Employment has a weak relationship to marriage, traditional religious exposure, and having siblings. The correlate of being exposed to traditional religions has a strong causational relationship with marriage and a weaker yet present relationship with having siblings, and family dysfunction.

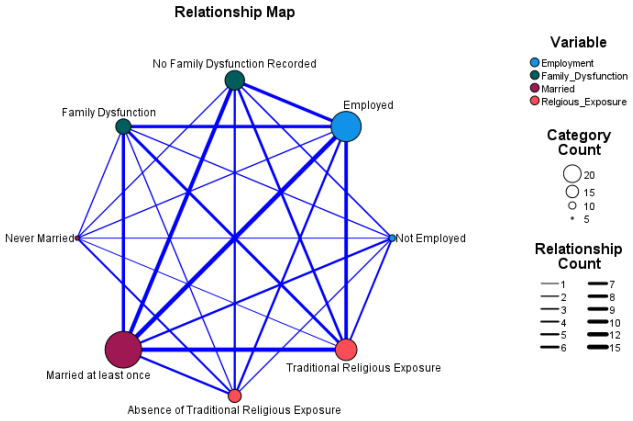

Figure 36. Tucker, M. (2022). Relationship Map: Life Course Causational Relationship. [Data Set].

Less significant circumstantial life course correlates were analyzed for causational significance, including divorce, urbanicity, college educated, and poverty:

Correlations

		Divorce	Urbanicity	Education	Poverty_to_Income
Divorce	Pearson Correlation	1	.174	.252	.250
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.440	.270	.261
	N	22	22	21	22
Urbanicity	Pearson Correlation	.174	1	.193	.044
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.440		.366	.835
	N	22	25	24	25
Education	Pearson Correlation	.252	.193	1	-.243
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.270	.366		.253
	N	21	24	24	24
Poverty_to_Income	Pearson Correlation	.250	.044	-.243	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.261	.835	.253	
	N	22	25	24	25

Figure 37. Tucker, M. (2022). Less Significant Life Course Causational Relationship. [Data Set].

The bivariant correlative analysis reveals that there is a causational correlation between divorce, educational level, poverty, to right-wing extremism; however, there is not significant relationship between living in a city environment and right-wing extremism. There is a significant relationship between educational level and poverty. A relationship map clearly shows that rural and suburban environments have a significant causational relationship.

A relationship map clearly shows that rural and suburban environments have a significant causational relationship. Additionally, the relationship map suggests that a right-wing extremist profile would include the following correlates: not divorced, has never attended college, never experienced poverty, and comes from a suburban or rural background.

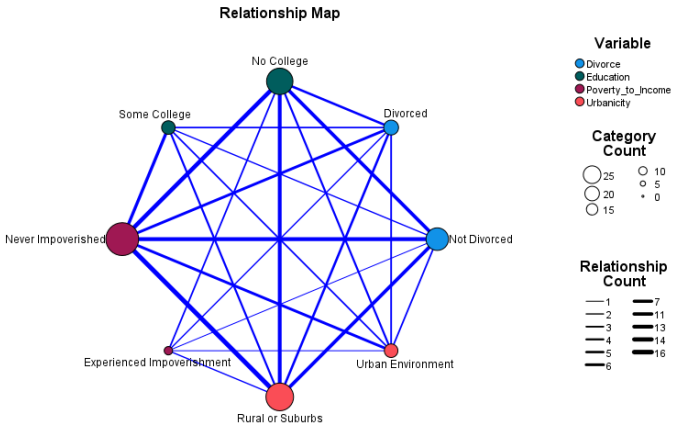

Figure 38. Tucker, M. (2022). Relationship Map: Less Significant Life Course. [Data Set].

Radicalization Correlates

There are six correlates that suggest that increase the risk of an individual becoming radicalized into the right-wing extremist community. This study has revealed that peer involvement in right-wing extremism, being subject to radicalization under the age of thirty, and joining multiple right-wing extremist organizations simultaneously have a significant relationship and heighten the risk of right-wing extremism. This study suggests a significant causational relationship exists between test subject who were radicalized prior to the age of thirty and those who joined multiple right-wing extremist organizations simultaneously.

Correlations

		Peer_Group_Involvement	Age_at_Radicalization	Simultaneous_Memberships
Peer_Group_Involvement	Pearson Correlation	1	.000	.514**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		1.000	.009
	N	25	25	25
Age_at_Radicalization	Pearson Correlation	.000	1	-.129
	Sig. (2-tailed)	1.000		.540
	N	25	25	25
Simultaneous_Memberships	Pearson Correlation	.514**	-.129	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.540	
	N	25	25	25

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Figure 39. Tucker, M. (2022). Significant Radicalization Correlates (Version 1). [Data Set].

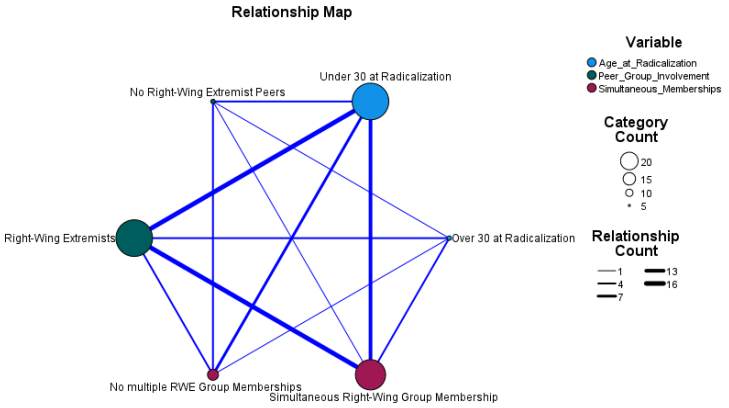

Figure 40. Tucker, M. (2022). Relationship Map: Radicalization Correlates (Version 1). [Data Set].

Lesser radicalization correlates include veteran status, political activity, and combat experience. There is a significant causational relationship between veteran, combat experience, and test subjects that never ran for a political office.

Correlations

		Veteran_Status	Combat_Experience	Poltical_History
Veteran_Status	Pearson Correlation	1	.688**	.140
	Sig. (2-tailed)		<.001	.504
	N	25	25	25
Combat_Experience	Pearson Correlation	.688**	1	.217
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001		.298
	N	25	25	25
Poltical_History	Pearson Correlation	.140	.217	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.504	.298	
	N	25	25	25

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Figure 41. Tucker, M. (2022). Significant of Radicalization Correlates (Version 2). [Data Set].

The relationship map gives a supports the correlation analysis with visual confirmation:

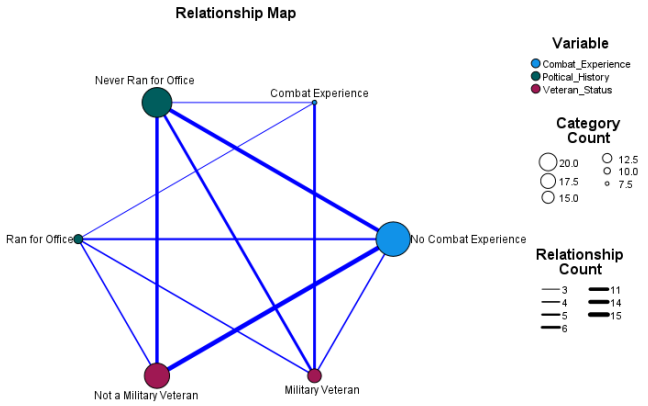

Figure 41. Tucker, M. (2022). Relationship Map: Radicalization Correlates (Version 2). [Data Set].

This section of analysis suggests that the profile of a right-wing extremist will include a subject that has entered the radicalization process of the right-wing community prior to the age of thirty. Additionally, they will have close personal relationships with members of the right-

wing community including peers outside of their right-wing extremist group. The data suggests further that test subjects join multiple groups simultaneously.

Right-Wing Extremist Ideologies

Basic right-wing extremist ideologies include an anti-LGBTQ+ mentality, Islamophobia, different roles within a family or organizational unit based on sexual orientation, and xenophobia. The analysis suggests that there is a significant causational relationship between the anti-LGBTQ+ beliefs, xenophobia, and Islamophobia; however, different roles based on sexual orientation is insignificant.

Correlations

		AntiLGBTQ	Islamophobia	Differential_Sex_Roles	Xenophobia
AntiLGBTQ	Pearson Correlation	1	.552**	-.089	.468*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.005	.672	.018
	N	25	24	25	25
Islamophobia	Pearson Correlation	.552**	1	-.169	.845**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.005		.430	<.001
	N	24	24	24	24
Differential_Sex_Roles	Pearson Correlation	-.089	-.169	1	-.190
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.672	.430		.362
	N	25	24	25	25
Xenophobia	Pearson Correlation	.468*	.845**	-.190	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.018	<.001	.362	
	N	25	24	25	25

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Figure 42. Tucker, M. (2022). Correlation of Basic Right-Wing Ideologies (Version 1). [Data Set].

A relationship map serves as a visual representation of the causational relationships between the basic right-wing ideologies identified in this study. The study reveals the magnitude of the causational relationships and suggests that Islamophobia, xenophobia, and anti-LGBTQ+ beliefs are more significant than an adherence to different roles and duties based on sexual orientation.

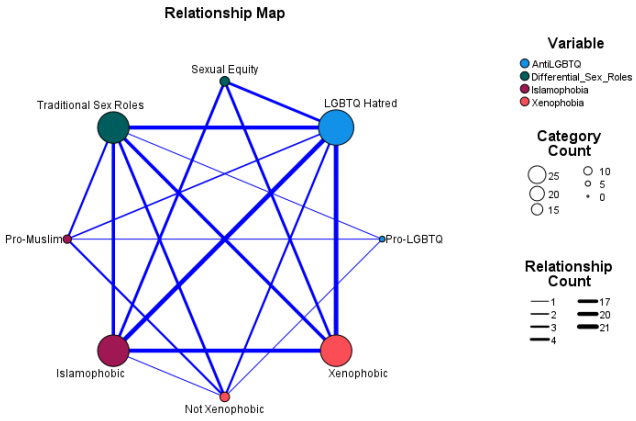

Figure 43. Tucker, M. (2022). Relationship Map: Basic Right-Wing Ideologies (Version 1). [Data Set].

Advanced Right-Wing Extremist Ideologies

There dominant, advanced right-wing ideologies are white supremacy, anti-government, anti-Semitism, Christian Identity, and Odinism. This study reveals that Odinism has a much smaller footprint in the right-wing extremist community compared to the other four ideologies. A correlation analysis of the four leading ideologies is as follows:

Correlations

		White_Supremacy	Antigovernment	Anti_Semitism	Christian_Identity
White_Supremacy	Pearson Correlation	1	.221	.656**	.520**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.288	<.001	.008
	N	25	25	25	25
Antigovernment	Pearson Correlation	.221	1	.180	.012
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.288		.391	.955
	N	25	25	25	25
Anti_Semitism	Pearson Correlation	.656**	.180	1	.585**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001	.391		.002
	N	25	25	25	25
Christian_Identity	Pearson Correlation	.520**	.012	.585**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.008	.955	.002	
	N	25	25	25	25

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Figure 43. Tucker, M. (2022). Correlation of Advanced Right-Wing Ideologies (Version 1). [Data Set].

There is a significant correlation between white supremacy, anti-Semitism, and anti-government ideologies. Christian Identity and anti-government movements have a weaker causational relationship with a P-value is .955, when compared to other causational relationships. The significance of the causational relationships are visible in the relationship map:

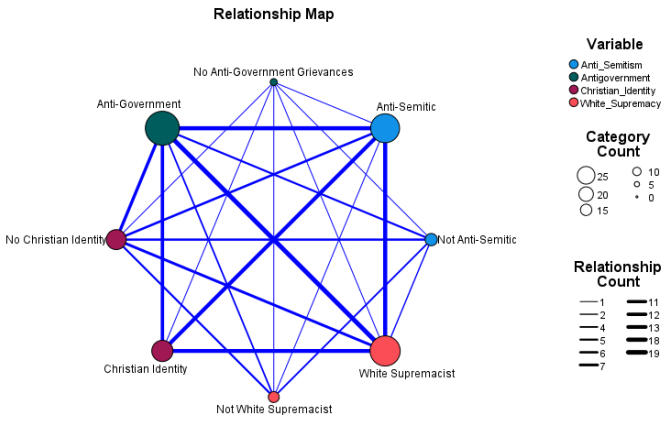

Figure 44. Tucker, M. (2022). Relationship Map: Advanced Right-Wing Ideologies (Version 1). [Data Set].

Results

The correlates of right-wing extremism can be categorized as biological correlates, life course (circumstantial) correlates, radicalization involvement correlates, right-wing extremist ideologies (basic), and right-wing extremist ideologies (advanced). The following chart reveals the significance of each correlate within each category:

Test Subjects	Biological Correlates	Life Course Correlates	Radicalization Involvement	Right-Wing Extremist Ideologies	Advanced Right-Wing Extremist Ideologies
		Married (20)			
		Employed (17)			
		Traditional Religious Exposure (13)	Peer Involvement (20)		Anti-Government Grievances (23)
	Sex/Gender (25) Male	Family Dysfunction (10)	Radicalized <30 Years of Age (20)	Anti-LGBTQ+ (24)	White Supremacy (20)
Right-Wing Extremists (25)	Race (22) White	Siblings (10)	Simultaneous Memberships (17)	Islamophobic (21)	Anti-Semitic (19)
	IQ Average or Above (17)	Divorce (8)	Veteran Status (10)	Different Roles Based on Sex (21)	Christian Identity (13)
	Presence of Mental Illness (5)	Urbanicity (7)	Politically Active (8)	Xenophobia (21)	Odinism (2)
		College Educated (7)	Combat Experience (6)		
		Experienced Poverty (3)			
		Drug Use (3)			

Figure 45. Tucker, M. (2022). Categorized Significance Chart. (Version 1). [Data Set].

The data suggests that a profile of a right-wing extremist can be accurately created by analyzing the correlates present in the life courses of the test subjects. The data indicates that a right-wing extremist who uses violence in the furtherance of his ideological belief system will be a male. There is a high statistical chance that the subject will be white, of average or above average intelligence, and be free from significant mental illnesses. The subject's circumstantial, life course correlates suggest that the right-wing extremist will be married, employed, come from a suburban or rural environment, and would have previous exposure to a traditional religion.

The right-wing extremist profile suggests that the subject will have close, personal relationships with peers who are also involved in the right-wing extremist movement. The subject will have been exposed to right-wing extremist ideologies and will have started the radicalization process early in life, prior to the age of thirty. As radicalization beings to take hold in the subject's personal ideology, the individual will join multiple right-wing extremist groups simultaneously. The research suggests that that the right-wing extremist may initially attempt to use the political system and run for political office. A political loss further pushes the individual toward authoritarianism and away from accepting the democratic political process.

This study indicates that the profiled subject will embrace anti-social change and protectionist beliefs such as anti-LGBTQ+, Islamophobia, xenophobia, and women's rights movements. Finally, the subject profile is complete as the individual accepts some or all the advanced right-wing extremist ideologies such as white supremacy, anti-government, anti-Semitism, Christian Identity, and on a lower level of significance, Odinism.

Veterans and veterans with combat experience are grossly overrepresented in the right-wing extremist community. Forty percent of the test subjects were identified as military veterans as opposed to just seven percent of the American public. This is a 571% increase within right-wing extremist groups. Additionally, 24 percent of the test subjects have had combat experience during their military careers compared to less than one percent of the American public. This is, at a minimum, a 2400% increase within right-wing extremist groups.

Summary

The data collected revealed the presence and absence of the thirty enumerated correlates in the life course of the twenty-five right-wing extremist test subjects. Additionally, each individual correlate was categorized into groups by considering their unique characteristics. These groups were examined using SPSS analytical software to determine the significance of their relationships. A profile was constructed using a bivariant analysis that showed the significance and relationship of each correlate.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

Overview

The purpose of this study was to reveal biological and circumstantial correlates that exist in the individual life course of right-wing extremists that would affect their decision-making

process when deciding whether to engage in ideological violence. The study used a biographical methodology to reveal the absence or presence of the biological and circumstantial correlates within the test subjects' life course. IBM's SPSS analytical software was utilized to determine the significance of each of the thirty correlates and to reveal the degree of relationship between each related correlate.

The research analyzed the historical development of right-wing ideology and ideological differences held within the varieties right-wing extremist groups. The study reviewed the individual life course through a biographical study of twenty-five right-wing extremists identified for their impact in the right-wing extremist community. The study addressed different right-wing extremist ideologies, conspiracy theories, triggering events, intergroup relationships, and tactical concerns poised by right-wing extremist leaders.

Thirty related correlates were extracted from the life course of the twenty-five right-wing extremist test subjects. The significance of the correlates and the significance of their relationship to each other was used to create a right-wing extremist profile. The profile can be used by law enforcement, the intelligence community, and the court system to gauge individual involvement and level of radicalization within the right-wing extremist community. The profile can be used as a risk assessment to determine the danger the individual right-wing extremist poses to the safety and security of the United States.

Summary of Findings

This study revealed identifiable correlates within the life course of right-wing extremists that would identify them as being predisposed to the use of violence. These correlates, when analyzed, create a profile of a right-wing extremist usable members of the criminal justice

community for law enforcement, intelligence, and court purposes. This study was biographical and focused on the life course events of twenty-five right-wing extremists identified by the SPLC, academic researchers, and respected journalists for their impact on the right-wing extremist community. The thirty correlates were categorized into five categories: biological, circumstantial, radicalization, right-wing ideologies, and advanced right-wing extremist ideologies.

Significant tests were conducted to reveal the significance of each correlate within the test subjects' life course. Bivariant correlations analysis were made using SPSS analytical software to reveal the correlations that exist between the various correlates. Additionally, relationship maps were created to visually support the significance of the relationships between the categorized correlates. The data collection ended with a Pathway Analysis conducted using SPSS to visually support the interrelationships that exist between the collected correlates. A right-wing extremist profile began to appear during the analysis process.

Discussion of Findings

The literature review was focused on the historical development of right-wing extremist groups and right-wing extremist ideologies. Additionally, the significance of the study was supported by Rapoport's (2017) Wave Theory of Terrorism and Kaplan's (2007) Fifth Wave Theory dubbed The New Tribalism. The literature review pointed to a series of triggering events that bolstered the prominence of conspiracy theories within the right-wing extremist communities. Additionally, William Pierce's novel, *The Turner Diaries*, suggests that right-wing extremists have a blueprint indicating how the organizations intend to tactically move

forward toward their goal of plunging the United states into a second Civil War and an eventual purge, creating an ethnocentric American society.

The literature review emphasizes the importance of correlates, developed during a right-wing extremist's life course, as primarily influencing the individual's decision-making process (Stern, 2014; Crenshaw, 2000). Additionally, this study exposes group ideology as having secondary importance on individual decision-making (Crenshaw, 2000). Although group beliefs and adherence to right-wing extremist ideologies influences the individual, it is the individual's personal decision whether to use violence; however, individuals join extremist groups because their ideologies are aligned (Crenshaw, 2000).

This study identifies thirty important and related correlates that influence the individual's decision-making process. The presence and absence of the correlates was revealed through the biographical study followed by data analysis using SPSS software to produce a matrix. Significant correlates were identified from the matrix and analyzed using a bivariant correlation analysis to determine their relationship to other categorized correlates. The process created a multivariant significance for the pool of correlates.

The historical literature suggests that right-wing extremism in the United States was widely accepted in the Antebellum south in the aftermath of the Civil War. White former slave holders were committed to the continued subjugation of their former slaves. Their hatred quickly spread outward to include other whites who were looking to promote black interests, the federal government passed and sent military troops to enforce legislature passed to assist the former slaves. This caused southern elites to turn against the federal government in favor of federalism. Anti-Semitic conspiracy theories helped to spread right-wing extremist ideologies

nationally. The notion that a cabal of Jewish elites were using minorities to subjugate working class whites fit nicely into already developed right-wing ideologies including white power and anti-government beliefs. Additionally, the influx of immigrants from Catholic countries such as Mexico further supported the conspiracy theories of right-wing extremism.

Christian Identity is a right-wing extremist religion that is "Christian" in name only. Christian ideology provides the right-wing extremist community with a religion that supports the use of violence against the out-groups. the religion provides violent right-wing extremists with a moral and ethical foundation that defends their use of violence.

There are a series of triggering events that act as a call-to-action for the right-wing extremist community. The government's retreat from the Vietnam War instilled the idea that the federal government betrayed the common, white soldier. The Farm Crisis of the 1970s and 1980s supported the right-wing extremist idea that the federal government was illegitimate and did not serve the interests of the white, mid-western farmers. The right-wing extremist community saw the events of Ruby Ridge, Idaho and Waco, Texas as solid evidence that the federal government would use military weapons against its own people and do this with very little cause. The gun control legislation that followed these events were taken by the right-wing extremist community to be federal attempts to disarm them for easier subjugation. This string of events brought the battle that right-wing extremist groups were waging to the door of the federal government with the 1995 Oklahoma city bombing by Timothy McVeigh.

Right-Wing Extremist Profile

With the history of right-wing extremism as a backdrop, the data collected in this study revealed the prevalence and significance of each enumerated correlate within the right-wing

extremist community. Based on this analysis a profile was created of a right-wing extremist who is predisposed to using violence. The correlates suggest that a right-wing extremist is a white male, of average or above intelligence, and free of mental illness. The subject is employed, married, and has been exposed to a traditional religion. The subject has developed a peer group whose members are involved in the right-wing extremist movement. Because of these ties, the subject is involved in many different right-wing extremist groups simultaneously and is subjected to a variety of right-wing extremist ideologies, conspiracy theories, and types of hatred.

Right-wing extremists are authoritarian and embrace the use of violence over the democratic political process currently enjoyed in the United States. When compared to the public, this study suggests that many right-wing extremists run for political office and lose their elections. This process will further push the right-wing extremist toward authoritarianism and the use of violence in furtherance of their political agenda. The prevalence of veterans and veterans with combat experience within the right-wing extremist community is staggering. Veterans and those with combat experience vastly increase the individual and organization's capability to inflict violence on a community or out-group. The right-wing extremist profile created in this study suggests that there is a significant probability that the subject will be a military veteran with combat experience.

The research suggests that a right-wing extremist will engage an anti-LGBTQ+ belief system. Additionally, they will embrace a protectionist stance supporting a xenophobic and Islamophobic ideology. The individual will espouse a misogynistic view that women must

conform to a more than traditional household role. The individual sees women as reproductive vessels, made to keep house, and socialize with other right-wing extremist community members.

This study suggests that the right-wing extremist will become a member of one or more right-wing extremist groups. These groups support the individual's right-wing extremist views and ideologies. Multiple right-wing extremist group memberships are prevalent in the right-wing extremist community where individuals share ideologies beliefs and conspiracies theories. Additionally, these individuals physically meet and can discuss future calls for action plans.

Implications

This analysis produced a right-wing extremist profile and risk assessment that can be utilized by law enforcement agencies, the intelligence community, and the United States court system to better identify individual right-wing extremists that are predisposed to committing acts of political violence in the furtherance of their own ideologies.

Law enforcement agencies will benefit from the use of this research to determine which right-wing extremists are predisposed to committing acts of violence due to factors that are present in their life course. Additionally, Fifth Wave Theory suggests that right-wing extremist groups are growing smaller, more committed, and more localized making it more difficult for law enforcement agencies to identify groups and members prior to an act. The research suggests that tribal or localized groups or right-wing extremists will take precautions not to attract outsiders or members who simultaneously belong to larger groups with a recognizable ideology. To this point, rather than being associated with "The Proud Boys"'- a well-known national right-wing extremist group- serious individuals will associate with their local gun club. Beam's

(1992) idea of leaderless resistance suggests that law enforcement will find it more difficult to pinpoint a target when investigating right-wing extremist groups.

Intelligence agencies can focus their limited resources toward right-wing extremist groups that have high risk individuals on their membership rolls. The court system has used biographical data in presentence reports for decades. It would behoove the prosecutor and the court to possess expert testimony, based on empirical events, indicating the level of risk that an individual right-wing extremist poses to society. The importance of this information cannot be overstated during federal sentencing proceedings where offenders face a wide array of sanctions that can deviate dramatically from one extent to the another. The deviations in federal sentencing can range from a sentence of several months to decades of incarceration.

Limitations

Due to the difficulty of gaining access to first-hand official information concerning right-wing extremists who have committed terrorism, this research is based on secondary sources (LeFree & Dugan, 2007). Sageman (2014) suggests that the problem is partly due to the government's strategy of funding research without sharing the necessary primary source information with members of academia. Secondly, many of the subjects are dead or serving lengthy prison terms due to their criminal activities. Lastly, prior research about right-wing extremism is limited and increased government funding in terrorism focuses on the threat of Islamic extremism (Stern, 2014).

This study includes twenty-five right-wing extremists which is a relatively small study compared to the amount of violence that extremist groups commit. Secondly, the thirty

correlates used in this study is far from an exhaustive list and can almost be expanded indefinitely.

Discussion

The many of the findings within this study are supported by previous research. The biological factors suggest that right-wing extremists are white males, of average to above average intelligence, and free from mental illness. Basic life course correlates add to the revealed biological factors adding that common correlates within the right-wing extremist includes being married, employed, and having previously been exposed to the tenets of a traditional religion. During the life course of the test subjects, the majority were exposed to right-wing extremism prior to the age of thirty. The test subject developed peers that were involved in the right-wing extremist movement, but not necessarily adhering to the same exact ideologies. Many of the test subjects joined multiple right-wing extremist groups that had embraced different ideologies. These groups and the individuals in them all belief in demonizing small out-groups such as members of the LGBTQ+ community, Muslims, and immigrates. Additionally, most of the right-wing extremist community believe that women have a different, subservient role to play within the family unit and within the larger right-wing extremist organizations.

Right-Wing Extremist Ideology

This study has revealed that all the test subjects, except one, hold anti-government grievances. For the white power movement, this is a natural progression once the individual observes that the federal government is not dedicated to holding their position on the country's

upper socioeconomic tier. Anti-Semitists suggest that Jews hold an unequally powerful control on the actions of the federal government, leading them to hold anti-government sentiments. Christian Identity provides religious moral support to the hatred feed right-wing extremist community. Christian Identity holds that Jews are the direct descendants of Satan whose purpose is to use the minority population and the authority of the federal government to enslave western white people (Kaplan, 1997). Christian Identity suggests that the *End of Days* scenario written in the Bible does not include the return of Jesus Christ to help man triumph over evil. Christian identity indicates it is the duty of the world's white people to prepare, by force, to kill non-whites and Jews during the millenarian event (Kaplan, 1997).

Demographics

Pape and Ruby (2021) correctly identify the January 6, 2021, insurrection at the Capitol as an act of political violence and domestic terrorism. They indicate that there is a change occurring in the right-wing extremist movement demographically and that the large majority, 10 percent, were affiliated with militia groups (Pape & Ruby, 2021). This study suggests that most people within the right-wing extremist movements are white males with an average intelligence, high school education, and embracing an ideology that aligns with common right-wing extremist philosophies. This study suggests that a primary correlate in the life course of right-wing extremists is a rural environment. Pape and Ruby (2021) suggest that a common denominator in the population of the arrested insurrectionists is that they are produced in battleground counties.

Additionally, 12 percent of those arrested on January 6, come from areas with less than 60 percent white citizens (Pape & Ruby, 2021). This suggests that Replacement Theory or the decline of whiteness on the socioeconomic ladder in those areas have caused extreme levels of

frustration in the white population. This study supports Pape and Ruby (2021) by suggesting that the decline of the white, high school educated, male has caused a backlash against the federal government. This style of government delegitimization has a history within the United States dating back to Radical Reconstruction and the roots of anti-government fervor are based in white supremacy.

Veteran Influence

Research conducted by Pape (2022) suggests that 14 percent of the people arrested during the January 6, 2021, insurrection were military veterans, and another 4 percent were affiliated to law enforcement. These numbers indicate a 200 percent increase in the number of veterans within the insurrection when compared to the public. These numbers do not reflect the military affiliation with members of the crowd that were not arrested. This study suggests that there is a 571 percent increase in the number of veterans within the test subjects. This study's hypothesis suggests that there were more veterans at the January 6, 2021, insurrection; however, they were able to avoid detection and arrest.

Delimitations and Limitations

The list of test subjects in this study are leaders within the right-wing extremist movement. This study was delimited to these individuals because they have committed acts of violence or have had a vital influence in causing others to commit acts of violence in the furtherance of their ideologies. Crenshaw (2000) suggests that group ideology has an effect on an individual's decision to employ violence but is not a primary factor. Stern (2014) suggests that only by diving into the life course of the individual can their decision to commit an act of violence be dissected into its causes. By limiting the research to the twenty-five leading right-

wing extremists throughout history an understanding of their decision-making process can be revealed.

The research of Pape and Ruby (2021) have dispelled the stereotype that suggests that a right-wing extremist is a young, white, male, unemployed, uneducated, roaming the countryside looking for a minority or a gay person to victimize. The correlates in this study were chosen to focus on the life course of the individual right-wing extremist and their process for deciding to utilize violence in the furtherance of their ideology. As in many biographical studies that rely on secondhand information, this study is limited to the information that can be gleaned from indirect sources.

Future Research

There are significantly higher levels of veterans in the right-wing extremist community. This imbalance is more prevalent when considering military veterans with combat experience compared with the public. Future research should ask the question, does the same life correlates that cause a person to join the military and volunteer for positions with heightened chances of combat exposure also cause that person to be predisposed to right-wing extremist recruitment efforts and ideology or is the American military training right-wing extremists without knowing it?

This study suggests that twenty percent of the test subjects suffer from mental illness; however, the seriousness of the infliction is difficult to determine. The National Institute of Mental Health (2021) suggests that twenty percent of the American public suffer from mental health illnesses; however, the degree of the mental illness can range from minor to sever. The

research has suggested that court systems tend to over declare the presence of a mental illness when an extremely violent cases comes before them. When a mental illness is present, the idea that a judge increases the seriousness of the illness so that they can understand the offender's use of violence accounts for this study's correlate discrepancy in terms of severity.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to determine if there were biological and circumstantial correlates that existed in the life course of twenty-five right-wing extremists that caused them to decide to use violence in the furtherance of the ideologies. This research is a based on a biographical study into the life courses of the test subjects and relies on thirty individual correlates. The thirty correlates produce a data set that was categorized and analyzed for significance, bivariant correlation, and replicated in a series of relationship maps.

This study produces a robust literary review of the development of right-wing extremist ideologies. Additionally, the tenets and belief systems for the primary right-wing extremist groups are examined. The comprehensive inspection of the right-wing extremist community from a historical perspective educates the reader as to the political, social, and religious ideological differences in right-wing extremist groups and the individuals that chose to become members. The research highlights group and individual grievances; triggering events that supported right-wing extremist violence; and the phenomena of simultaneous multigroup membership.

The biological correlates used in this study indicate that most test subjects are white males with average to above average intelligence. Mental health rates within the test subjects are

reflective of broader American society. The initial circumstantial correlates suggest that the test subjects are predominantly married, high school educated, and employed. As a group, a large percentage of the test subjects were previously exposed to traditional religions during their childhood. When compared to the public, right-wing extremists have a lower level of family dysfunction, lower rates of previous criminal histories, and experience lower levels of divorce. Most of the test subjects were raised in rural or suburban environments, have insignificant levels of drug use, and have not experienced significant levels of poverty.

Most of the test subjects began their radicalization into right-wing extremism prior to the age of thirty, have friends involved in the various right-wing extremist movements, and belong to multiple right-wing extremist groups simultaneously. Military veterans and military veterans with combat experience are overwhelmingly overrepresented in the right-wing extremist community compared to the public. Additionally, a higher percentage of right-wing extremists run for public office compared to that of the public. Most right-wing extremists exhibit distaste for minority out-groups such as the LGBTQ+ community, immigrants, and Muslims. Many test subjects believe that women hold a subservient role within the family and organizational units.

Historically, the right-wing extremist community in the United States was forged on the notion of white supremacy in the post-civil War south. This hatred radiated outward to include northern whites that were committed to improving the lives of former slaves. The federal government passed legislature limiting state power and sent federal troops to protect the subjugated black population. Right-wing extremism quickly moved to include anti-government sentiments. This research suggests that individuals within the right-wing extremist community,

regardless of their initial grievances, all move to acquire an anti-government fervor. Conspiracy theories attach anti-Semitism to plots focused on the federal government making Jews a primary enemy. Finally, this study points out triggering events, that when examined under the microscope of right-wing extremism, reveal a call to action that ends in the individual's decision to commit violence.

Belew (2018) suggests that the United States, currently in a state of post-conflict, is becoming a breeding ground for right-wing extremists. Research conducted by Suhrke and Berdal (2013), Archer and Gartner (1976), and Boyle (2014) support Belew's (2018) observations indicating that the levels of extreme violence in the United States are likely to double. Kaplan (2017) indicates that right-wing extremist groups are becoming harder to infiltrate even as their activity levels and use of violence escalates. Pape (2022) suggests that many of the January 6 insurrectionists were not affiliated with a known militia. This does not rule out Kaplan's (2007) research which suggests that right-wing extremists will stay off law enforcement's radar by joining small, localized groups that are purposely unaffiliated with known right-wing extremist organizations.

Bjorgo (1995) suggests that attacks by right-wing extremist groups will begin at the local level and involve members of the out-groups; however, Sprinzak (1995) suggests that it is only a matter of time before right-wing extremist groups turn their violence against the federal government. Belew (2018) suggests that the returning veterans from the War of Terror are more competent than at any other point in history.

This study clarifies the various aspects of right-wing extremist ideology. Additionally, this dissertation identifies the life course correlates, both biological and circumstantial, that are present in the right-wing extremist test subjects. The revelations within this study allow for the criminal justice professionals to better differentiate between the levels of risk posed by the right-wing extremist as an individual. Law enforcement executives can use this information to better utilize their limited resources by determining which individuals pose an actual threat to our security.

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