"I took action for my race": Right-Wing Extremism as a Transnational Social Movement

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Abstract

Right-wing extremism is on the rise globally, but despite the growing threat from right-wing terrorists, there is inadequate contemporary scholarship to analyze their ideology, actions, and motivations. This study uses social movement theory to investigate the phenomenon of right-wing extremism. The study interrogates the personal motivations and/or larger political, ideological, and religious goals of right-wing terrorists in order to improve understanding of the right-wing extremist movement and its framing strategies.

This study conducts framing analysis of seven right-wing terrorists' writings and explores their ideation, repertoires of action, and capacity for transnational networking. Applying social movement theory, the study finds that the right-wing extremist movement's diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames work together to mobilize adherents of the movement. The diagnostic framings of the movement focus on issues of race, religion, gender norms, and government corruption. The prognostic framings propose political violence and 'separate development'. The motivational framings encourage movement adherents to take action by invoking concepts of honour, family and kinship, racial solidarity, and the collective good.

Framing analysis of the terrorists' writings demonstrate that these seemingly disparate individuals and their acts of violence are constitutive of an identifiable transnational social movement: right-wing extremism. Right-wing extremists use the Internet to gain supporters by framing their grievances, demands, goals, and tactics in a way that resonates with domestic and international potential supporters and proves valuable to new recruits. In turn, gaining international support demonstrates to existing members that they are not alone and encourages domestic mobilization. Moreover, the rhetoric, actions, and policies of populist and RWE leaders like Donald Trump are crucial when it comes to the success and growth of the RWE movement. Although significant

attention is devoted to radical Islamist terrorist movements post-9/11, this paper concludes by

arguing for a greater focus on the right-wing extremist movement in the age of Trumpism.

Acknowledgement

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background to Study

On 17th June, 2015, Dylann Storm Roof entered an African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina, United States and shot 10 people. Nine of the victims died. A year and seven months later, on 29th January, 2017, Alexandre Bissonnette entered the Quebec City Islamic Cultural Centre in Quebec City, Quebec, Canada and shot 11 people, six of whom died. The attacks were not unprecedented in their magnitude and brutality. While Jihadi terrorism continues to receive extensive popular and scholarly attention, right-wing terrorists (RWT), such as Bissonnette and Roof, have increasingly been perpetuating terrorist attacks on North American societies. However, the 2019 mass shootings in Christchurch, New Zealand and El Paso, Texas are being investigated as domestic terrorist acts, arguably indicating a shift in the political discourse about such actors (BBC News, 2019; Lyons, 2019).

Bissonnette and Roof's actions are not isolated incidents. Public Safety Canada's 2018 Public Report on the Terrorist Threat to Canada states there is always the possibility that "attacks perpetrated by individuals who hold extreme right-wing views...can occur" without explicitly identifying any groups (Public Safety Canada, 2019, p. 8). Meanwhile, research has shown that there are at least 100 active right-wing extremist (RWE) groups in Canada (Perry & Scrivens, 2016). While there are no official statistics available to show the number of RWT attacks in Canada, Canadian RWTs are increasingly targeting and attacking racial and religious minorities and women (Bell & Russell, 2020). Canadian RWTs seem to be inspired and motivated by their US counterparts (Page, 2018). For example, Bissonnette conducted 201 online searches for Roof a month prior to his attack (Page, 2018). Occurrences of RWT attacks are no surprise considering Canada's long history of troubled race relations (Ross, 1992).

According to the Southern Poverty Law Centre's (SPLC) website, more domestic political violence occurred in 2015 in the US, from both RWEs and Jihadi groups, than the nation had seen in many years (Morlin, 2018). The year 2015 also witnessed a revitalization of Klan groups, increasing from 72 to 190 (Potok, 2017). In 2017, the US witnessed a rise in RWT incidents, with more than half of the 65 incidents (57%) caused by anti-Muslim, anti-Semitic, and/or xenophobic motivations (Morlin, 2018). A 2018 report released by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) shows that between 2009 and 2018, RWEs were responsible for 73.3% of extremist-related murders over the last decade compared to 3.2% for left-wing extremists and 23.4% for Islamist extremists (ADL, 2019). Meanwhile, reflecting a similar pattern as the US, RWE attacks in Europe increased from 0 in 2012 to 9 in 2013; 21 in 2016; and 30 in 2017 (Jones, 2018). RWE activities in US and Europe have moved into synchronization since the year 2005, reflecting and responding to similar concerns such as immigration and supposed white genocide (Auger, 2020).

Despite the growing threat from RWTs, there is inadequate contemporary scholarship to systematically analyze their ideologies and actions. Furthermore, the extant literature on right-wing extremism (Bailey, 2010; Berger, 2018; Fox, 2007; Rapoport, 2002, 2013; Sharpe, 2000) and research models have three limitations: 1) the literature fails to sufficiently apply past theories to more recent incidents of right-wing terrorism; 2) a majority of the existing literature and theories do not examine RWT incidents outside of the US to examine how the ideology transcends nationality and border; and 3) the literature does not take into account more recent events, such as Donald Trump's presidency, and how it has influenced the emergence of sub-groups.

This study investigates the actions and ideologies of RWTs and problematizes their motivations. I engage with the personal motivations and/or larger political, ideological, and religious goals of such groups and individuals. The findings from this study will be useful for

Canadian, American, and European anti-terrorism policies and legislation as it will identify limitations within the policies that inhibit the prevention and detection of terrorist incidents prior to attacks. Findings from this study will also be useful in understanding why, despite the popular discourse on the existence of 'good and 'evil' Muslims, and increasing instances of white terrorism, the label 'terrorist' continues to be associated strictly with Muslims, the quintessential 'Other', in a post 9/11 environment and why we must depart from this unilateral use of the label (Akbarzadeh & Smith, 2005; Alsultany, 2012; Bailey, 2010; Dixon & Williams, 2015; Gottschalk & Greenberg, 2008; Park et al., 2007; Powell, 2011; Saleem & Anderson, 2013; Sultan, 2016; West & Lloyd, 2017).

1.2 Research Questions

The objectives of this study are twofold. First, the study aims to improve understanding of the phenomenon of right-wing extremism and its framing strategies. Second, it aims to highlight the causes, dynamics, and consequences of RWE violence, which will help academics, policy makers, and government officials explore policy-oriented, practical, and ethical approaches to the prevention and resolution of right-wing extremism and terrorism. This study, therefore, investigate the following research questions:

1. What are the framing strategies and core framing tasks of the RWE movement?
2. What are the implications of the RWE movement's framing for race and gender?

1.3 Significance of Study

This study is significant for several reasons. First, with the increasing number of RWT attacks in Europe, North America, and Oceania, there is a need to critically examine the social

causes and impacts of right-wing extremism and terrorism. Unemployment, underemployment, relative deprivation, dispossession, loss of social status, and undermining of white Christian patriarchal structures all feature quite prominently in studies of right-wing extremism, and are more often than not linked to the all-encompassing concept of neoliberalism (Pasieka, 2019). In North American and European societies, where jobs and services are perceived to be taken over by immigrants and refugees alike, neoliberalism is said to explain the increasing support for RWE groups (Pasieka, 2019). However, there is a gap in the literature regarding systemic analysis of right-wing extremism as a social movement, and exploration of various factors like political context and framing, which shape contemporary RWE movements. Therefore, this study adds to the social movement literature.

Second, this study demonstrates that these individuals' actions are neither random, disparate acts of violence nor conventional criminal actions. They embody a subterranean phenomenon in the interstitial space between protest (albeit individual rather than collective) and crime. For example, the Pittsburgh Tree of Life synagogue shooting in the US on 27th October, 2018 left 11 individuals dead and another seven wounded (Zezima & Lowry, 2018). Five days later, on 2nd November, 2018, London police were able to thwart a potential RWT plot and arrest two suspects (Dodd, 2018). Four days later, on 6th November, 2018, six RWEs were arrested in France for plotting to kill French President Emmanuel Macron (Jarry, 2018). In Spain on 8th November, 2018, police arrested a RWE for plotting to assassinate Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez (BBC News, 2018a). The list goes on. The above cases, and RWTs like Anders Breivik, Roof, and Bissonnette, are examples of a new wave of RWE violence and terrorism. This study unpacks why and how these terrorists are representatives of a transnational movement.

Third, as was the case with Bissonnette, in many Western countries, RWE violence

continues to be analyzed under the rubric of hate crimes (Koehler, 2019). Following Hamm's (1993) approach, this study provides a more nuanced understanding of RWE violence by demonstrating that RWE violence can be classified both as a hate crime and terrorism depending on the extent to which the actors pursue political and social objectives. Finally, as previously stated, there is inadequate contemporary scholarship to systematically analyze RWEs' ideologies and actions. This study fills this gap in the literature in order to understand what Canada, US, and Europe need to build resilience and safeguard stability, peace, and public security in the face of global terrorist trajectories. The findings from this study will be useful for Canadian, American, and European anti-terrorism policies and legislation as it will identify limitations within the policies that inhibit the prevention and detection of terrorist incidents prior to attacks.

1.4 Scope and Limitations

This study is based on secondary data and focuses on the time period from 1990-2019 given that the 1990s marked the decade when North America witnessed a rapid increase in right-wing extremism (Capellan, 2015; Kaplan, 1997). While the use of secondary data has garnered increasing popularity among social movement researchers (McAdam et al., 2001), it is not without its limitations. Although the use of secondary data such as media interviews granted by RWEs and terrorists prove valuable, there is a lack of control over the framing and wording of interview questions (Vartanian, 2010). The opinions and perspectives of RWEs and terrorists are fundamental to the movement and to this study; however, a lack of in-depth personal interviews with actors in the movement means that questions that would otherwise be important to this study may not be included in media interviews, with no opportunity to ask additional or follow-up questions.

In addition, due to a lack of personal in-depth interviews with actors in RWE groups, and reliance on media interviews, it is entirely possible that questions important to the study may be asked of the wrong people (Vartanian, 2010). For example, while little to no official data is available on the exact number of women participants in RWEs groups, a number of scholarly literature notes that white women are deeply involved in these groups that explicitly proclaim the intellectual, cultural, and/or biological superiority of white people of European ancestry (Blee, 1991, 2002, 2005, 2012; Blee & Yates, 2017; Cunningham, 2003; Deutsch & Blee, 2012; Gonzalez-Perez, 2008). Female members of RWE groups are as committed to defending racial hierarchies based on white dominance as male members. However, male domination is a cornerstone of the masculinist rhetoric of white supremacism, and since white women are urged to fill the supporting roles of wives and mothers, this means that female members do not appear in or grant media interviews as often as male members (Blee & Yates, 2017). Therefore, questions regarding women in the movement, and the roles they play, may not be answered accurately or at all in media interviews.

Case selection for this study is based on RWTs' writings and availability of said writings. At the time of this study, Canadian RWTs, like Bissonnette, have not written any manifestos or letters that could be analyzed for this study. Therefore, this study lacks Canadian cases, and questions regarding framing strategies of Canadian RWTs are not addressed in this study. Future research may investigate Canadian RWTs in order to fill the gap in the literature.

Nevertheless, the use of secondary data also has its advantages. First, secondary data sources, such as media interviews, news articles, and official government documents, are available at no cost on the Internet or through government agencies, and require far less time to organize relative to primary data sets (Vartanian, 2010). Second, secondary data sets often cover a broad

array of topics, and depending on the organization, the quality of these data sets are often high (Vartanian, 2010). Third, secondary data sources such as news articles, media interviews, and archival documents provide access to different political actors, movement leaders, and their roles within the arenas of power, who may not be as willing to speak with researchers and academics as they are with the media. Fourth, RWTs' manifestos serve as alternative sources for obtaining invaluable information when the terrorists themselves are inaccessible due to imprisonment or death.

1.5 Definition of Key Terms

1. Christian identity movement: A movement whose ideology consists of: 1) the theories of British Israelism; 2) a perversion of fundamentalist Christianity; 3) an anti-government, paramilitary survivalist/conspiracy mentality based on a fear of the elimination of the white race; 4) a polygenist view of origins of humanity; and 5) the notion of white supremacy (Sharpe, 2000).

2. Frames: A schemata of interpretation that enable individuals to locate, perceive, identify, and label occurrences within their life space and the world at large (Goffman, 1974, p. 21).

3. Right-wing extremism: A transnational social movement with specific goals, demands, and tactics and whose ideology encompasses anti-democracy, racism, xenophobia, nationalism, and authoritarianism. The terms 'right-wing extremism' and 'extreme right' are used interchangeably in this study. While this study focuses on RWE groups and individuals, the extreme right 'family' also consists of political parties such as the Alternative for Germany party, the National Front party in France, the Vox party in Spain, and many more.

4. Right-wing terrorists: Actors who are motivated by, and carry out their actions in the name of, the RWE ideology.

4. Social movement: "A sustained campaign of claim making [by political actors and groups], using repeated performances that advertise the claim, based on organizations, networks, traditions, and solidarities that sustain these activities" (Tilly & Tarrow, 2005, p. 11).

1.6 Organization of Study

The remainder of this study is divided into six chapters. Chapter two provides a review of some of the relevant literature. Chapter three deals with the theoretical framework of the study. In chapter four, the research methods employed in collecting and analyzing the data are presented. Chapters five and six deal with the thematic analyses. Finally, chapter seven provides a summary of the research findings, discusses the limitations of this study, and identifies areas of future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Similar to the phenomenon of terrorism, there are debates over how to best define right-wing extremism. Right-wing extremism remains an under researched phenomenon, conditioned by temporal, spatial, cultural and political differences and climates (Marija, 2016). Nonetheless, over the years some studies have provided useful and nuanced definitions of this form of political violence. Koehler (2016) defines right-wing extremism as a form of political violence which has created a dangerous level of ignorance and which has unique characteristics that make it difficult for security agencies to detect, monitor, and prevent. The Institute for Economics and Peace (2019) labels right-wing extremism a political ideology centered on "strident nationalism (usually racial or exclusivist in some fashion), fascism, racism, anti-Semitism, anti-immigration, chauvinism, nativism, and xenophobia" (p. 45). Other definitions of right-wing extremism characterize the movement as anti-global, believers of conspiracy theories depicting whites as victims, religiously oriented, anti-authority, pro-militia, anti-abortion, and a product of political interaction and radicalization of other forms of threat-based right-wing attitudes and behaviours (Bowman-Grieve, 2009; Gruenewald et al., 2013; Heitmeyer, 2005; Ross, 1992; Simi et al., 2013). The vast majority of scholars do agree on two points: 1) the concept of RWE primarily describes an ideology; 2) this ideology is right-wing (Carter, 2018).

Although most scholars agree that the concept of right-wing extremism describes an ideology, some argue that "a certain political style, behaviour, strategy, organization or electoral base may also characterize the parties" (Carter, 2018, p. 160). However, these traits are often considered secondary since they are informed by ideology (Carter, 2018). Scholars also agree that this ideology is right-wing based on their essentialist categorizations regarding the extreme right's

'rightness' (Carter, 2018). What distinguishes the right from the left is their attitudes towards (in)equality: While the left strives to reduce/eliminate social inequalities, and is, therefore, more egalitarian, the right believes that most inequalities are natural and cannot be eradicated (Carter, 2018; Heitmeyer, 2005). Carter (2018) argues that this method of distinguishing the right from the left is appealing to scholars studying right-wing extremism since the traditional left-right economic divide is unhelpful given their mixed position on economic issues as well as the fact that economics is most often treated as a secondary concern.

In his 1995 seminal study of right-wing extremism, Mudde defines the extreme right by their ideology. According to Mudde (1995), the extreme right's ideology is composed of five characteristics: nationalism, racism, xenophobia, anti-democracy, and the strong state. Mudde (1995) explains nationalism as a political doctrine that proclaims the congruence of the political unit, the cultural unit, the nation, and the state. The myth of a homogenous nation divided along ethnic, racial, and religious lines is at the core of the RWE movement which holds that the state should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group (whites or the in-group 'us'), and protected from the racialized and 'non-native' Other (the out-group 'them') (Carter, 2018). The preservation of national and ethnic identity is of great concern for RWE groups who believe that they are victims of a global conspiracy against whites (Carter, 2018; Givens, 2005; Mudde, 1995; Perry & Scrivens, 2016).

Exclusionary nationalism goes hand in hand with racism and xenophobia since homogeneity is advocated based on perceived irreconcilable 'natural' differences between whites and non-whites (Carter, 2018). Mudde (1995) explains that this racism is characterized by a belief in the natural and hereditary differences between races, with the central belief that one race (whites in this case) is superior to the others. As will be discussed later in this study, some

contemporary RWEs, in a bid to appear less violent and escape public and police scrutiny, place emphasis on the incompatibility of the races rather than hierarchy, and on culture rather than race (Mudde, 1995). The fear and hatred of, and hostility towards, non-white foreigners form the basis of RWEs' xenophobic attitudes and beliefs (Mudde, 1995). Contemporary RWE groups advocate for a global apartheid, based on the perceived incompatibility of cultures and races, in order to prevent their cultural extinction (Carter, 2018). This form of ethnopluralism is the RWEs' counter-model to multiculturalism (Minkenberg, 2000).

Mudde (1995) conceptualizes RWEs' anti-democratic sentiment as a combination of anti-pluralism and a rejection of the fundamental equality of citizens. The inherent values of liberal and pluralist democracy as well as the procedures and institutions that sustain these values are antithetical to the RWE movement's core beliefs (Carter, 2018). Carter (2018) argues that since democracy values diversity, political equality, and respect for civil and political freedoms, the extreme right's rejection of the values, procedures, and institutions of democracy render the movement anti-democratic. And while some RWE groups and parties reject both the values and procedures of democracy, others oppose its values only (Carter, 2018).

The extreme right's authoritarian conception of the state relates to their desire to restore/maintain the power of an ultra-nationalist government dedicated to upholding traditional values such as community, law and order (directed against all non-whites and political opponents), family, authority, and work (Carter, 2018). Right-wing authoritarian policies include strong stance against abortion, protection of traditional, patriarchal, white (Christian) family structures, and opposition to LGBTQ+ and minority rights (Carter, 2018). However, this is not to say that authoritarianism is exclusive to RWE groups and parties since conservative and other parties often

share this attribute; yet, authoritarianism is found in the ideologies of almost all RWE groups (Carter, 2018).

While contemporary definitions of right-wing extremism vary, most scholars continue to include the five characteristics that Mudde (1995) identified in his study. Nationalism, racism, xenophobia, anti-democracy, and some form of authoritarianism are the mainstays of the RWE movement. Therefore, having examined the characteristics most mentioned in past and present definition of right-wing extremism, this study conceptualizes the contemporary RWE movement as a transnational social movement with specific goals, demands, and tactics and whose ideology encompasses anti-democracy, racism, xenophobia, nationalism, and authoritarianism.

2.2 Right-wing Extremism as Terrorism

This study investigates incidences of mass violence carried out by RWEs as acts of terrorism. RWEs such as Breivik, Roof, and the 2019 New Zealand mosque shooter, Brenton Tarrant, and others discussed in this study will be referred to as RWTs throughout this study, despite the labeling of their actions as hate crimes in media and popular discourse. Before going any further, it is necessary to acknowledge that terrorism is a politically contested concept. Numerous scholars have written on the difficulty of defining the term (Acharya, 2008; Greene, 2017; Hodgson & Tadros, 2013; Zeidan, 2005), but perhaps the most cited definition originates from Hoffman's (2006) seminal study which states that:

> Terrorism, in the most widely accepted contemporary usage of the term, is fundamentally and inherently political. It is also ineluctably about power; the pursuit of power, the acquisition of power, and the use of power to achieve political change. Terrorism is thus violence – or, equally important, the threat of violence – used and directed in pursuit of, or in service of, a political aim. (pp. 2-3)

Any act of terrorism is also planned and calculated (Hoffman, 2006). Meanwhile, a hate crime is any criminal act motivated by a bias towards the victim or the victim's real or perceived identity group (Blazak, 2011). Hate crimes can be carried out in order to terrorize a broader group (Green et al., 2001) or to intimidate, including through hate speech (Herek et al., 2002). Mills et al. (2017) maintains that hate crimes attack society at large by attacking its norms, targeting dearly held values of equality, liberty, and basic human rights (p. 1196).

Due to their similarities, extremism is often conflated with terrorism. Although every act of terrorism is considered to be an act of extremism, not every extremist act can be considered a terrorist act if it does not aim to achieve a higher level of political violence (Marija, 2016). While hate crimes and terrorism share some similar traits (e.g., both aim to send a message to their immediate targets as well as the larger civilian population and the government), it is important to emphasize that hate crimes are often spontaneous acts whereas terrorist attacks require more strategic planning and execution (Hoffman, 2006; Taylor, 2019). Furthermore, terrorists and the organizations they belong to are more likely to accept responsibility and seek publicity for their crimes in order to further their political goals while many perpetrators of hate crimes do not seek publicity for their acts (Taylor, 2019). Despite these differences, acts of terrorism and hate crimes are not mutually exclusive.

Sprinzak's (1995) general theory regarding how radicalization transforms into terrorism identifies three levels. First, a crisis of confidence occurs, which is followed by the second level wherein the political system's legitimacy is called into question often due to conspiracy theories about Zionist occupied governments (ZOG) (Sharpe, 2000; Sprinzak, 1995). Third, the crisis of legitimacy broadens to include all individuals associated with the corrupt system (Sprinzak, 1995). It is at this level that violence against such persons becomes justified since it is seen as violence

against the corrupt system (Sprinzak, 1995). Some RWEs and terrorists also believe that any traitors, such as politicians, the media, the police, anti-racists, bureaucrats, etc. who aid the Jews in taking control of Western societies are deserving of terroristic violence (Sharpe, 2000; Sprinzak, 1995). Conspiracy theories also play a central role in the transition from right-wing extremism to terrorism as RWTs construct enemies everywhere and consider themselves to be "executors of a silent majority" (Heitmeyer, 2005, p. 144). One of the goals of right-wing terroristic violence is to terrorize their various victims in such a way that members of that particular group must expect to become victims at any time and place (Heitmeyer, 2005).

As Hamm (1993) argues, hate crimes driven by socio-political goals can, and should, be classified as terrorism. Although in many Western countries violent attacks carried out by RWEs have been analyzed as hate crimes (Jacobs & Potter, 1998), Hamm (1993) asserts that right-wing violence can actually be understood as both a hate crime and terrorism, depending on the degree to which the crime pursues social and political objectives. Analyzing right-wing violence as terrorism has several important consequences. First, unless the incident is treated as terrorism, victims of RWTs may be perceived as "second class victims," and the severity of the crimes carried out against them marginalized in public discourse (Koehler, 2019, p. 7).

Second, the unilateral use of the terrorist label (i.e. strictly applying to acts of radical Islamist terrorism) can distort the public's perception of what constitutes some of the biggest security threats (Koehler, 2019). In contemporary public discourse, particularly facilitated after the events of 9/11, the label 'terrorist' and the act of 'terrorism' has become racialized to the extent that it is difficult for most members of the public to not conflate Islam with terrorism (Gardell, 2014; Koehler, 2019). Acts of terrorism are not exclusive to a particular ideology; yet, media portrayals of right-wing violence and violence committed by radical Islamist terrorists differ vastly

depending on the perpetrator's ideology (Taylor, 2019). The lack of consistent application of the terrorist label by law enforcement and the media further entrenches the fear of the racialized Other (i.e. the Muslim foreigner), and has significant damaging consequences for already marginalized and oppressed groups subject to discriminatory policies (Taylor, 2019).

Third, persecuting right-wing violence as hate crimes rather than terrorism not only impacts the statistical representation of terrorist threats, but also undermines counter-terrorism policies due to inaccurate underlying threat assessments (Koehler, 2019). Lastly, refusal to apply the label of terrorist to RWEs can insulate them from public scrutiny while simultaneously inspiring copycats (Koehler, 2019). Tarrant's manifesto wherein he declares Breivik and Roof as his inspirations perfectly exemplifies this. Therefore, as Koehler (2019) contends, it is crucial to avoid double standards in dealing with right-wing violence and terrorism, especially in light of the increasing number of right-wing terrorist incidences.

Overall, even a cursory read of the RWTs' manifestos will reveal the careful and strategic planning and execution of their acts, and thus, establish the *mens rea* of their offense. For these reasons, this study will refer to individuals who are motivated by and carry out their violent actions in the name of the RWE ideology as right-wing terrorists.

2.3 Statistics on Right-wing Extremism

In the US, RWEs have consistently constituted one of the top threats to public safety over the last 50 years (Freilich et al., 2018). RWEs were found to be most active from the 1960s–1980s, with the movement being its deadliest in the 1980s (Smith, 1994). US RWEs killed approximately 50 people in 2018, a 26% increase (37 in 2017) from the previous year (ADL, 2019). From 2009 to 2018, 3 out of 4 killings in the US were committed by RWEs (ADL, 2019). Seventy-six percent

(n=313) of those murders were committed by white supremacists, 19% by anti-government extremists, 3% by incels (involuntary celibates), 1% by anti-abortion extremists, and another 1% by other RWEs (ADL, 2019). In fact, since 2012, the last year when all documented killings in the US were by RWEs, 2018 witnessed the highest percentage (98%) of RWE related killings (ADL, 2019). RWEs in the US killed more people in 2018 than in any year since 1995 when Timothy McVeigh carried out the Oklahoma City bombing that left 168 people dead and another 680 injured (ADL, 2019).

Most of the RWE attacks in the US between 2007 to 2017 involved the use of firearms or incendiary devices since these types of weapons are relatively easy to acquire and use (Jones, 2018). The targets included religious figures and institutions, mostly Muslims and Jews; private citizens and properties; and US or foreign government targets (Jones, 2018). Additionally, between 2007 and 2017, RWE attacks occurred in nearly every US state, including California, Florida, Texas, New York, and Virginia (Jones, 2018). While there is no exhaustive list of all the RWE groups active in the US (the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) alone has at least 47 active chapters throughout the US), well-known groups with international ties and chapters include the KKK, neo-Nazis, neo-confederates, racist skinheads, Christian identity believers, anti-Muslim groups, and white nationalist groups (SPLC, 2019.).

Meanwhile, similar to the US, Europe faces a growing threat from RWEs. RWE attacks in Europe increased from 0 in 2012 to 9 in 2013; 21 in 2016; and 30 in 2017 (Jones, 2018). These statistics, of course, do not include Breivik's attack in 2011 in Oslo and the island of Utoya that left 77 dead. The threat from RWEs is more acute in the UK it seems, with law enforcement arresting 27 individuals between 2017 and early 2018, 15 of whom were charged with terrorism offenses (Jones, 2018). Another nearly half-dozen RWT plots were foiled by the British domestic

intelligence agency, MI5, and police in the first half of 2018 (Jones, 2018). RWE groups with chapters in Europe include Identitäre Bewegung Deutschland (IBD), Identitarian Movement Germany and supporters of the Reich Citizen ideology in Germany, the Generation of Identity movement, the Pro-Vlast movement, Soldiers of Odin, and Blood & Honour (Jones, 2018).

While at the time of this study there were no official data regarding the number of RWE attacks in Canada, estimates indicated that there were more than 100 RWE groups active in Canada (Perry & Scrivens, 2016). Canadian RWEs are also among the most active online, spreading extremist and misogynistic views (Davey et al., 2020). On 21st of June, 2019, the Canadian government officially declared the neo-Nazi group, Blood and Honour and their armed branch, Combat 18, as terrorist entities, adding them to the government's list of outlawed terrorist organizations (Bell, 2019). RWE groups with chapters in Canada include, but are not limited to, Blood and Honour, Proud Boys, Soldiers of Odin, the Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West (PEGIDA), Yellow Vesters, and Three Percenters (Perry & Scrivens, 2019).

2.4 Right-wing Extremism in US

According to the 2018 ADL report on the state of right-wing extremism in the US, most RWEs fall into one of the two broad categories: white supremacists or anti-government extremists. American white supremacist groups include neo-Nazis, racist skinheads, white supremacist prison gangs, religious sects like the Christian identity movement, the KKK, and alt right groups (ADL, 2018). The American anti-government extremists, also known as the Patriot movement, include adherents of the tax protest movement, sovereign citizen movement, and militia groups like Oath Keepers and Three Percenter (ADL, 2018). Both white supremacists and anti-government extremists commit approximately the same number of terrorist incidents (ADL, 2018). Some

terrorists like McVeigh, who was primarily an anti-government extremist but also had white supremacist leanings, fall under both categories (ADL, 2018).

White supremacists often share the anti-government extremists' antagonism towards the US government, which they perceive as a ZOG working on behalf of the Jews to oppress and subjugate whites (Blee & Creasap, 2010). Despite the overlap between the two, there is, however, an important distinction between them, which is that anti-government extremist groups can, and do, include people of colour (ADL, 2018). Meanwhile, white supremacists are responsible for a majority of the racial and religious attacks on minorities and people of colour (ADL, 2018). American white supremacists' targets include African-Americans, Hispanics, interracial couples and families, LGBTQ+, immigrants, abortion clinics, and women while their religious targets include Jews and Muslims (actual or perceived) (ADL, 2018).

Although right-wing extremism in the US has a long history, the US witnessed two specific surges of right-wing extremism in the last 25 years (ADL, 2015). The first surge occurred in the mid-to-late 1990s, and was caused by various factors: the election of Bill Clinton after 12 years of a conservative government; the passage of gun control measures (i.e. the Brady Law of 1993 mandating a waiting period for handgun purchases, and the Assault Weapons Ban of 1994 prohibiting possession of specific military-style firearms); the passage of NAFTA; and the standoffs between law enforcement and religious and anti-government extremists in Ruby Ridge, Idaho in 1992 as well as in Waco, Texas in 1993 (ADL, 2015).

The surge of the 1990s accelerated the growth of anti-government extremists in the US who were particularly concerned with the state taking away their right to bear arms along with their freedom (ADL, 2015). Anti-government extremists viewed these measures as attempts to disarm American citizens and take away their rights and freedom (ADL, 2015). Consequently,

what had been a relatively small component of the RWE movement was now equal in status to the white supremacists (ADL, 2015). These events, particularly the events in Ruby Ridge and Waco, led to a surge in RWT activity in the 1990s, culminating in McVeigh's bombing of the Oklahoma City Murrah Federal building (ADL, 2015). The surge continued throughout the 1990s, with media coverage of McVeigh's bombing of Oklahoma City helping to recruit new adherents (ADL, 2015).

Although the first surge dwindled and died down by the turn of the century, US is currently in the midst of the second surge, which began in 2009 (ADL, 2015). The triggering events of the second surge include the 2008 election of President Barack Obama, the nation's first African-American president as well as a democrat, tragic events of 9/11, the housing crisis and economic recession (ADL, 2015). While Obama's election obviously galvanized white supremacists, anti-government extremists also jumped on the bandwagon and "linked Obama to their 'New World Order' conspiracy theories about American concentration camps, martial law, and gun confiscation" (ADL, 2015, p. 3). Furthermore, the second surge has witnessed an increase in the number of anti-government extremists while white supremacists, although not seeing a significant increase in number, have become angrier and more violent (ADL, 2015). As the second surge is ongoing, RWT attacks against mosques, churches, synagogues, and abortion clinics continue to occur on a regular basis (ADL, 2015).

Moreover, similar to the Canadian situation, while some perpetrators of right-wing violence in the US are part of formal groups or involved in 'cells', meaning an informal band of extremists coming together to commit an act, most RWTs plan and carry out their attacks by themselves (ADL, 2018). The advent of the Internet has enabled RWEs to disseminate their message far and wide and recruit and radicalize white males and females from all parts of the

world. The shooting sprees of Roof and Tarrant are two examples of terrorist acts committed by white males radicalized online and motivated by the RWE ideology.

The use of violence to achieve a goal is a key element of the RWE movement in US and everywhere else. This violence can be strategic or performative (Blee, 2002; Blee & Creasap, 2010). Strategic violence, chosen to achieve a goal, is targeted against Jews, Muslims, people of colour, the government, women, and other minorities (Blee & Creasap, 2010). Performative violence, on the other hand, "binds together its practitioners in a common identity, as when white power skinheads enact bloody clashes with other skinhead groups and each other" (Blee & Creasap, 2010, p. 275). RWE violence emerges as a response to changing demographics.

Scholars argue that right-wing mobilization can emerge in response to the threat posed by the changing racial composition of a population as well as economic grievances (Blee & Creasap, 2010; Piazza, 2017). Piazza (2017) suggests that US citizens' experiences of economic hardships, such as the 2008 recession, produces fear, anger, and hopelessness which are easily manipulated by RWEs. Research indicates that whites from poverty stricken communities find right-wing propaganda blaming the government, immigrants, minorities, liberals, and women for job losses and lack of economic prosperity particularly compelling, and that right-wing violence occurs more frequently in economically depressed and disadvantaged (racialized) communities (Dyer, 1997; Hochschild, 2016; Pridemore & Freilich, 2006). Therefore, racism and xenophobia are key pillars of the transnational RWE movement. Historically and currently, RWEs in the US work to halt immigration of all non-whites through all means, including violence and force (Blee, 1991; Blee & Creasap, 2010; McVeigh, 2009).

As mentioned, research shows that another mobilizing factor for RWEs is societal changes that have led to the empowerment and supposed equal treatments of ethnic, racial and religious

minorities, women, and members of the LGBTQ+ community (Piazza, 2017). These transformations and movements, such as Black Lives Matter, March for Our Lives, and #MeToo, are understood as threatening to displace the traditional dominance of white, Christian heterosexual males (Freilich, 2003; Handler, 2008; Hewitt, 2003; Kelly, 2017). Moreover, any and all social programs or scholarships meant for minorities (e.g., affirmative action) are perceived as unfair by angry white males.

A popular belief amongst RWEs is that they are "the oppressed victims of discrimination, whose rights are routinely violated" (Berbrier, 2000, p.179). An example of such blatant victimization of, and discrimination towards, whites is affirmative action. According to David Duke, the founder of the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP) and a member of the KKK, "affirmative action is a program of blatant racial discrimination" (Berbrier, 2000, p. 180). Altogether, right-wing political violence perpetrated by white males can be considered a response to the gains made by ethnic, racial, and religious minorities, women, and LGBTQ+ individuals (Piazza, 2017).

2.5 Right-wing Extremism in Europe

In many European countries, the recent surge of refugees has been a cause for concern for the extreme right, which comes as no surprise since anti-immigration and anti-Muslim sentiments feature prominently in their propaganda (Gattinara, 2017). The European RWE movement's characteristics include extreme nationalism, anti-communism, ethnocentrism, anti-pluralism, hostility, anti-democracy, and law and order mentality (Mammone et al., 2013). Social Darwinism, xenophobia, authoritarianism, a tendency to violence, militarism, conspiracy thinking, among others, are also associated with the extreme right in Europe (Mammone et al., 2013). Right-wing

extremism in Europe, as everywhere else, is based on the perceived 'natural' differences between races accompanied by a racial hierarchy that places whites on top. The extreme right's promotion of inequality and nationalism is based on its ethnic, racial, cultural, linguistic, and historic unity, meaning it is based on the ethnonational community ('us') (Mammone et al., 2013). RWE groups perceive nations as unequal; they rank their own nations at the top, insisting on its excellence and emphasizing its glorious and victorious history (Hagtvet, 1994). Consequently, the reliance on national history indicates that European RWE movement take various shapes and colours (Hagtvet, 1994).

In the European context, right-wing extremism is more likely to become violent when it lacks political representation through political parties or electoral success at the national level (Heitmeyer, 2005). Political marginalization of RWE parties can lead to fragmentation and radicalization, which can result in political murders or incitement to murder on the Internet (Heitmeyer, 2005). European leaders, like other leaders, can give legitimacy to the extreme right's ideology by the way in which they grade or value immigrants (e.g., as useful or useless) and encourage violent actions (Heitmeyer, 2005).

While the ideology of right-wing extremism in Western Europe continues to be rooted in Catholic fundamentalism and counter-revolutionary ideas still, RWEs have had to adjust to an increasingly secular society (Mammone et al., 2013). Mammone et al. (2013) asserts that although Catholic fundamentalists retain strong positions within some RWE groups (e.g., the French Front National and the Italian Forza Nuova), regular church goers and atheists are unlikely to vote for RWE parties. Furthermore:

> The imprint of Christian values (or rather, of values interpreted as such by the extremists) is still strong in many European extreme right parties, which even though they do not ground their policies on religion, refer to Europe as a 'Christian', or 'Judeo-Christian' continent. (Mammone et al., 2013, p. 108)

RWEs' nostalgia for a religious past gives rise to anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim sentiments as they grapple with how to deal with the presence of 'non-European' religions on European soil (Mammone et al., 2013).

However, RWEs are divided when it comes to designating their religious enemies. One faction of the movement is dedicated to promoting hostility to Islam while finding itself capable of supporting Israel and Jews; a second faction perceives Islam and Muslims as an ally in the fight against US imperialism, Israel and Zionism; and finally, a third faction is anti-Semitic, anti-Muslim, and anti-immigration in general (Mammone et al., 2013). Overall, RWEs maintain interest in religion since it is considered a core component of national identity (Mammone et al., 2013).

European RWEs groups are concerned with both the perceived internal and the external threats they face (Mammone et al., 2013). The internal threats consist of whites' declining birthrates at a time of increasing immigration, use of medical methods such as abortion and contraceptives that are causing the birth rate to fall even further, and white co-habiting heterosexual couples who no longer prioritize procreating and ensuring the future of the white race (Mammone et al., 2013). Overall, the internal threats take the form of homosexuality, feminism, relationships outside marriage, singleness, etc. (Mammone et al., 2013). On the other hand, the external threats come from international migratory flows and the presence of a growing immigrant and refugee population in European countries (Mammone et al., 2013). External threats produce miscegenation, multiculturalism, and the threat of supposedly inferior and barbaric immigrants penetrating homogenous white communities and threatening their health and balance (Mammone et al., 2013).

European RWE groups' targets include immigrants, Jews, homosexuals, women, and any other individuals and groups perceived to be different from them. Furthermore, RWEs see violence as a prerequisite for order and power and as a cleansing act (Hagtvet, 1994). The refugee crisis in Europe has contributed to an increase in support for right-wing parties and violent networks at the same time that xenophobic and anti-immigration crimes have increased in most European countries (Koehler, 2016). Therefore, along with right-violence perpetrated by clandestine groups and cells, anti-immigration mass movements and collective radicalization towards violence has increased in recent years in Europe (Koehler, 2016). Thus, contemporary European RWE groups are similar to the fascist movements of the 1920s and 1930s in that all groups are populist, patriotic in nature, authoritarian, and violent in their practices (Hagtvet, 1994). However, an important difference between the two movements is the contemporary European RWE movement's lack of expansionist foreign policy (Hagtvet, 1994).

2.6 Right-wing Extremism in Canada

RWE violence in Canada can be traced as far back as 1784 when Canada's first race riot took place in Nova Scotia (Ross, 1992, p. 77). There was also right-wing violence directed against Chinese and Japanese migrants, and in 1894, racial segregation became legalized in schools in Ontario (Barrett, 1989; Ross, 1992). Scholars have demonstrated that the key pillars of Canadian right-wing extremism include: white nationalism, xenophobia, racism, white supremacy, emphasis on traditional values, anti-democracy, homophobia, pro-militia/pro-gun, valorization of inequality, and anti-feminism (Jamin, 2013; Parent & Ellis, 2014; Perry & Scrivens, 2016, 2019). However, Canadian RWE groups, compared to their US counterparts, place less emphasis on gun rights or

survivalism due to the lack of promotion of gun rights and glorification of survivalism in Canada (Perry & Scrivens, 2016).

Right-wing extremism in Canada has been divided into four historical periods: 1) establishment of KKK in the 1920s; 2) Pre-WWII fascism; 3) Neo-Nazism in the 1960s; and 4) Neo-fascism in the 1970s and 1980s (Barrett, 1989). The 1920s saw the KKK establish its roots in Canada, particularly in the provinces of Ontario, British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan (Barrett, 1989; McCoy & Jones, 2017; Perry & Scrivens, 2016). After the events of World War II and Hitler's anti-Semitism had begun to diminish, along with changes in Canada's immigration laws, unemployment and inflation, there was an increase in right-wing activities in Canada (Perry & Scrivens, 2016). Throughout the 1970s and 80s, neo-Nazis started appearing in numerous urban settings both in Canada and the US (Ellis, 2015; Perry & Scrivens, 2016). The 1990s continued to witness an increase in neo-Nazi activity, especially around the skinhead music scene (Perry & Scrivens, 2016). Groups such as the Heritage Front grew in Toronto while the Aryan Nations increased their membership in Alberta and Saskatchewan (Ellis, 2015; Perry & Scrivens, 2016). Meanwhile, Hammer skin groups increased their activities and membership in Montreal while Final Solution Skinheads continued to grow in parts of Alberta (Perry & Scrivens, 2016). Throughout these periods, RWEs carried many violent attacks against visible minorities, LGBTQ+, Jews, and anyone considered a 'leftist' or communists, with the majority of the attacks taking place in Ontario, Quebec, and BC (Ross, 1992).

The advent of the Internet also played a major role in increasing RWEs' visibility and potential for recruitment (Perry & Scrivens, 2016). RWE websites and online chat forums allowed groups and individuals to establish connections with each other and express and embrace their ideology (Perry & Scrivens, 2016; Solyom; 2016). During the 21st century, groups such as the

KKK, PEGIDA, Church of the Creator, Blood and Honour, and anarchist skinheads continue to maintain their presence, and stage rallies, disseminate fliers, and engage in violent activities in Canada (McCoy & Jones, 2017; Perry & Scrivens, 2016; Tanner & Campana, 2014). The RWE movement in Canada remains fragmented, and segmented groups have no formal relations for the most part (Tanner & Campana, 2014). Many RWEs are also involved in criminal activities (Tanner & Campana, 2014).

The most commonly noted category of right-wing extremism in Canada today is neo-Nazism, racist skinheads or white supremacy (Perry & Scrivens, 2019). While not all Canadian RWEs claim membership in any particular groups, they, nonetheless, contribute to the movement extensively by attending rallies, collecting and spreading propaganda, associating with others in the movement, and providing ideological fodder (Perry & Scrivens, 2019). Furthermore, the extensive number of RWE websites such as Stormfront, the Daily Stormer, 8chan, Reddit, etc. enable RWEs to independently feed their hunger for extremist rhetoric and become radicalized (Perry & Scrivens, 2019; Solyom, 2016). Bissonette, and the 2018 Toronto van attacker, Alek Minassian, are examples of Canadian RWEs who were radicalized online and motivated by the RWE ideology.

Canadian RWEs' targets do not differ considerably from their US and European counterparts (the targets predominantly being Muslims, Jews, people of colour, women, members of the LGBTQ+ community, anti-racist activists, and law enforcement officers), but members of the movement extend their hostility towards Indigenous peoples and communities (Perry & Scriven, 2019). RWEs argue that Indigenous claims to sovereignty are an affront to white dominance since Indigenous activists are perceived to be violating the rules of Canadian apartheid (Parent & Ellis, 2014; Perry & Scrivens, 2019; Tanner & Campana, 2014). Furthermore, RWE

violence in Canada largely falls into three categories: 1) non-violent crime; 2) criminal violence; and 3) extremist violence (Perry & Scrivens, 2019). Criminal violence, which involves brutal beatings is the most common form, while the use of guns, pipe bombs, and arson is rare (Perry & Scriven, 2019). Overall, unfortunately, the RWE movement in Canada, like in the US and Europe, is active and growing. The next chapter provides a detailed analysis of the theoretical framework of this study.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Social Movement Theory

This study investigates right-wing extremism as a social movement. Tilly and Tarrow (2005) define social movement as a "sustained campaign of claim making, using repeated performances that advertise the claim, based on organizations, networks, traditions, and solidarities that sustain these activities" (p. 11). Furthermore, social movements are described as "collective challenges based on a common purpose and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities" (Tarrow, 1998, p. 4). Social movements, therefore, consist of political actors as well as a plethora of events linked to a broader theme that challenge or defend an existing order (Oriola, 2013). Social movements range from local, community-based movements to transnational movements. According to Almeida (2019), the core movement elements of sustained collective challenges by excluded social groups attempting to protect themselves from social, political, economic, and environmental harms form the basis of our definition of social movements.

Social movements are collective and sustained over a period of time, meaning that the larger the scale of the collective action, the longer the mobilizations should endure to be considered a movement (Almeida, 2019, p. 8). Thus, in order to prolong the mobilization process and be considered a social movement, collective actors must utilize their social relationships of friends, family, neighbours, colleagues, and ethnic ties (Almeida, 2019). Collective actors often join with other groups to extend mobilization to other regions and sectors of society, known as a coalition (Almeida, 2019). A coalition of multiple social groups (e.g., students, immigrants' rights organizations, women's association, etc.), on the one hand, may strengthen the level and size of mobilization by publicly exhibiting that several sectors of society are unified over a specific

grievance (Almeida, 2019, p. 10). On the other hand, coalitions may introduce new issues in sustaining collective action by trying to negotiate a consensus about strategy in terms of tactics, goals, and targets, which can lead to movement infighting and the rapid dissolution of mobilization (Almeida, 2019, p. 11).

Oftentimes social movements are composed of groups and individuals with relatively less political and economic power since excluded groups (along racial, economic, citizenship, and/or gender lines) lack access to government and economic elites and do not have their voices heard (Almeida, 2019). Finally, individuals and groups are motivated to mobilize as a result of real and perceived harm. As Almeida (2019) notes, a critical mass of individuals must come under the threat of a particular harm, such as discrimination, economic hardships, or environmental health, that motivates them to unify and launch a social movement campaign (p. 7).

As previously stated, people are motivated to mobilize as a result of shared grievances. Social movements formulate when people collectively view some facet of social life as a problem and in need of alteration, such as police abuse, racial and gender discrimination, economic inequality, or climate change (Almeida, 2019). Once shared grievances have been established, the movement will most likely formulate a set of demands, goals, tactics, and targets as part of an overall social movement strategy (Almeida, 2019). Almeida (2019) states:

> Demands are communicated to power holders as a means to negotiate and attempt to address and reduce the original grievances… Demands or claims are often written in formal letters during negotiations, as well as displayed on banners and chanted in unison during protest rallies, or publicly stated during press conferences held by social movement leaders. (p. 9)

Social movements are increasingly utilizing various social media platforms such as Facebook, 8chan, WhatsApp, and Twitter to express their demands as well as garner support (Almeida, 2019). Goals, however, are generally broader than demands, and provide a way to measure movement

success in achieving social change (Almeida, 2019). Goals and demands can both range from reform minded (changing part of a government policy) to radical (calling for a complete transformation of a society), although the latter is usually a common aim of revolutionary social movements (Almeida, 2019).

Social movements utilize a variety of tactics – a repertoire of actions from teach-ins and educational workshops to press conferences and street demonstrations/protests (Almeida, 2019, p. 10). Tactics are categorized into highly conventional (petitions and letter-writing campaigns), disruptive ('die-ins,' sit-ins, and traffic obstruction), and violent (riots, revolutions, and terrorism) (Almeida, 2019). Different conditions impact the types of tactics utilized by a social movement and its effectiveness in mobilizing people and achieving goals (Almeida, 2019). Finally, social movements, as part of their overall strategy, target institutions to present their demands. The targets commonly include some part/branch of the government such as city councils, congressional and parliamentary bodies, and state agencies (Almeida, 2019). Often, depending on the nature of the movement, a number of different targets (schools, hospitals, churches, private industry, mass media, and other institutions) may be drawn into the campaign (Almeida, 2019).

There are four widely recognized theoretical perspectives within the social movement literature: 1) collective behaviour; 2) resource mobilization; 3) political process theory; and 4) new social movement approach. According to the collective behaviour perspective, social movements are by-products of rapid waves of social transformation (Beuchler, 2004; Smesler, 1962). Smelser (1962) considered social movements to be results of strains in the social structure. Social movements are born as a consequence of an imbalance in the equilibrium of society (Smelser, 1962). According to Smelser (1962), "the perceived structural strain at the social level excited

feelings of anxiety, fantasy, hostility, etc." (p. 11), leading people to join radical social movements.

The resource mobilization perspective claims that social movements are not simple reactionary phenomena but a rational part of the political system (McAdam, 1982). This approach emphasizes the rationality of collective behavior, the significance of mobilization of resources, the costs and benefits of taking part in a social movement, and views collective action as a choice individuals actively and consciously make (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Tilly et al., 1975). Both the resource mobilization perspective and political process theory emphasize that resources and political opportunities available to aggrieved people are key factors influencing individuals' decisions to take part in collective action (McCarthy & Zald, 1977).

The political process theory suggests that the success or failure of any social movement is impacted by political opportunities (Giugni, 2009). Political opportunities for change and intervention must exist before a movement can achieve its objectives and be deemed successful (Meyer & Minkoff, 2004). The success of the movement depends on the political opportunities available for social movements can only attempt to bring about change through existing political structures and processes (Pang, 2018). This perspective's main focus is the interaction between social movements and the broader socio-political milieu (Goodwin & Jasper, 1999; Meyer, 2004). Furthermore, "political opportunity can be both a positive or negative development vis-a-vis challengers of authority and those who seek to maintain the status quo" (Oriola, 2013, p. 56)

Lastly, the new social movement approach examines the relationship between novel social movements and wider socio-economic structures (Pichardo, 1997). This perspective is critical of the social order and focuses on reclaiming autonomous spaces instead of material advantages (della Porta & Diani, 1999). Although these four perspectives have unique advantages when it comes to

explaining various social movements, the political process theory and framing are well suited for interrogating right-wing extremism as a social movement.

3.2 Framing

The concept of framing within social movements was chiefly developed by Snow and Benford and colleagues in their engagement of Goffman's work on frame analysis in micro-level interpersonal interactions. According to Goffman (1974), frames "indicate a schemata of interpretation that enable individuals to locate, perceive, identify, and label occurrences within their life space and the world at large" (p. 21). In other words, frames help to render events or occurrences meaningful, and thereby function to organize experience and guide action (Benford & Snow, 2000). Framing also allows individuals to suggest what is going on to others (Goffman, 1974). Framing can be both positive and negative for on the one hand, it can be used as a tool to manipulate and deceive individuals, and on the other hand, it can neutrally refer to a learning process wherein individuals acquire common beliefs (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Since its formulation, scholars have deployed framing in studies across a range of issues from terrorism and extremism (An et al., 2018; Brooks et al., 2017; Oriola & Akinola, 2018; Roeflofs, 2014; Sandig, 2015; Snow & Byrd; 2007; Wright, 2009) to media coverage of foreign nations (Brewer et al., 2003; Malik, 2020; Vu & Lynn, 2020) to government policies (Fyhn, 2019; Jacoby, 2000; McIntyre et al., 2018) and many more.

Snow and Benford (1988) note that collective action frames also perform this interpretive function by simplifying and condensing aspects of the world out there, but in ways intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, garner bystander support, and demobilize antagonists. Collective action frames, therefore, are action-oriented sets of beliefs that inspire and

legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization (SMO) (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Framing work involves the active interpretation of grievances to larger audiences while simultaneously marking off what is relevant from what is irrelevant (Snow, 2004). When changes in the environment produce political opportunities for action, movement leaders attempt to mobilize individuals by engaging in framing activities (Snow et al., 1986). Legitimacy claims and frame realignment are two framing practices. The former occurs as actors attempt to establish the empirical credibility of their frame while the latter involves linking related but unconnected frames, extending an existing frame to new problems or transforming frames to more closely align with new issues (Snow et al., 1986). Frames that resonate more broadly result in coalitions (Snow et al., 1986).

According to Snow and Benford (1988), there are three core ideological tasks for movement leaders: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing. Diagnostic framing refers to the ability of leaders and members to define social problems and attribute blame (Snow & Benford, 1988). Prognostic framing means leaders must generate a plan of action or strategy, while motivational framing means making appeals to mobilize that resonate with the population targeted for collective action (Snow & Benford, 1988). In order for movement leaders to be successful in recruiting supporters and sustaining the movement, they must effectively carry out all three core framing tasks (Snow & Benford, 1988). Additionally, it is crucial that frames and ideological appeals must resonate with local cultural beliefs, symbols, and norms (Almeida, 2019).

Diagnostic framing involves identification and attribution. Since social movements seek to remedy or alter some problematic situations, leaders and members must first identify the source(s) of the perceived issues (Benford & Snow, 2000). However, as Benford and Snow (2000) note,

consensus regarding the source of the problem does not follow automatically from agreement regarding the nature of the problem (p. 616). It is not unusual for controversies to erupt between the various SMOs constituting a social movement, as well as within movement organizations, regarding whom or what to blame (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Prognostic framing involves the articulation of a proposed solution to the problem (Benford & Snow, 2000). Prognostic framing addresses the question of what is to be done and the problems of consensus and action mobilization (Benford & Snow, 2000). Since there is correspondence between a movement's diagnostic and prognostic framings, the identification of specific problems and causes often constrain the range of possible reasonable solutions and strategies advocated (Benford & Snow, 2000). Additionally:

> It is important to keep in mind that prognostic framing takes place within a multi-organizational field… consisting of various SMOs constituting a movement industry, their opponents, targets of influence, media, and bystanders. Thus, it is not surprising that an SMO's prognostic framing activity typically includes refutations of the logic or efficacy of solutions advocated by opponents as well as a rationale for its own remedies. (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 616)

So, opposing framing activity can impact a movement's framing by putting movement activists on the defensive, and by frequently forcing it to develop and elaborate prognoses more clearly than otherwise necessary (Benford & Snow, 2000). The prognostic dimension is also one of the primary ways in which a movement's SMOs may differ from one another in terms of their prognostic framings and the techniques they advocate and employ (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Finally, motivational framing involves providing a rationale for engaging in ameliorative collective action (Benford & Snow, 2000). This framing task entails the development of the 'agency' component of collective action frames (Benford & Snow, 2000). Benford (1993) expanded on the issue of agency by identifying four generic vocabularies of motive that emerged during his case study of the US nuclear disarmament movement: severity, urgency, efficacy, and

propriety. Benford (1993) found that these four socially constructed vocabularies provided adherents with compelling accounts for engaging in collective action and participating in the movement. However, Benford and Snow (2000) concur that further research must be conducted in order to specify the conditions that affect the construction and adoption of various vocabularies of motive as well as assess their relative impact on social movement participation (p. 618).

This study employs SMT to examine right-wing extremism as a transnational social movement with established grievances, proposed solutions, and a justified call to arms. The recent refugee crisis and increased immigration to the Global North has resulted in an increase in RWE groups and activities (Koehler, 2016; McAlexander, 2020). This study uses perspectives and approaches developed within social movement literature, specifically political process theory and framing analysis, to interrogate the RWE movement's core framing strategies as well as to assess how political opportunities created by politicians and leaders such as Trump encourage RWEs and lead to a growth in RWE activities.

3.3 Racial Formation Theory

Omi and Winant's racial formation theory was first put forward in response to reductionist theories that treated race as an epiphenomenon of class, ethnicity, or nation (Omi & Winant, 2015). Omi and Winant (2015) argue that race cannot be reduced to the 'true' national identity of a racially categorized people as nation-based paradigms claim; it cannot be reduced to cultural differences as the ethnicity-based paradigms suggest; and it also cannot be reduced to a type of inequality as the class-based paradigms claim (p. 96). The authors assert that, at least in the US, race is a master category, not a transcendent one that stands above or apart from class, gender, or other axes of inequality and difference, but one that, nevertheless, plays a unique role in the formation of the US

and launched a global and world-historical process of 'making people up' that constituted the modern world (Omi & Winant, 2015). The process of 'race making,' along with its reverberations throughout the social order, is what Omi and Winant (2015) refer to as racial formation.

Omi and Winant (2015) define racial formation as "the sociohistorical process by which racial identities are created, lived out, transformed, and destroyed" (p. 109). The authors attempt to chart a middle course between an essentialist formulation that views race as a matter of innate characteristics, of which skin colour and other physical attributes provide only the most obvious indicators and the other extreme view that trivializes the category of race, arguing that since race is a social construction, it will disappear if we ignore it (Omi & Winant, 2015). Omi and Winant (2015) understand race as an unstable and decentered complex of social meanings constantly being transformed by political struggle and the state. Race is a concept that signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies (Omi & Winant, 2015, p. 110). While the concept of race invokes seemingly biologically based human characteristics, racial signification based on specific human features is always and necessarily a social and historical process (Crenshaw, 1991; Fanon, 1967; Hill Collins, 1990; Jacobson, 2015; Omi & Winant, 2015).

Through, and as a consequence of this process of selection, human physical characteristics (real or imagined) become the basis to justify and reinforce social differentiation:

> Conscious and or unconscious, deeply ingrained or reinvented, the making of race, the 'othering' of social groups by means of the invocation of physical distinctions, is a key component of modern societies… This process of selection, of imparting social and symbolic meaning to perceived phenotypical differences, is the core, constitutive element of what we term 'racialization.' (Omi & Winant, 2015, p. 111)

Racialization, thus, refers to the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Omi & Winant, 2015; Shor, 2020; Van

Dijik, 2000). Omi and Winant (2015) argue that racialization occurs both in large-scale and small-scale ways. For example, large-scale racialization can be observed in the conquest and settlement of the western hemispheres and development of African slavery while in smaller-scale settings, racial interpellation operates as a quotidian form of racialization (Omi & Winant, 2015, p. 111).

The concept of the 'racial project' is central to Omi and Winant's (2015) perspective on the construction of race. They define racial projects as "simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial identities and meanings, and an effort to organize and distribute resources (economic, political, cultural) along particular racial lines" (Omi & Winant, 2015, p. 125). Racial projects do both the ideological and practical task of making the links between structure and signification and articulating the connection between them (Omi & Winant, 2015, p. 125). Racial projects connect "what race *means* [emphasis original] in a particular discursive or ideological practice and the ways in which both social structures and everyday experiences are racially *organized* [emphasis original], based upon that meaning" (Omi & Winant, 2015, p. 125). Racial projects take shape both at the macro-level (in the form of racial policy-making, state activity, and collective action) and the level of everyday experience and personal interaction, and both dominant and subordinate groups, both institutions and persons carry out racial projects (Omi & Winant, 2015). Moreover, racial projects should not be analyzed as discrete, separate, and autonomous ideas and actions, but rather, a reflection of and response to the broader patterning or race in the overall social system (Omi & Winant, 2015). As Omi and Winant (2015) claim, every racial project attempts to reproduce, extend, subvert, or directly challenge that system (p. 125).

Racial projects can vary and jump scale in their impact and significance: projects framed at the local level can impact national policies and projects at the national level can be creatively

and strategically recast at regional and local levels (Omi & Winant, 2015). Project can also travel and transform into a transnational one (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Omi & Winant, 2015; Van Dijik, 2000). At any given historical moment, competing racial projects are developed by popular movements, state agencies, elites, cultural and religious organizations, indicating varying capacity either to maintain or to challenge the prevailing racial system (Omi & Winant, 2015). Overall, the theory of racial formation suggests that societies consist of racial projects, both large and small-scale ones, to which all are subjected (Omi & Winant, 2015). Race should be treated not as a periphery issue but rather as central to understanding life in the US as well as other countries (Omi & Winant, 2015). Racial formation theory places emphasis on the social nature of race, the historical flexibility of racial meanings and categories, the irreducible political aspect of racial dynamics, the absence of essential racial characteristics, and the conflictual character of race at the macro and micro level (Omi & Winant, 2015, p. 4).

Since its inception, many scholars have used racial formation theory to study race relations in the US and elsewhere (Jacobson, 2015; Rodriguez, 2017; Tewold, 2019). Recent examples include Jacobson's 2015 qualitative research on Hip-Hop music, which deploys racial formation theory to demonstrate how Hip-Hop music is a site of racial formation and contributes to our understanding and construction of race. Tewolde (2019) uses racial formation theory to investigate the racial self-identification practices of foreign-born refugees in post-apartheid South Africa. And Rodriguez's (2017) critical ethnographic study of minority students deploys racial formation theory to interrogate how increasing diversity in selective enrollment schools function as a racial project.

Taking cognizance of the fact that increased racial and ethnic diversity caused by increased immigration to the Global North has resulted in 'a crisis of white identity' (Keskinen, 2018;

Kincheloe, 1999; Taub, 2016; Winant, 1994), this study investigates RWE as a white racial project that attempts to reinforce the power of whiteness. The white identity crisis, while in part considered as the angst of the privileged, "is a manifestation of the complexity of identity as class and gender intersect with race/ethnicity, an expression of the emptiness of the postmodern condition, and an exhibition of the failure of modernist humanism to respond to the globalism engulfing" (Kincheloe, 1999, p. 174). Research shows that whites' racial identity can constitute an important predictor for political and racial attitudes (Bai, 2020). Most whites who believe themselves to be in crisis often follow the right-wing racial frames and articulations of racial anxieties, meaning that they believe that multiculturalism is a threat to whites everywhere (Kincheloe, 1999). Their anxieties are exacerbated by the declining white population in the US and elsewhere (Craig & Richeson, 2017). Overall, the changing demographic trends are perceived as a threat to white culture and survival (Craig & Richeson, 2017).

Moreover, the changing demographics means whites are increasingly being exposed to more racial out-groups, leading to whites' increased attachment to their racial in-group (Bai, 2020). Racial identity, then, becomes a legitimate guide for political preferences, beliefs, and values for whites (Jardina, 2019; Knowles & Peng, 2005; Morrison & Chung, 2011). The stronger their racial identity centrality, the greater their racial biases and preference for right-wing politics (Bai & Fredrico, 2019). Moreover, drawing on a decade of data from American National Election Studies surveys, Jardina (2019) found a correlation between white identity centrality and affective feeling towards RWE groups such as the KKK. Expanding on this, Bai (2020) demonstrates that having a high degree of racial identification alone is not predictive of RWE beliefs, rather it is a combination of high white identity and social dominance orientation. This means that whites with a high identity

may hold extremist beliefs and be supportive of right-wing extremism if they also believe in a social hierarchy with whites residing at the top (Bai, 2020).

It is changing demographics and whites' racial identity centrality that explains what is at the heart of the white identity crisis. Even though whites' racial identity has been regarded as invisible due to their majority status (Dyer, 2017), for many whites, that identity along with its social, political, and economic privileges is now under threat from multiculturalism (Craig & Richardson, 2014; Danbold & Huo, 2015). It is difficult to divorce white anxieties surrounding issues of immigration and multiculturalism from issues of race. The crisis of white identity is also premised on white supremacy, and it is through the deployment of racial formation, Christian identity, and whiteness theories that we can analyze right-wing extremism as a racial project/site of racial formation.

3.4 Christian Identity

Perry and Scrivens (2016) define contemporary right-wing extremism as a loose movement, animated by a racially, ethnically, and sexually defined nationalism. Perry and Scrivens (2016) suggest that this nationalism is framed in terms of white power, and is grounded in xenophobic and exclusionary understandings of the perceived threats posed by such groups as non-whites, Jews, LGBTQ, feminists, and immigrants (p. 821). The state, as an alleged pawn of the Jews, is perceived to be an illegitimate power serving the interests of all but the white man (Perry & Scrivens, 2016, p. 821). Moreover, as Perry and Scrivens (2016) note, the anti-Semitism and racism that characterize so many RWE groups can be traced to the theocratic principle of Christian identity movement.

The Christian identity movement was developed as a movement and ideology in the US in the mid-1940s (Sharpe, 2000, p. 606). A small group of RWEs, Bertrand Comparet, a California lawyer, William Porter Gale, founder of Church of Jesus Christ Christian, and Wesley Swift, who was a World War II aide to Gen. Douglas MacArthur who directed guerrilla operations in the Philippines and later founded the Christian Defense League (SPLC, 1988) developed the Christian identity movement. The movement has five components: 1) the theories of British Israelism; 2) a perversion of fundamentalist Christianity; 3) an anti-government, paramilitary survivalist/conspiracy mentality based on a fear of the elimination of the white race; 4) a polygenist view of origins of humanity; and 5) the notion of white supremacy (Sharpe, 2000, p. 606).

As Sharpe (2000) states:

British Israelism grew out of the 19th-century search for the lost tribes of Israel spoken of in the Bible. In 1840, John Wilson, a Scotsman, wrote Our Israelish Origin, which claimed that Englishmen were the true chosen people of God and are the original Israelites of the past and not the present-day Jews. The theological basis for Identity believers rests on this idea. The Bible is therefore not a recorded history of the Jews but rather a recorded history of Aryans or Whites. (p. 606)

Wilson, through lectures and writings such as *Lectures on our Israelitish origins* (1840), excited a broad audience with claims that he had discovered the long forgotten origins of the countries of Northern Europe (Bailey, 2010, p. 57). Basing his arguments on linguistic similarities, Wilson argued that the lost tribes had migrated to Europe in ancient times, therefore, placing all Europeans within their lineage (Bailey, 2010, p. 57). Edward Hine, a well-known proponent of British Israelism, nuanced and refined many of Wilson's ideas, infusing them with religious and nationalistic ideology, and arguing that it was not all of Europe, but the British specifically who were the biblical fulfillment of the Israelite legacy (Bailey, 2010, p. 57). While Wilson had highlighted the English as the descendants of the tribe of Ephraim, Hine ascribed exclusivity to

England's role in history, writing that the country embodies the Ten Tribes as a consolidated people (Bailey, 2010, p. 57).

Throughout the 1870s and onwards, Wilson and Hine's ideas managed to make their way across the Atlantic to North America, but it was Swift and his Anglo-Saxon Christian Congregation, later renamed the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, in Lancaster, California, that reshaped the landscape and laid the foundation for an Americanized Christian identity movement (Bailey, 2010, p. 58). Swift led the transformation of British Israelism into an American based movement by combining political activism, biblical interpretations, and white supremacist ideology (Bailey, 2010). Swift's successor, Richard G. Butler, an engineer and white supremacist who went to become one of the most well-known leaders of the American extreme-right, founded a church by the same name, the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, and created a political organization called the Aryan Nation in Idaho in 1973 (Bailey, 2010, p. 58). Aryan Nation's World Congress meetings attracted both identity believers and other members united in their vision for the future of the white race (Bailey, 2010, p. 58).

It should be noted that Christian identity believers have a tendency to use the terms Aryans and whites interchangeably. According to Encyclopedia Britannica's (2019) explanation, Aryan is the name originally given to a people who were said to speak an archaic Indo-European language, and who were believed to have settled in prehistoric times in ancient Iran and the northern Indian subcontinent. The theory of an 'Aryan race' was developed in the mid-19th century, and according to the theory, those (probably) light-skinned Aryans were the groups who invaded and conquered ancient India from the north, and whose literature, religion, and modes of social organization shaped the course of Indian culture, particularly the Vedic religion (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2019). In Europe the concept of white racial superiority emerged in the 1850s, promoted by Comte

de Gobineau, a French diplomat and racial theorist, and his disciple Houston Stewart Chamberlain, a British-born German philosopher, who first used the term Aryan to mean the white race (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2019). Followers of Gobineau and Chamberlain, and some members of the white race, believed themselves to be superior to all other races and credited themselves with all the progress that benefited humanity (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2019). Since the late 20th century, white supremacist groups have used the term Aryan in their names as an identifier of their racist ideology (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2019).

As Bailey (2010) argues, a negative portrayal of the role of Jews in biblical history and a subsequent hostility toward them as a people serve as a unifying force for Christian identity believers. Members of the movement take varied approaches to challenge the "choseness" of the Israelites. Some theorize that Jews were really from the lineage of Esau, who had lost his inheritance after his mother Rebekah and brother Jacob tricked his father Isaac into giving Jacob the blessing normally reserved for the first born son, Esau (Bailey, 2010). Others speculate that there are two Jewish races, one authentic and the other masquerading as Jews and continuing to perpetrate the deception into contemporary times (Bailey, 2010). Furthermore:

> To substantiate the claim that Jews are the offspring of Satan, Christian Identity asserts that the Devil or one of his assistants was the father of Eve's son Cain. Jews, therefore, are the descendants of this evil encounter and are classified as 'pre-Adamites' who were in existence before God created Adam. Adamites are directly descended from Adam and consist of the chosen, morally and intellectually superior white race. Recent incarnations of Christian Identity have expanded those who fall into the pre-Adamite category to include all people of color, who are derogatorily referred to as 'mud people.' (Bailey, 2010, p. 59)

Therefore, the theological basis for Christian identity rests on the idea that Englishmen are the true chosen people of God (Sharpe, 2000, p. 606).

The second component of the identity movement is based on a combination of fundamentalist Christian doctrine and a literal interpretation of the Bible, positing that

Armageddon or the second coming of Christ is imminent (Sharpe, 2000, p. 608). This means that future wars between and among the races will lead to victory for the whites, and a restructuring of society that will reinstate the white man to his dominant place on earth, thereby restoring "order" (Sharpe, 2000, p. 608). Needless to say, this anticipated calamity that is expected to obliterate the world as we know it is meant to serve as punishment for all races except for the whites (Sharpe, 2000, p. 607). Christian identity fundamentalists view the world through a Manichaean lens (Ramakrishna, 2015). A Manichean mindset is a postulated universal cognitive-affective complex that predisposes individuals to cleave the external world into immutably separate and distinct social groupings: a morally superior in-group, 'us', (white Christians) and a morally inferior out-group, 'them' (all non-whites) (Ramakrishna, 2015, p. 3). When this fundamentalist mindset is combined with a literal interpretation of the Bible, meaning that the encounter between order and disorder that is frequently imagined as proceeding on a cosmic plane is now confused with a struggle in the social world, it leads to an irrational belief in an imminent race war.

The third component of the identity movement is based on an "anti-government, paramilitary survivalist/conspiracy mentality," which has two interconnected subcomponents (Sharpe, 2000, p. 608). First, there is the belief that "reestablishment of white sovereignty depends on the use of organized aggression against the enemies of the true Christians, all non-whites and all non-Protestants" (Sharpe, 2000, p. 608). Preparations, therefore, must be made for the inevitable race wars:

> Survivalist groups prepare arsenals; learn to make bombs and other anti-personnel devices; stock up on nonperishable, bomb-shelter type foods and other survival goods; and some groups practice war games in clandestine, wooded areas. They have become proficient at using a variety of guns and other weapons to ensure their survival when the wars begin. (Sharpe, 2000, p. 608)

The second subcomponent includes the fear of "an organized world conspiracy against Whites and a paranoid fear of the extermination of the White race" (Sharpe, 2000, p. 609). This alleged anti-white movement, coined the 'New World Order', aims to control, eliminate, or restrict the rights of whites (Sharpe, 2000, p. 609). The movement is believed to be spearheaded by the federal government and Jews, who are also aided by Blacks, gays, Hispanics, Catholics, and liberals (Sharpe, 2000, p. 609). The identity believers consider the government to be pro-Israel and anti-white Christian; thus, members of the movement frequently do not pay taxes, campaign against the government, and attempt to overthrow the government through acts of violence against government representatives (Sharpe, 2000). Such an atmosphere of fear and paranoia, combined with the anticipation of race wars, sustains a volatile situation amongst identity believers (Sharpe, 2000).

Along with a fundamentalist and literal interpretation of the Bible, the Christian identity doctrine includes an unusual (mis)interpretation of the creation of humankind. The polygenist view posits that humanity had several distinct origins. Identity believers cling to the notion that whites were created by God in his likeness and are the descendants of Adam and Eve whereas all non-whites are a result of evolution and are less than human, "mud people" (Sharpe, 2000, p. 610). Blacks are referred to as "talking apes or beasts", while Jews are considered a special hybrid product of the union between Eve and Satan (Sharpe, 2000, p. 611).

The role of women, however, seems more complex. On the one hand, "the White woman is considered the most beautiful creature in the universe, desired and sought after by males of all races" (Sharpe, 2000, p. 611). On the other hand, since white women are perceived to be the mirror image of Eve, they are portrayed as weak, virtue-less, corruptible, and desperately needing white masculine leadership (Sharpe, 2000, p. 611). Further, white women reach their highest fulfillment

in the supporting roles of wives and mothers (Sharpe, 2000). Needless to say, feminism and interracial relationships, which is strictly prohibited, remain major concerns for identity believers (Sharpe, 2000).

Finally, the concept of white supremacy plays an integral role in the identity movement. Sharpe (2000) states that white supremacy stems from the invalid 16th century European linear models used to explain human diversity (p. 613). These models determined individuals' ranks according to their physical and cultural characteristics; darker skinned people are ranked at the bottom whereas whites are at the very top since they are considered the creators and owners of modern civilization (Sharpe, 2000, p. 613). According to the ADL glossary (n.d.a), white supremacy is based on the following key tenets: 1) whites should have dominance over people of other backgrounds, especially where they may co-exist; 2) whites should live by themselves in a whites-only society; 3) white people have their own culture that is superior to other cultures; and 4) white people are genetically superior to others. Contemporary white supremacists firmly believe that the white race is in danger of extinction due to increasing birth rates of non-whites. The term 'white separatist' is favoured and used by some white supremacists who believe it to be more benignly perceived by others than the term 'white supremacist' (ADL, n.d.a). Nevertheless, white separatism is a form of white supremacy that emphasizes the separation of whites and non-whites. The Christian identity movement is the common denominator for a variety of modern day white supremacist organizations (e.g., KKK, neo-Nazis, skinheads, etc.), and serves as a unifying force (Sharpe, 2000).

According to Sharpe (2000), the Christian identity ideology is a desperate attempt to cling to a past that never really existed (p. 621). The Bible and the apocrypha used by identity believers to justify their cause and actions are restated and enshrouded with mythology regarding the

superiority of the white race (Sharpe, 2000, p. 614). The dissemination of the identity doctrine has resulted in an increase in the frequency and lethality of right-wing terrorism in the past two decades. While not all extremists explicitly claim membership in extant RWE groups, they contribute to the movement in various ways, most notably in terms of providing ideological fodder on which others may feed (Perry & Scrivens, 2016, p. 825). RWTs independently feed their hunger for extremist right-wing rhetoric by visiting various white nationalist, white supremacist websites, collecting propaganda, and disseminating their messages with the intention of influencing others to take action (Perry & Scrivens, 2016).

This study uses Christian identity movement theory to examine how RWTs justify their racial and gender essentialism framings by drawing (explicitly and implicitly) on Christian identity doctrine. For RWEs, Christianity is under a religious and demographic threat posed by increasing immigration, and the xenophobic, anti-Semitic, anti-Muslim, and sexist rhetoric of RWEs serves to consolidate individuals, groups, and movements across the Western nations.

3.5 Whiteness Theories

Whites' racial identity has been traditionally regarded as invisible (Dyer, 2017). Race is something only applied to non-white peoples, meaning that white people are not racially seen and named, and therefore, function as the human norm (Dyer, 2017). According to Dyer (2017), the invisibility of whiteness as a racial position in white (dominant) discourse is of a piece with its ubiquity. In Western representation (e.g., books, museums, advertising, press, televisions, software, etc.), whites are disproportionately predominant, have the central roles, and most importantly, are placed as the norm, the ordinary, the standard (Dyer, 2017, p. 3). Whites are represented to themselves not as whites, but as people who are gendered, classed, abled, and

sexualized, which is to say that, at the level of representation, whites are not of a certain race, but rather, the human race (Dyer, 2017, p. 3). Moreover, the equation of being white with being human secures a position of power (Dyer, 2017, p. 9). However, as the minority population is increasing in the West and the white population is declining, some whites are beginning to perceive these demographic changes as threats to their identity, culture, political and economic status, and representation as the norm (Bai, 2020).

Although whiteness has no stable consensual meaning, it can be conceptualized as a lens through which particular aspects of social relationships can be apprehended (Garner, 2007). Deploying whiteness as a lens strips a normative privileged identity of its cloak of invisibility (Garner, 2007). As Hartigan (2005) argues, whiteness asserts the obvious yet overlooked fact that whites are racially interested and motivated (p. 1). Garner (2007) claims that whiteness both names and critiques hegemonic beliefs and practices that designate whites as 'normal' and racially unmarked (p. 5). Consequently, all deviance in societies dominated by whites is measured as distance from selected white norms of that society (Garner, 2007). Therefore, whiteness as a theoretical approach presumes that practices and discourses reflect white dominance in a given society by bolstering the idea that whites have particular collective claims on the nation, which are and should be, prioritized by the state over those of other groups (Garner, 2007, p. 11). Furthermore:

> The function that whiteness as a social identity performs is to temporarily dissolve other social differences – sex, age, class, region and nation – into a delusion that the people labelled white have more in common with each other than they do with anyone else, purely because of what they are not – black, Asian, asylum seeker, etc. (Garner, 2007, p. 12)

White discourse, then, permits neither the recognition of similarities nor the acceptance of differences except as a means for knowing the white self (Dyer, 2015). Whiteness can mean terror for those who are not white (Garner, 2007, p. 33).

Mills (1997) understands whiteness as systemic, and argues that when we talk about "white privilege", we are really discussing "white supremacy" as it implies the existence of a system that not only privileges whites but is run by whites for white benefit (p. 31). Mills (1997) suggests that white supremacy is the basic political system that has shaped the world for the past several hundred years as well as the most important political system of recent global history (p. 1). According to Mills (1997), the racial contract, which is both real and global, designates Europeans as the privileged race (p. 33). Mills (1997) asserts:

> Global white supremacy is itself a political system, a particular power structure of formal or informal rule, socioeconomic privilege, and norms for the differential distribution of material wealth and opportunities, benefits and burdens, rights and duties. (p. 3)

This systemic exertion of power can only be sustained if whiteness requires its practitioners not to see the benefits as accruing from structural advantages, but as manifestations of individual failings (Garner, 2007). Understanding whiteness as a form of terror and supremacy illustrates how the power wielded at a macro-level (i.e. the global politics of colonialism and neocolonialism) influences and is worked out on the lives of individuals (Garner, 2007). Garner (2007) posits that an effect of this power is to temporarily suspend all other sources of identity and place the white 'we' in unity against the racialized Other, regardless of its disunities and differential access to resources (p. 32).

This construction of the racialized Other is also a means by which European colonizers construct and empower a racial ideology of whiteness for themselves, therefore, whiteness can be understood as the product of Europeans' own racialization of themselves done without comment or acknowledgement (Nye, 2019). This whiteness is invisible, unnamed, and assumed as the default form of humanity; thus, individuals are only given an adjective if they are non-white (e.g., Asian, Black, Latino) (Dyer, 2017). Moreover, the racialization of white identities relies to a large

extent on the specifically religious identity of Christianity, even if it is not always articulated in such religious terms (Nye, 2019). The creation of a racialized group who identified as white occurred within the context of Christian, and particularly Protestant, discourses (Nye, 2019). As Nye (2019) argues, a central part of white European identity (particularly British) was Christianity, and based on this, the perception of the civilizing mission of empire was formed on the 'obligation' of Christianity to impart its salvation onto non-white, non-Christians as a 'civilizing mission'. Thus, markers of Christianity are often taken as markers of whiteness (e.g., God, the Bible, the 'family', particular sexual ethics) (Nye, 2019). This means that category and practice of whiteness is both racial and religious (Nye, 2019).

This study connects racial formation theory and whiteness theories to investigate how white identity crisis and perceived status threats motivate RWEs to take drastic and violent actions against their enemies. Changing demographic trends present a threat to the idea that whites have particular collective claims on the nation and represent the norm. It is the potential loss of this status and its associated privileges that is at the heart of the RWE movement.

3.6 Right-wing extremism as a Social Movement

Theoretical frameworks offer a base and structure which help researchers define how they philosophically, epistemologically, methodologically, and analytically approach their studies (Grant & Osanloo, 2014). This study is grounded in social movement, racial formation, Christian identity, and whiteness theories. Theories provide different perspectives that facilitate a nuanced understanding of the research problem: right-wing extremism. This study applies a multi-level framework to examine how the RWE movement, with its specific grievances, goals, and demands, constitutes an identifiable social movement with master frames and framing strategies.

Adopting a social movement perspective, this study explains the growth of the RWE movement. The intersections of right-wing extremism and social movement dynamics are complex. However, the RWE movement does constitute a social movement since it is a collective challenge "by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities (Tarrow, 1998, p. 3). The RWE movement must be understood as a complex form of political engagement, and RWEs as rational actors belonging to a large mobilization process through which they seek to establish change: the eradication of all non-whites. Utilizing political opportunity theory and framing analysis, it investigates the integration of cognition and politics and explores how RWTs influence the frames of others and how they attempt to mobilize other actors.

Framing analysis of RWTs writings show that these actors are part of a larger movement with specific diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames which are based on the Christian identity doctrine. The findings highlight the collective, purposive, and dynamic factors of participation and mobilization. The study identifies the diagnostic frames that explain who the extremists' enemies are and why; the prognostic frames that propose short and long-term solutions; and the motivational frames that correspond with their diagnostic frames and serve as a call for political violence. The movements' framings are premised on the teachings of the Christian identity movement which emphasizes the relevance and importance of white supremacy. As will be discussed in chapter five, the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames of the movement are premised on ideas of white supremacy and gender hierarchy and defending these.

Applying the political process approach allowed for a multi-layer analysis of the movement and its actors in relation to their broader political context. RWE action must be studied in its political and sociocultural context, meaning it is important to be aware of contextual idiosyncrasies

that allow RWEs to flourish. The interaction between political elites and leaders and RWEs cannot be left out of the analysis. The survival and success of RWEs partly depends on the public and political support they receive. Therefore, this study scrutinizes the framing strategies of the RWE movement as well as the influence of political leaders and overall political climate.

Utilizing and bridging racial formation theory with whiteness theories, this study demonstrates that right-wing extremism is a racial project (premised on the concept of white supremacy) situated within a social movement. This racial project attempts to reinforce the power of whiteness, which for many RWE is under threat. Racial formation theory and whiteness theories shed light on how right-wing extremism is a form of terror meant to sustain white rule, socioeconomic privileges, and benefits and opportunities not available to others. It also offers whites a coherent justification for adopting extremist beliefs and engaging in extremist and terrorist activities. This form of terror cannot be separated from religion as markers of Christianity are markers of whiteness. In other words, Judeo-Christianity is central to white identities. The overarching theme is that perceived status threat and 'white identity crisis' lead to an increase in right-wing extremism. The following chapter discusses the methods employed in collecting and analyzing the data for this study.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Data and Methods

This study focuses on the time period from 1990-2019 given that the 1990s marked the decade when North America witnessed a rapid increase in right-wing extremists (Capellan, 2015; Kaplan, 1997). This is a qualitative research based on secondary sources. Data for this study is sourced from six manifestos and one letter sent to a news outlet. Case selection for this study is based on four criteria. These are (1) writings such as manifestos and letters, (2) dissemination and availability of said writings, (3) adherence to the RWE ideology, (4) terroristic acts carried out in the name of the RWE ideology. Cases consist of American, European, and Australian individuals who self-identify as RWEs, and who have carried out an ideologically motivated attack on a specific group of people.

Since RWTs constitute a hard to reach population (Faugier & Sargeant, 1997; Shaghaghi et al., 2011) due to geographical locations, imprisonment, or death, it was not feasible to conduct face-to-face in-depth interviews with them. Instead, their manifestos serve as alternate sources of valuable information for this study. Social movement researchers sometimes have to resort to using secondary sources for their research due to the safety of social movement actors. Some social movements are increasingly coming under scrutiny by law enforcement and government officials. Thus, in order to protect the identities of actors and prevent any confidential and compromising data from being made public, secondary sources serve as viable options. The safety of the researcher is also a concern when it comes to researching violent social movements. In this case, the researcher is an Afghani female, which means that most RWTs would have been unwilling to speak to her even if she was able to get access to them. The physical safety of the researcher would have been a concern given that she is considered a racialized Other by RWEs.

Therefore, social movement research is sometimes based on secondary data sources. Moscato's (2016) study of media portrayals of Canada's #Idlenomore is an example of such research. Moscato (2016) employs framing analysis to examine media articles about the movement. Moscato (2016) argues that analyzing media texts highlights information that is salient by placement or repetition, and literary devices such as metaphors, exemplars, arguments, and word choice help establish media frames (p. 6). The study used articles produced within the first two months of the movement by *The Globe and Mail* and *Maclean's* magazine and found that while certain themes like economy, social media, and demographics were made more salient and underscored the high stakes of the movement, other frames served to reinforce skepticisms of social media activism (Moscato, 2016, p. 10).

Another example of a social movement research using secondary sources is Wilkins et al.'s (2019) study of the Black Lives Matter movement. Wilkins et al. (2019) studied Tweets containing the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter to examine the rhetorical functions of social media use in early developments of the movement. The authors used tweets to bridge the gap between online mobilization and political rhetoric literature, demonstrating the various ways Twitter users deploy social identities to advance social change within a contested social movement (Wilkins et al., 2019). Matich et al. (2019) also used Tweets containing the hashtag #freethenipple to study digital activism and contemporary feminist movement. The authors found that the body can be envisaged as a tool for political and digital activism, challenging the problematic ways that femininity is constructed, packaged and sold (Matich et al., 2019).

4.1.1 Obtaining Secondary Sources

The manifestos were published online by the RWTs themselves prior to their attacks, and circulated via various blogs and newspapers. Therefore, through conducting google searches, such

as "Anders Breivik manifesto pdf" or "Dylann Roof manifesto pdf" and so on, I was able to obtain

six manifestos through websites such as *The Washington Post* and Document Cloud. I obtained a

copy of Timothy McVeigh's letter through *The Guardian*. The links to all the manifestos and

letters are included in the appendix. Although the overall sample size of the study is small, the

manifestos range from 5 to 1,515 pages in length, and include detailed explanations of the

terrorists' motives, and contain sufficient content for a thorough framing analysis.

Table 4.1. Relevant demographic characteristics of RWTs in this study

Names	Gender	Age	Nationality	Year of attack	Location	Target	# of fatalities
Timothy McVeigh	Male	33	American	1995	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	US Federal government	168
Anders Breivik	Male	40	Norwegian	2011	Oslo & Utoya, Norway	White Norwegians	77
Elliot Rodger	Male	22	American	2014	Isla Vista, California	Students at the University of California	6
Dylann Roof	Male	25	American	2015	Charleston, South Carolina	African-Americans	9
Brenton Tarrant	Male	28	Australian	2019	Christchurch, New Zealand	Muslims	51
John Earnest	Male	19	American	2019	Poway, California	Jews	1
Patrick Crusius	Male	21	American	2019	El Paso, Texas	Hispanics & Latino Americans	22

As evident in the above table, the cases/manifestos under investigation in this study include

American terrorists Timothy McVeigh, Elliot Rodger, Dylann Roof, John Earnest, and Patrick

Crusius, Norwegian RWT Anders Breivik, and Australian RWT Brenton Tarrant. Their ages range

from 19 to 40 years, with an average age of 26.9 years. The attacks occurred between the years

1995 to 2019, and the immediate targets include government officials, civilians, African-

Americans, Muslims, Jews, Hispanics, and Latinos. The number of fatalities range from 1 to 168,

with an average number of 47.7 fatalities per attack.

4.2 Data Analysis

Copies of all the manifestos were printed, read several times, and coded by hand directly

on the manifestos. Data for the study were analyzed in accordance with Goffman's (1974) frame

analysis approach. Frame analysis takes as its starting point the notion that definitions of situations

have a relative stability, and that frameworks exist beyond the perception or sense making of

individual participants (Goffman, 1974). Individuals must develop the ability to assess situations

correctly and act according to institutionalized conventions and accommodate their behaviour

accordingly (Goffman, 1974). This means that participants have to merely assess the primary

framework (understood as the immediate answer to the question, 'What is it that is going on here?')

that applies to the situation and act correspondingly (Benford & Snow, 2000; Goffman, 1974;

Lane, 2020). However, this does not mean that assessments of situations are unambiguous or that

faulty assessments do not occur. Furthermore, frame analysis also accounts for the fact that

different frameworks can exist simultaneously and are not always apparent to all participants

(Benford & Snow, 2000; Goffman, 1974). Frameworks are also susceptible to manipulation in

various ways (Goffman, 1974).

A frame analysis approach to right-wing extremism problematizes the role of the primary

framework. In interpreting the data, I paid particular attention to the framing strategies and core

framing tasks (i.e. diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing) of the RWE movement in order to unveil a different answer to the question 'What is it that is going on here?' than the one put forward by the terrorists. In particular, by analyzing RWE's master frames, which provides a platform for action and render intelligible seemingly unconnected social situations, I was able to examine the movement's rationale for its actions and decisions (Oriola & Akinola, 2018).

A crucial step in data analysis is coding. Coding involves identifying and recording one or more passages of text or other data items that, in some sense, exemplify the same theoretical or descriptive idea (Gibbs, 2007). As Gibbs (2007) states, coding is a way of indexing or categorizing the text in order to establish a framework of thematic ideas about it. I coded the manifestos by hand, and took an open coding approach (Gibbs, 2007). I coded large chunks of texts, also known as 'lumping', and followed Charmaz's (2001) coding process. I first devised a list of all the initial descriptive codes emerging from my data, and during and after the second round of coding, I transformed my descriptive codes into more analytic and theoretical ones (Charmaz, 2001). I also created a hierarchy of codes in order to view the relationships between the codes more clearly (Gibbs, 2007).

During the final stage of the coding process (selective coding), I identified the main themes central in my study that also brought together most of the elements of my study, and helped me reach my final analysis (Gibbs, 2007). Throughout the coding process, I wrote memos about my codes in order to think more clearly about the data, discover possible gaps, and to spark ideas to pursue further (Charmaz, 2001). I also revisited and revised my preliminary analytical notes and interpretations during my data analysis process in order to ensure the accuracy of my analysis (Wolfinger, 2002).

4.3 Validity of the Study

According to Brinkmann and Kvale (2015), validity in qualitative research depends on the quality of craftsmanship in an investigation, which includes repeatedly checking, questioning, and theoretically interpreting findings. This means that validity is ensured throughout the entire research process. Validity in qualitative research can be ensured by maintaining a balance between reflexivity and subjectivity, objectively reporting findings, and ensuring the integrity (dependability) of data (Williams & Morrow, 2009). In order to ensure the validity of this study, I took the following steps.

Throughout the data analysis and interpretation phase, I adopted Brinkmann and Kvale's (2015) communicative validation approach, which refers to the testing of knowledge claims in conversation with study participants, peers or public audience. Due to a lack of personal in-depth interviews and the impossibility of gaining access to the RWTs themselves, it was not possible to seek clarifications regarding ambiguous texts or ask follow up questions. However, I scheduled regular meetings with my supervisor to discuss my interpretations and findings and receive feedback.

Also, I ensured validity by remaining objective throughout the research process. I bracketed any personal perceptions and assumptions that I may have had about RWEs and terrorists in order to remain objective throughout the research process. Thus, when reporting my findings, I provide extensive extracts from the manifesto that situate the chosen text accordingly and provide unbiased interpretations. I have also provided a detailed account of the steps and procedures I took, and decisions I made, during the research process in order to ensure a transparent reporting of the study (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). The next chapter analyzes right-wing

extremism as a social movement and investigates the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framings RWTs.

Chapter 5: Diagnostic, Prognostic, and Motivational Frames

5.1 Introduction

Frame analysis of the RWE movement is conducted in order to assess the primary frameworks that RWEs apply to their situations and use to justify their responses (Goffman, 1974). A thorough analysis of the manifestos demonstrates that the RWE movement includes the four aspects of social movements: 1) shared grievances; 2) demands and goals; 3) tactics; and 4) coalition/networks of informal interaction (Almeida, 2019; Tarrow, 1998; Tilly & Tarrow, 2005). The movement devotes much attention to issues related to race, immigration, birth rates, feminism, and traditional gender roles. The manifestos analyzed in this study indicate that RWTs, also considered social movement actors, are engaged in political and cultural conflicts meant to oppose social change (Diani, 1992; Oriola, 2013).

This chapter investigates the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames constructed by RWTs in order to analyze the roles issues such as race and immigration play in the RWE movement (Snow & Benford, 1988). First, I draw on my theoretical framework to explore how issues of race, religion, gender, and government form the diagnostic frames of RWEs. Second, I interrogate the tactics and goals and demands of RWTs by analyzing the prognostic frames. Frame analysis of the manifestos indicates that RWEs advocate for both violence and separate development as solutions to their perceived problems. Finally, I discuss the motivational frames of the movement that serve as a call to action.

5.2 Diagnostic Framings

5.2.1 Race Framing

The RWE movement is dedicated to preserving and ensuring the future of the white race. This is in accordance with the overarching objective of the Christian identity movement (Sharpe, 2000). According to Blumer (1995), social movements form as a result of cultural drifts that indicate a shift in people's ideas and perceptions of themselves, and their rights and privileges. Although RWEs are far from being a cohesive and uniform family, issues of race, culture, identity, and privilege are at the forefront of the transnational RWE movement. As Caiani et al. (2012) assert, the main tool for investigating the link between an individual's motivations at the micro level and environmental conditions is the individual's understanding of external reality. In an age of increasing immigration to the West, RWTs like Breivik and Tarrant understand, and present to others, immigration and multiculturalism as a threat to the white race. Breivik, who considers himself a Christian warrior in the midst of an existential conflict with Islam, dedicates a large part of his manifesto to his hatred of Islam and Muslim. Breivik (2011), concerned with Muslims adulterating the pure Norwegian blood, believes that Western Europeans seem to be committing national and cultural suicide by allowing Muslim immigrants into their countries, and therefore, accelerating what he calls "Islamic colonization" of the West (Breivik, 2011, p. 5).

The title of Breivik's manifesto, *2083: A European Declaration of Independence*, is a reference to the 1683 Battle of Vienna, in which the Ottoman Empire was defeated by the forces of European Christendom (Richards, 2014). Breivik argues that the year 2083 will witness the second defeat of Islam and restore peace and unity in Europe. However, Breivik's manifesto is actually a compendium, the majority of which he did not write himself, but nevertheless, took credit for. Breivik's compendium is a hybrid text composed of articles by Peder Are Nøstvold Jensen (also known as Fjordman), a prominent RWE Norwegian blogger, statistics, instructions on bomb-making, war tactics, opposing multiculturalism/cultural Marxism, and Breivik's views

on feminism, among others. Despite the significant level of plagiarism, the compendium not only reveals Breivik's main influences, but also demonstrates how Breivik's fear of multiculturalism reflects a broader ideology. Breivik and Tarrant's cases are an extreme example of increasing national tensions amid changing demographics brought on by Muslim immigration to the West.

Breivik (2011) argues: "You cannot defeat Islamization or halt/reverse the Islamic colonization of Western Europe without first removing the political doctrines manifested through multiculturalism/cultural Marxism" (p. 5). He associates cultural Marxism with what he calls the Islamization of Europe. Therefore, to defeat Islamic colonization of Europe, cultural Marxism needs to be eradicated from all aspects of society. Breivik questions whether the future of Europe will be dominated by a Muslim or Christian patriarchy. He argues that the increasing number of Muslims immigrating to Europe pose a threat to a patriarchal Christian-dominated Europe.

Breivik (2011) claims that he and the rest of Western, non-Muslim Europeans are sick and tired of feeling like strangers in their own lands, of being mugged, raped, stabbed, and killed by violent gangs of Muslim thugs. He goes on to claim that individuals who speak out against these violent Muslim thugs are falsely accused of racism and xenophobia. Furthermore, Breivik credits the violent actions of Muslims to the history of, and the ongoing, Islamic Jihad against non-Muslims. He states:

> Since the creation of Islam in the 7th century and up to this day, the Islamic Jihad has systematically killed more than 300 million non-Muslims and tortured and enslaved more than 500 million individuals. Since 9/11 2001, more than 12,000 Jihadi terrorist attacks have occurred around the world which have led to the death of one or more non-Muslims per attack. In other words, there are around 150 deadly Jihadi attacks per month around the world. This trend will continue as long as there are non-Muslim targets available and as long as Islam continues to exist. (Breivik, 2011, p. 46)

Thus, Breivik (2011) urges Brothers of the Knights Templar, a quasi anti-Muslim militant group that Breivik claims to belong to, to rise and take action against multiculturalism and the Islamization of Europe. Tarrant (2019) also declares that targeting Muslims was "an obvious

choice" due to their large population, higher fertility rates, and their ostensible goal to replace the white race (p. 10). This is reflective of white anxieties surrounding multiculturalism, as theorized by Bai (2020), Dyer (2017), and Garner (2007). The message of eradicating Muslims, including other immigrants and people of colour, from Europe is repeated throughout Breivik and Tarrant's manifestos.

Tarrant (2019), who describes himself as an "ethno-nationalist, eco-fascist", frames mass immigration as disenfranchising, subverting, and destroying white communities (p. 4). Tarrant (2019) states:

> In 2100, despite the ongoing effect of sub-replacement fertility, the population figures show that the population does not decrease in line with the sub-replacement fertility levels, but actually maintains and, even in many White nations, rapidly increases. All through immigration. This is ethnic replacement. This is cultural replacement. This is racial replacement. (p. 4)

The threat of a multicultural society is at the core of the RWE movement's immigration frames. Breivik (2011) and Tarrant (2019) assert that a multicultural society presents a threat to the future of the white race, as noted by Sharpe (2000) and Garner (2007), which is already afflicted by declining fertility rates. Tarrant (2019) claims that only through the use of violence and mass deportation of immigrant invaders can the survival of the white race be ensured (p. 4). While whites' declining fertility rates must be addressed, Tarrant (2019) asserts that mass deportation of immigrant invaders must take priority, for their ancestors did not "sweat, bleed and die in the name of a multicultural, egalitarian nation" (p. 41). Immigrants and people of colour are framed as posing a collective long and short-term threat to the future of the white race (Bai, 2020; Dyer, 2017; Garner, 2007; Omi & Winant, 2015; Sharpe, 2000)

Moreover, an in-depth analysis of the immigration frame reveals that immigrants are considered a threat/problem for almost all RWTs, with the exception of McVeigh whose letter

primarily focused on his critique of the American government. Along with the cultural threat that immigrants are perceived to pose, RWTs also accuse immigrants of stealing jobs that would otherwise go to white candidates. El Paso shooter, Crusius (2019), argues that:

> This source of competition for skilled labor from immigrants and visa holders around the world has made a very difficult situation even worse for natives as they compete in the skilled job market. To compete, people have to get better credentials by spending more time in college. It used to be that a high school degree was worth something. Now a bachelor's degree is what's recommended to be competitive in the job market...This has led to a generation of indebted, overqualified students filling menial, low paying and unfulfilling jobs. Of course these migrants and their children have contributed to the problem, but are not the sole cause of it. (p. 2)

Crusius, and RWEs in general, frame their racist appeals in a manner that emphasizes economic rather than cultural issues, which corresponds with racial formation and whiteness theories that discuss distribution of resources along racial lines (Caiani et al., 2012; Garner, 2007; Omi & Winant, 2015). RWEs lament the ostensible disappearance of certainty of jobs while blaming immigrants and migrants for it. According to King (2017), however, while the neoliberal period has been characterized by economic stagnation for the white working class, white working class males especially have been insulated from the full brunt of the neoliberal restructuring, particularly in regards to the carceral turn that has simultaneously taken place. What RWTs, such as Crusius, fail to recognize is that their belonging to the white race has not only insulated them from the full impact of the economic stagnation, but also has had real and material benefits (e.g., relative immunity from hyper-incarceration, housing segregation, public education inequality, predatory mortgages and redlining, etc.) (King, 2017). As argued by Dyer (2017) and Garner (2007), whites' normative privileged identity protects them from social and economic losses.

What the RWEs' immigration frames fail to address is the fact that the 'safety net' of whiteness has economically and psychologically mitigated the consequences of the economic

stagnation characteristic of the neoliberal era (Dyer, 2017; Garner, 200; King, 2017; Omi & Winant, 2015). Widespread social problems such as unemployment continue to be framed as a direct consequence of increased immigration to the West. The RWE framing, then, diagnoses immigrants as a cultural, social, and economic threat. The motivating factor behind these RWTs' actions seem to be the perceived threat to their identities as white, heterosexual, (Christian) males. Additionally, the immigration framing of the RWE movement is predicated on supposed racial differences.

That racial differences exist, and that blacks are predisposed to violence, is at the heart of Roof's argument. Roof's (2015) manifesto declares his racial awareness, and disdain for blacks, as motivating factors for his actions. In his introductory paragraph, Roof (2015) states:

> I was not raised in a racist home or environment. Living in the South, almost every White person has a small amount of racial awareness, simply because of the numbers of Blacks in this part of the country. But it is a superficial awareness. (p. 1)

What Roof refers to as superficial awareness means awareness of the numbers of population and demographics. Being cognizant of the percentage of blacks and whites in a population does not translate into possessing full racial awareness, which Roof claims to have. Complete racial awareness, according to Roof (2015), means not simply developing a sense of identity vis-a-vis the Other, but also recognizing the superiority of the white male over the alleged physical, intellectual, and moral inferiority of the black male.

Roof (2015) demonstrates his belief in the alleged superiority of the white male by claiming that black males have "lower IQs, lower impulse control, and higher testosterone levels" (p. 3), which makes them predisposed to violence. Furthermore, Roof compares blacks to dogs — an attempt to not only dehumanize African-Americans, but also reduce them to a primitive level while simultaneously asserting supposed white superiority. Roof (2015) argues that there is an inherent

biological difference between whites and blacks that results in the physical, psychological, and moral superiority of whites over blacks. Roof (2015) states:

> Anyone who thinks that White and Black people look as different as we do on the outside, but are somehow magically the same on the inside, is delusional. How could our faces, skin, hair, and body structure all be different, but our brains exactly the same? This is the nonsense we are led to believe. (p. 3)

The concept of white supremacy, as theorized by Sharpe (2000), is central to the racial framing of the RWE movement. Belief in the concept of white supremacy leads to a construction of multiple realities wherein the construction of such images of African-American males as "rapists" and African-American females as "welfare queens" is prevalent (Berbrier, 2000, p. 176). Furthermore, Roof's (2015) narratives about "how Blacks are" (e.g., inferior to whites, have lower IQs, and violent) very closely parallels Breivik (2011) and Tarrant's (2019) narratives about "how Muslims are" (e.g., terrorists, inherently violent, and a threat to the West).

Meanwhile, Poway synagogue shooter, Earnest (2019), claims that his actions are justified because it was in response to white genocide:

> It is unlawful and cowardly to stand on the sidelines as the European people are genocided [*sic*] around you. I did not want to have to kill Jews. But they have given us no other option. I'm just a normal dude who wanted to have a family, help and heal people, and play piano. But the Jew—with his genocidal instincts—is insistent on poking the bear until it tears his head off. The Jew has forced our hand, and our response is completely justified. My God does not take kindly to the destruction of His creation. Especially one of the most beautiful, intelligent, and innovative races that He has created. Least of all at the hands of one of the most ugly, sinful, deceitful, cursed, and corrupt. My God understands why I did what I did. (pp. 2–3)

Earnest justifies his violent actions by appealing to false understandings of race and religion that define Jews as inferior and dangerous subjects whose exploitation and subjugation at the hands of whites is not only justified but condoned by God (Sharpe, 2000). Moreover, the subtext of Earnest's (2019) manifesto, much like Breivik, Roof, and Tarrant's, indicates his belief in the victimization of the white male by racial, ethnic, and religious minorities and women. RWTs and

extremists utilize racist framing to strengthen the subcultural identity of white American, Canadian, and European Christians. Muslims, Jews, and other religious, racial, and ethnic minorities are constructed as the necessary Other who is blamed for contemporary social problems and who serve as a unifying force. The racial framing of the RWE movement perceives the superior 'us' (whites) as lacking in numbers, but nonetheless, united by a common cause and interest, which is the destruction of the Other and the survival of the white race, as argued by Sharpe (2000).

As Nye (2019) claims, discourses of racial differences are part of the framing and practice of power relations (p. 218). White supremacists posit fundamental and supposed natural differences between politically constructed racial categories, which although do not have any biological basis, have very real and material consequences (Omi & Winant, 2015). Tarrant (2019), for example, claims that he believes racial differences matter, and that whites are superior to all other races, because of "haplogroups, phenotypes and globalized testing" (p. 22). Meanwhile, Earnest (2019) perceives himself as belonging to the superior race by virtue of his European ancestry and his English, Nordic, and Irish blood (p. 1). The concept of white supremacy, which stems from the invalid 16th century European linear models used to explain human diversity (Sharpe, 2000), is also central to Breivik and Roof's manifestos. These models determined individuals' ranks according to their physical and cultural characteristics; darker skinned people are ranked at the bottom whereas whites are at the very top since they are considered the creators and owners of modern civilization (Sharpe, 2000, p. 613).

Roof's perception of African-Americans, in particular, is based on a false essentialist view of humanity in which racial differences are immutable and racial hierarchies are quite clear (Branson, 2017). Roof's (2015) claims of how African-Americans have lower IQs, lower impulse control, and more violent tendencies hark back to American phrenologist Joseph Gall's claims that

African-Americans are inferior to whites, intellectually and morally, since African-Americans allegedly have "smaller heads and less cerebral mass than European inhabitants" (Branson, 2017, p. 178). Similar to how proponents of African colonization enlisted this phrenological evidence of difference to justify their actions, Roof employs these pseudoscientific claims to assert the moral and intellectual superiority of white males, and justify his views on segregation and miscegenation. Despite numerous studies debunking the pseudoscientific theories that gave birth to phrenology, it is evident that these false social Darwinist theories have been internalized by white supremacists like Roof, Breivik, Tarrant, and Earnest, serving to justify their racist ideologies. These racist claims are also premised on Christian identity doctrines as explained by Sharpe (2000).

The idea of cultural whiteness policed by perceptions of biological differences and racial purity is at the heart of discourses of racial difference (Omi & Winant, 2015), and serves to justify the racial framing of the RWE movement. The race framings of the movement deploy and utilize stereotypes about the Other as a means to place the white 'we' in unity against the racialized Other (Garner, 2007). The criminal pathologization of blacks by Roof, the designation of all Muslims as terrorists by Breivik and Tarrant, and the demonization of immigrants and Jews by Crusius and Earnest serve to reinforce whiteness as the norm and elevate the status of whites by constructing the racialized Other as a social, cultural, and economic threat (Garner, 2007; Hartigan, 2005). The imagined behaviour and values of the racialized Other serves the function of reinforcing whites' supposed intellectual and culturally superior, meritocratic, and hard-working identity and justifies their dominant socio-political status (King, 2017).

Moreover, as Mills (1997) asserts, the ideology of white supremacy, which posits fundamental racial differences, seeks to justify and sustain formal and informal power structures, socio-economic privileges, and material wealth and opportunities afforded to members of the white

race. RWTs perpetuate and reproduce notions of white supremacy in order to justify the oppression, subjugation, and exploitation of the racialized Other while simultaneously securing their own social, cultural, and economic privileges. White superiority is emphasized through ancestry, history, as well as physical appearance. Roof (2015), for example, states:

> Modern history classes instill a subconscious White superiority complex in Whites and an inferiority complex in blacks. This White superiority complex that comes from learning of how we dominated other peoples is also part of the problem I have just mentioned. But of course I don't deny that we are in fact superior. (p. 2)

RWTs like Breivik, Tarrant, and Earnest use their ancestors and English bloodline to claim membership to the supposed superior white race and establish their dominance and secure their privileged status. As King (2017) argues, the reproduction of racialized identities and the process of affective white adherence to racialized projects such as white supremacy reinvests in public and social wages of whiteness (para. 23). The race framings of the RWE movement serve to not only demonize the racialized Other, but also reproduce and maintain white identity as noble and respectable in accordance with dominant values, corresponding to the teachings of the Christian identity movement (King, 2017; Sharpe, 2000).

5.2.2 Religious Framing

For RWTs like Breivik and Earnest, the race war is also rooted in religion. There is a fear of religious pluralism dismantling normative and biblical values in Europe and US in Breivik's manifesto. However, there are points in the compendium where Breivik (2011) claims that, "we should not make the Islamic mistake of judging people simply by their belonging or not belonging to the Muslim community, rather than by their human qualities" (p. 57). Breivik goes as far as discussing the possibility of co-operating with Jihadists in the third section of his compendium. So, while Breivik's fear of multiculturalism and Sharia law taking over Europe motivated him to

take drastic actions, he frames his intentions as "not to destroy Islam but simply to isolate it primarily outside of Europe" (Breivik, 2011, p. 960). The subtext of Breivik's claims about the isolation of Islam from Europe reveals his belief in the concept of separate development. Breivik (2011) states:

> But the fact remains that the presence of a doctrine of intolerance as the official and identity-defining ideology of a community, exerts a constant pressure tending towards separatism and confrontation. The alleviating presence of the humanist factor even within the Muslim community should not be used to deny the ominous presence of Islamic factors (p. 58).

By ascribing a doctrine of intolerance as the official ideology of Islam, Breivik justifies the xenophobic undertones of his argument and his actions (Breivik, 2011, p. 58). Furthermore, while depicting Islam as an inherently intolerant faith, Breivik (2011) simultaneously, and falsely, portrays himself as altruistic as he informs his readers of the sacrifices he has had to make (p. 8). While Breivik (2011) acknowledges that not all Muslims pose a threat, he claims that with Islam being a fundamentally and historically violent religion, Europe cannot afford to take any risks when it comes to preventing the complete Islamization of Europe.

European RWE groups are believed to be increasingly secular, yet, religion has always been a central issue for most American RWEs (Caiani et al., 2012). The American extreme right links their racial war to a holy war. The calls for a 'racial (holy) war' that is echoed in the terrorists' manifestos are based on the perception of the superiority of the Christian religion. The religious dimension of anti-Semitism expressed by Earnest in his manifesto cannot be denied. Earnest (2019) claims that Jews are responsible for the genocide of white Christians everywhere as well as "for their role in the murder of the Son of Man – that is the Christ" (p. 2). Furthermore, he justifies his actions by citing a passage from the Bible (John 8:37- 45), which claims that Jews are the offspring of Satan himself (Earnest, 2019, p. 3), and therefore, deserving of violence. Jews

have long been stigmatized as the people who refuse to accept Jesus Christ as the Messiah, and Earnest's denouncement of them is based on this argument (Caiani et al., 2012; Sharpe, 2000).

While the anti-Semitic polemic expressed by Earnest appears, at first glance, to be framed as a religious issue, the extreme right's discourse about Jews is explicitly racist since Christian RWEs consider Englishmen the true chosen people of God (Sharpe, 2000). This belief stems from the teachings of the Christian identity movement, which demonizes Jews while claiming the superiority and purity of whites (Sharpe, 2000). Evidently, the category and practice of whiteness, then, is both religious and racial for markers of Christianity are markers of whiteness (Nye, 2019; Sharpe, 2000). Therefore, perceived threats to their white, heterosexual, Christian male identities are at the heart of the religious frames conveyed in the terrorists' manifestos. RWTs like Earnest draw strength from deep-seated racial and religious prejudices and present their motives as one dedicated to preserving the Christian way of life. And so, Earnest (2019) instructs his readers on how to target synagogues, mosques, immigration centers, Jewish-owned businesses, and traitorous politicians (p. 4).

After reflecting on Tarrant's influence on him, Earnest (2019) goes on to write disparagingly about Muslims:

> "Are you a terrorist?" Well, let's walk through this question together shall we? I'm not wearing the sandnigger equivalent of a durag, my skin isn't the color of shit, you can't smell me from across the room, it is socially unacceptable for me to marry my cousins, I do not shout 'Durka durka mohammed jihad,' and it doesn't look like a sadist attempted to play tug-of-war with my nose. So no, I'm not a terrorist. (p. 6)

Evidently, Muslims and Jews are presented as alien to the West, and their values as incompatible with (white) Christian values. Meanwhile, Breivik (2011) claims the Muslim population of Western Europe should be assimilated to the extent that they must be forced to adopt Christianity and the Christian traditions, because the privatization of Islam and secularization of Muslims will

be insufficient when it comes to establishing a monocultural Europe. Breivik (2011) states that:

> I believe Europe should strive for: A cultural conservative approach where monoculturalism, moral, the nuclear family, a free market, support for Israel and our Christian cousins of the east, law and order and Christendom itself must be centralaspects (unlike now). Islam must be re-classified as a political ideology and the Quran and the Hadith banned as the genocidal political tools they are. (p. 650)

Breivik's solutions to his perceived problem of Islamization is fundamentally violent, for although Breivik alleges Islam to be a fundamentally violent religion and the Quran a "genocidal political tool" (Breivik, 2011, p. 650), Breivik's own political means are terroristic violence. Breivik and Tarrant's claims have striking similarities to the extant rhetoric of the larger anti-Islamic movement in the West. Further, the metaphorical war from the Bible and the war metaphors of the anti-Islamic movement become real in these RWTs' manifesto (Berntzen & Sanberg, 2014). The religious framings of the movement are not only constructed around 'irreconcilable' and 'natural' differences, but violence and discrimination against Muslims and Jews are justified in the name of cultural preservation. Religious frames exploit religious language for political purposes.

White racialized identity cannot be separated from the perception of Christian cultural self of the West, as theorized by Nye (2019) and Sharpe (2000). For RWEs, this culture emphasizes the importance of traditional gender roles, the nuclear family structure, Christianity, separate development/monoculturalism, and a free market, all of which are allegedly being dismantled by the racialized and religious Other. Jews are killing whites in masses and facing no consequences since they control the American government (Earnest, 2019); Muslims are terrorizing whites and Islamizing the West (Breivik, 2011; Tarrant, 2019); immigrants are taking over jobs and the economy (Crusius, 2019); and blacks are committing crimes against whites at an alarming rate, including raping white women without any repercussion (Roof, 2015). Therefore, these RWTs

argue that what is at stake is the future of the Christian white race and culture. These perceived developments increase the discursive and political opportunities for RWTs, and RWEs in general, to refer to religious and traditional values to mobilize existing members and gain new recruits (Caiani et al., 2012).

5.2.3 Gender Essentialism Framing

RWTs mobilize around issues such as traditional gender roles, family, anti-abortion, and feminism. Issues of gender lie at the core of most of these RWTs' manifestos. RWEs who perceive themselves as being terrorized by a multicultural society and a corrupt government also believe they are victims of feminism. RWE ideas about traditional gender roles and norms are increasingly being challenged by feminism, gender equality, modern notions of family, abortion, and gains made by LGBTQ+. As such, RWEs perceive themselves as victims. Breivik (2011), for example, refers to himself as the Justiciar Knight Commander of the Knights Templar (p. 9), an organization conspiring to initiate the expulsion of all Muslims from Europe and restore Christian patriarchy in Europe. There is a direct link between Breivik's analysis of multiculturalism, cultural Marxism, and feminism in that he states that feminism is a product of cultural Marxism that has proved detrimental to the white male identity. Breivik (2011) states:

> The transformation of European culture envisioned by the cultural Marxists goes further than pursuing gender equality. Embodied in their agenda is 'matriarchal theory', under which they purpose to transform European culture to be female-dominated. (p. 37)

Breivik argues that cultural Marxism has not only resulted in Islamization of Europe, but produced feminism. He claims that feminist ideology and Muslim immigration amalgamate to destroy traditional European structures, or more specifically, traditional Christian patriarchal structures (Breivik, 2011).

Radical feminism, Breivik (2011) claims, has permeated all aspects of society. Breivik (2011) argues that radical feminism enables and empowers females while emphasizing the inferiority of white males. He views feminism as a medium for the feminization of European culture, and argues that feminism is responsible for producing what Fjordman calls the "fatherless civilization", where women are sexualized, men are infantilized, and no longer willing to defend their women against Muslim invaders (Walton, 2012, p. 6). Breivik expands on Fjordman's concept of the 'fatherless civilization' by attributing the production and distribution of contraceptive pills, along with liberal abortion policies, as contributing factors. Breivik associates male honour with the ability to control women's bodies and sexualities as well as the ability to defend them from Muslim invaders. As Walton (2012) states, "women are in both cases subject to men, objects of male libido or a masculine system of protection" (p. 10). In Breivik's case, an utter obliteration of feminism and multiculturalism are the key factors to restoring white male honour and Christian patriarchy in Europe.

A gender hierarchy based on domination of women cannot avoid constituting men as an interest group concerned with defense, and women as an interest group concerned with change (Connell, 2005). The emergence of the women's liberation movement explicitly challenges the rule of white hegemonic masculinity. Moreover, the rule and prevalence of white hegemonic masculinity is also contested by the emergence of gay liberation movements, peace movements, and politics of alliances that unite diverse groups of people based on their overlapping interests in dismantling hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005). The infusion of feminism, multiculturalism, homosexuality, androgyny, and matriarchy threatens to engulf the white Christian heterosexual male, the hero of history, who is now an object of contempt and hatred (Richards, 2014). Within this context, we can begin to understand Breivik's choice of Utoya as his target. Utoya, a summer

camp for Norwegian leftist youths, was meant to serve as a safe haven for LGBTQ+ youths. However, Breivik arrived at the island with the intention to put an end to the corrupting pleasures washing over his civilization and dissolving its core tenets, and to reassert himself as the heroic figure of the patriarchal white male (Richards, 2014). Breivik's internal fears, which bear little correspondence to any external reality, explains his disdain for homosexuality, which presents a threat to the sovereignty and dominance of the patriarchal white male (Richards, 2014).

Moreover, there is a connection between the movement's race and gender framings, which are premised on the teachings of the Christian identity movement (Sharpe, 2000). The RWE movement valorizes white, (Christian) heterosexual, hegemonic masculinities, which they deem to be in danger of being outnumbered by immigrants and oppressed by women. The notion of white males as victims of oppression at the hands of women is especially appealing to RWTs like Rodger who dedicated his entire manifesto to sharing his hatred of women. Rodger laments the supposed victimization of white masculinity, despite the fact that he is biracial (white and Asian-American). Rodger's manifesto revolves around the narrative that women have been stealing from him that which he is owed by virtue of being a white male: access to sex. Rodger (2014) states:

> All of my suffering on this [*sic*] world has been at the hands of humanity, particularly women… All I ever wanted was to fit in and live a happy life amongst humanity, but I was cast out and rejected, forced to endure an existence of loneliness and insignificance, all because the females of the human species were incapable of seeing the value in me. (p. 1)

The theme of Rodger's manifesto is that women have too much freedom to choose their partners, and so even though Rodger (2014) is the perfect guy, "the superior gentleman" (p. 99), he is being cheated out of his sexual birthright.

RWTs like Breivik (2011), Crusius (2019), and Rodger (2014) believe that they are owed racial/socioeconomic status, jobs, and sex/access to women simply by virtue of being white males.

Furthermore, concepts of white supremacy and misogyny are not only central to their manifestos but go hand in hand. Rodger (2014) tells the story of his first week at college and recalls how angry he became when he learned that his roommates' friend, who was African-American, had lost his virginity before him. Rodger (2014) contends:

> And then this black boy named Chance said that he lost his virginity when he was only thirteen! In addition, he said that the girl he lost his virginity to was a blonde white girl! I was so enraged that I almost splashed him with my orange juice. I indignantly told him that I did not believe him, and then I went to my room to cry… How could an inferior, ugly black boy be able to get a white girl and not me? I am beautiful, and I am half white myself. I am descended from British aristocracy. He is descended from slaves. I deserve it more. (p. 84)

Rodger's (2014) actions cannot be understood outside historically situated definitions of race and gender, and how they determine individuals' access to power, as argued by Dyer (2017), Garner (2007), Omi and Winant (2015). While the extreme right is primarily defined by their racist, xenophobic, nationalist, and anti-Semitic ideology, misogyny remains an important component of the movement for the white heterosexual male is believed to be victimized by the racialized Other as well as the feminist killjoys (Ahmed, 2010). Racism and misogyny are intertwined for RWTs, like Breivik and Rodger, since multiculturalism and feminism are perceived as direct attacks on white patriarchy. Their manifestos illustrate a sense of 'aggrieved entitlement', the feeling of powerlessness that results from the betrayal of long-standing expectations of power and privilege that feeds white men's longing for the past and desire to restore white patriarchal supremacy (Kimmel, 2013, p. 18).

As with Breivik, Roof's white supremacist and masculinist ideology is linked to misogyny. Roof declares that his intentions are to kill as many black men as possible, but as Carroll (2015) points out:

Black women, who are said to be the most religious demographic in America, have long been considered the backbone of black church – our backs are precious and sturdy, but have been weighted down for decades. You don't attend Wednesday night services if you aren't a devout churchgoer; you don't go to Wednesday night services with a gun and the intention to murder if your true goal is to kill as many black *men* [emphasis original] as possible. (para. 3)

Roof's actions clearly demonstrate the idea that while white women's bodies are pure and inviolable, black women's bodies are disposable (Carroll, 2015). Behind Roof's hatred for blacks is the idea of masculinity under threat. Thus, to defend his vulnerable and humiliated masculine self, Roof develops a grandiose state of mind wherein he paints himself as the heroic white male patriarch on a mission to save victimized white women from themselves and from black men. There is a renewed assertion of transnational white masculinities through constructs of the clash of civilizations, and anxieties surrounding the economic, political, and social rise of women. The clash of civilizations approach serves to reinforce the idea of the Other's barbarism at the same time that it enables the white male to remain on moral high ground (Razack, 2007, p. 347). The rise of feminism and multiculturalism have destabilized what is central to white hegemonic masculinities: being exclusively more human and powerful, and less deficient than other races and genders (Park, 2012).

In regards to interracial marriages, Roof perceives white women as 'helpless victims' who need to be saved, and who need to be stopped. Roof (2015) states that there is great disdain within the white nationalist community for miscegenation. Furthermore, as Young (2003) asserts, within this xenophobic and patriarchal logic, the role of the masculine protector puts those protected, paradigmatically women and children, in a subordinate position of dependence and obedience (p. 2). The white male protective surveillance of white women from men of colour accomplishes two main goals: 1) it reestablishes patriarchy through the assumption that white women need white men; and 2) it discourages intimacy across the colour line, maintaining a belief in white racial

purity (Hughey, 2011, p. 145). Once more, these beliefs are premised on the Christian identity doctrine (Sharpe, 2000).

RWEs are concerned with placing strict boundaries on white women's sexual partners, meaning that miscegenation remains a major concern for these individuals. RWEs' perceptions of all non-whites is based on a false essentialist view of humanity in which racial differences are immutable and racial hierarchies quite clear (Branson, 2017; Sharpe, 2000). Messages of racial and sexual vulnerability, based on the Christian identity doctrines (Sharpe, 2000), are utilized to frame racist mobilizations and also to appeal to white women. White women are led to believe that non-white males are rapists whose resentment of their racial inferiority is expressed by attacking innocent white women (Blee & Yates, 2017). The diagnostic framings of the movement portray non-white males as the racialized and hypersexualized enemy to white women. White women in the movement are mobilized through such framings of non-white males into taking action for their race. Such framing of non-white males is also based on the alleged physical, intellectual, and moral superiority of white males, indicating how the movement's mobilization process is based on race relations and white supremacy (Dyer, 2017; Garner, 2007; Sharpe, 2000; Snow & Benford, 1988).

Furthermore, white women in RWE groups are made to believe that their maternal concerns, such as schooling or family security, are caused by multiculturalism and racial issues (Blee & Yates, 2017). In other words, the extreme right appeals to white women through their racial framings that tie overcrowded and underfunded public schools, medical services, and social benefits to increased numbers of non-whites and immigrants (Blee & Yates, 2017). According to RWEs, such problems can only be resolved by attacking the underlying racial cause (Blee & Yates, 2017). White women are not only expected to have as many children as possible, but also to produce white racist families by monitoring their children's friends, media consumption, and

creating homes that will serve as 'safe' spaces for white supremacists to gather (Blee & Yates, 2017). This is considered their fundamental duty on behalf of the white nation.

Gender also remains a key component of Tarrant's narrative. Controlling women's bodies plays a vital role in restoring hegemonic patriarchal structures and increasing the white population. Tarrant (2019) claims:

> The people who are to blame most are ourselves, european [*sic*] men. Strong men do not get ethnically replaced, strong men do not allow their culture to degrade… [and] their people to die. Weak men have created this situation and strong men are needed to fix it. (p. 30)

At first glance, it seems the discourse here is centered on the issue of saving the future of the white race and nation from the racialized Other. Yet, the subtext of the passage reveals Tarrant's belief that a weakened feminist state has allowed the nation to be in danger in the first place. While the idea of saving white families and the nation is central here, there is also a call to re-center white hegemonic masculinities in the fight against feminism, multiculturalism, and declining birth rates. Tarrant's (2019) use of strong gendered language – his call to 'strong men' parallels Breivik's (2011) call to his 'brothers' – is meant to galvanize white males to take action. The form of white, toxic hegemonic masculinity promoted by Tarrant and other RWEs requires that white men take action, often through violence and aggression, to prove and maintain their superiority (Blee & Yates, 2017).

Crises of national masculinity are a recurring feature in these terrorists' manifestos. Moreover, the rise of RWE groups can be best understood as a countermovement or a reaction to progressive challenges to white, and often religious, privilege (McVeigh, 2009; Rohlinger, 2017). Progressive movements (e.g., civil rights, LGBTQ+ rights or women's rights movements) that advocate for equal recognition and protection under the law are perceived as directly challenging assumptions regarding white superiority, patriarchy, and heteronormativity (Rohlinger, 2017).

These challenges, then, become rallying points for mobilizing all whites, including anti-feminist, white women, who feel (falsely) victimized.

Further, Tarrant (2019) argues:

> What can we do to fix it? The issue is complicated, far more complicated and difficult to fix than the issue of ethnic replacement. Likely a new society will need to be created with a much greater focus on family values, gender and social norms and the value and importance of nature, culture and race (p. 58)

The centering of white, heterosexual, hegemonic masculinities and traditional versions of femininities are proclaimed to protect the future of the white race (Caiani et al., 2012). Nostalgia for a mythic past of fixed gender dynamics constitutes an important underlying tenet of narratives of white male victimhood. (Hughey, 2011). Moreover, ideas about traditional and nuclear family forms are the heart of the RWE movement, and are linked to racist ideas about who should and should not reproduce (Erel, 2018). Tarrant's (2019) voice is a part of a larger extremist movement mobilizing around issues of gender, family, race, and the nation. The RWE discourse converges mainstream ideas of hyper-fertile immigrants with fears of Islamization of the West to justify racist exclusions of immigrants and migrants (Erel, 2018). Thus, the recurring trope of the nation in danger is meant to mobilize white women into reproducing and white men into defending their nation and their families.

These RWTs perceive themselves as being in a situation where the destruction of their race, culture, identity, and honour are inevitable unless they take 'defensive' measures, which includes protecting white women from Muslims, blacks, radical feminism, etc. Tarrant (2019) attempts to convince his readers that immigrant men pose a threat to white women:

> Many of you may already know about the rape of British women by the invading forces, Rotherham of course being the most well-known case. But what few know is that Rotherham is just one of an ongoing trend of rape and molestation perpetrated by these non-white scum. What many do not know is that these cases do not solely occur in Britain but elsewhere in the Western world as well. The true number of these events perpetrated

across the Western world is unknown and certainly under reported, as both the state, the media and the judicial system work in unison to hide these atrocities, in the fear that knowledge of these events would enrage the native people of the West and damage the perception of our new "Multicultural utopia". (p. 32)

By Rotherham, Tarrant is referring to reports of grooming gangs organized mostly by individuals from Pakistani background in Rotherham, South Yorkshire, England (Dearden, 2020). These gangs have reportedly exploited and sexually abused more than 18,000 children over the years (Dearden, 2020). Tarrant uses Rotherham as justification for his actions as well as to prove his claims about the barbaric and hyper-sexualized Other. Since white women are perceived to be pure, innocent, and the mirror image of Eve, they must be protected from the barbaric, hyper-sexualized, and racialized Other (Sharpe, 2000). Similar to Breivik (2011) falsely accusing Muslims of introducing radical feminism and multiculturalism to the West, Earnest (2019) blames Jews for "their role in feminism which has enslaved women in sin… and promoted race mixing" (p. 2). According to these RWTs, it is up to the strong white Christian males to save the white Christian females from the hands of Muslims, Jews, and all other immigrant invaders. White women must be saved from having to marry someone of an inferior rank, status, class, and intelligence (e.g., Muslims and blacks), and from bearing their children and adulterating the pure European blood. White women must also be saved from radical feminism, according to Breivik (2011) and Earnest (2019).

RWE groups glorify stereotypical gender norms for men and women (Blee & Yates, 2017). Rarely do RWE groups promote gender equality, however, a few groups promote less strictly subordinate roles for white women (Blee & Yates, 2017). Male domination is a cornerstone of the masculinist rhetoric of white supremacism, and white women are urged to fill the supporting roles of wives and mothers, bearing as many children as possible, opposing abortion, and glorifying images of large white families in response to the ostensible threat of the disappearance of the white

race, as is clearly evident in Breivik and Tarrant's manifestos (Blee & Yates, 2017). RWEs utilize gender and religious frames to reinforce the notion that women and men have different roles to play in the world (Rohlinger, 2017).

Gender essentialism framing assumes that women accept the biological differences between the sexes as well as the accompanying roles associated with them, exchanging homemaking and mothering for financial support by their husbands (Rohlinger, 2017, p. 7). Furthermore, gender essentialism framing emphasizes the importance of patriarchy, traditional family, the centrality of women to the family (particularly the reproduction of the gender order), and the importance of family to a stable society and nation (Rohlinger, 2017, p. 7). Gender essentialism is often fused with religious doctrine in order to mobilize women to oppose progressive efforts to create gender parity (Rohlinger, 2017, p. 7). As Rohlinger states, "frames that draw on maternalism connect religious ideas with notions that domestic values and life are morally superior and are associated with duties of motherhood" (Rohlinger, 2017, p. 6). Thus, religious doctrine and gender essentialism frames are utilized to not only mobilize white women, but also to convince them to stay in their groups and become agents in their own subjugation. RWEs use race, religion, and gender frames to construct the boundaries of the nation, as posited by Sharpe (2000).

5.2.4 Anti-government Framing

There is a recurring emphasis on the role and failures of the political elite in most of the RWTs' manifestos. The political elite are thought to comprise a small group of powerful and oppressive individuals who are bent on undermining Western civilization, white men, and Christianity by facilitating Islamization of the West and multiculturalism in general (Berntzen &

Sandberg, 2014). Breivik's compendium identifies examples of what he claims to be falsification

and apologist rhetoric in regards to Islam in order to illustrate the European government's support

for multiculturalism. Examples of such falsification and apologist rhetoric include, "Jihad means

personal struggle," "Islam is a religion of peace," and "Christianity and Islam are equal in terms

of historic atrocities" (Breivik, 2011, p. 47). Breivik provides examples of systematic deletion of

important contemporary issues by the European government as further evidence for opposing the

government. The examples include "the past [and] ongoing Jihads, torture, and enslavement of

Christian and other non-Muslim peoples in the Middle East and Asia," and "the West's

unwillingness to prevent or defend Christian Lebanon against Jihadi invasions by the Global

Islamic Ummah" (Breivik, 2011, p. 48). According to Breivik (2011), the West's politically

motivated historical revisionism in regards to Islam first began in the 19th century, and hitherto has

been perpetuated by the EU, Marxist academics, politicians, and intellectuals who identify as

secularists (p. 51). The above examples are meant to provide rationale for why the European

government must be fought and defeated on issues of multiculturalism, cultural Marxism, and

feminism, which he claims to be a product of cultural Marxism.

> Similarly, Tarrant (2019) contends:

> Democracy is mob rule and the mob itself is ruled by our enemies. The   global   and corporate run press controls them, the education system (long since fallen to the long march through the institutions carried out by the marxists) controls them, the state (long since heavily lost to its corporate backers) controls them and the anti-white media machine controls them. Do not suffer under the delusion of an effortless, riskless democratic victory. (p. 21)

Governments and states are believed to be oppressing white Europeans through their corruption,

lax immigration policies, and political correctness. Tarrant (2019), clearly echoing Breivik's

(2011) ideas, argues that the ramifications of a ubiquitous cultural Marxist ideology in Western

Europe are an imposition of political correctness and multiculturalism that is obliterating Western

culture. Tarrant (2019) suggests that whites should refuse to pay taxes to the corrupt government aiding in their ethnic replacement in order to stay loyal to their race (p. 71). Breivik (2011) and Tarrant (2019) frame the European governments as global capitalists with economic and ideological motivations working against the interests and wellbeing of the white race, and therefore, must be overthrown.

However, long before Breivik and Tarrant's incidents of mass shootings, RWT McVeigh killed 168 people and injured another 680 in order to protest against the American Federal government, which he believed was becoming too powerful. McVeigh (2001) claims:

> I chose to bomb a federal building because such an action served more purposes than other options. Foremost the bombing was a retaliatory strike; a counter attack for the cumulative raids (and subsequent violence and damage) that federal agents had participated in over the preceding years (including, but not limited to, Waco). From the formation of such units as the FBI's Hostage Rescue and other assault teams amongst federal agencies during the 80s, culminating in the Waco incident, federal actions grew increasingly militaristic and violent, to the point where at Waco, our government - like the Chinese - was deploying tanks against its own citizens. (para. 2)

McVeigh's anti-government sentiment is in line with the RWE belief that infringements of authority must be severely punished (Mudde, 1995). McVeigh, who was part of the Patriot movement and had white supremacist leanings, was under the impression that the government posed a major threat to US citizens (ADL, 2018). McVeigh not only absorbed his extremist rhetoric from RWE newsletters, publications, radio show broadcasts, conspiracy VHS tapes, and catalogues at gun shows, but he was also extremely affected by the events of Ruby Ridge and Waco, which he considered clear examples of the US government's infringement on their citizens' rights and freedom (ADL, 2015). Thus, McVeigh (2001) asserts that his motivations were related to preserving the American way of life and protecting himself and his fellow Americans from an authoritarian government that was planning similar raids across the US.

For RWT Earnest, his anti-government claims are coupled with anti-Semitic accusations since he believes the Jews are responsible for all the ills that have befallen white Americans, including a corrupt government advocating for immigration. Earnest (2019) blames Jews for:

> For lying and deceiving the public through their exorbitant role in news media; for using usury and banks to enslave nations in debt and control all finances for the purpose of funding evil; for their role in starting wars on a foundation of lies which have costed millions of lives throughout history; for their role in cultural Marxism and communism; for pushing degenerate propaganda in the form of entertainment; ... for their role in voting for and funding politicians and organizations who use mass immigration to displace the European race. (p. 1)

Earnest's beliefs are based on the Christian identity teachings (Sharpe, 2000). Earnest argues that Marxist ideas have been deliberately introduced by a corrupt ZOG in Western societies in an attempt to undermine and displace white Europeans. Since Jews are perceived to favour a multicultural society and practice control over the government, they are to blame for the extermination of the white race (Sharpe, 2000). Crusius (2019) also portrays an anti-government mentality by declaring that both Democrats and Republicans have failed white Americans (p. 1). The American government, according to Crusius (2019), is responsible for increasing immigration, automation, and large corporations controlling everything. Furthermore, the Democratic party will soon control the government and "own America" and open the US borders, offer free healthcare to immigrants, and "enact a political coup by importing and then legalizing millions of new voters" (Crusius, 2019, p. 1). These RWTs not only display an anti-government, Zionist conspiracy mentality, but they also believe that the antidote to multiculturalism and government corruption is violent resistance and a strong and unified identity and white sovereignty. Their words and actions reveal their quest for a monocultural, patriarchal, white Christian West, which can only be achieved through violent means (Sharpe, 2000).

5.3 Prognostic Framings

5.3.1 Terroristic Violence Against the Other

RWTs' race, religion, gender, anti-government frames are accompanied by violence and aggression, meaning the terrorists analyzed in this study argue that violence against their enemies is the only means of restoring a monocultural white society. RWE groups are especially violent when they mobilize on political and migration issues (Caiani et al., 2012). The political action and violence of these RWTs can be understood and located within a broader repertoire of protest. While RWEs mobilize around and protest a number of different issues, they deploy conventional and non-conventional, and violent and non-violent forms (Caiani et al., 2012). However, violent actions are almost always directed at the racialized Other (Caiani et al., 2012).

Tarrant (2019) maintains that in order to avenge the "hundreds of thousands of deaths caused by foreign invaders in European land", violence is necessary, and it is also a means to "reduce immigration rates to European lands by intimidating and physically removing the invader" (p. 6). He continues to justify his actions and encourage his readers to follow in his footsteps by declaring that all nations were founded, and maintained, through the use of force and violence (Tarrant, 2019, p. 21). Violence against Muslims, Jews, and other racial, ethnic, and religious minorities is framed as the solution to the perceived problem of immigration and 'ethnic replacement' of whites. The violent frames of the RWE movement are based on boundary constructions ('us' vs 'them' duality) that play a crucial role in not only mobilizing supporters but also recruiting new ones (McVeigh & Cunningham, 2012).

Furthermore, RWEs are more likely to escalate forms of actions when interacting with the constructed enemy believed to be a threat to the unified 'us' (Caiani et al., 2012). While the targets of these terrorists vary according to region (e.g., Muslims, Jews, Hispanics, the American government, women), they deploy similar violent forms of protest/resistance. According to Tarrant

(2019), the violent actions of RWEs should come as no surprise since European (read: white) men

and women are finally facing the reality of ethnic replacement and Islamization of the West.

Tarrant (2019) states:

> No matter if it takes 3 years or 30 years, these people must pay for their disgusting attacks upon our race. TATP packages strapped to drones, an EFP in a motorcycle saddle bags, convoy ambush rammings with cement trucks. Any method that gives these traitors their sure reward is viable and should be encouraged. Where there is a will, there is a way. (p. 39)

The violent frames of the movement are a response to issues of race, religious and ethnic tensions.

For Breivik (2011) and Tarrant (2019), violent action against the Other is not desired, but

absolutely necessary in order to save the future of the white race. Their manifestos parallel their

views on Muslims, immigration, gender roles, and race as well as on solutions to the perceived

problem of Islamization of the West. Breivik and Tarrant's solutions and political means are

terroristic violence.

Earnest (2019) echoes a similar argument and calls for the destruction of the Jews as whole.

Earnest (2019) admits:

> The Jews have depleted our patience and our mercy. I feel no remorse. I only wish I killed more. I am honored to be the one to send these vile anti-humans into the pit of fire—where they shall remain for eternity. (p. 6)

Once again, the proposed solution is violent, brutal, and deadly, which RWEs refer to as the "final

solution" (Caiani et al., 2012, p. 158). The RWE movement is increasingly characterized by a

revolutionary outlook (Michael & Mulloy, 2008). The 'final solution' proposed by RWEs is

radical. For many in the movement, only radical solutions such as mass shootings and bombings

can alter their future and save the white race and nation. As Michael and Mulloy (2008) explain,

for RWEs, their increasingly desperate predicament and precarity demands radical solutions,

which will destroy the old order and build a new one with the remnants of Western civilization (p. 486). It will usher in a new golden age characterized by racial solidarity (Michael & Mulloy, 2008, p. 486).

> Earnest (2019), speaking of his own bravery, states:
>
> There is at least one European man alive who is willing to take a stand against the injustice that the Jew has inflicted upon him. That my act will inspire others to take a stand as well. (p. 2)

This race war, which will ultimately see whites as successful and at the top once again, requires sacrifice and hardship, and for most of the RWTs, it is a sacrifice they are willing to make for the sake of their race. Similarly, Roof (2015) demonstrates a perceived sense of helplessness in the concluding statements of his manifesto wherein he states:

> I have no choice. I am not in the position to, alone, go into the ghetto and fight. I chose Charleston because it is the most historic city in my state, and at one time had the highest ratio of blacks to Whites in the country. We have no skinheads, no real KKK, no one doing anything but talking on the internet. Well someone has to have the bravery to take it to the real world, and I guess that has to be me. (p.8)

Further, RWTs call on their 'brothers' to do the same: rise and take action against the enemies of the white race. The catalyst for RWEs everywhere is increased immigration and the emergence of various social movements advocating for equal rights and treatment of women and racial, religious, and sexual minorities everywhere. For RWTs like Breivik, Roof, Tarrant, Earnest, and Crusius, the white race is under attack by racial and religious minorities and face an uncertain future unless radical action is taken. Meanwhile, for Rodger and McVeigh, it is the threat of feminism and corrupt federal government that has the power to destroy the white, Christian male.

5.3.2 Terroristic Violence Against Women

As exemplified by Rodger' 2014 rampage, Minassian's 2018 Toronto van attack that killed 10 people, 8 of whom were women, as well as the 24th February, 2020 incel ideology-inspired attack at a Toronto, Ontario erotic massage parlour that killed one woman and injured many more (Bell et al., 2020), misogyny is a cornerstone of the RWE movement. As Clarke (2020) argues, increasing overlap between the incel movement and the RWE movement means that more and more young males active online are being indoctrinated at an earlier age with racist and misogynist propaganda (as cited in Russell & Bell, 2020). The underlying theme on incel message boards and RWE websites is a sense of aggrieved entitlement. Incels like Rodger believe that women have too much freedom to choose their romantic and sexual partners, which means that men like Rodger and Minassian are being cheated of their sexual birthright. RWE discourse and incel ideology reflect a belief that whites are owed jobs, status, and sex simply because they are white and male. Once again, the proposed solution to the perceived problem of feminism, and females in general, seems to be violence.

Rodger (2014), who feels that he is owed sex and ownership of women, believes that women deserve to be punished for not appreciating a gentleman like himself. Rodger (2014) laments at the injustice he is made to suffer at the hands of women, and states:

> I will destroy all women because I can never have them. I will make them all suffer for rejecting me. I will arm myself with deadly weapons and wage a war against all women and the men they are attracted to. And I will slaughter them like the animals they are. If they won't accept me among them, then they are my enemies. They showed me no mercy, and in turn I will show them no mercy. The prospect will be so sweet, and justice will ultimately be served. (p. 101)

Rodger (2014) speaks of his so-called "Day of Retribution" when he will punish all the beautiful (white) girls who dared reject him and all the popular guys who dared to steal what was rightfully his (p. 119). Rodger's manifesto exhibits gendered racism for he speaks of eliminating women's

freedom of choice regarding their sexual partners so as to prevent miscegenation, and he speaks disparagingly of black and Asian males in relationships with white women.

Rodger (2014) relegates women to the status of animals in order to justify the gendered racism in his manifesto and his proposed violent solutions:

> I concluded that women are flawed. There is something mentally wrong with the way their brains are wired, as if they haven't evolved from animal-like thinking. They are incapable of reason or thinking rationally. They are like animals, completely controlled by their primal, depraved emotions and impulses. That is why they are attracted to barbaric, wild, beast-like men. They are beasts themselves. Beasts should not be able to have any rights in a civilized society. If their wickedness is not contained, the whole of humanity will be held back from advancement to a more civilized state. Women should not have the right to choose who to mate with. That choice should be made for them by civilized men of intelligence. If women had the freedom to choose which men to mate with, like they do today, they would breed with stupid, degenerate men, which would only produce stupid, degenerate offspring. This in turn would hinder the advancement of humanity. (p. 117)

Rodger's enemies include women, but also men of colour who he believes are taking what he is rightfully owed. Rodger, like any other social movement actor, engages in boundary construction (black, white, Asian, male/female, etc.), identifying his opponents and their relationship to each other. The strong emphasis in Rodger's manifesto on racial and gender boundaries play a vital role in attracting copycats like Minassian who praise Rodger for taking action, and who feel emboldened by his words and actions. Rodger, who has become an 'incel hero' (BBC News, 2018b), and his manifesto help provide a sense of belonging to other RWEs and incels who feel under attack by multiculturalism and feminism. The boundary construction and identity work in Rodger's manifesto encourages other extremists, who see themselves as belonging to a clearly defined group with a cause, to take action and feel justified in doing so.

Relegating women to the status of animals and speaking of them as a "plague that must be quarantined" (Rodger, 2014, p. 117) helps justify carrying out violent attacks against them. It also produces a myriad of enduring consequences such as encouraging copycats. Right-wing

misogynists decry feminism, women's liberation, and advancements made by women for they believe that allowing women the freedom to choose their romantic partners hurts white men's ability to reproduce, their access to their birthright (sex), and their ability to perpetuate the white race. RWEs like Breivik, Tarrant, and Rodger reduce women to their biological ability to reproduce, thus, they have but one purpose: to serve the white patriarch and raise white children. As such, any transgressions must be violently punished by the gallant, masculine, white male who would be justified in his actions. The politics of aggrieved entitlement and whiteness describe an elevated social standing that must be protected, at all costs, from the racialized and gendered enemies (King, 2017). The race and gender frames of the RWE movement are accompanied by radical, violent acts against women and people of colour in the era of feminism and multiculturalism. The terrorists' manifestos restructure narratives of violence as arguments that describe and justify violence against women, people of colour, and religious and sexual minorities (Carlsson et al., 2020)

5.3.3 Terroristic Violence Against the Government

As mentioned previously, McVeigh's actions can be explained with a sequence of events – Ruby Ridge, Waco, passing of gun legislation – that connect up to his explanatory goals and motivations, as described in his letters. McVeigh (2001) views the American federal government as "an aggressor force" that has increasingly become hostile towards American citizens (para. 8). McVeigh (2001) writes:

> Foremost the bombing was a retaliatory strike; a counter attack for the cumulative raids (and subsequent violence and damage) that federal agents had participated in over the preceding years (including, but not limited to, Waco). From the formation of such units as the FBI's Hostage Rescue and other assault teams amongst federal agencies during the 80s, culminating in the Waco incident, federal actions grew increasingly militaristic and violent, to the point where at Waco, our government - like the Chinese – was deploying tanks

against its own citizens… For all intents and purposes, federal agents had become soldiers (using military training, tactics, techniques, equipment, language, dress, organisation and mindset) and they were escalating their behaviour… Therefore this bombing was meant as a pre-emptive (or pro-active) strike against these forces and their command and control centres [*sic*]within the federal building. (paras. 5-8).

According to McVeigh, the federal government and its agents have become akin to soldiers deployed to act against the interests of white patriots and to destroy them. In line with the anti-government frames of the movement, McVeigh perceives the American government to be corrupt and unjustifiably prosecuting whites. The threat of a corrupt government plays a crucial role behind McVeigh's reactionary and (political) violent actions, which can be located within a broader repertoire of protest (Caiani et al., 2012). As Cainia et al. (2012) demonstrate, RWEs deploy violent actions when targeting political opponents, migrants, and minorities (p. 16), and the terrorists analyzed in this study are no exception.

Although non-violent protests such as sit-ins and marches are part of the extreme right's repertoires of protest, the actors analyzed in this study all took, and advocate for, violent forms of protest. McVeigh perceives the government as a political enemy that has failed to protect white rights and privilege and actively seeks to undermine white Americans' freedom. Thus, there is strong emphasis on boundary construction in McVeigh's letters wherein his rhetoric seeks to not only undermine the legitimacy of the American government, but also exacerbate tensions between members of the Patriot movement and the government and successfully mobilize them. Furthermore, McVeigh (2001) also displays a perceived sense of helplessness by describing how he waited patiently for two years for justice for the people who died in Waco before his patience ultimately ran out. He paints himself as a hero who decided "to put a check on government abuse of power, where others had failed in stopping the federal juggernaut run amok" (McVeigh, 2001, para. 21). The federal authorities' interventions in Ruby Ridge and Waco, along with the passing

of gun legislation, raised First Amendment concerns about freedom of expression, speech, and religion for McVeigh and numerous other RWEs.

Moreover, the hero/martyr narrative that these social movement actors put forth encourages others to join the cause and become a hero that saves the white race. The motivational frames of the movement call for a new world order that favours white Christians and that is based on a traditional, and at times, mythic, past. According to RWTs, this Christian new world order can only be achieved through radical and violent acts targeting political enemies, immigrants, and minorities. Violence, therefore, becomes a necessary means to save the white race from the threat of multiculturalism, feminism, and a corrupt government.

5.3.4 Separate Development

While the racial framings of RWTs call for violent tactics as an immediate solution to the threat of multiculturalism, feminism, and corrupt government, they also advocate for separate development as a long term solution. The separate development frame, which is based on differentialism rather than hierarchical racism, is meant to help the RWE movement appear more benign and appealing (Caiani et al., 2012). The RWE movement has a staggeringly destructive history that cannot be ignored or re-written; therefore, a shift from white supremacists to white separatists is meant to challenge and change societal perceptions of the movement and its members. Yet, the subtext of the manifestos reveals the terrorists' beliefs in white supremacy, which forms the basis of their argument for separate development.

While Roof (2015) advocates for segregation, Breivik (2011) puts forth the 'clash of civilizations' argument in order to justify his violent actions and advocate for separate development. Breivik (2011) argues that Islam is a fundamentally intolerant and violent religion

that stands in contrast to the values of the Christian West; thus, Europe and the rest of Western countries cannot afford to take any risks by permitting Muslim immigrants entry and citizenship. Meanwhile, Tarrant (2019) argues that diversity is not a strength and countries promoting diversity like the US, are dealing with increasing ethnic and religious conflict as a result. Taking a page out of Breivik's manifesto, Tarrant (2019) also posits a clash of civilizations argument, but claims that he does not hate Muslims as long as they do not live in the West:

> Did/do you personally hate muslims [*sic*]? A muslim man or woman living in their homelands? No. A muslim man or woman choosing to invade our lands live on our soil and replace our people? Yes, I dislike them. The only muslim I truly hate is the convert, those from our own people that turn their backs on their heritage, turn their backs on their cultures, turn their back on their traditions and became blood traitors to their own race. These I hate. (p. 12)

The clash of civilization argument overlaps with the nationalist perspective of the movement, with the concept of the nation being at the heart of the issue.

The RWE movement has experienced a revival of traditional national identities, making nationhood a central component of the discursive opportunity structure (Caiani et al., 2012). The extreme right's ultra-nationalism frame advocates for a unified, coherent, and homogenous nation of all whites that live according to their own ethnic nationalist tenets. Tarrant (2019) justifies violence against Muslims and other racial and religious minorities by declaring that it is necessary in order to "ensure that the people of the world remain true to their traditions and faiths and do not become watered down" (p. 14), and to ensure the survival of the white race. Not surprisingly, Earnest (2019) extends a similar argument and claims that he does not hate members of other races as long as they are "out of my nation and do not hate my race" (p. 7). RWEs like Tarrant falsely portray themselves as altruistic by claiming to their readers that their actions are necessary in order to save and preserve the unique traditions and cultures of the white race as well as to ensure the

preservation of other cultures and races by preventing miscegenation and multiculturalism.

Furthermore, RWEs portray themselves as stigmatized into not expressing 'white pride'. Notions of white pride along with 'heritage preservation' and 'cultural survival' (pillars of racist white separatist rhetoric) are ethnic affectations designed to de-stigmatize white supremacist and separatists alike by implying that they are just another ethnic group with similar needs (Berbrier, 2000, p. 184). Furthermore, the notion of affectations emphasizes the emotional elements of the white separatist discourse/frame, meaning that the whites are not only victims, but they are also confronted with a serious dilemma. Thus, according to the ultra-nationalist framings of RWTs, the violent removal/elimination of the Other is necessary, and justified, in order to ensure the immediate survival of the white race. However, only the practice of separate development will provide a long term solution and ensure "a preservation of beauty, art and tradition" (Tarrant, 2019, p. 14).

5.4 Motivational Framings

The link between individual motivations and environmental conditions that serve as a catalyst and drive RWEs to take action can be understood through the analysis of the motivational frames of the RWE movement (Snow & Benford, 1988). Investigating RWTs' manifestos provides important insight into individuals' and groups' understandings of their perceived external reality and positionality. Moreover, social movement actors play a significant role in the diffusion of ideas and values, transforming ideas into diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames that seek to not only propagate their ideas but also mobilize members into taking action (Snow & Benford, 1988).

The RWTs discussed in this study stress in their manifestos the survival of the white race in order to recruit new and mobilize existing members. This is the message underlying most of their motivational statements. The proposal of enacting violence on their political opponents and minorities, reestablishing traditional gender norms, emphasizing the nuclear and 'natural' family, and the notion of white separatism are all justified in the name of survival. Descriptions of the dangers and pitfalls of increased immigration, multiculturalism, black on white crime rates, whites' falling birthrates, feminism, government corruptness, etc. are supposed to help individuals make sense of their external reality and motivate them to take action.

The RWTs' motivational framings rely on the binary of 'us' vs 'them', which determines the presence of the Other as a threat to white Christians. Breivik (2011) and Tarrant (2019) portray Muslims as inherently violent, oppressive to women, and a threat to the West. Tarrant (2019) explains his motivations behind the attack:

> Islamic nations in particular have high birth rates, regardless of race or ethnicity, and in this there was an anti-islamic [*sic*] motivation to the attacks, as well as a want for revenge against islam for the 1300 years of war and devastation that it has brought upon the people of the West and other peoples of the world. (p. 13)

His call for action is based on the present threat of Muslim immigration to the West, ethnic and cultural replacement, as well as a desire to enact revenge for the supposed wrongs of the past. Both Breivik and Tarrant frame their actions as a response to the attempt, by cultural Marxists, Muslims, and immigrants, to obliterate Western (white) civilization. RWTs utilize the 'us' vs. 'them' trope in their motivational frames to justify their actions and mobilize others.

As Moskalenko and McCauley (2011) state, "the phenomenon of identification is both wide and deep in human affairs" (p. 122), and identification with a group/religion/culture, in this case, whites, leads to notions of positive and negative identification. Positive identification means

the individuals feel confident when their group members are safe, prospering, and increasing in numbers (Moskalenko & McCauley, 2011, p. 122). On the other hand, negative identification means individuals feel bad and threatened when their group members are in danger, failing, and diminishing in numbers (Moskalenko and McCauley, 2011, p. 122). In this case, positive identification with whites ('us'), along with the perception that they are victims of oppression, immigration, and multiculturalism, leads to negative identification with the Other ('them'). This gives rise to intergroup conflict, which is intensified by the motivational framings of the movement.

Prognostic frames guide the behaviour of social movement groups while motivational frames provide actors with rationales for taking action and participating (Snow & Benford, 1988). The extreme right's motivational frames consist of a set of vocabularies of motive that make otherwise illicit and cruel actions not only possible but justified. In order to motivate members to engage in acts of violence against the Other, RWTs, such as Breivik and Tarrant, use vocabularies that neutralize or blunt the force of any potential guilt the actor may feel. Tarrant (2019) claims that there "are no innocents in an invasion" (p. 13), thus, he was justified in killing as many Muslims as he could and felt no remorse. He goes as far as justifying killing Muslim children:

> Children of invaders do not stay children, they become adults and reproduce, creating more invaders to replace your people. They grow up and vote against your peoples own wishes, for the interests of their own people and identity. They grow up and take the potential homes of your own people for themselves, they occupy positions of power, remove wealth and destroy social trust. Any invader you kill, of any age, is one less enemy your children will have to face. Would you rather do the killing, or leave it to your children? Your grandchildren? (Tarrant, 2019, p. 22)

In this way, Tarrant appeals to his readers' emotions and fears by extending the perceived threat of the Other to future generations, to his white readers' children and grandchildren. Throughout his manifesto, Tarrant (2019) uses positive language such as 'we', 'us', 'brothers', and 'our future'

to provide his readers with the feeling of camaraderie and to motivate them to take action. He also uses vocabularies such as 'invaders', 'threat', 'ethnic replacement', 'enemy', when discussing his political and racial enemies to drive home the necessity of taking violent action. By referring to the future of white children and appealing to his readers' emotions, Tarrant (2019) not only motivates his readers but also positively frames an otherwise unlawful, wrong, and stigmatized terroristic activity. He provides his readers with a false dilemma: kill or be killed.

Breivik (2011) likewise uses positive language to establish a sense of camaraderie among his readers and motivate them to take action. He dedicates a section of his manifesto to instructing his 'brothers' to avoid apprehension and arrest and states that:

> Once you decide to strike, it is better to kill too many than not enough, or you risk reducing the desired ideological impact of the strike. Explain what you have done and make certain that everyone understands that we, the free peoples of Europe, are going to strike again and again. Do not apologize, make excuses or express regret for you are acting in self-defence or in a preemptive manner. In many ways, morality has lost its meaning in our struggle. (Breivik, 2011, p. 837)

Breivik (2011) concludes this section by emphasizing to other members of the Knights Templar that they must not fear death for it is ultimately their destiny as a Justiciar Knight (p. 935). Although RWEs have always keyed in on issues of race, immigration, abortion, federal government, etc., some RWEs like Tarrant are focusing on more liberal issues such as climate change to motivate their readers.

Tarrant (2019) continuously recites the infamous 14 words ("We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children" – a white supremacist slogan coined by RWE group, The Order (ADL, n.d.c), but modifies it in some instances to include "whilst preserving and exulting nature and the natural order" (p. 21). From there, he continues to blame immigrants for climate change. According to him:

> [Immigration, birth rates, and climate change] are the same issue, the environment is being destroyed by overpopulation, we Europeans are one of the groups that are not overpopulating the world. The invaders are the ones overpopulating the world. Kill the invaders, kill the overpopulation and by doing so save the environment. (Tarrant, 2019, p. 22)

Crusius also co-opts the climate change issue and proceeds to blame the corrupt government for not taking action to remedy it. Crusius (2019) argues that not only is the average American unwilling to change their lifestyle to be more environmentally friendly, but the American government, owned by large corporations with an interest in migrants as a source of cheap labour, is unwilling to take any concrete steps (p. 2). Similar to how the past and present financial crisis contributed to the resurgence of anti-Semitic conspiracy theories attributing blame on Jews (Caiani et al., 2012), RWEs are increasingly co-opting the climate change movement and discourse to oppose immigration and justify violence against them.

These RWTs portray an understanding of the destructive and cruel nature of their actions, but reiterate their claim that their actions are imperative in restoring white Christian patriarchy. They view themselves as reluctant heroes. For example, Roof (2015) states:

> I have no choice... We have no skinheads, no real KKK, no one doing anything but talking on the internet. Well, someone has to have the bravery to take it to the real world, and I guess that has to be me. (p. 8)

Roof expresses a desire to resist taking drastic action, but claims to be facing a dilemma. Breivik (2011) and Tarrant (2019) similarly claim that they have no choice but to take matters into their own hands and act accordingly. They depict themselves as altruistic individuals who willingly take on suffering and responsibility for the greater good. Their mindset is akin to that of a suicide bomber, and consequently, there is a perceived sense of martyrdom. Martyrdom is understood "to be an act of a fatal religious witness for the purpose of demonstrating one's faith and commitment" (Barkun, 2007, p. 118). Roof (2015) concludes his manifesto by proudly declaring that, "Even if

my life is worth less than a speck of dirt, I want to use it for the good of society" (p. 8). Mirroring

Roof's perceived sense of isolation and martyrdom, Tarrant (2019) tells his readers:

> As for me, my time has come. I cannot guarantee my success. All I know is the certainty of my will and the necessity of my cause. Live or die, know I did it all for you; my friends, my family, my people, my culture, my RACE [emphasis in original]. (p. 73)

Earnest (2019) similarly claims that he is "willing to sacrifice everything for the benefit of [his]

race" (p. 5). Similar to suicide bombers, in order for RWTs to be considered martyrs, they would

have to knowingly place themselves at risk of death for their cause (Barkun, 2007). The link

between commitment, intentional risk-taking, and death is evident in all the terrorists' writings

(Barkun, 2007). Like most religion suicide bombers, RWTs perceive themselves to be engaged in

a cosmic war, thus, sacrifices, large and small, must be made.

Tarrant (2019) goes further and warns his readers to expect a difficult, but worthwhile,

battle:

> The ideal of a heroic war, without loss, without failure, without some great setback, is idealistic and downright impossible. Even at Vienna in 1683 we Europeans still lost over fourteen thousand good men. That was during a triumphant VICTORY. Do you believe you are better than these men? More deserving of life? More skilled and courageous? You are not. If they could die, so can you. Expect death, expect struggle, expect loss that you will never forget. Do not expect to survive, the only thing you should expect is a true war and to die the death of a true soldier. EXPECT A SOLDIERS FIGHT AND A SOLDIERS [*sic*] DEATH [emphasis in original]. (p. 42)

Tarrant (2019) claims that successful or not, alive or dead, he took action for his people, and other

"men of the West" (p 19) should follow in his footsteps. While he urges his 'brothers' to stand up

and take action, Tarrant (2019) instructs white women to reproduce while their men fight (p. 46).

In this way, everyone will be doing their part to prevent the supposed ethnic and cultural

replacement of whites. The fascination with martyrdom is common to the various terrorists studied

here (e.g., Earnest (2019): "What value does my life have compared to the entirety of the European

race? I'd rather die in glory" (p. 1)), but there is also an emphasis on just taking action, regardless

of how big or small. Breivik and Tarrant both urge white men and women to do their respective parts in the fight against multiculturalism while making certain to never stray from their traditional gender roles and responsibilities. White men must take action and defend their race and fight the literal and metaphorical battle while the women must remain within the domestic sphere and remain good and loyal wives and produce as many white children as possible. These common concepts (battle, action, martyrdom, family reproduction) are what the RWEs' motivational framings are premised on, so they are repeated throughout the various manifestos.

The motivational frames are a call to action. The 'us' category in the manifestos is presented as taking action and defending their race and culture. Most of the motivational statements in the manifestos regarding the 'us' or 'brothers' contain a reference to action. Crusius (2019), for instance, explains to his white male readers:

> If you take nothing else from this document, remember this: INACTION IS A CHOICE [emphasis in original]. I can no longer bear the shame of inaction knowing that our founding fathers have endowed me with the rights needed to save our country from the brink destruction [*sic*]. Our European comrades don't have the gun rights needed to repel the millions of invaders that plague their country. They have no choice but to sit by and watch their countries burn… Remember: it is not cowardly to pick low hanging fruit. (pp. 3-4)

The vocabularies used in their call to action shape members' self-image and identities as white, Christian, heterosexual males, and actively influence the future actions of other members and copycats in ways that are in line with the prognostic framings of the movement. The prescribed acts of violence are framed as a noble fight against the barbaric and dangerous Other, and as an "honor and privilege" (Earnest, 2019, p. 2). Breivik (2011) and Earnest (2019) even go as far as referencing Christianity and quoting the Bible in order to make their call to action more appealing and convincing. Framing mass murder as a religious duty blunts the force of any potential moral

trauma and eliminates any inhibitions or hesitations RWEs on the verge of carrying out a violent action may have.

Moreover, the call to action further necessitates violence against the Other by explicitly referencing the need to help whites everywhere. The in-group 'us' constitutes whites all over the globe, a united community brought together by their racial solidarity. And according to Tarrant (2019), this community is at risk of cultural and moral decay. Earnest (2019) attempts to convince his readers of their dire calamity: "You should be more afraid of losing your entire race than this life you now live" (p. 5). The necessities of taking action and fighting in any and every way possible are repeated throughout the manifestos.

Moreover, these RWTs present themselves as an example to others in their writings. Variations of 'if I can do it, so can you' expression is used repeatedly to drive home the heroic ideals and to motivate members. The movement's call to action is relatively strong and persuasive to those easily influenced, presenting the extreme right and their cause as noble, worthy of sacrifice, and generally worthwhile. The motivational frames are also accompanied by an excessive emphasis on honour, brotherhood, comradeship, bravery, nationhood, collective good, and sacrifice.

Overall, the motivational framings combine a romanticized ideal of a racially pure and unified white global community with a strong call for overcoming their current predicament (Caiani et al., 2012). White (Christian) males are called upon to defend their families, their honour, and their future, and restore traditional norms that prioritize traditional family structures, gender norms, and racial solidarity. The motivational framings of the movement help create identities that are oriented against racial, religious, ethnic, and sexual minorities. The terrorists' call to action reveal their quest for a (monocultural) patriarchal white Christian West, which they are attempting

to achieve by "removing the political doctrines manifested through multiculturalism" (Breivik, 2011, p. 5). It is evident that the motivational frames of the movement are concerned with bringing about systemic change that will primarily benefit white males.

5.5 Summary

The diagnostic framings emphasize issues of race, religion, gender norms, and government corruption. The racial framings are predicated on racial hierarchies and racial differences, claiming whites as superior to all other races. From this false premise, the racial framings diagnose immigrants and people of colour as a cultural, social, and economic threat. The religious framings intertwine race and religion, particularly for the American extreme right, and take advantage of deep-seated racial and religious prejudices to justify violence against the Other. Issues of gender are at the core of the RWE movement since white males believe they are victims of a multicultural and feminist society. Misogyny, thus, is a cornerstone of the RWE movement. Finally, there is a recurring emphasis on the failures of the political elite in most of the RWTs' manifestos. The anti-government framing puts forth the argument that American and European governments have not only failed to protect the interests and rights of their white citizens, but politicians are increasingly becoming corrupt and accepting money from Jews who are responsible for all the ills that have befallen whites everywhere.

The prognostic framings of RWTs emphasize violence and separate development. Violence against Muslims, Jews, immigrants, people of colour, women, LGBTQ+, and religious minorities is proposed and justified in the name of survival. The white race is perceived to be in danger of 'cultural and ethnic replacement', and killing their enemies and forcibly removing them from Western countries is the only immediate solution to the threat. Separate development, meanwhile, is proposed as a long-term solution, which will allow members of the white race to

preserve their traditions and culture without the threat of multiculturalism and miscegenation.

Finally, the motivational framings call upon white males to defend their race from their political, racial, and cultural enemies. The call to action is concerned with establishing a new world order that will benefit whites at the expense of others. RWTs, like any social movement leaders, play a crucial role in spreading their beliefs and values and using action oriented sets of vocabularies to motivate other extremists to take action. The motivational framing is premised on the binary of 'us' vs 'them', and appeals to extremists' emotions by referring to notions of family and kinship, racial solidarity, survival, honour, and the collective good. The motivational framings of the movement provide extremists with rationale for taking action in accordance with the prognostic frames. RWTs use specific language centered around honour, family, survival, and the collective good to blunt the force of potential guilt the actors may feel and justify violent and cruel acts against their enemies. Overall, the motivational frames are based on racial solidarity, fear mongering, and deceit. The next chapter discusses the transnationality of RWEs and the movement as a whole.

Chapter 6: Right-wing Extremism as a Transnational Social Movement

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the RWTs' commonalities and their transnational nature. RWTs' actions are neither random, disparate acts of violence, nor conventional criminal actions. They embody a subterranean phenomenon in the interstitial space between protest (albeit individual rather than collective) and crime. These actors are representative of a violent, transnational social movement whose members share ideational fidelity and support each other on digital platforms. The manifestos reveal the terrorist's support for one another: Tarrant spoke reverently of Breivik while Crusius and Earnest proclaimed their support for Tarrant. Analysis of the manifestos demonstrates that the RWE ideology crosses national boundaries. Social media platforms are used to disseminate RWE ideology, propaganda, and manifestos. RWEs are increasingly forming connections through the medium of the internet, and bonding over their shared grievance: their hateful fears over immigrant invaders. Furthermore, while RWEs' targets vary according to region– almost always including Muslims and Jews– RWTs have taken their cruel and deadly attacks to a new level by live streaming it and challenging copycats to outdo their body count. The success and growth of the RWE movement is also dependent on the political opportunities created by populist and RWE leaders.

6.2 Transnational Nature of the Movement

The fact that RWE attacks are increasing globally is indicative of the movement's transnational nature. As Rapoport (2002) argues, when determining the transnational nature of a phenomenon like right-wing terrorism, what is crucial to establish is whether other states are simultaneously experiencing similar activities (p. 3). In the case of this study, the geographically diverse case studies, along with the significant increase in the number of RWE attacks in Europe

and the US (Auger, 2020), have made the transitional aspect of the movement evident. RWT Breivik in Norway, Roof, Crusius, and Earnest in the US, and Tarrant in New Zealand believe whites are being replaced by immigrants, and the most effective solution is mass killings of all non-white invaders. These terrorists perceive themselves as being engaged in a transnational battle. The terrorists' manifestos reference racist conspiracy theories in order justify violence against the Other while simultaneously urging other extremists to take action. Their attacks are a sign of global interrelation between RWEs and indicative of rapidly expanding transnational network of RWEs (Caniglia et al., 2020). So, the RWE movement is increasingly becoming more transnational due to the increase in the perceived threats (Auger, 2020).

The RWTs' manifestos also build connections between RWEs from all parts of the world, establishing the transnationality of the movement. Through their manifestos, RWTs are able to build off of each other's ideas and establish camaraderie. For example, while Tarrant (2019) asserts that he is not a member of any particular RWE group, he has donated to and interacted with many nationalist groups (p. 10). He claims to have received Breivik's blessings prior to his attack (Tarrant, 2019, p. 10). Tarrant (2019) also indicates his support for other RWTs, including Roof:

> I support many of those that take a stand against ethnic and cultural genocide. Luca Traini, Anders Breivik, Dylan [*sic*] Roof, Anton Lundin Pettersson, Darren Osbourne etc. [*sic*] But I have only had brief contact with Knight Justiciar Breivik, receiving a blessing for my mission after contacting his brother knights… Were your beliefs influenced by any other attackers? I have read the writings of Dylan Roof and many others, but only really took true inspiration from Knight Justiciar Breivik. (p. 18)

Tarrant also payed tribute to Bissonnette by writing his name on one of the guns he used for his attack (Cai & Landon, 2019). Similarly, Bissonnette read extensively about Roof's 2015 massacre before carrying out his attack (Cai & Landon, 2019). Prior to carrying out their own attacks, at least four other RWTs made statements online praising Rodger for his actions (Cai & Landon, 2019).

Evidently, European, American, and Canadian RWEs are rapidly learning from and supporting each other since they share a common goal. Crusius (2019) declares his support for Tarrant by saying:

> In general, I support the Christchurch shooter and his manifesto. This attack is a response to the Hispanic invasion of Texas. They are the instigators, not me. I am simply defending my country from cultural and ethnic replacement brought on by an invasion. (p.1)

Similarly, Earnest (2019) mentions his support for the 2018 Pittsburgh synagogue shooter, Robert Bowers, and Tarrant:

> Meme Robert Bowers back and keep up the memes of Brenton Tarrant. Tarrant was a catalyst for me personally. He showed me that it could be done. And that it needed to be done. "WHY WON'T SOMEBODY DO SOMETHING? WHY WON'T SOMEBODY DO SOMETHING? WHY DON'T I DO SOMETHING?" [emphasis in original] —the most powerful words in his entire manifesto. (p. 5)

Earnest's (2019) inspirations also include Jesus Christ and Adolf Hitler, demonstrating his religious and political influences (p. 7). Earnest (2019) goes as far as confessing that he chose a gun as his weapon because that is what Tarrant used in his bid to start a war between gun-advocates and the US government (p. 7). However, both individuals encourage their readers to choose whichever weapons they deem necessary and whichever one they believe will cause the highest number of fatalities. RWEs portray and perceive themselves as part of a transnational movement dedicated to saving the white race from 'white genocide'. Increasing immigration to the West along with changing demographics has made it easier for RWEs to recruit new members and increase their numbers. Further, their shared grievance enables them to find common ground despite their different geographic locations.

RWTs subscribe to the same beliefs and values (i.e. share ideational fidelity) and are attempting to start a race war with their actions. RWEs have always been motivated by their hatred of liberal democracy and the corresponding values and beliefs (Hoffman, 1982) since it supposedly

poses a threat to the survival of the white race. Thus, unless they take drastic measures, whites are at great risk of being ethnically and culturally replaced. The possible genocide of the white race is the reason behind Breivik, Roof, Tarrant, Earnest, and Crusius's incitement of a race war. After his arrest, Roof allegedly confessed to two law enforcement officials that his intent was to start a race war (Mosendz, 2015). Breivik, Tarrant, Earnest, and Crusius all make it clear in their writings that issues of race and their desire to start a race war is at the heart of narratives. Their use of terroristic violence is not only a means to defend the white race but also to provoke a race war which will, in their view, lead to a segregated and racially pure white homeland (Auger, 2020).

Even though the European and North American RWE movement is increasingly becoming interconnected and forming a wide network of online extremists ready to answer the call to action and commit violence for the cause, the movement as a whole remains decentralized and exists as an online leaderless resistance. As Kaplan (1997) explains, beginning in the late 1960s in the US, elements within the neo-Nazi movement came to view the idea of sustaining a mass revolutionary movement as impracticable due to a lack of popular support. Thus, members began advocating for a violent 'propaganda by the deed' approach to be undertaken by individual members, a tactic previously adopted by the Weather Underground (Kaplan, 1997). This 'leaderless resistance' trend was strengthened during the 1970s and 1980s with the death or imprisonment of leading members of RWE groups (Bouhana et al., 2018). By the 1990s it had transformed from being an isolated theory to being viewed as a matter of survival in the face of a purportedly corrupt government (Bouhana et al., 2018; Kaplan, 1997). Since the early 2000s, the concept of 'leaderless resistance' has been embraced and utilized by both Islamist extremists and RWEs (Bouhana et al., 2018).

Thus, from Breivik's 2011 massacre to Bissonnette's 2017 shooting of Muslim-Canadians to Tarrant's 2019 rampage, a continuing trend of racially motivated terrorist attacks carried out by

RWEs appear to be on the rise (Hamm & Spaaji, 2017), indicating the emergence of a transnational RWE movement. RWTs should not be thought of as isolated individuals liable to strike out of the blue (Bouhana et al., 2018). Rather, for a majority of them, ties to radical, extremist or downright terrorist individuals or groups are key elements in their adoption and maintenance of the motive, and sometimes also the means, to commit terrorist violence (Bouhana et al., 2018). These seemingly disparate individuals and groups are constitutive of an identifiable social movement: right-wing extremism. As Gentry (2004) contends, solidarity is an objective and collective action revolves around a solid, centralized identity. Therefore, although RWTs are often primarily defined as individuals who operate autonomously and independently of a group, it is important to recognize that their actions are not random, disparate acts of violence, but part of a transnational movement.

6.3 Forming Connections in the Age of the Internet

RWEs are becoming increasingly tech savvy in their attempt to recruit and radicalize individuals online. The use of popular counter-culture platforms such as Stormfront, 4chan, 8chan, and Reddit suggests a sense of community among RWEs. These platforms enable RWEs to share posts and messages, distribute their manifestos, create memes, and participate in discussion groups. This means that individuals can affiliate with the RWE movement without any physical contact with other members. RWTs have planned and live-streamed their attacks to amplify their message for years. Breivik had initially planned to behead Norway's previous prime minister, Gro Harlem Brundtland, on film and upload it on YouTube. However, his plan was foiled when he was unable to purchase an iPhone for recording the planned attack (Macklin, 2019). Rodger also had similar plans and was more successful than Breivik in carrying out his plans. After killing three men, Rodger proceeded to upload his video titled "Elliot Rodger's Retribution" wherein he speaks

of his hatred of women and his plans for them. After uploading his video, Rodger continued with his rampage and killed three more people. However, the most infamous example is Tarrant's live-streaming of his attack.

While manifestos are used to garner support, mobilize existing, and recruit new members, RWTs like Tarrant are choosing to live-stream their attacks for many of the same reasons. Tarrant live-streamed his attack on Facebook, with approximately 200 people watching it live, showing himself going from room to room inside the Al Noor mosque and fatally shooting 42 people before returning to his car to retrieve a second weapon (Brown, 2019; Pérez-Peña, 2019). Websites and messaging platforms such as 8chan, Discord, Reddit, Facebook, etc. have become an integral component of the RWE movement, and while these information sharing sites serve as a medium for the message, in Tarrant's case, his video was the message (Macklin, 2019). Tarrant's intent with live-streaming his attack was to show that it was possible for someone (like him) to actually go out and kill Muslims (making his call to action, "If I can do it, so can you" even more compelling) (Macklin, 2019). Tarrant's live-streaming of his attack demonstrated to other RWEs that it is, in fact, possible to stand up and take action for your race. As Macklin (2019) states, terrorism as theater becomes terrorism as video game through Tarrant's visual choreography of his attack, which simulated a first person shooter game.

Some of Tarrant's primary goals, similar to Breivik, Roof, and other RWTs', was to incite violence, create division, and start a race war. Tarrant live streamed his attack to ensure his message would be disseminated far and wide, beyond the confines of niche websites like 8chan and Discord and onto more mainstream sites such as Facebook and YouTube where more than 800 visually distinct versions of the video was uploaded (Macklin, 2019). The Internet also enabled social networking and communication websites to become a means for terrorists to recruit

supporters, mobilize members, and help their various movements gain traction. As evident in their citing of each other in their manifestos, RWTs are succeeding in spreading their message on the Internet and mobilizing movement members. The rapid dissemination of Tarrant's manifesto, despite the tech platform's attempts at preventing it, demonstrates RWEs' exploitation of the Internet in order to spread their message and gain supporters. The difficulty in preventing the spread of RWE propaganda lies with the fact that there are a multitude of broad and fragmented smaller platforms, websites, and forums that appear and disappear on a regular basis (Counter-terrorism Committee Executive Directorate [CTED], 2020). Terrorists and extremists will continue to use the Internet to their advantage unless companies like Facebook and YouTube develop and strengthen their counterterrorism policies.

6.4 Right-wing Extremism and Political Process Theory

Tarrow (1988) argues that state-created opportunities are extremely important in the development of social movements. In Europe, the last decade witnessed a surge of electoral successes for RWE parties, with thirty-nine European countries currently having RWE parties included in their parliament (Koehler, 2016). Popular RWE parties, such as National Front in France, Golden Dawn in Greece, Danish People's Party in Denmark, and Sweden Democrats in Sweden, have gained strong support due to the ongoing refugee crisis and radical Islamist-motivated terrorist attacks (Koehler, 2016; McAlexander, 2020). The refugee crisis and continuous radical Islamist-motivated terrorist attacks have not only resulted in the electoral successes of RWE parties, but also an increase in the number of RWT attacks and groups in Europe and North America (Koehler, 2016; McAlexander, 2020). Media coverage of infamous RWTs attacks have also inspired other RWEs to take action.

The state and its leaders often indirectly (or directly) support RWE groups with their words and actions in regards to issues of immigration. When the state's stance on issues such as illegal immigration closely resembles that of the extreme-right's, it can result in RWEs feeling emboldened and legitimate and like their violent actions would be more acceptable. The only difference is that most governments may prefer more legal methods of fighting such issues and may follow different objectives (Varga, 2008). Political developments can also impact social movements. For example, the election of Barack Obama as the US's first black president in 2008 led to an increase in the number of RWE groups and activities (ADL, 2015). Therefore, it was no surprise that eight years later, Donald Trump was elected president and welcomed with open arms by many on the extreme right (Berger, 2016). Writings of RWTs like Crusius reveal the significance and influence of Trump's presidency and hateful rhetoric, illustrating the dangers of a world leader that frequently uses the terms such as 'invasion', 'rapists', and 'illegal immigrants', among other derogatory labels, when referring to a segment of the population (Campbell, 2019).

Trump's ascendance to presidency cannot be separated from the growth of the RWE movement in the US and elsewhere. Trump's rise to popularity is related to whites' fears of the browning of the US, and while he became a totem for the white working class, his supporters consists of both well-off and working class whites (Bailey, 2016). Trump not only played to white conservatives' fear of the Other, but his hateful rhetoric, policies, and actions have gained him support from a large number of RWEs. Below are four examples of Trump's rhetoric, actions, and policies that helped gain him the support of RWEs.

First, Trump rose to prominence with a campaign based on the vilification and demonization of immigrants, people of colour, and religious minorities. From the very beginning of his candidacy, Trump went on a tirade against Mexico, declaring that: "They're laughing at us,

at our stupidity… And now they are beating us economically" (as cited in Reilly, 2016). On several occasions, he labeled Mexicans as rapists and criminals, stating, "They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists." (as cited in Reilly, 2016). Another Tweet by him blamed the rates of crime in the US on African-Americans and Hispanics (Planas, 2013). He also referred to African countries as "shithole" nations and expressed his disdain for non-white immigrants (Graham et al., 2019). The issue of immigration, which is a concern for the members of the right in general, is at the heart of the RWE movement. Immigration is framed as a threat to the survival of the white race. When politicians like Trump tap into the popular frustrations, they propel themselves into the spotlight and gain the support of conservatives and RWEs alike. Trump frames non-white immigrants as social, political, cultural, and economic enemies of whites everywhere, and himself as a defender of the white citizens of the US. Blaming immigrants for complex issues such as social instability, high unemployment rates, crime, and whites' declining birth rates transforms immigration into an omnibus issue with a common denominator, and plays into white anxieties surrounding multiculturalism (Williams, 2003). Moreover, it legitimizes RWE causes, concerns, and proposed violent solutions against the racialized Other.

Second, Trump has roused RWEs by referring to them as "fine people" (Coaston, 2019). The Unite the Right rally which took place in Charlottesville on 12th August, 2017 was a response to an April 2017 decision by the Charlottesville City Council to remove the statue of Robert E. Lee from Lee Park (Coaston, 2019). The rally was organized and attended by hundreds of white nationalists, neo-Nazis, and other RWEs. Confrontations quickly arose between RWEs and counter-protestors and escalated when RWE, James Fields Jr., rammed his car into a crowd of counter-protesters, killing Heather Heyer. Trump responded to the incident by claiming that, "there are very fine people on both sides" (as cited in Coaston, 2019). Trump's failure to condemn RWEs

and their hateful and destructive actions on that day was received positively by RWEs. To them, Trump's words signaled his approval of their cause and actions. RWE websites were suddenly flooded with content praising Trump, his actions, and his capacity as a leader of the RWE movement (Simon & Sidner, 2019).

Although RWEs were already motivated by his rhetoric, Trump's words and actions after the Unite the Right rally encouraged RWEs even more, with the Daily Stormer founder, Andrew Anglin, commenting that this is a race war (Simon & Sidner, 2019). Infamous white nationalist leader and one of the organizers of the rally, Richard Spencer, made it clear that the rally would not have happened without Trump and his potential as a nationalist leader (Graham et al., 2019). Furthermore, Trump's judicial appointment of RWEs like Steve Bannon, Michael Flynn, and Stephen Miller, and his association with other white nationalists, has further encouraged RWEs. Bannon's appointment as Trump's advisor, in particular, was a cause for celebration for many RWEs, who felt that, due to his strong adherence to the RWE ideology, Bannon would ensure Trump held true to his campaign promises on stopping immigration (ADL, n.d.b).

Third, Trump's family separation policy which took effect in early 2018, and has led to the separation of more than 2,000 children from their parents at the US border, has also encouraged RWEs and legitimized their proposal of violence against immigrants. The policy was announced as part of the Trump administration's zero tolerance policy for illegal immigration, specifically illegal crossings at the Mexican border (Rhodan, 2018). Children separated from their families are reportedly being held in cages in warehouses that function as detention centers. There are reports of abuse, neglect, children being taken to foster agencies, and in the case of young girls, fears and concerns about sexual assault, rape, pregnancy, and trauma (Rhodan, 2018).

Finally, another infamous example of Trump's immigration policy that corresponds with the RWE movement's prognostic framings is his 2017 travel ban, which became known as a 'Muslim ban'. Seven days after his inauguration, on 27th January, 2017, Trump signed an executive order banning all individuals from seven Muslim-majority countries (Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen) entry into the US (Arafa, 2018). The ban also banned refugees from all countries for 120 days while indefinitely banning Syrian refugees (Arafa, 2018). Trump justified the travel ban under the guise of national security, despite no terrorist attack taking place in the US by anyone from these countries. While the travel ban was blocked by several federal judges, in 2018, the Supreme Court upheld the ban, citing the president's power to secure the country's borders (Liptak & Shear, 2018). This is a clear victory for both Trump and RWEs. Trump's family separation policy and the travel ban are perfect examples of strategic policymaking practice that is in line with the RWE prognostic framings.

Trump's actions and policies are based on racial and religious grounds and justified in the name of national security and economic prosperity. The Trump administration's agenda closely resembles that of the extreme rights' with its scapegoating and demonization of immigrants and racial and religious minorities. From the beginning of his candidacy until now, Trump has electrified RWEs, making them feel heard and supported and as if their causes are legitimate. Trump's white nationalist tendencies and leanings are the reason behind the extreme right's approval of him. At the same time, it is Trump's actions and policies that have resulted in a growth in RWE activities. While RWE groups have existed in the US for a long time, Trump has created political opportunities and a type of hateful, xenophobic, and racist environment that is conducive to the growth of RWEs. Furthermore, in the age of globalization, populist leaders like Trump, and RWEs in general, are taking advantage of the struggles of white ordinary working class people to

promote their own agendas. Trump frames racism and xenophobia as empowerment of white people, and like the terrorists in this study, vows to fight for the rights of white people. Right-wing extremism is on the rise in the US since Trump himself is a product of right-wing populism (Potok, 2017).

Trump has created political opportunities for the RWE movement to grow and be successful in achieving its objectives (Meyer & Minkoff, 2004). In fact, he is actively and consciously working to bring about change that is in line with the prognostic framings of the movement through creating policies such as the family separation policy and the travel ban. It is no wonder then that RWE groups who are usually on the fringes of society are feeling emboldened and stepping into the spotlight, promoting their xenophobic and racist beliefs. Trump has not only emerged as a totem for the white working class plagued by anxieties surrounding multiculturalism, RWEs have also come to view him as a defender of white rights and their leader.

The extreme right's ideas are increasingly permeating and becoming part of the mainstream political and social discourse, especially on issues of immigration. While mainstream conservative commentators, pundits, and even the general public may not be using terms such as 'great replacement', 'white genocide', or 'ethnic replacement', their discourse focuses on portraying immigrants as invaders. The general prognostic and motivational frames through which conservative groups make their call for action may be less physically violent than that of the extreme right's, their diagnosis is, nevertheless, the same. Problems such as high unemployment rates, high crime rates, loss of social security, etc. are all linked to immigration by both factions of the right. Right-wing criticisms of immigration and multiculturalism, regardless of geography, are framed in terms of the need to defend the interests of the white race.

Moreover, populist leaders like Trump are the forefront of the movement helping to shift RWE ideas from the fringes of society to the mainstream. Trump specifically plays a crucial role with his repetitive labeling of immigrants as invaders, along with his reluctance to condemn RWEs. Although McVeigh, Breivik, and Roof's incidents precede Trump's presidency, and despite the fact that RWTs like Tarrant and Earnest reject him for failing to implement stricter policies (Tarrant, 2019, p. 16) as well as for being a "Zionist, Jew-loving, anti-white" (Earnest, 2019, p. 5) traitor, their ideologies echo a similar call for national restoration. Trump's campaign and presidency, similar to the RWE ideology, places a premium on the subjugation of the Other, remasculinization of the nation, and boastful pride, which speak to the perceived victimization of white-working class males by a multicultural and feminized society (Kelly, 2017).

Overall, RWEs and most conservatives alike have been emboldened by the Trump administration's policies and rhetoric (ADL, 2018). As Hochschild (2016) astutely observes, Trump appeals to his supporters by focusing on eliciting and praising emotional responses from them (p. 225). Populist leaders like Trump evoke feelings of national pride, dominance, and bravado from his white supporters who perceive themselves as victims of affirmative action, feminism, multiculturalism, and any advancements made by minorities (Hochschild, 2016). Trump appeals to white male's sense of encroaching disenfranchisement, validates their false perceptions with his rhetoric and policies, and empowers them (ADL, 2018). Thus, Trump's election becomes a reflection of the dread that right-leaning white men (and women) feel about their position in the world (ADL, 2018, 15). Correlating with the global expansion of the RWE ideology, populist leaders tolerant of right-wing, extralegal violence have also emerged in Southeast Asia in the form of Philippines President Rodrigo Duterte, in South America in that of Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro, and in Russia in the form President Vladimir Putin (Stevenson, 2019, p. 239).

Regardless of geography, the extreme right's discourse against immigration and multiculturalism employs a mix of references to religion, economic crisis and losses, and racist argumentation to justify their violent actions and hateful rhetoric (Caiani et al., 2012).

6.5 Conclusion

RWEs use social media sites to attract transnational support by raising awareness about themselves and their cause. RWE and terrorists frame their grievances, demands, goals, and tactics in a way that resonates with domestic and international potential supporters and proves valuable to new recruits. In turn, gaining international support demonstrates to existing members that they are not alone and encourages domestic mobilization. Moreover, the rhetoric, actions, and policies of leaders like Trump are crucial when it comes to the success and growth of the RWE movement. The growth of RWE groups in the US cannot be separated from Trump's presidency as he actively creates political opportunities for the movement to grow, gain support, and become more mainstream.

Whites' anxieties surrounding multiculturalism have been exacerbated by RWEs and Trump who blame immigrants, refugees, and migrants for high unemployment rates, high crime rates, declining fertility rates, and all other troubles plaguing the white working class. The racialization and scapegoating of immigrants defends white privilege and status and establishes that belonging to the nation is conditional on skin colour and religion. To be European or American, you must be white and Christian. To be anything else is to be the Other that presents a threat. In an age of poor social and economic conditions, Trump emerges as a leader who legitimizes whites' fears of losing dominance in the political and economic spheres and vows to fight globalization and multiculturalism with his 'America First' attitude. RWEs rallied and united

to place him in the White House because they believed that he would promote their agendas, create policies in accordance with their demands, and ensure the RWE movement's success. And they were right. To many on the (extreme) right, Trump's presidency is a natural and welcomed response to Obama and his administrations' policies which promoted liberal values of equality and multiculturalism. The following chapter provides a summary of the study's findings, discusses policy implications, and identifies future areas of study.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Summary

In order to contest the present reality of increasing incidents of right-wing terrorism, it is crucial to first understand its constructions and framings (Omi, 2001). This study uses social movement theory to investigate the phenomenon of right-wing extremism. Writings of seven infamous RWTs were selected for framing analysis based on their availability, adherence to RWE ideology, and motivations behind their terroristic actions. Using framing analysis (Goffman, 1974), the study explores RWTs' ideation, repertoires of action, and capacity for transnational networking. The findings indicate that while RWEs in North America and Europe have established shared grievances, grievances alone are not sufficient in mobilizing RWEs. Rather, a thorough analysis of the movement's framings illustrates that the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framings of the movement all work together as a cohesive whole and serve to mobilize adherents of the movement. It is evident that the writings, and dissemination of said writings, of RWTs play a crucial role in the mobilization process. The RWTs studied here, to an extent, all act as movement arrowhead, establishing grievances, recommending a course of action, justifying the use of violence as a solution, and overall, interpreting the framings of the movement for other RWEs.

Framing analysis of the terrorists' writings demonstrates that RWEs bridge emerging concerns to existing frames and old ideological elements. The RWE movement actively and consciously engages in depicting their grievances, and therefore, has a large presence of frames addressing broad political issues from immigration to women's reproduction rights to climate change. The diagnostic framings of the movement aim at issues of race, religion, gender norms, and government corruption. The racial framings of the movement are predicated on racial hierarchies (with whites at the top) and represent all non-whites as cultural, social, and economic threats. The religious framings conflate race with religion, especially in the US context, in a

manner that allows RWEs to justify violence against the Other by appealing to deep-seated racial and religious prejudices. The gender framings of the movement make it clear that misogyny is a cornerstone of the movement. RWEs, particularly males, believe they are victims of a multicultural and feminist society that no longer honours white, heterosexual males. The anti-government framings emphasize the failure of the corrupt political elites, arguing that American and European governments have failed to protect the interests and rights of their white citizens by advocating for increased immigration, equal rights, and becoming a pawn of the Jews.

The prognostic framings emphasize (political) violence and separate development. Any act of violence against Muslims, Jews, immigrants, people of colour, women, LGBTQ+, and religious minorities is justified in the name of survival. RWEs believe the white race to be in danger of 'cultural and ethnic replacement'. Thus, violence against, and forcible removal of, all non-whites is not only justified but absolutely necessary. In an attempt to appear more benign, the prognostic framings of the movement also recommend separate development as a long-term solution. Separate development, according to RWEs, will allow the white race to flourish and preserve their culture and traditions. The extreme right's repertoires of action, thus, include both violent and non-violent acts. It also consists of inwardly and outwardly oriented actions as white women are told to remain within the domestic sphere and focus on reproducing as many children as possible while white males are encouraged to go out and fight their enemies.

Finally, the motivational framings encourage white males to defend their race from their perceived political, racial, and cultural enemies. The call to action is concerned with establishing a new world order that will benefit whites at the expense of others. As movement totemic leaders, the RWTs in this study play a central role in propagating the motivational framing of the movements using action oriented sets of vocabularies that motivate other extremists to take action.

The motivational framing utilizes the binary of 'us' vs 'them', and plays on extremists' emotion by invoking concepts of honour, family and kinship, racial solidarity, and the collective good. The motivational framing rationalizes taking action that is in line with the prognostic framings of the movement. This framing is premised on racial solidarity, fear mongering, and deceit.

The study also demonstrates the impact of political leaders and the overall political climate, which provides political opportunities that lead to the growth of right-wing extremism. While the growth of populist and RWE parties and leaders like Trump alone are not sufficient in explaining increasing support for RWE ideas, there can be no doubt that the rhetoric, actions, and policies of these leaders and administrations contribute to an increase in the number of RWEs. Public and political support for extreme right ideas catalyze and encourage RWE violence (Varga, 2008).

7.2 Policy Implications

The findings of this study have several policy implications. First, given the terroristic and transnational nature of the movement, it is imperative that governments and law enforcement begin to recognize and identify incidents of right-wing violence as acts of terrorism and not just hate crimes. The label 'terrorist', for the most part (exceptions include Canada wherein RWE groups Blood and Honour and Combat 18 have officially been recognized as terrorist groups), is almost universally applied to Muslims. This not only distorts the public's perception of what constitutes a public safety threat, but many law enforcement and intelligence tools and resources are exclusively directed against radical Islamist-motivated terrorism. The resources must be redirected towards monitoring and preventing right-wing terrorism. Further, due to the transnational networks

of RWEs, it is important that states cooperate and share their resources and intelligence with each other in order to address the rapidly growing transnational threat.

Second, framing analysis of RWTs' writings illustrate the *mens rea* of their actions. RWTs and extremists must be understood as rational actors who carefully and extensively plan out their actions in order to achieve their desired goal: starting a race war. Rather than dismissing their acts as hate crimes or labelling RWTs as mentally unstable, and therefore, not criminally responsible, scholars, policy makers, and law enforcement must look at how situational circumstances shape RWEs' decisions to take action and belief that violence constitutes an appropriate response to their perceived plights.

Third, the Internet plays a crucial role in the recruitment and radicalization of RWEs. RWE platforms such as 8Chan and Stormfront are important mediums for disseminating RWE ideology, manifestos, hateful rhetoric, and propaganda. The RWTs studied here were radicalized online and most of them posted their manifestos online, where it was widely circulated prior to their attacks. Therefore, law enforcement and technology companies must cooperate and join their resources in order to better monitor these websites and prevent future right-wing inspired terrorist incidents from taking place.

7.3 Limitations and Future Areas of Study

This study represents a first step in investigating right-wing extremism as a social movement and is not without limitations. First, this study consists of only seven cases and in no way does it seek to generalize to the larger RWE movement. Rather, framing analysis of the RWTs' writings is meant to offer insight into the terrorists' cognitive framings, repertoires of actions, and capacity for building transnational networks. The findings can also serve to generate

new knowledge and research topics in regards to understanding and combating right-wing extremism. Future studies may look at how former and current RWEs interpret the movement's framings in order to understand how dynamic interactions between extremists and their surroundings lead to radicalization and violence.

Also, research shows that white women are increasingly becoming involved in RWE groups, despite the movement's misogynistic beliefs (Blee, 1991, 2002, 2005, 2012; Blee & Yates, 2017; Cunningham, 2003; Deutsch & Blee, 2012; Gonzalez-Perez, 2008). This is intriguing and worth researching. However, due to a lack of in-depth interviews with white female RWEs as well as the lack of writings by them, this study does not provide an explanation for white women's involvement in the movement. Future research should explore women's motivations for joining male-dominated RWE groups as well as their roles and responsibilities within their groups. To date, there is scant research on women's involvement in the RWE movement (notable exceptions include Bacchetta & Power, 2002; Blee, 1991, 2002, 2005, 2012; Scheck, 2004), yet, white women are increasingly joining the movement. Thus, there is a need to systematically and carefully study this development.

Future studies may also explore the similarities and differences in women's roles in Canadian, American, and European RWE groups, and explore the possibility of female extremists carrying out terrorist attacks. Finally, scholars may also explore how, and if, women are able to disengage and leave their groups and what the consequences are for them. Are female members more likely than the male members to exit or vice versa? Are the social, political, and economic consequences of leaving the group worse for female or male members? These are questions that future research can explore in order to understand the gendered nature of this process, and to begin

to conceptualize the phenomenon of white female terrorists and present relevant counterterrorism policies.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: List of Tables in the Study

Table 4.1. Relevant demographic characteristics of RWTs in this study

Names	Gender	Age	Nationality	Year of attack	Location	Target	# of fatalities
Timothy McVeigh	Male	33	American	1995	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	US Federal government	168
Anders Breivik	Male	40	Norwegian	2011	Oslo & Utoya, Norway	White Norwegians	77
Elliot Rodger	Male	22	American	2014	Isla Vista, California	Students at the University of California	6
Dylann Roof	Male	25	American	2015	Charleston, South Carolina	African-Americans	9
Brenton Tarrant	Male	28	Australian	2019	Christchurch, New Zealand	Muslims	51
John Earnest	Male	19	American	2019	Poway, California	Jews	1
Patrick Crusius	Male	21	American	2019	El Paso, Texas	Hispanics & Latino Americans	22

Appendix 2: Links to RWTs' Manifestos and Letter

1. Breivik, A. B. (2001, July 22). *2083: A European declaration of independence*. Public Intelligence.   https://info.publicintelligence.net/AndersBehringBreivikManifesto.pdf

2. Crusius, P. (2019, August 3). *Patrick Crusius Manifesto: The Inconvenient Truth*. Randall Packer. https://randallpacker.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/The-Inconvenient-Truth.pdf

3. Earnest, J. (2019, April 27). *An open letter*. Bard: CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF HATE.   https://bcsh.bard.edu/files/2019/06/Earnest-Manifesto-042719.pdf

4. McVeigh, T. (2001, May 6). *Why I bombed Oklahoma*. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/may/06/mcveigh.usa

5. Rodger, E. (2014, May 23). My twisted world: The story of Elliot Rodger. Document Cloud. https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/1173619/rodger-manifesto.pdf

6. Roof, D. S. (2015, June 17). *Dylann Roof's manifesto*. TPM. https://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/dylann-roof-manifesto-full-text

7. Tarrant, B. (2019, March 15). *The great replacement: Towards a new society*. Wikispooks. https://wikispooks.com/w/images/5/50/The_Great_Replacement.pdf