AN EMPERICAL ASSESSMENT OF WHITE

NATIONALIST IDEOLOGY ON A COLLEGE CAMPUS

By

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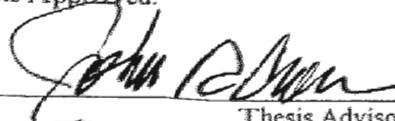Southeastern Oklahoma State University
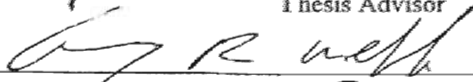
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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the men with whom I served during my tour of duty in the Marine Corps. Both Black and White, from small towns and the inner cities, we proved that race is irrelevant, and served together admirably to keep our world free of tyranny and oppression.

Acknowledgements

First I would like to thank my parents, Michael R. Jones Sr. and Anita Matthews, and my Grandmother, Henrietta Dawson. Your love and support over these infinite college years has been the key to my success.

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The brothers of Alpha Gamma Rho fraternity must be acknowledged for their friendship these past few years. You have made life in Stillwater an unforgettable, fun loving experience.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine the ideologies of White Nationalists and how these ideologies relate to white college students. White Nationalism can be defined as a variant of racial nationalism that holds that those people racially defined as white constitute a nation ("Party Crashers" 2000). Therefore, according to this definition, those who are not White are regarded as aliens, not members, or natural citizens of the 'White Nation'. Five variables were used to predict the ideological makeup of White Nationalists and how these variables relate to Whites in college.

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center ("National Alliance" 2000) these hate groups once appealed primarily to older White men in mostly rural areas with little education and blue-collar jobs, and later attracted young ruffians called Neo-Nazi skinheads. But in the last few years, these groups have begun to concentrate their efforts on recruiting middle and upper class college students.

Some questions this study will consider are: Is there a relationship between White college students and White Nationalist's attitudes towards Blacks and Jews? Do they share similar religious views? What literature and music do they consider to be significant? Is there a relationship between authoritarian personality traits between the two? Thus, the research question to be analyzed is: Do the ideologies of those involved

in the White Nationalist movement reflect the attitudes and beliefs of white students on college campuses? What concepts will indicate their views? Racism, religion, authoritarianism, literature, and music are the five variables this researcher will look at.

For many years, hate groups have tried to reach out to college students in a bid to drum up new recruits. The Neo-Nazi National Alliance leader William Pierce once wrote that Alliance members should engage in "one-on-one recruiting of selected individuals whose training or skills make it possible for them to increase the Alliance's capabilities" ("Year Hate" 2001).

Importance of Study

When the Alfred P. Murrah federal building in Oklahoma City was bombed, many Americans were shocked to learn that the terrorists were actually other Americans. The event focused the nations' attention on the growing number of the extreme racist right. Over the last twenty years a variety of white supremacist organizations have sprouted, ranging from young Neo-Nazi skinheads to sovereign citizens' common law courts, to paramilitary militia groups. These disparate organizations, while different in many ways, share certain goals including an anti-Semitic government agenda and a utopian vision of White male hegemony.

Colleges across America have long been targets of hate group recruiting. As long ago as 1980, for instance, the Ku Klux Klan littered University of Washington dormitories with literature urging students to join the "Klan Youth Corps." Much more recently, Southwest Texas State University was inundated by e-mail propaganda from the Neo-Nazi National Alliance. The National Alliance has always sought a "higher class of

person" than your garden-variety hater. For years, the group has boasted of the doctors, engineers and other white-collar professionals found among its ranks. Now they have concentrated their recruiting efforts on colleges and universities to keep the "quality" of people coming in ("Hate Goes" 2000).

Law enforcement agencies and university officials must collaborate and implement proactive management strategies to deal with this problem. Multi-jurisdictional networking would help authorities keep ahead of recruiting efforts by these groups through sharing information and other management strategies.

Sociological Importance

A major concern of sociologists is the explanation of social change and how this relates to the development of deviant subcultures. Emile Durkheim's (1895) concept of anomie is associated with social change and refers to the economy. An anomic or pathological economy increases egoistic behavior because it frees individuals from the moderating action of moral regulation and places the individual in a 'state of war with every other' (85-107). Anomie is a characteristic of industrialized societies, where individuals use any means in attempting to satisfy their wants.

Elaborating on Durkheim's concept of anomie, Robert Merton (1938) assumes 'inadequate socialization' causes these individuals to fail in their attempts to achieve status in society and then develop 'adaptations' which help them overcome the discrepancy between goals and means. In terms of Merton's five modes of adaptation, the White Nationalists assume the roles of "innovator" and "rebel". They are "innovators" because they accept certain conventional success goals, like jobs, families

and status but reject contemporary middle class goals, like affirmative action, multiculturalism, and racial tolerance replacing these goals with their own "altruistic-communal motivation," creating a racially pure society and preserving the White community. The rebellion becomes status conferring in and of itself. This contradicting location reflects how these groups reject some goals, while maintaining others. High status is the goal, but liberal middle-class ideas are reflected as part of the problem.

Involvement with this rebellious subculture is also considered an outgrowth of rejecting dominant goals associated with education and employment. These groups first emerged in the 1980s, where the social and political contentions of the Regan era seemed to have produced conditions conducive to extreme alienation among White middle and working-class. "As a result of the Regan Administration's offensive against municipal affirmative action plans, one would think the white male had become the primary victim of discrimination in this country" (Barrett 1989:4).

To comprehend the concept of anomie among White males during the 1980s, it is important to understand the theory of dual labor markets and its challenge to the integration of women and minorities in the work force. The dual labor market comprises a primary and a secondary sector. The primary sector is divided into two tiers: upper and lower. The upper tier is composed of the technical, professional, and managerial jobs that require some general skills, formal education, and problem solving ability. Salespersons, clerical, and skilled workers make up the lower tier, which require lower general skill and education requirements than the upper tier. The secondary sector is consists of jobs such as transport and heavy equipment operators, unskilled laborers, and service workers. Few skills are required for these jobs, and there is little or no

opportunity for advancement (Gordon 1979; c.f. Noyelle 1987). Traditionally, the occupations of the primary labor market were available to White males while women and minorities were channeled into dead-end jobs of the secondary labor market. However, the domination of the primary labor market by white males "has been overtaken by sweeping historical changes" (Noyelle 1987:12). The implementation of women and minorities into the primary labor market was a slow process, which gained momentum over a period of several decades.

Structurally, the primary labor market dominated by White males came under attack with the advent of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) following the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Noyelle 1987). However, the full strength of EEO was slow to set in motion. Then after over 2,000 individual cases had been filed with the EEO-Commission (EEO-C) between 1965-1970 charging the American Telegraph and Telephone Company (AT&T) with employment discrimination, the EEO-C saw this as an opportunity that would yield greater institutional impact rather than the practice of case-by-case litigation of discrimination complaints that it pursued at first (Northrop and Larson 1979; c.f. Noyelle 1987). In January 1973, AT&T, the EEO-C, the U.S. Department of Justice, and the U.S. Department of Labor agreed to a consent decree to eliminate discrimination by: (1) facilitating lateral moves of women and minorities into better departments; (2) establishing objectives for increasing the number of women and minorities in particular occupational ranks even if it required overriding the seniority rights of White male workers; and (3) investing additional, money to prepare women and minorities for these positions.

Throughout the seventies the EEO-C developed decrees and applied them to the primary segment of the economy. During this time the job market favorably increased externally as well as internally for women and minorities. Between 1970 and 1984 27.2 million new jobs were added to the economy of which members of these groups filled two-thirds. By late 1984 White males no longer constituted the majority of the labor force. The increased opportunities for women and minorities drastically affected White males at every level of labor market segmentation. As the opportunities for upward mobility disappeared in the primary labor market during the 1980's it increased competition by adding over-qualified workers to the secondary labor market. Therefore, a loss of status was felt by a large percentage of White males in every class during the eighties. Thus, many of these frustrated workers turned to alternate means of regaining their lost status as opportunities disappeared.

With the current downturn of the economy and as White males struggle to find employment after graduating from college it is expected that the radical right will continue to find membership on college campuses. William Pierce of the National Alliance agrees; "The rise in membership numbers that began two years ago continues, and a recession next year should cause membership to rise even more rapidly," he wrote in November 2000. "The recruiting machinery we have built is in place and functioning" ("Year Hate" 2001).

Preview of the Remaining Chapters

Chapter 2 offers an extensive review of literature relevant to White Nationalist ideology, origins of Neo-Nazi skinheads, and racism on college campuses. The chapter

begins with a background of White Nationalists and the various terrorist activities committed by these groups.

Also in Chapter 2, the micro and macro levels of strain theory will be reviewed and a modified social control theory of terrorism will be introduced as the theoretical framework for conducting the ensuing study. As will be expanded on in chapter two, Hamm (1994), draws on Gibbs' (1989), theory of terrorism but qualifies and extends it to arrive at a modified deterrent vicarious social control approach. Specifically, Hamm examined whether an array of social processes affected the incidence of terrorism among a group of Neo-Nazi skinheads. Hamm's modified social control theory suggests that two separate skinhead groups that differ in their experiences with social processes have different attitudes toward terrorism.

Chapter 3 describes the methodology used to conduct this research study. Using quantitative analysis, the ideological framework of White Nationalists was compared to White college students. It is suggested that there is recruiting efforts of White Nationalists on college campuses; however, no studies have been done to measure the extent of these efforts. As will be discussed further in Chapter 3, surveys will be administered to the two separate groups to examine the ideological differences.

In Chapter 4, the findings of the research will be discussed. This chapter discusses, in detail, what the data indicate about the effect of White Nationalist ideology on college students. It also points out similarities and differences in the ideologies of the members of these Neo-Nazi organizations and students.

Finally, in Chapter 5, this researcher makes concluding remarks about the study and the need for more collaboration between law enforcement and university officials.

Some recommendations are given to help both police agencies and academic

administrators to restrict recruiting efforts of white supremacist groups. This researcher

will also make some assumptions regarding the possible impact the results of this study

could have on law enforcement and university collaboration.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Southern Poverty Law Center has recently identified 554 White Nationalist groups in existence throughout the United States, 5 of which are in Oklahoma (Swain 2002). Although it is difficult to estimate the total size of these groups because of their concealed membership, the general membership in White Nationalist organizations is estimated to be around 40,000 while hard-core members number between 23,000 and 25,000. An additional 150,000 people purchase movement literature and take part in movement activities, and an added 450,000 read the movement literature, even though they do not purchase it themselves (Daniels 1997:19). Domestic terrorism in the United States perpetrated by these groups has rapidly increased in the past 20 years. The cases of violent acts directed at the government and its' officials, ethnic and other minorities, synagogues, and black churches have confounded law enforcement agencies. These acts of violence include the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City in 1995; mail bombs directed at federal judges and NAACP leaders; random acts of violence targeting homosexuals, Blacks, Jews, Hispanics, and Asians; the burning of Black and mixed congregation churches in the South; the July 24, 1998 shootings at the nations capitol; and the June 1998 dragging death of a Black man in Texas (Sharpe 2000).

On the surface, these appear to be separate and unrelated incidents. Currently, more of these events can be linked to a plot perpetuated by a single organization. Acts of domestic terrorism in the United States have been connected to White Nationalist ideology that has created the climate for and gives legitimacy to violence aimed at these specific targets (White 1989). A review of the literature suggests that there are five variables that may be important in explaining the ideological makeup of White Nationalists. Although no research has been conducted to perceive how this ideology has infiltrated our colleges and universities there is evidence that these White Nationalist groups stress these concepts on college campuses through various recruitment techniques. These techniques consist of, but are not limited to: pamphlets and leaflets, newspapers, periodicals, books, music, the Internet, and face-to-face recruiting.

According to Swain (2002), there are conditions on college campuses that make students particularly vulnerable to recruitment strategies from White power organizations. These conditions make White students more susceptible to the messages being spread by White Nationalists in all of its "various guises". The presentation of this message through popular and public media within the larger context of a racially charged environment makes it one that is powerfully attractive to many Whites of student age.

Racism

White Nationalist organizations believe that races are essentially and externally different, not only in terms of visible characteristics, but also behaviorally and culturally, and that races are ranked hierarchically based on these supposedly innate differences.

They believe the White race is superior and responsible for all the advances of western civilization (Ferber 1999).

Anti-Semitism

Centuries before the United States even existed, racist ideologies have regarded Jews as despicable creatures whose inferior physical, mental, and moral traits are inherited and passed on to successive generations. According to White Nationalist discourse, Jews populate or control the United States government, international banking and finance, and most industry. They believe that Jews also control our major source of information in this country, the news media, and are referred to by the acronym Z.O.G. (Zionist Occupied Government) (Daniels 1997).

Those extremists who believe in the so-called Z.O.G. Theory hold the most explicitly anti-Semitic views. They accept parts of the race ideology of Nazism, use expressions such as Aryan race and Jewish race, and believe the distinctions between these groups are rooted in both psychology and biology. They also talk about the need to conserve the purity of the Aryan race. Some of them also believe Jews to be responsible for everything evil and associate this belief to political ideologies such as communism, liberalism, and to the mafia. Others have a more diffuse hatred of Jews (Fangen 1998).

Z.O.G. Theory seems to be attractive to these groups mostly because it offers relatively sophisticated explanations for their feelings of political persecution. These individuals feel they are watched, excluded, and attacked not because of the falseness of their views but because the evil Z.O.G. conspirators know that they are right and are determined to fight them and their correct view of the world by all means possible,

(Fangen 1998). Z.O.G. theory simplifies the world and also legitimates and motivates action. For those that believe in it, Z.O.G. becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, is the true holder of power in this world, and it is to Z.O.G.'s tune that the leaders on the Nation dance (Kaplan 1998).

Members of the right-wing movement have focused much of their aggression on Jewish persons and property such as the firebombing of the Embassy Theater in Seattle, WA; attempting to burn the congregation Ahovath Israel Synagogue in Boise, IA; and the machine gunning of Alan Berg, a Jewish talk show host, outside his home in Denver, CO, (Smith 1994). In 1999 the Anti-Defamation League reported 60 anti-Semitic incidents on college campuses across the nation ("Listing Reported" 1999).

Anti-Black

Blacks are depicted by White Nationalist discourse as the anti-thesis of whites in every way. This process relies on many of the themes that have been prevalent in racist ideologies for centuries and which are evident in the contemporary White Nationalist discourse (Daniels 1997). This discourse asserts that the White race faces the threat of genocide, orchestrated by Jews and carried out by blacks through forced race mixing. This race mixing will result in the mongrelization, and therefore annihilation of the White race. Interracial sexuality is defined as the ultimate abomination, and images of White women stolen away by black men are the ever-present symbol of that threat (Ridgeway 1990).

The overwhelming numbers of campus hate crimes are racially motivated and involve perpetrators who are White males and victims who are Black males (Winbush

1999). It is the author's opinions that interracial dating on college campuses could possibly be the cause of some of these hate crimes. A recent college study showed White males were the most resistant to interracial dating (Moore 2000). White males who are already resistant to Black-White dating are a prime targets for White Nationalist propaganda, (i.e. when "our women" begin to date "them" or when "they" come onto our campus and begin to "take over").

Of the various anti-Black issues and controversies exploited by contemporary White Nationalists, few have been more important than the issue of affirmative action. Many Americans of different races oppose the use of quotas or racial preferences to achieve the goals of affirmative action policies (Swain 2002). European Americans are among the most angered over racial preferences, and an increasing number of them could become vulnerable to the appeals of White Nationalist rhetoric, particularly if a downturn in the economy increases uncertainty about the future (Kaplan & Weinberg 1999).

Portraying affirmative action as an unfair and illegal form of racial discrimination, White Nationalists have successfully adopted rhetoric of racial grievance that has resonated well with more mainstream elements in the American population (Swain 2002). Whites are rapidly becoming an aging numerical minority, surrounded by poorer, faster-growing minority populations all presently eligible for racial preferences (Kaplan & Weinberg 1999). This is bound to cause heightened anxieties, resentments, and insecurities, especially among those in the ranks of White male college students whose economic and social position is least secure.

Although social scientists have described college as being a liberalizing experience (e.g. Newcomb 1943; Wood & Chesser 1994; c.f. Voils, Ashburn-Nardo, and

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Monteith 2002) recent findings have found that White college students attitudes toward affirmative action are quite consistent with previous research beyond the college setting (Kluegel 1990; Kluegel and Smith, 1986; Lipset 1996; Schuman and Steeh 1996; Steeh and Krysan 1996). For example, 25.8 percent of White college respondents would support an anti-affirmative action proposition, 65.2 percent do not believe Black job seekers should be given special consideration in hiring, 50.8 percent believe Blacks have reduced Whites' chances for jobs and promotions, and 50.9 percent oppose quotas to admit Black students to colleges and universities. With these types of attitudes among White college students our nation's campuses could be considered "fertile breeding grounds" for these Neo-Nazi organizations.

Literature

Just as the Baptist Fundamentalist preachers have predicted with biblical certainty the date of the end of the world, members of the radical right have used their own literature to predict the end of liberty in the United States (Bell 1962).

This first apocalypse can be found in *The John Franklin Letters* (1959), which portrayed America being "sovietized" by the communists in 1970. The beginning of the end comes in 1963, when the World Health Organization send in a Yugoslav inspector, under powers granted by the President of the United States, to search any house he chooses. The Yugoslav inspector discovers, in the house of a good American, a file of anti-Communist magazines, seizes them as deleterious to the mental health of the community but is shot by the American, who escapes to the woods. The infiltration continues and by 1970, the United States, thanks to the global do-gooders, has become

part of a World Authority dominated by the Soviet-Asian-African bloc. This authority suspends the United States' right to govern itself because of the "historic psychological genocide" against the Negro race. United Nations administrators, mostly Red Chinese, are sent in to rule the U.S. and Harlem, triumphant, arises and loots the liquor stores. The city proletariat, its sense of decency destroyed by public housing, begins to raid the suburbs. In short order, twenty million Americans are "done away with," while the people are subjected to torture by blowtorch and rock-'n'-roll, the latter on television.

Meanwhile, the good Americans begin to fight back. As far back as 1967, John Franklin and his friends had been stockpiling rifles. Franklin describes in gory detail a total of fourteen patriotic murders: two by fire, one by hammer, one by strangling, two by bow and arrow, one by defenestration, one by drowning, and the rest by shooting. These brave actions are sufficient to turn the tide-despite the atom bomb, a huge invasion army, and absolute terror. By 1976, the people all over the world go into the streets, and everywhere Communism falls. The assumption is that Communism is so inefficient it cannot build heavy tanks or heavy weapons. All that is necessary is the courage of a few determined men, practicing the "simple virtues," to overthrow this clumsy Moloch.

The John Franklin Letters was widely read and distributed by members of the John Birch Society. This organizations primary objective was to save America from an international communist plot. The Birch Society also opposed several governmental organizations such as the International Labor Organization, UNICEF, and liberal social movements such as Civil Rights.

Although the Birch program, under the guidance of its leader Robert Welch, has been known to discourage anti-Semitism; however, there is much journalistic evidence

that anti-Semites have tried to attach themselves to the Birch Society (Lipset 1962). One particular ex-Bircher, Tom Metzger used anti-Semitism as a common theme from the 1960s through the 1990s and has become a secretive and highly skilled organizer of extreme right-wing factions dedicated to clandestine forms of militarized racial and ethnic violence (Hamm 1993).

For Metzger, the John Birch society held revolutionary ideas that offered a compelling response to the dangers of cold war America. He quickly embraced the organization's concept of a command infiltration of communists into American government and news media, and began to theorize that Jews were at the heart of this conspiracy (Langer 1990). Metzger soon withdrew his membership from the Birchers when he was prohibited by the leadership from using the organization's name in behalf of his public defilements of Jewish bankers and businessmen. After his failure in several political campaigns, Metzger retreated to his television repair shop in Fallbrook, CA to concentrate on distributing instructional handbooks on terrorism and guerrilla warfare in order to promote future far right paramilitary activities. One of the books he distributed was a science fiction novel entitled *The Turner Diaries*. This book is considered by many (Flynn and Gerhardt 1989; Langer 1990; Sapp 1991; Singular 1987; Wallace 1985) to be the contemporary bible of hard-core racists in the United States.

The Turner Diaries (1978) depicts an underground extremist army that wages a 1990s race war against a Jewish controlled U.S. government. In the book, the Cohen Act, passed by Congress, outlawed gun ownership and invested human relations councils with police powers to force racial integration and miscegenation on the public. In response, a white guerrilla resistance force led by the books protagonist, Earl Turner, has been

formed and its' secret elite set of commanders are known as The Order. Turner and his guerilla band wage warfare against the Jewish controlled government through the successful truck bombing of FBI headquarters and a mortar attack on the U.S. capital building. The Order also stages a series of small-scale military strikes, assassinations of Cohen Act supporters, as well as counterfeiting operations and armored car robberies to provide monetary support for their resistance. In the end, 1999, the white revolutionaries win their war against the government after gaining territory in Southern California, killing thousands of Jews and minorities, and commandeering the nuclear missiles at Vandenberg Air Force Base to annihilate the nation of Israel (Hamm 1993).

Shortly after it was written, *The Turner Diaries* inspired an actual crime spree in the early 1980s by a white supremacist gang that called itself The Order. Led by Robert Matthews, The Order attempted to begin an Aryan revolution by committing such crimes as murder, robbery, counterfeiting, and the bombing of a synagogue. More recently, inspired by The Order and *The Turner Diaries*, members of another White Nationalist gang calling itself the Aryan Republican Army committed 22 bank robberies and bombings across the Midwest between 1992 and 1996 (Swain 2002).

Most notably, *The Turner Diaries* is thought to be the inspiration behind Timothy McVeigh's bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995. McVeigh was so impressed with the book that he sent copies of the novel to friends, with notes encouraging them to read it, and sold the book at weekend gun shows. In addition, in a search of the car McVeigh drove on the day of the bombing, FBI agents found a copy of a highlighted passage, which focused on terrorist bombings of the United States capital and an airliner bound for Tel Aviv (Hamm 1993).

Although *The John Hope Letters* is a futuristic account of a homeland revolution against communism and *The Turner Diaries* deals with a race war against a Jewish controlled government, one cannot help but notice similarities between the two. William Pierce, the author of *The Turner Diaries*, was a member of the John Birch Society in the early 1960s. However, like Tom Metzger, Pierce's views became too radical for the Birchers and eventually left the organization and became involved with other hard right political organizations. In 1966, Pierce moved to Washington D.C. and began associating with George Lincoln Rockwell, the founder and leader of the American Nazi Party (ANP). Pierce claims that he was never a member of the ANP, but he met with Rockwell often and became the editor of the National Socialist World, a quarterly publication aimed at intellectuals and academics that were published by Rockwell's world union of National Socialists. After Rockwell's assassination in August 1967, Pierce became one of the principal leaders of the National Socialist White Peoples Party (NSWPP), the successor to the ANP. In 1970, Pierce left the NSWPP and joined the National Youth Alliance (NYA), another far right political group, founded by Willis Carto in 1968, that attempted to recruit college students to "smash" liberal causes on campus. Ongoing disagreements between Carto and Pierce caused the NYA to split into two factions, and by 1974 Pierce's wing became known as the National Alliance. The National Alliance is currently the largest and most active neo-Nazi organization in the nation. In the past several years, dozens of violent crimes, including murders, bombings, and robberies, have been traced to National Alliance members or appear to have been inspired by the group's propaganda (Swain 2002).

Another book found to be significant in white nationalist ideology is Adolf

Hitler's, *Mein Kampf* (Hamm 1993; Swain 2002). On the basis of the preordained

inequality of races, Hitler categorically asserted a hierarchy of races. Thus, the Aryan by

virtue of natural endowment was superior to the Jew, to the Negro, to the Mongoloid

races, and the Nordic was superior to all other Aryans. Human races were considered as

species with fixed immutable characteristics. Hitler implied that nature had divided the

organic world into species and willed the preservation of their identity, i.e., the purity of

races or species, (Staudinger 1981).

In *Mein Kampf* (1939) Hitler declared that a mating between higher and lower

species was a blatant violation of the "aristocratic" law of nature because, he wrote:

> It contradicts nature's will to breed life as a whole towards a higher level. The stronger
> has to rule and he is not to amalgamate with the weaker one, that he may not sacrifice his
> own greatness. Only the born weakling can consider this cruel, for, if this law were not
> dominating, all conceivable development towards a higher level, on the part of all
> organically living being, would be unthinkable for man (390).

The value, the vitality and the strength of the people, Hitler argued, was

determined by its' racial composition. A nation made up of different peoples, composed

of different racial elements, and therefore holding a number of different concepts of life

could not endure, unless the core people—the potential master race—with its' capacity

for organization and its creative gift in the sphere of culture and politics gained the upper

hand over the other peoples constituting the nation. Strength and weakness of nations

depended upon their racial composition. The purer a nation in its racial makeup, the

stronger it would be (Staudinger 1981). Although a race was fundamentally a biological

concept for Hitler, it contained, at the same time, an overwhelming historico-

metaphysical factor of determinism; the innate qualities of a race determined its political and cultural fate. Thus, only Aryans were capable of creating culture in this world.

The concept of anti-Semitism can also be found in *Mein Kampf*. Jews, Hitler believed, had strangled the nations of the world and were preparing to make true their age-old dream of world domination. He described the Jew as the main danger to the Aryan world-to the purity of the Aryan races. The Jew became the prime antagonist of Aryanism. The Aryan was the creator; the Jew was the destroyer. For, declared Hitler:

> The Jew possesses no culture-creating energy whatsoever, as the idealism, without which there can never exist a genuine development of man towards a higher level, does not and never did exist in him. His intellect, therefore, will never have a constructive effect, but only a destructive one; any progress of mankind takes place not through him but in spite of him. (418)

Hitler imagined that the Jew continuously schemed for world domination, and in order to accomplish this they utilized the press:

> He puts himself into possession of it with all toughness, but also with infinite versatility. With it he begins slowly to grasp and to ensnare, to a lead and to push the entire public life, because now his is in a position to produce and to conduct the power which, (sic), under the name of "public opinion" is better known today than it was few decades ago. (433-4).

In 1984, 25-year-old Clark Reid Martell started what is considered to be the first neo-Nazi skinhead gang in the United States after he read *Mein Kampf*. This book influences impressionable individuals to adopt a synthetic ideology combining their vitriolic anti-Semitism and traditional hatred of African Americans, gays and liberals with extreme militarism, love of family, and fundamentalist Christianity (Hamm 1993).
Religion

Religious Fundamentalism

The role of religion in society can be both a positive force as well as a negative force in our lives (Altemeyer & Hunsberger 1997; Hunsberger & Platonow 1986; Wylie

& Forest 1992; c.f. Lone 2000). In regard to prejudice, Allport (1954) has stated that "The role of religion is paradoxical. It makes prejudice and it unmakes prejudice. Some people say the only cure for prejudice is more religion; some say the only cure is to abolish religion" (cited in Lone 2001: 23).

One would think that to be religious means to be accepting, helpful, and tolerating of other people-even if they are different from you in regard to race, ethnicity, gender, socio-economic status, etc. However, Lone (2001) has found there is a long research history supporting the finding that religion is associated with prejudice and other negative attributes (e.g., authoritarianism). Lately, the research has looked at more specific religious factors as a way to narrow down the broad religious construct into more explainable and manageable factors (Lone 2001).

A recently constructed specific religious factor is fundamentalism. Christian Fundamentalism is becoming a strong political force in society. Young people seeking meaningful lives are attracted to these nondenominational, fundamentalist groups with charismatic leaders. Many mainstream Christian fundamentalist views come close to but fall just short of a full-blown Christian Identity ideology. Fundamentalists are generally against the practice of abortion and frown upon the ideas as multi-culturalism, affirmative action, and diversity. Furthermore, many fundamentalist groups are suspicious of the federal government. Although most of these organizations do not openly advocate racial hatred, in light of the polarization among Blacks and the emergence of an inner-city underclass frequently given media coverage, it would not be difficult for a paradigm shift to occur. The fundamentalists believe that Armageddon is very near as evidenced by the crime rates and the overall devaluation of human life. Some future charismatic leader

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could indeed cite Blacks and other non-Whites as the cause of social problems and the uninformed masses could believe it (Sharpe 2000).

Religion is one of the key concepts in which people identify themselves and foster a "common sense of peoplehood", (Gordon 1978; c.f. Dobratz 2000). It can also be used to foster collective identity in various social movements. There are three differing fundamentalist religious views in the reactionary right-wing movements that reinforce the concept of racialism to foster white pride and group identity: Christian Identity, World Church of the Creator, and Odinism/Wotanism, (Dobratz 2000).

Christian Identity

Three beliefs have been identified as central to the Christian Identity movement: (1) White "Aryans" are the offspring of the tribes of Israel according to the Bible; (2) Jews are the children of the devil, a relationship that is traced back to the sexual relationship between Satan and Eve in the Garden of Eden; and (3) The world is rapidly approaching a final apocalyptic struggle between good and evil with Aryans battling a Jewish conspiracy to try to save the world (Barkun 1997).

Identity Theory derives from a book by Edward Hine, *Identification of the British Nation with Lost Israel*, published in England in 1871. According to this text, those described in the Bible as "Israelites" left the Middle East in 700 B.C., traveling north through the Caucasus Mountains until they arrived and settled in the British Isles. Thus, Caucasians, including Anglo-Saxons, Celts, and Scandinavians, are the "true Jews" while the people known today, as Jews actually are a Mongolian Turkish race called Kozars descended directly from Satan. Notable Biblical figures such as Moses, Abraham, and Jesus were not considered to be Jews. They, along with all white people, are descendants

of Adam through his son, Abel, while all Jews are descendants of Satan through his son, Cain, who was fathered by the serpent. The praise given by god in the Bible for God's "chosen people" refers to white people, and the wrath for infidels refers to Jews. Identity theology teaches that God created "the yellow race, brown race, and red race" on the third day and that they were not given souls. Only Adam and Eve and their "seed" were given souls when they were created on the sixth day (Daniels 1997).

By the mid-1880s, C.A.L. Totten, a Military Science professor at Yale University attracted the attention of Edward Hine. Totten had published a book on British Israelism and a series of articles on the subject for the New Haven Register in New Jersey. Although his early writings were free of anti-Semitic references, by 1897, however, he began to write expansively on the subject. Totten described Jews as "thrifty industrious and philanthropic" but, they were also clever in the trade of money making. Collectively this made them a serious danger to our society and the government. His fear was that while the Christian rich were nationals of their respective countries first and foremost, Jews, "are Jews first, and Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Russian, afterwards." They used their wealth to buy newspapers in order to mold public opinions and thus "render all policies subservient to the Jewish supremacy." The outcome, according to Totten was the "Jewish conquest of the world" (Barkun 1997).

Although there was a period of stagnation in the development of British Israelism in the United States during the early 20th century, that gap was soon filled by a Massachusetts lawyer by the name of Howard Rand. Rand would dominate British Israelism in America from the late 1920s until the end of WW II. Rand, a second generation British Israelite, whose father had been a reader of Totten's work, was

committed to creating a truly national movement of British Israelism. Being an extraordinary organizer, he single-mindedly pursued a coordinated set of objectives: to spread British Israelism, to build a national organization, and to provide it with a political agenda. Rand thus emerged as a critical bridging figure between mainstream British-Israelism in the United States while opening it to right wing and anit-Semitic influences that were amplified in the post World War I years (Barkun 1997).

In 1927 Rand became the American representative of the London-based British-Israel World Federation. Beginning in New England, his work spread to Detroit by early 1930, where he established headquarters for the Anglo-Saxon Federation of America. Over the next year Rand traveled thousands of miles establishing this organization throughout the country (Barkun 1997).

Another factor also responsible for the Anglo-Saxon Federations growth was its involvement in its affairs with William J. Cameron. Cameron was named to the federations executive committee. He was named as the organizations president in the mid-1930s and remained in leadership positions until the end of the decade (Barkun 1997).

Cameron was linked to the career of Henry Ford the man he served from late 1918 until 1946. His association with Ford began as a writer for Ford's weekly, *The Dearborn Independent.* This weekly is considered one of the most notorious publications of anti-Semitism in the United States. This openness of anti-Semitism represented a new phase that had characterized the early development of the Anglo-Saxon Federation of America. The presence of William Cameron in the leadership of the Federation signaled the compatibility of British-Israelism with radical anti-Semitism. However, as the

depression of the 1930s ended, recruitment became more difficult. Cameron began to withdraw from leadership, and Rand began to put less time into organizing and became more involved with writing. But whatever changes might be attributed to the decline of the strength of anti-Semitism in the East and Midwest, the major sources of change came in the west (Barkun 1997).

By the late 1940s the demographic changes and religious developments in Los Angeles created an increasingly receptive climate for Anglo-Israel activities. A critical mass of British-Israel-related groups were active in Los Angeles and adjacent areas, most now so distant from it's British origins that Christian Identity can conveniently be dated from this time and place (Barkun 1997).

Adherents of Israelism on the West coast felt themselves at liberty to borrow, modify, and discard doctrines as their own idiosyncrasies dictated. The early phases of Israelism had propagandized and brought believers together. The West coast coteries took lives of their own, building upon but not beholden the work of earlier organizers.

British-Israelism slowly metamorphasized into Christian Identity, and at its center was Gerald L.K. Smith. From the 1940s until his death in 1976, Smith was the most prominent anti-Semite in America. His involvement with Identity recaptivated the role that had been played earlier by William J. Cameron. The association of Cameron with British-Israelism in the United States and then Smith with Christian Identity signaled the linking of fundamental Christian religion with anti-Semitism. While Cameron mated his anti-Semitism after the dissolution of The Dearborn Independent, and saw his primary loyalty to Henry Ford, Smith was under no such constraints. Smith was a full-time propagandist, speaker, and organizer who saw his major role as that of a political agitator

pursuing a right-wing agenda. This agenda was compounded of opposition to "communism", to expanded rights for Blacks, and an obsessive fear of Jewish subversion. Smith was intent on mobilizing Christian Identity figures in the West on behalf of his own political goals. By assiduously cultivating prominent Identity figures and using them as vehicles for his political causes, Smith helped shape an Identity network on the Pacific Coast, something far to loose to be called an organization but nonetheless a coherent set of interacting and collaborating churches of individuals. One such individual, Wesley Swift, emerged as the single most significant figure in the early history of Identity.

More than anyone else Wesley Swift was responsible for popularizing Christian Identity in right-wing circles by combining British-Israelism, a demonic anti-Semitism, and political extremism, (Barkun 1997). Under the guidance of Smith, Swift founded his own church in Lancaster, California during the mid-1940s, and had a daily radio broadcast during the 1950s and 60s, through which he was able to proclaim his ideology to a large audience ("Mistaken Identity" 1998).

After Swifts death in 1970, one of his successors, Richard G. Butler, established what would later become the most publicly visible Identity manifestations in the United States. In 1973, Butler moved to Hayden Lake, Idaho, and started his Church of Jesus Christ Christian, along with a political arm, the well-known Aryan Nations, both housed in a heavily guarded compound. It is here that the annual World Congress attracts a number of different factions from the right wing. The World Congress is often viewed as a sort of round table to discuss right wing issues. These meetings have led to an increased level of contact between Aryan Nation members and members and leaders of

other groups. This degree of networking within the right wing may further the Aryan Nations base of support and help advance its cause ("Elder Statesman" 1998). The "networking" has included recruitment in penitentiaries, through a newsletter titled, *The Way*. Geared specifically toward prisoners this publications purpose is to "provide a good source of Bible study into Israel Identity."

Christian Identity is the most unifying theology and one widely adhered to by numerous white supremacist groups. It is a belief system that provides its' members with a religious basis for racism and an ideology that condones violence against non-Aryans.

World Church of the Creator

Ben Klassen, a former Republican Florida state legislator, and member of the John Birch Society, founded what was originally called the Church of the Creator in 1973 in Lighthouse Point, Florida. Klassen's purpose was to divorce white people from weak, theistic religions, claiming that such religions were ridiculous expressions of utopian ideals. He called on white people to fight Jews, non-white racists, and whites that disagreed with racist philosophy ("Church Creator" 1993).

In the same year that he founded the Church of the Creator, Klassen published his first manifesto, *Natures Eternal Religion*. Klassen (1993) projected that "We completely reject the Judeo-democratic-Marxist values of today and supplant them with new and basic values of which race is the foundation" (62; c.f. "Church Creator" 1993). Also Klassen rejected Christianity, claiming Jewish scriptwriters wrote the Bible, and that to accept Christianity is a "cowardly flight from reality."

For much of the 1970s, Klassen achieved little recognition for his self-created theology. Then, in 1979, he began mailing unsolicited copies of a booklet titled, *The*

Brutal Truth About Inflation and Financial Enslavement—The Federal Reserve Board— The Most Gigantic Counterfeiting Ring in the World. This essay alleged that the Federal Reserve Banks owns the U.S. government and manipulates it like a puppet, solely for the interests of an international gang of Jews, who control the world, its money, and its economy.

During the decade of the 1980s Klassen continued to write and distribute racist literature. The Church of the Creator grew within the white supremacist movement and Klassen established close ties with Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance and William Pierce's National Alliance. By the end of the 1980s groups of neo-Nazi skinheads began congregating at the Church of the Creators headquarters for indoctrination and weapons training.

As the church's membership swelled so did its rhetoric of violence. On July 15, 1993, federal and local police agents in Los Angeles arrested eight individuals who had ties with the Church of the Creator. These individuals were accused of plotting to instigate a race war by bombing the First African Methodist Episcopal Church, a major Black religious institution in South Central Los Angeles. On July 26, 1993 authorities arrested three skinheads, (one a reported leader of the Church of the Creator), for the bombing of a NAACP office in Tacoma, Washington. These individuals eventually received sentences for manufacturing and possessing explosive devices.

Shortly after these incidents on August 6, 1993, Klassen committed suicide by consuming four bottles of sleeping pills. The group suffered a decline after his death, but was resurrected in 1996 by an individual named Matthew Hale. Hale changed the name from Church of the Creator to the World Church of the Creator (WCOTC). Since Hale's

takeover of the group the World Church of the Creator has 35 P.O. boxes nationwide and operates 22 websites. Members of the group have also carried out aggressive leafleting and recruiting campaigns in various cities across the U.S. Hale says that it has been relatively easy for the WCOTC to recruit college students at elite institutions, and some of his organizational literature has appeared on bulletin boards at Harvard Square and at Northwestern University. In describing his recruitment of college students for the WCOTC, Matthew Hale says that those who join his group are:

> ...rebelling against the prevalent notions of our time, notions such as that all men are created equal, notions such as that we're simply all Americans, or that we all should just get along, things of this nature. These are really notions that no one ever tries to provide any proof of or any evidence for. (Swain 2002:336)

Young white students searching for an identity can stumble on groups such as Hale's WCOTC, which can fulfill psychological needs associated with the transition from adolescence to adulthood. The natural rebelliousness of youth finds a ready outlet in groups such as Hale's (Swain 2002).

Odinism

The closely linked visions of an idealized Aryan past and a glorious White millennium to come have led to the formation of Odinist groups whose appeal molds WWII-era Nazi ideology with the pagan-era Norse-Germanic pantheon. The link between National Socialism and Odinism is not new. Indeed, it has existed since the inception of German National Socialism (Kaplan 1998).

National Socialist Germany was a modern day revival of Aryan tribalism, which sought to create a true folk-community for the expressed purpose of bringing forth a more highly evolved species of mankind (Jung 1936; c.f. Noll 1997).

Odinsim was resurrected in America during the late 1960s by Else and Alex

Christensen as the culmination of their search for the answer to society's ills. This first

wave of Odinism was associated with the Sixties counter-culture.

According to Gardell:

> Between 1968 and 1972, it was part of the hippie counterculture, flower power, back to the land and away from modernism, capitalism, commercialism, all that kind of leftist thing. It was also connected to a rise in interest in pre-Christian African traditions and Native American traditions□. At that time in the U.S., the far right was basically reactionary, Christian, into 100 percent Americanism and all that. So paganism didn't play much of a role on the extreme right during this period. ("New Romantics" 2001)

Paganism was associated with the right whenever it resurfaced in the late 1980s and early

1990s. The pendulum had shifted to the right in society in general, a turn to the right

epitomized by Reagan's election and a whole new program of neo-liberal policies and

deregulation and privatization.

> A new generation was coming into adolescence at that time, and they were part of that rightist wave. When this generation met the Odinists, they found all of that but in a racialized and militant form. Odinism offered them a new grand narrative. They could belong to something more important than themselves. They looked with distaste at American society with its consumerism, materialism, and its stupid TV programs. ("New Romantics" 2001)

Authoritarianism

An early study on the radical right has shown that the support for extremist

ideologies and conspiracy theories of politics is related to personality structure (Lipset

1962). This hypothesis has often been linked to the findings in *The Authoritarian*

Personality (Adorno et. al. 1950), which suggested there is a definite personality type that

is oriented toward a strong leadership, is intolerant, dislikes ambiguity, and so forth. In

this study, researchers began with the analysis of anti-Semitism and subsequently

expanded to encompass investigations of ethnocentrism and authoritarianism.

Authoritarianism was conceptualized by using ideas about personality dynamics that

were derived from psychoanalytic theory and was composed of three major personality dispositions; conventionalism, authoritarian submission, and authoritarian aggression.

R.N. Sanford (1973:144-145) has further defined each of these dispositions of authoritarianism. Conventionalism was conceived of as a need to adhere strictly to conventional middle class values and a disposition to feel anxious at the sight of or the thought of any violation of these values. Authoritarian submission was conceived of as an exaggerated, emotional need to submit to authority. Authoritarian aggression was assumed to involve displacement of hostility onto out-groups and was to be especially manifested in ethnocentrism and prejudice. Individuals possessing such attributes are probably to be found disproportionately among the members of various patriotic and anti-Communist societies, in right-wing extremist groups, and significantly in the committees of various communist hunt groups (Christie and Jahoda 1954; c.f. Lipset 1955). This interest has recently been carried forward by Altemeyer (1981, 1988) who conceived of authoritarianism as a personality variable involving authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, and conventionalism (1981).

Many researchers stand poised to make great progress in understanding the many right wing and reactionary political movements that are currently flourishing around the world. According to George and Wilcox (1996) it is very possible that militant fundamentalist, radical militiamen, neo-Nazi skinheads, and other intolerant extremists have common personality characteristics.

Musical Preferences

Every revolutionary movement has its own music, lyrics, and poets. The music does not create organizations, nor do the musicians necessarily lead the revolution. But revolutionary/protest music gives voice to the dreams, visions and fantasies of the revolutionaries and the utopian society that they hope to establish (Lööw 1998).

The role of music in modern racist ideology and the racist subculture are reflected in the lyrics of white power music. These lyrics reflect key elements of the anti-Semitic Z.O.G. discourse and the struggle against moral enemies. One white power band, Division S illustrates the essence of the Z.O.G. discourse:

Anarchist, anarchist! Were gonna make you bleed.
Race war, race war! That's what we're heading for.
Communist, communist! We're gonna break your neck.
White power, white power! We're gonna save our race.
Fuck you, fuck you! Kill yourself.
You boy, you boy waste of space.
Democracy, democracy, fucking hypocrisy.
Niggative, niggative, you smell like a pig.

Other white-power lyrics deal with one of the key enemies of the racist counterculture: the media. Their dislike of the media is echoed in songs by bands such as Dirlewanger:

Yea it's the little Zionist of the media
Who is sitting there at his desk
And planning his words.
His pen is sharp and he is writing in ecstasy.
Yes, yes he is a little Jew bastard.

Mark Hamm (1993, 1994) contends that the white racists perception of social injustice is learned, first and foremost, through the prism of music, which contains racist lyrics. The band Skrewdriver first created this type of white power heavy metal music in the 1980s. It is exposure to this form of music that unlocks the door to identification with this subculture.

Nigger, nigger, get on that boat
Nigger, nigger, row
Nigger, nigger, get out of here,
Nigger, nigger, go, go, go,

Hamm argues that songs such as this emit emotions so powerful in the minds of certain individuals that they begin to link song lyrics to their focal concerns about employment or lack of employment and their quality of life. These messages convey an elaborate fantasy in which racial minorities and Jews are portrayed as agents in a conspiracy to threaten the well-being of working-class whites. Under the influence of this music, they search out other sources of white power propaganda such as specific literature and occult religions.

The band Skrewdriver also emphasizes the Odinist theme in their lyrics:

There is a road and it leads to Valhalla
Where only the chosen are allowed
There is a boy with a dream of Valhalla,
A place in the land of Gods.
Because in the hearth where the fire burns forever
Where life goes on for those who fell in battle
The Gods are waiting for the moment he falls in the fight
Because he will rise when the sun goes down
He raised high his sword
As he cried out to Valhalla
His dream has become reality

White power heavy metal music, with its intent social content, serves to raise the political consciousness of individuals with perceptions of social injustice, allowing them to display their resistance to cultural hegemony by committing violence against minorities, and other terrorist actions (Hamm 1994).

The U.S. Department of Justice (1988) notes that skinheads first appeared in the United States around 1980 as certain racist British rock groups gained followers here. These British rock groups have song titles such as "White Power" and white racist philosophy appears in their song lyrics.

According to Burghart (1999) white power music is becoming a political and cultural force that must be reckoned with: "White power music has become the most significant recruiting tool for White Nationalist organizations" (2).

The purchase of Resistance Records by the National Alliance has taken this recruitment tool to a new level. Resistance Records have signed hundreds of white power bands, and produces their music through the highest quality sound equipment available. Like other forms of contemporary music white power CDs can be purchased online. Through Internet sales Resistance Records has recently been receiving about 50 orders per day, with each order averaging about $70 worth of merchandise, adding up to $1 million in sales. Considering these figures, Resistance Records has the potential to pump substantial funds into their racist agenda ("Deafening Hate" 2000). However, there are no previous reports on college students' preference for this type of music.

As white power bands subtly infiltrate mainstream youth culture, they capitalize on adolescent rebellion and channel it into 'enmity' and 'fury' against non-whites. According to the Anti-Defamation League William Pierce states in the Fall 1999 issue of Resistance Magazine:

> Music speaks to us at a deeper level than books or political rhetoric: music speaks directly to the soul. Resistance Records...will be the music of our people's renewal and rebirth. It will be music of strength and joy for our people. It will be music of defiance and rage against the enemies of our people...It will be the music of the great, cleansing revolution which is coming (c.f. "Deafening Hate" 2000).

White power music shapes the new generation of racists as the "vanguard" of the Aryan revolution for the 21st century. Two white power music labels are based in nearby Tulsa, OK: Midtown Productions and Righteous-Deaththrash Records. There are currently 547 white power music groups worldwide ("White Power" 2002).

Origins of the Skinhead Subculture

The origins of the skinhead subculture began in England. In the early 1950s, when Great Britain was recovering from WWII, rebellious working class youths began sporting knee length coats, tight pants, and very short hairstyles. Commonly known as teddy boys or teds these youngsters wanted nothing more than a job, plenty of beer, sex, and rock-n-roll music (Zellner 1995).

By the early 1960's the teddy boys split into two distinct groups, the mods and rockers. It was from the mod groups that the skinheads emerged. These mods adopted certain elements of the traditional working class such as shaving their heads and wearing work boots. This first wave of skinheads was not racist; they were just simply taking pride in being working class (Zellner 1995). However, as meaningful laboring jobs became scarce in Great Britain during the late 1970s skinheads turned right wing, racist, and accepted the ideology of a newly formed political party, The National Front (Ridgeway 1995; Kaplan 1998).

The National Front rose to notoriety in England by blaming their chronic unemployment on immigrants from countries such as India, Pakistan, and Jamaica (Mulshine 1989; c.f. Zellner 1995). These skinheads then took a racist stance to defend the British way of life against the immigrants. The attempts by the conservative British government to limit immigration led to a series of youth riots in West Indian and Pakistani communities (Brake 1985; Hamm 1993).

During the late 1970s the skinheads began to appear in the United States. Much like their British counterparts, they viewed themselves as the victims of a new kind of industrial revolution. Beginning in the 1970s, the economy began losing thousands of

higher wage manufacturing jobs as corporations closed plants and relocated production overseas to take advantage of low wage labor in the Third World. These economic shifts have had a drastic impact on the unionized manufacturing sector, especially durable goods industries such as auto and steel. This drop in well paying manufacturing jobs chiefly affects young men without extensive education, who traditionally moved into these jobs (Hamm 1993; Zellner 1995).

As this high expectation low opportunity gap began to widen during the 1980s, young White males saw many job doors closing on them. They also witnessed the implementation of affirmative action, which they viewed as increased job opportunities for racial minorities. Therefore, the social and political contentions of the Reagan era seemed to have produced conditions conducive to extreme alienation among many White working class youths in the United States (Hamm 1993; Zellner 1995; Blazak 1995). These youngsters joined skinhead organizations as an escapade and later found themselves drawn into white power ideology and criminal activity orchestrated by larger racist organizations such as: The Aryan Nation, White Aryan Resistance, and most recently The National Alliance.

Campus Racism

According to the U.S. Department of Justice (2000) there is no place where hate crimes are occurring with increasing frequency, more visibility and hostility, than in institutions of higher education. In comparison with reports in the popular media, empirical research of changes in the racial tolerance on college campuses has occurred less frequently, but several reports have pointed to increases in the prejudice of White

students (i.e., Smith et al 1997; McCormack 1995; Phenice and Griffore 1994) and decreases in their willingness to associate with Blacks on a close, intimate level despite a rejection of overt discrimination (Muir 1989). Reports such as these lend support to the tenets of modern racism theories, which contend that the very nature of White prejudice has changed from an overt devaluation to a more prevalent covert resentment (e.g., Kinder 1986; McConahay 1986). Thus a person who exhibits this more subtle form of racism would think that members of non-dominant groups push too hard, demand too much, and gain too much attention from the media and the government. If this type sentiment is indeed increasing among White college students in the United States, then further escalation of inter-group tension and hate episodes on campuses could be expected. Hate episodes have recently been classified by the Department of Justice (2000) in terms of offender motivations into three distinct types: reactive, impulsive, and premeditated.

Reactive

In reactive hate episodes, the participants seize on what they consider as a triggering incident to justify their expression of anger. They rationalize that by attacking someone they regard as an outsider, they are in fact protecting their college, residence hall, fraternity, or group of friends. Indeed, they often cast their victims in the role of those actively threatening them, while they regard themselves as pillars of virtue on their campus. Sometimes the perpetrators react instead to a symbolic loss of "turf" or "privilege"—for example, when "our women" begin to date "them" or when "they" come onto our campus and begin to "take over." It becomes clear that many White college students might easily feel a need to protect their education, social activities, fraternities

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and sororities, and job opportunities from members of the much more diverse population with whom they now share their campuses (U.S. Department of Justice 2000).

Impulsive

Perpetrators who are looking for excitement commit impulsive hate offenses. In these episodes the assailants search out locations where the members of a particular group regularly congregate, (i.e. Black fraternity house). This type of hate episode satisfies the offenders' profound psychological need to feel important and gain a sense of belonging. Inspired by some combination of boredom, hate, and sense of impotence, the offenders set out to have some fun at the expense of their 'enemy' (U.S. Department of Justice 2000).

Premeditated

At times students are ready to wage "war" against any and all members of a particular group of people. No precipitating episode occurs; none is necessary. The perpetrators are on a moral mission: Their assignment is to make the world a better place to live for them and their friends.

Those who perpetrate a premeditated hate episode are convinced that all out-group members are sub-humans who are bent on destroying *our* culture, *our* economy, or the purity of *our* racial heritage. Premeditated mission hate offenders are likely to join an organized group such as World Church of the Creator, White Aryan Resistance, or the National Alliance. Increasingly, members of these organized hate groups have targeted college campuses as a source of potential new members (U.S. Department of Justice 2000).

Greek Society

For over a decade there has been growing concern that much of the cultural bias and racial hostility at universities is centered in the Greek social fraternities that have remained essentially racially segregated on many campuses throughout the country (Erhlich 1990; c.f. Morris 1991). The frequency with such incidents suggests that remnants of the "white" Greek system may function as a haven for traditional racism on many campuses (Press 1988; Tifft 1990; c.f. Muir 1991). According to a professor at the University of Michigan the fraternity and sorority "Rush" process is strictly a 'white exclusionary ritual' and described by a student who participated in "Rush" as racist and anti-Semitic. In a previous study done on White fraternity and sorority attitudes toward Blacks on campus; Muir (1991) found members of "White" Greek social organizations were significantly less accepting of Blacks than non-Greeks in every interactional area investigated, an effect applying to both fraternities and sororities, every one of the 14 comparisons being significant (p<.0001). Another study by Morris (1991) revealed a consistent tendency for those who lived in Greek housing to respond in a way that reflected racial attitudes considerably at variance from the non-Greek group. The differences in responses to all of the items except one were significant, at least at the .05 level leading this researcher to the conclusion that those in Greek housing hold racially biased attitudes and values. Those in social fraternities are frequently involved in reported instances of overtly hateful racist acts on college campuses that can be justified by recent events ("Racism Lingers" 2002) that warrant further research into this area.

Theoretical Perspectives

An influential study of delinquent subcultures at the macro-level can be found in Cloward and Ohlin's, *Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs* (1959). Cloward and Ohlin argue that gangs develop as a result of the social organization of neighborhood groups and their loss of access to legitimate means of achieving cultural goals of success and achievement. Their theory emphasized the hypothesis that Neo-Nazi skinheads emerge through specific educational and behavioral management efforts orchestrated by larger racist organizations. These skinheads not only learn values and skills in their gang, but also receive support for their delinquent behavior once they have learned these values and skills.

> That is, the individual must have access to appropriate environments for the acquisition of the values and skills associated with the performance of a particular role, and he must be supported in the performance of the role once he has learned of it. (Cloward and Ohlin 1959:148)

It is likely that college students are introduced to the values of the Neo-Nazi subculture the same ways the skinhead gangs are: publications, music, and religion. These students then introduce this rhetoric to others with the same views. These forms of propaganda also emphasize the way in which self-blame may be avoided while the system is identified as being responsible for the problems they collectively face. For example, White college students may view the system as against them (i.e. affirmative action), which prevents them from competing for cultural goals through legitimate means. Therefore, is why they cannot find gainful employment after receiving a college degree.

The most significant explanation of subcultures at the micro-level, and quite possibly the most important explanation to date is found in Cohen's 1955 book,

Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang. Cohen argues that lack of status and of status related opportunities as the primary social problem leading to deviance. Delinquent subcultures create 'little societies", in which new forms of status can be created and illegitimate means can be used to improve ones status. This version of strain theory has been expanded by Blazak (1995). Blazak argues that status on two separate levels; inside and outside the group; can be applied to White college students. First the in-group hierarchy and definite means improve their status on campus. Second, these college students coordinate with larger neo-Nazi groups to advocate the overthrow of the government and to rid society of Jews and minorities in order for them to regain their status.

Another important perspective that has been used to examine participation in a subculture is Social Control Theory, largely as set forth by Hisrschi (1969). Hirschi argues that there is a natural, inherent trait that compels individuals to criminal behavior. The question is not "Why do people commit acts of delinquency?" Rather, it is, "Why do individuals *not* commit acts of delinquency?" In other words, "Why do individuals conform to the laws of society?" Hirschi argues that the answer to this question is found in socialization processes, which he defines as the bonds between an individual and different influences and levels of society (16). The weakening of these societal bonds, according to social control theory, thus allows the individual to act on his or her 'natural motivation' to deviate. Social Control Theory further stipulates that the bond between the individual and society that facilitates conformity consists of four elements: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief (16-26).

Hamm (1993) has found Hirschi's social control theory useful in predicting delinquency within the Neo-Nazi subculture: "Rather than looking for some motivation toward delinquency, delinquency is best understood as merely an absence of the causes of conformity" (Beirne and Messerschmidt, 1991; c.f. Hamm 1993).

Gibbs (1981) later conceptualized social control as any one of five types of control behavior:

> I. *Referential*: the first party communicating to the second party some reference to a third party, still another individual or still other individuals; *or*
> II. *Vicarious*: the first party punishing, rewarding, or rectifying a third party's behavior; *or*
> III. *Allegative*: the first party manipulating a third party's behavior by communicating allegation about the second party to the third party; *or*
> IV. *Modulative*: the first party using the presumed influence of a third party on the second party's behavior, without exclusive reliance on communicating an allegation about the second party to the third party or without exclusive reliance on communicating to the second party a reference to the third party; *or*
> V. *Prelusive:* the first party (1) using a third party in gathering information on the second party, or (2) the first party directing a third party to limit the behavior of the second party to certain social contexts through coercion or the threat of coercion, or (3) the first party taking any action with a view to facilitating the manipulation of the second party's behavior through a third party.

In a later study on terrorism, Gibbs (1989) specified, *vicarious social control,* the central element for a theory of terrorism. Gibbs argues that 'in all instances' (i.e., in all settings and across all social contexts in which terrorism takes place):

> The first party (e.g., the terrorist group) attempts to punish the third party (e.g., the victim or victims of terrorist violence), or somehow rectify the third party's behavior, always presuming that such action will influence the second party's (e.g. the government's) behavior (e.g., by attempting to control the third party). Vicarious social control is the basis of general deterrence: terrorists often resort to deterrent vicarious social control as an integral component of their intimidation strategy (337)

Gibbs then outlines the role of the state in responding to terrorism, and terrorists' reactions to that response:

> Because non-state terrorists resort to violence, they are certain to be targets of attempted control by the police and/or the military, various tactics of concealment, all types of counter-control, offer the only hope of survival [for terrorist groups]. (338)

Hamm (1994) has recently modified Gibbs' deterrent vicarious social control approach to look at differences between two separate types of skinhead gangs. Hamm's process includes the following steps:

Step 1: Messages of Perceived Victimization; Hamm begins his approach with the idea that individuals internalize deeply held beliefs about what it means to be the victim of social injustice. Social myths and ideologies often have the requisite power to manifest surrogate religions and guides to deviant conduct and are incapable of correctly diagnosing an existing condition of society (Mannheim 1936; c.f. Hamm 1994). Hamm notes that White Nationalist movements are based on an "us versus them" mentality that exaggerates perceived injustices and that such a mentality has been sewn into the fabric of extreme Christian fundamentalism, (i.e. Christian Identity). It is this perceived injustice that gives rise to anger and frustration, which then causes individuals in an ethnic group to perceive a link between their ethnicity and their relative deprivation. These individuals may in turn become dissatisfied and frustrated with the political system they perceive as responsible for their victimization. A target is then identified and singled out to blame for their suffering.

Hamm also includes the transnational flow of information that can affect significantly the tension in an open, ethnically polarized society and the transgenerational flow of information that fosters discrimination and prejudice as important components contributing to the rise of alienation and frustration. This transnational and transgenerational flow of information working in tandem give expression and form to the perceived victimization and provide the initial enabling factor(s) necessary for terrorism to happen. The transnational flow of information is a result of the modernization in

communications and the subsequent creation of a multinational atmosphere in which violence, especially terrorism, appears justifiable and acceptable. The transgenerational flow of information is suggested by social cognition research on persuasion, which shows that extreme forms of prejudice and racism are passed from one generation to the next through a processing of the "us versus them" mentality. The "them" are assigned roles as negative agents and 'us' are represented in a stereotypical victim role. For this researcher the transnational and transgenerational flow of white supremacist rhetoric can be interchanged within Neo-Nazi groups and college students through various forms of communication (music, literature, and religion).

Step 2: Belief in Terrorist Ideology; Hamm's second idea is that a belief in an ideology that makes terrorism a purposeful activity is important because it brings personal relevance to a person's views about deterrent vicarious social control. Hamm also contends that a belief in this type of ideology also creates the basis for examining the extent to which transnational and transgenerational communications affect negative attitudes toward third parties. This ideology must be capable of increasing the tendencies of persons to aggress out groups such as racial and ethnic minorities, Jews, people who hold different values, etc. This step will be utilized in this study to assess college student's tendency toward a Neo-Nazi ideology (racism, religious fundamentalism, authoritarianism).

Hamm utilized this theory to test the ideological differences between terrorist and non-terrorist skinheads. This researcher will utilize this theory as a basis for the present research design in the next section to test the ideological agenda between white supremacist groups and college students. Also the micro and macro level perspectives of

strain theory will be taken into account when assessing the results of this analysis.
Scholars have not subjected the influence of these Neo-Nazi groups on college campuses;
hence, there is no social scientific evidence to base assessments and formulate predictions
of this theory as it relates to the white Nationalist movement and their connection to those
who matriculate at our nations universities.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Quantitative research methodology was employed in the primary design. A survey questionnaire (Appendix C) was distributed to approximately 200 undergraduate students at Oklahoma State University. An identical survey (Appendix D) was given to 100 members of White Nationalist groups.

Students were selected using random sampling techniques. The surveys were distributed to Introductory Sociology classes at Oklahoma State University. Because Sociology can be used to fulfill general education requirements, relatively representative samples of students enroll in the introductory course. Those members of the White Nationalist groups were selected by a snowball sample through the Internet. A snowball sample can be constructed by asking one respondent to refer to a second, and so on. This is normally done when "there are no known lists or populations from which respondents could reasonably be selected" (Lauderbeck, Hansen, and Waldorf 1992).

For this study, personal contact and self-administered questionnaires were used to insure against non-response and incomplete returns for the student population. For the White Nationalists the surveys were distributed by mail. There is a combination of closed-ended and open-ended questions.

The research question to be analyzed was: Do White Nationalists and White college students share a similar ideological agenda? Past literature states that Neo-Nazi

organizations recruit college students to take part in the contemporary right-wing movement. However, to what extent has not yet been explored by empirical methods.

Step 1: Assessments and Predictions: In keeping with step 1 of Hamm's modified social control theory of terrorism the researcher explored how white college students and white nationalists differ in terms of distinguishing forms of music. The U.S. Department of Justice (1988) reported skinheads emerged in the U.S. as a result of this form of transnational communication.

Also consistent with step 1, reports show that two trans-generational sources of information have legitimized racism and prejudice among American youth. First, the U.S. Department of Justice (1988:26) notes that, "Skinheads are being recruited by white supremacist groups whose philosophy includes racial violence." Other reports suggest that these recruitment efforts have been conducted by the far right through an elaborate network of publications such as *Mein Kampf* and *The Turner Diaries*.

The second source of trans-generational information is religion. These white nationalist groups are specifically influenced by the teachings of Christian Identity, World Church of the Creator, and Odinism.

Three sets of hypotheses are set forth specifically for the purpose of testing these macro-level variables.

1) Ho: White College Students Musical Preference = White Nationalist Musical Preference

   Ha: White College Students Musical Preference ≠ White Nationalist Musical Preference

2) Ho: White College Students Literary Preference = White Nationalist Literary

Preference

    Ha: White College Students Literary Preference ≠ White Nationalist Literary

    Preference

3) Ho: White College Students Religious Preference = White Nationalist Religious

Preference

    Ha: White College Students Religious Preference ≠ White Nationalist Religious

    Preference

    Step 2: Assessments and Predictions; The U.S. Department of Justice (1988) has concluded that, hate groups in the United States follows the extreme right wing philosophies of racism, (hatred of Blacks and Jews), and Neo-Nazism (authoritarianism). Another concept found to be associated with White Nationalists is religious fundamentalism (Sharpe 2000). Again three separate hypotheses are set forth to test these three variables at the micro-level.

1) Ho: Racism of White College Students = Racism of White Nationalist

    Ha: Racism of White College Students ≠Racism of White Nationalist

2) Ho: Authoritarianism of White College Students = Authoritarianism of White

    Nationalist

    Ha: Authoritarianism of White College Students ≠ Authoritarianism of White

    Nationalist

3) Ho: RF of White College Students = RF of White Nationalist

    Ha: RF of White College Students ≠ RF of White Nationalist

Survey Design

Music and Literature

In order to allow the respondents the freedom to mention their preferences for music and literature the researcher utilized open-ended questions to measure these two variables. Many scholars contend that by allowing respondents to reply freely to the inquiry, the question is better able to measure their preferences than the closed ended format that forces people to choose among a fixed set of responses (Respass 1971; Kelly 1983; Watterberg 1984; c.f. Fowler 1993).

Open-ended questions measuring exposure to White Nationalist music and literature were used in Hamm's 1994 study. Open questions are more appropriate than closed questions in survey research when the list of possible answers is longer than it is feasible to present to respondents (Fowler 1993:87). Hamm's measures began with a single item answered on a 2-point scale, ("Perhaps the most important aspect of youth culture is music. List your favorite bands beginning with your most favorite"). Those who answered Skrewdriver were coded 2; those who answered otherwise were coded 1. Since this study there has been a significant increase in the number of White power bands. For the purpose of the current study, respondents who name any band listed on the Anti-Defamation Leagues 2002 source of white power music groups for this measure will be coded 1. Those who do not list any of these bands will be coded 0. Two additional questions were added to the college student survey to measure the frequency that the students listen to these bands, and the extent that they agree with their message.

Hamm also used three measures to examine the influences of literature on the White Nationalist movement. The first was exposure to Tom Metzger's WAR magazine, published by the White Aryan Resistance of Fallbrook, California. Exposure to WAR was measured by an item answered on a 3-point scale. Those who answered that they were WAR readers only were coded 3, readers of other white power magazines were coded 2, and non-readers of racist magazines were coded 1. For the purpose of this study, if respondents list any of the publications that have been conceptualized for this study, (*The John Franklin letters, The Turner Diaries, Mein Kampf*), this measure will receive a 1, if at least one of these books is not mentioned, it will receive a 0. The pre-coding of responses will increase the reliability and validity for both of these measures.

Authoritarianism

The Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Scale was used for this study to measure the construct of Authoritarianism (Altemeyer 1996). The original instrument consists of 30 scoreable items that has a 9-point likert-type scale. For the purpose of this study, 4 items were chosen to measure this variable and the participants' responses are limited to 5 choices rather than 9, (1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=don't know, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree). These 4 scoreable items are "portrait" statements or RWA proponent statements (e.g., "Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fiber and traditional beliefs"). Scores on this particular construct would range from 4, being the lowest, to 20, the highest. High scores indicate a high degree of authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, and conventionism that covary to produce high right-wing authoritarianism. Low scores indicate a low presence of these attitudinal clusters.

Altemeyer has constructed several versions of the RWA Scale since 1973. The original version of the scale consisted of 24 items while a 30-item version has been present since 1979 (Altemeyer 1981, 1988, 1996; c.f. Lone 2001). Of these items, 12 items have been remained consistent and unchanged throughout all versions. Items have remained consistent and unchanged throughout all of the versions. Items have been revised and changed as a way of "keeping up with the present times" because they lose their relevance to present day society (Altemeyer 1996; c.f. Lone 2001). For example, statements about the Vietnam War may not be socially relevant in the present day. High internal consistency and reliability have remained constant over the years despite the revisions, and has been reviewed in a recent study by Lone (2001).

The population used to develop the original test consisted of 956 undergraduate Canadian psychology students at the University of Manitoba during fall semester, 1973. Students completed six authoritarianism scales: the F Scale (Adorno et al. 1950); the Dogmatism Scale (Rokeach 1960), the Conservatism Scale (Wilson and Patterson 1968); the Authoritarianism-Rebellion Scale (cited in Altemeyer 1981); the Balanced F Scale (Lee and Warr 1969); and the initial version of the Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Scale (Altemeyer 1981). The RWA had the highest reliability (.88) of any of the other authoritarian scales as well as the highest mean interitem correlation (.23) when compared to other measures (Altemeyer 1981, 1988; c.f. Lone 2001).

Research continued with the use of cross-validation studies with the RWA Scale on Canadian and American university student populations. In 1973 and 1974, 113 University of North Dakota undergraduate students, 148 University of Alberta undergraduate students, and 172 University of Western Ontario students completed the

RWA Scale and other authoritarian related scales. Results indicated the RWA Scale was superior to the other measures by producing mean interitem correlations of .18 for all three populations (compared to .04, .06, and .07) as well as .84 coefficient alphas (compared to .56, .66, and .79) that suggest respectable internal consistency of the RWA Scale (Altemeyer 1981; c.f. Lone 2001). Furthermore, mean interitem correlations found among 34 studies involving over 10,000 University of Manitoba students with the 1990 to 1995 versions of the RWA Scale ranged from .22 to .25 with coefficient alphas around .90 illustrating internal consistency of a continually revised instrument (Altemeyer 1996; c.f. Lone 2001).

In his study Lone also found several other studies that have proven the continually updated RWA Scale to be an internally consistent instrument among North American university students. For example, Tarr and Lorr (1991) found a coefficient alpha of .86 at two eastern universities; Leak and Randall (1995) found an alpha of .87 among 157 Creighton University students; and an alpha of .92 was found among 448 University of Michigan students in a study examining authoritarianism and social issue attitudes (Peterson, Doty, and Winter 1993; c.f. Lone 2001). Altemeyer lists several studies (by published research or personal communication) that demonstrate the RWA Scale's internal consistency among more North American college students as well as non-North American college students (e.g. South Africa, Israel), North American non-students (e.g., adults, parents, police), and non-North American non-students (Australian adults, Moscow citizens) (refer to Altemeyer 1996:18-19). Overall, the Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale has proven to be a reliable, internally consistent instrument (Lone 2001)

Also found by Lone (2001) were several North American and Canadian studies as well as those in other countries (Duckitt 1993; Rubinstein 1996) which have confirmed the validity of the RWA Scale. When examining RWA attitudinal clusters, authoritarian aggression correlated with punishment of lawbreakers, punishment of peers in a learning situation, prejudice, hostility toward homosexuals, gay-bashing, aggressiveness toward women, and overall 'mean-spiritedness' by high RWA scorers (Altemeyer 1981, 1988, 1996). Wylie and Forest (1992) found a .52 correlation with RWA scores and lengthy imposed prison terms among Manitoba, Canada residents (p<. 01). The RWA scale has correlated between .50 and .60 with the Attitudes toward Homosexuals Scale (a scale investigating hostility toward homosexuals with demonstrated coefficient alphas of .90 and .91). The Wylie and Forest (1992) study also found a correlation of .72 between these two scales with 75 random subjects at p<. 01. Peterson, et al. (1993) found correlations ranging from .28 to .52 between RWA scores and five items about AIDS (e.g., "AIDS victims have human feeling"). Other correlations between the RWA scale and other authoritarian aggression measures include a willingness to persecute radicals and communists (.50), exhibit prejudice toward ethnic and racial groups (.45), exhibit hostility toward women (.51), and accept interpersonal violence (.51) (Altemeyer 1996; Wylie and Forest 1992; c.f. Lone 2001). Finally, correlations were found between RWA scores and the punishment of disruptive environmentalists (.32 and .56) and the justification of anti-abortion violence (.21) at p.01 (Peterson, et al. 1993; c.f. Lone 2001).

As evidenced, the Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale has proven to be a reliable and valid instrument that represents and measures Altemeyer's defined concept of Right-Wing Authoritarianism.

Religion

Another open-ended question was used to measure the first subcategory of the variable of religion: religious denomination. Once again, an open-ended question allowed the respondents the freedom to choose their religious preference without the restraint of a fixed set of responses. If the respondents name any of the white supremacist religions (Christian Identity, World Church of the Creator, Odinism), this measure will be coded a 1. If none of these religions is listed the measure will be coded 0.

The 1992 Religious Fundamentalism (RF) Scale was used in this study to measure the second subcategory of religious fundamentalism (Altmeyer and Hunsberger 1992). This scale does not necessarily measure beliefs about religion, but rather the attitudes one has toward religious beliefs (Altmeyer and Hunsberger 1992; c.f. Lone 2001). The original instrument consists of twenty scoreable items that has a 9-point Likert-type scale. For the purpose of this study 5 items were chosen to measure this variable and the participants responses were limited to 5 choices rather than 9, (1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=don't know, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree). These 5 scoreable items are "protrait" statements or religious fundamentalism proponent statements, (e.g. "God will punish most severely those who abandon his true religion"). Raw scores on the RF Scale range from 5 (lowest score) to 25 (highest score). High scores indicate a high degree of religious fundamentalism while low scores indicate a lower degree of religious fundamentalism.

The Religious Fundamentalism Scale is a relatively new, yet reliable, internally consistent instrument that was initially constructed in 1990 with twenty-eight items and eventually evolved into its present twenty-item form in 1992 (Altemeyer and Hunsberger

1992; c.f. Lone 2001). The original 28 items were administered to 500 Canadian students and 235 Canadian parents in 1990 and the top twenty statements were established by factor analysis (Altemeyer 1996; c.f. Lone 2001). Like most religion-oriented scales, (e.g. Christian Orthodoxy Scale, Intrinsic Religious Orientation Scale, Bateson's Quest Scale), interitem correlations are usually high due to the long and well-known history of established religion in our society (Altemeyer 1996; Fullerton and Hunsberger 1982; Johnson, George, and Saine 1993; c.f. Lone 2001).

Early testing of the twenty-item instrument was conducted with 491 Canadian parents. Results found a mean interitem correlation of .37 and an alpha of .92. With this same group of subjects, the RF Scale correlated very highly (.68) with the RWA Scale and .30 with prejudicial attitudes towards various minority groups (e.g., Jews, African-Americans, Vietnamese) as well as .41 with hostility toward homosexual individuals at the .01 level of significance (Altemeyer & Hunsberger 1992; c.f. Lone 2001). Item analysis reveals that there is a very high correlation of all items on the RWA Scale with the RF Scale indicating a relationship between religious fundamentalism and all aspects of right-wing authoritarianism (e.g., authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, and conventionalism) (Hunsberger, Alisat, Pancer, and Pratt 1996; c.f. Lone 2001). In their study consisting of a random group of 75 Canadian residents, Wylie and Forest (1992) found a correlation of .75 (p<. 01) of the RF Scale with the RWA Scale as well as RF Scale correlations of .59 with acceptance of religious beliefs one was raised in, .58 with church attendance, .55 with weekly scripture reading, and .56 with homophobia (all at p<. 01).

The RF Scale was also administered to non-Christian groups. Cronbach alphas of

.91 (Hindu-23 participants), .94 (Islam-21 participants), .85 (Jewish-32 participants), and .92 (Christian- 431 participants) were obtained (Hunsberger 1996; c.f. Lone 2001). Interitem correlations included religious fundamentalism correlating with right-wing authoritarianism among Jews (.67), Muslims (.60), and Hindus (.47) all at p<.05. This same study also found a substantial correlation of religious fundamentalism and hostility toward homosexuals among Hindus (.52), Muslims (.65), and Jews (.42) (Hunsberger 1996). The RF scale has also correlated highly (-.79) with the Bateson Quest Scale (the antithesis of religious fundamentalism) and also relates impressively with church attendance (.65) and scripture reading (.51) among a large sample of Canadian residents (Hunsberger 1996; c.f. Lone 2001).

Although the Religious Fundamentalism Scale does not have the same large amount of empirical support as the Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale, it has proven to be a reliable and valid instrument representing and measuring Altmeyer and Hunsberger's (1992) defined construct of religious fundamentalism in addition to correlating very highly with the Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale (Lone 2001).

Racism

Questions were chosen from David Monk's 1994 study: *The effects of attitudes concerning equal opportunity,* to measure the subcategory anti-Black under the construct of Racism. The original instrument consists of 25 scoreable items that has a 5-point Likert-type scale. However, for the purpose of this study the scale was reversed in order to remain consistent with the other "portrait" measures. Five items were chosen to measure the subscale of this variable and are racist proponent statements (e.g. "Blacks have less income than whites because they are lazy"). Scores on this particular scale

would range from 5, (being the lowest), to 30, (being the highest). High scores indicate a high degree of racism toward Blacks, while low scores indicate a low degree.

To address the issue of reliability, Monk performed a test of the internal consistency of all responses to items on the questionnaire. The coefficient of alpha was utilized to estimate the average correlation of all possible dichotomous relationships on the scales. The coefficient of alpha is able to account for the amount of measurement error of a test or scale. Measurement error results from the fluctuation in the standards of responses on all items of the scale. An alpha coefficient of .84 was determined on the scale that was found to be statistically significant and showed that there was a little measurement error.

Monk also utilized a factor analysis in order to maximize the validity of his scale. The un-rotated principle components indicated that there was a sufficient evidence to suggest that there was an overall factor for perceived racism toward Blacks. All factor loadings on Monk's scale were high ranging from .52 to .84 on the overall variable. The questions used in this study ranged from .51 to .76; (question 9: .71; question 10: .58; question 11: .51; question 12: .76; question 13: .54).

In order to measure the subcategory of anti-Semitism for the construct of Racism in this study, the 1950 version of the Anti-Semitism (A-S) Scale was used (Adorno et. al. 1950). This scale, along with other instruments developed by Adorno and his colleagues held several functions. It yielded a quantitative measure that could be correlated with measures of other, theoretically related variables. It provided a basis for the selection of criterion groups of extreme high and low scorers, who cold then be subjected to intensive clinical study. It permitted, as a part of larger questionnaire, a relatively detailed,

quantifiable study of a large group of subjects. Finally, it was constructed in such a way that statistical analysis of its properties might reveal much of the structure, scope, and content of anti-Semitic Ideology.

For the present study, 5 items were chosen from the subscale 'Threatening' (St). These items describe Jews as a dangerous, dominating, corrupting social group. They are asserted to have great power economically and politically, and to be unscrupulous and conniving in their dealings with Christians, (e.g. "The Jews must be considered a bad influence on Christian culture and civilization"). This imagery in extreme cases seems to be an ideological expression of underlying paranoid trends; in *Mein Kampf*, for example, the Jews are regarded not only as "basic and inferior" but also as having "germicidal potency" and "devilish cunning" (Adorno et. al. 1950:63-4). These 5 items are "pro-trait" or anti-Semitic proponent statements. To remain consistent with the other measures a 5-point Likert scale was assigned to these questions, (1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=don't know, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree). Scores on this particular construct would range from 5, being the lowest, to 25, the highest. High scores indicate a high degree of anti-Semitism, while low scores indicate a low degree. The response options on the items for all four variables are worded so they have equal intervals with respect to agreement. The neutral midpoint has been added to measure both the subjects disinterest and attraction to both agreement and disagreement. The midpoint of "Don't Know" has been coded a 3 because a response to this item is regarded by the researcher as the individual being more racist, authoritarian, and religious than those who respond "Disagree" (2) or "Strongly Disagree" (1).

The total reliability of the A-S Scale is .92 that meets rigorous statistical

standards, (Adorno et al. 1950:72). The sub-scale of threatening had a reliability of .89, and inter-correlated significantly (.93) with the other sub-scales (p.74). The A-S Scale was also found by Adorno, et. al. to be a valid index of ideology concerning Jews.

Limitations

One limitation of this study is gaining access to the White Nationalist subculture. This subculture presents the same set of problems experienced by other researchers (Hamm 1993; Blazak 1995) in gaining access to other violent collectives. Researchers, whose goal it is to expose the individual and organizational characteristics of such groups are perceived as threatening to the subculture in general, and to it's members in specific (Hamm 1993). Research is therefore considered an intrusion into their way of life, and members are apt to be paranoid about participation (Becker 1978; Polsky 1967; c.f. Hamm 1993). Thus, the establishment of good rapport by e-mail and telephone is crucial to the prevention of non-response. Another limitation is the use of cross-tabs in the analysis of open-ended questions. A chi square value can be misleading when there are small samples in one or more of a table's cells.

The linkages of micro and macro level theories are also problematic. The difficulty in the present study would be to show how macro (literature, music, religion) affects micro (religious fundamentalism, authoritarianism, racism) by using human subjects as the unit of analysis. Thus, the analysis must move from the level where the problem of interest originates, to the individual.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter includes a discussion of the collection of data that were utilized in this thesis, how the null and alternative hypothesis were measured, a description of the statistical analysis used in testing the null and alternative hypothesis, the results and a discussion of the research.

Data Collection of Student Sample

The empirical setting of this research was from three different locations differentiating white nationalists and white college students. College students were given surveys at Oklahoma State University (OSU) in Stillwater, Oklahoma. OSU is a public university in North Central Oklahoma. During the time of this study there were 20,724 students enrolled at the Stillwater campus. Questionnaires were distributed by the researcher and his advisor to undergraduates during Introductory Sociology courses during the Fall semester of 2002 and the following Spring of 2003. The students were told that this was on a voluntary basis only, and that they did not have to participate in completing the survey if they did not desire. There were exactly 500 completed questionnaires collected from one Spring Introductory class with an enrollment of 250 students, and three Fall and three Spring Introductory classes each with an enrollment of 60 students which is a response rate of 82%. There were no significant differences

between the Spring and Fall semester samples. Therefore, the two were combined for the purpose of this study.

Student enrollment statistics were obtained from the OSU Office of Institutional Research in order to determine if the data collected is representative of the current student population.

TABLE 1: DEMOGRAPHICS OF SAMPLE COMPARED TO STUDENT POPULATION

	*OSU Students n=18,043 (%)	Sample n=500 (%)
Gender		
Male	8,751 (48.5)	235 (47.0)
Female	9,292 (51.5)	265 (53.0)
Ethnicity		
White	14,430 (61.8)	425 (85.0)
African American	621 (3.4)	26 (5.2)
Native American	1,541 (8.5)	15 (3.0)
Hispanic	345 (1.9)	3 (0.6)
Asian	280 (1.5)	17 (3.4)
Multiracial	-	14 (2.8)
International	826 (4.5)	-
Classification		
Freshman	4507 (24.9)	323 (64.6)
Sophomore	4032 (22.3)	115 (23.0)
Junior	4504 (24.9)	51 (10.2)
Senior	4916 (27.2)	11 (2.2)
Special Undergraduate	84 (0.4)	-
College		
Agriculture	1942 (10.7)	22 (4.0)
Arts & Sciences	5123 (28.3)	206 (41.2)
Business	3810 (21.1)	144 (28.8)
Education	1662 (9.2)	71 (14.2)
Engineering	2667 (14.7)	57 (11.4)

*Includes OSU-Tulsa
Source: Oklahoma State Office of Institutional Research

Table 1 reveals the data gathered for this study compared to the overall student enrollment. There are slight under-representations for Native Americans, Hispanic, and International students; Juniors and Seniors; and Agriculture students. Although the purpose of this study is to compare the ideologies of White Nationalists to White college

students this data provides an important opportunity to examine the racial, religious, and authoritarian differences between White and minority students. For this next portion of analysis the researcher will look at socio-demographic variables within the student population that are "potential confounders" (Hamm 1994:125) of the association between social processes and an individuals ideological agenda. Tables 2 through 6 illustrates the impact each socio-demographic variable has, and will be taken into consideration when performing the between group analysis.

TABLE 2: MEAN SCORES AND T-TEST FOR WHITE AND MINORITY STUDENTS

	White	Minority	Differences
Total	47.92	45.83	-1.602
Authoritarianism	11.16	10.65	.958
Religious Fundamentalism	13.48	14.05	-1.204
Racism	23.27	21.12	3.196*
Anti-Black	14.33	11.95	4.92*
Anti-Semitism	8.94	9.17	-.676

* p<.05

Race

The student sample was combined into two groups for the first stage of analysis: White (N=425), and minority (N=75). The minority group is comprised of all students who self-identified themselves as Native American (N=15), Hispanic (N=3), African American (N=26), Asian (N=17), and multi-racial (N=14). Table 2 reveals a significant difference on the variable of racism. When compared to minorities, Whites scored higher on five of the six measures. Item 21: 'Affirmative action is...' (t=-2.435, p<.05); item 22: 'Blacks have less income...' (t=-3.128, p<.01); item 23: 'Blacks aren't as intelligent...' (t=-3.421, p<.01); item 24: 'Blacks are getting more...' (t=-3.920, p<.001); item 26:

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'..never consider dating...' (t=-4.675, p<.001). Consistent with previous studies (Bobo, et al. 1997; Bobo and Kluegel 1997) these results show that despite the declines in racism and prejudice since the civil rights era there is still a significant number of Whites who have a tendency to assign negative stereotypes to the Black community, and oppose policies that seek equal opportunity. This suggests that a new 'laissez-faire' racism among Whites has emerged, replacing old-fashioned racism with an ideology that attributes the disadvantages of Blacks to the characteristics of Blacks themselves (Bobo, Kluegel, and Smith 1997).

Sex

Table 3 reveals a difference between the male and female student sample on the total of the three measures, and on the variable of racism with males being less accepting of blacks than females on four of the six measures.

TABLE 3: T TEST FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SEX

	Male	Female	Differences
Total	48.86	46.48	2.554*
Authoritarianism	11.23	10.95	.903
Religious Fundamentalism	13.55	13.58	-.080
Racism	24.09	21.94	4.518**
Anti-Black	14.96	13.09	5.477**
Anti-Semitic	9.13	8.84	1.195

*p<.05
**p<.001

Males were found to score higher on, Item 22: 'Blacks have less income...' (t=5.668, p<.001); Item 23: 'Blacks aren't as intelligent...' (t=8.772, p<.001); Item 24: '...Blacks are getting more...' (t=4.722, p<.001); Item 25: '...more Blacks on welfare...' (t=3.379, p<.001). Females were found to score higher than males on the items

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measuring negative attitudes toward affirmative action and inter-racial dating, but there was no significant difference. However, when controlling for White students, males scored higher than females on the affirmative action question (t=2.397, p<.05). There was still no difference on the question measuring dating preference. This research is consistent with previous studies (Daniels, 1997; Ferber, 1999; Kimmel & Ferber, 2000) in regard to White men's increasing sense of 'perceived victimization' in a changing society where they target their resentment toward Blacks in an effort to regain their status. These studies also suggest that programs such as affirmative action can be a 'triggering event' (Galliher 1989) of 'perceived victimization'. This 'victimization' could 'trigger' harmful action, or the implementation of ultra-conservative political policies.

Political Affiliation

Table 4 reveals differences between Democrats and Republicans on every variable. Republicans scored significantly higher than Democrats on all but one measure of authoritarianism (1-tailed); Item 31: 'Our country will be destroyed...' (t=3.131, p<.005); Item 32: 'The situation in our country...' (t=3.477, p<.0005); Item 33: 'The only way our country...' (t=3.426, p<.0005). The concept of authoritarianism has been found in past literature to be a determining factor of Republican ideology (Erskine 1974; Leventhal et al. 1964). Compared to Democrats, Republicans were also more likely to adhere to religious fundamentalism (2-tailed); Item 17: 'When you get right down to it...' (t=2.050, p<.05); Item 18:'God will punish...' (t=2.889, p<.05). However, religious fundamentalism has not been found to play a significant role in American politics (Johnson & Tamney 1982).

TABLE 4: T TEST FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN POLITICAL PARTIES

	Republican	Democrat	Differences
Total	50.31	44.52	5.583**
Authoritarianism	11.79	10.46	3.948***
Religious Fundamentalism	14.33	12.93	2.775*
Racism	24.18	21.11	5.598**
Anti-Black	14.88	12.54	5.877**
Anti-Semitic	9.31	8.57	2.553*

*p<.05 (2-tailed)
**p<.001 (2-tailed)
***p<.0005 (1-tailed)

Although no previous research could be found regarding racism and political parties, the present study reveals Republicans are more anti-Black and anti-Semitic than Democrats. There were differences on two of the four measures of anti-Semitism; Item 28: '...too many Jews in federal agencies...' (t=3.426, p<.001); Item 30: '...Jew's first loyalty...' (t=2.441, p<.05); and all 6 items regarding anti-Black attitudes (2-tailed); Item 21: 'Affirmative action...' (t=3.333, p<.001); Item 22: 'Blacks have less income...' (t=3.441, p<.001); Item 23: 'Blacks are not as intelligent...' (t=3.152, p<.05); Item 24: '...getting more than they deserve.' (t=5.352, p<.001); Item 25: '...more Blacks on welfare...' (t=2.247, p<.05); Item 26: '...dating a Black person.' (t=4.220, p<.001).

Greek Affiliation

Table 5 reveals differences between members of fraternities and sororities and those who do not hold memberships in Greek organizations. Those with memberships in these organizations were found to score higher on authoritarianism and significantly higher on the scale measuring negative attitudes toward Blacks.

TABLE 5: T-TEST FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GREEK AND NON-GREEK

	Greek	Non-Greek	Differences
Total	49.43	46.85	2.526**
Authoritarianism	11.59	10.87	2.207**
Religious Fundamentalism	13.99	13.39	1.264
Racism	23.82	22.59	2.321*
Anti-Black	14.61	13.70	2.384*
Anti-Semitic	9.20	8.88	1.203

*p<.025 (1-tailed)
**p<.05 (2-tailed)

No previous literature could be found on authoritarianism in the Greek community. However, the present study shows when compared to non-Greeks, fraternity and sorority members had higher authoritarian traits on three of four measures (2-tailed); Item 32: 'The situation in our country...'(t=2.063, p<.05); Item 33: 'The only way our country...' (t=2.234, p<.05); Item 34: 'Once our government leaders...' (t=2.815, p<.05). Greeks were also found to be significantly more anti-Black on two measures (1-tailed); Item 21: 'Affirmative action...' (t=2.555, p<.05); Item 26: '..Never consider dating...' (t=3.320, p<.001). These results are consistent with previous studies (Morris 1991; Muir 1991), which suggests that the campus Greek system may function as a 'haven' for traditional racism.

To evaluate in-house socialization as a factor towards increased racist and authoritarian attitudes, the Greek upper-classmen (juniors, seniors, n=62) were compared with the Greek lower-classmen (freshmen, sophomores, n=438) for statistical significance. However, there were no significant differences (p<.05), on either variable when comparing the two groups. Thus, racist and authoritarian traits neither increase nor decrease within the Greek system. This implies that fraternities and sororities maintain

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relative racist and authoritarian traits throughout college.

Guided by the micro and macro level perspectives of strain and social control theories, the questionnaire for this study was designed to collect data from and compare White college students and White Nationalists. However, the comparisons within the student population has accomplished the task of explaining differences with an analysis of four socio-demographic variables that have an impact on a students ideological agenda: race, sex, political affiliation, and Greek status. The analysis on each of these individual variables has led this researcher to an empirical generalization of the campus social system.

Empirical Generalization

Table 6 shows that when compared to the general student population in the sample, White male Republicans who are members of fraternities (n=40) score higher on every variable in the study.

TABLE 6: T-TEST FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WHITE REPUBLICAN FRATERNITY MEMBERS AND THE GENERAL POPULATION

	White Republican Fraternity Members	General Student Population	Differences
Total	53.73	47.06	-3.979**
Authoritarianism	12.27	10.98	-2.380*
Religious Fundamentalism	15.22	13.42	-2.327*
Racism	26.24	22.65	-4.128**
Anti-Black	16.29	13.76	-4.036**
Anti-Semitic	9.95	8.89	-2.380*

$*p<.05$
$**p<.001$

When compared to the general student population, White Republican fraternity members scored higher on two measures of authoritarianism (2-tailed); Item 32: 'The

situation in our country…' (t=-2.260, p<.05); Item 33: 'The only way our country…' (t=-2.105, p<.05). On the variable of religious fundamentalism, the White Republican fraternity members scored higher than the general student population on two measures (2-tailed); Item 17: 'When you get right down to it…' (t=-2.401, p<.05); Item 18: 'God will punish most severely…' (t=-3.434, p<.001). In regards to negative attitudes toward Blacks the White Republican fraternity members scored higher on three of the six measures (2-tailed): Item 21: 'Affirmative action…' (t=-3.115, p<.05); Item 22: 'Blacks have less income…' (t=-3.222, p<.05); Item 23: 'Blacks are not as intelligent…' (t=-3.285, p<.05). The White Republican fraternity members were also found to be less accepting of Jews on two of the four measures; Item 27: 'Jews are a bad influence…' (t=-3.044, p<.05); Item 28: 'There are too many Jews…' (t=-2.377, p<.05).

Data Collection of White Nationalist Sample

Hamm (1994) has noted that among White extremists there is a well-developed code of silence wherein persons are naturally prone to conceal information about their activities. Evidence of a "politics of silence" within the far-right is well-documented (Dees, 1991; Langer, 1990; c.f. Hamm 1994). Withholding information is a political tool: Silence not only adds to the mystique of extremist groups, but the less outsiders know about these groups, the safer they are from attempts to control them.

This researcher obtained a list of e-mail addresses from a White Nationalist website and contacted several chapters of these groups to inquire if they would be interested in participating in this project. Three White Nationalist groups responded stating they would be willing to take an active part in the study. The researcher then mailed each group a packet, which included a survey, a cover letter, a consent form, and

two self-addressed stamped envelopes to the White Nationalist chapters in Nevada, Tennessee, and Georgia. The envelopes were enclosed so that the respondent could mail the consent form and the survey separately. This researcher sent out a total of 75 surveys to the three chapters. Out of those 75 surveys 64 were returned, a return rate of 85%. This researcher speculates that the high return rate of the White Nationalists is because of their effort to be recognized as a legitimate paleo-conservative organization.

Socio-demographics

Table 7 shows differences between White Nationalists and White College students on three socio-demographic variables.

TABLE 7: CHI SQUARE TEST FOR SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WHITE NATIONALISTS AND WHITE COLLEGE STUDENTS

	White Nationalist n=64 (%)	White Students n=425 (%)	Differences
Sex			
Males	56 (88)	199 (47)	36.881*
Females	8 (12)	226 (53)	
Occupation/Father's Occupation**			
Primary Labor Market			
Upper Tier	34 (53.1)	321 (75.5)	33.467*
Lower Tier	12 (18.7)	70 (16.4)	
Secondary Labor Market	18 (28.1)	26 (6.1)	
Origin			
Rural	25 (39)	207 (48.7)	2.075
Urban	39 (60.9)	218 (51.2)	
Political Party			
Republican	14 (21.8)	248 (58.3)	125.729*
Democrat	0	99 (23.2)	
Independent	50 (78.1)	64 (15)	

*p<.001 (2-tailed)
**8 college students did not respond to
   this question (n=417)

It appears there are a significantly greater percentage of White females in college as compared to females in White Nationalist groups. Past literature has shown that the women who hold memberships in White Nationalist groups are mostly wives of the male members (Kimmel and Ferber 2000). Also there are a greater percentage of White Nationalists who are employed in the secondary labor market (semi-skilled, heavy equipment and transport operatives, unskilled laborers, and service workers) than the fathers of White college student's. The White students fathers are mainly employed in the upper tier (professional, technical, managers, administrators) of the primary labor market. The table also shows a larger number of Republicans and Democrats in college and a larger amount of Independents in the White Nationalist groups. There was no difference between the two groups in regard to origin (hometown/current residence).

RESULTS

The results for the analysis between White Nationalists and White college students are organized into two parts. Step 1 presents evidence concerning the macro-level variables (music, literature, religion) using a chi-square test; Step 2 presents evidence revealing the differences between the two groups at the micro-level (neo-Nazi ideology: racism, anti-Semitism, authoritarianism; and religious fundamentalism) with the utilization of a t-test.

Step 1: Macro-level Variables

Music

Table 8 shows no White college students nor White Nationalists listed any White

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power bands as their favorite on the item measuring musical preference. Even though no White Nationalist listed a white power band as their favorite type of music, these groups contribute to the development of neo-Nazi ideology among young adolescents. Hamm (1993, 1994) has found the influence of white power music to be influential on America's youth. This music is available for sale on several white nationalist websites indicating its use as a tool to recruit impressionable teens. It is the author's contention that this style of music does not appeal to older members of the right wing movement. Statistical analysis could not be performed on this variable, however an empirical test is not necessary for the researcher to accept the null hypothesis and conclude there is no difference in the preference of music between White Nationalists and White college students.

TABLE 8: MUSICAL PREFERENCES FOR WHITE STUDENTS AND WHITE NATIONALISTS

	WHITE STUDENT	WHITE NATIONALIST	
PREFERENCE FOR EXTREMIST MUSIC	0	0	0
OTHER PREFERENCE	425	64	489
	425	64	489

On the item that measured college students' frequency of college student's exposure to White power music, nine students reported they occasionally listen to these bands with racist lyrics, while five stated they listen to them all the time. However, all of the students reported that they disagree with the message portrayed in these songs.

Religion

Table 9 shows 25 (39%) of the white nationalists listed Odinism as their religious preference suggesting a transition from Christian Identity to neo-Paganism within the

movement. This study is consistent with recent research (Dobratz 2000) in the area of religion in regards to the movement's disenchantment with Christianity.

TABLE 9: RELIGIOUS PREFERENCES FOR WHITE NATIONALISTS AND WHITE STUDENTS

	WHITE STUDENT (%)	WHITE NATIONALIST (%)	
PREFERENCE FOR EXTERMIST RELIGION	0	25 (39)	25
OTHER PREFERENCE	425 (100)	39 (61)	464
	425	64	489

On the survey item measuring religious preference the majority of White Nationalists left the question blank or emphasized that they believed only in the laws of nature, which suggests a belief in Social Darwinism. One respondent wrote, "Many White Nationalists are convinced that religion by way of fundamentalism, Catholicism, and the generally accepted dogma that we are all somehow equal in the eyes of God has contributed to the sunset on Western man." Dobratz (2001) suggests most right wing groups are becoming predominately non-Christian and religion remains to be a major obstacle to total unity. No White students listed any White Nationalist religions on the questionnaire, ($X2=174.960$, df=1, p<.001). Therefore, this researcher will reject the null and accept the alternative hypothesis, concluding that there is a difference in regards to religious preference between the two groups.

Literature

It appears that among the White Nationalists there is a greater preference for *The*

Turner Diaries, the fictional account of a successful paramilitary insurgency by White supremacists, rather than Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. 15 (23%) of the White Nationalists listed *The Turner Diaries* as their favorite book, while none preferred *Mein Kampf*.

TABLE 10: PREFERENCES OF LITERATURE FOR WHITE STUDENTS AND WHITE NATIONALISTS

	WHITE STUDENT (%)	WHITE NATIONALIST (%)	
PREFERENCE FOR EXTREMIST LITERATURE	0	15 (23)	15
OTHER PREFERENCE	425 (100)	49 (77)	474
	425	64	489

Although preference for *Mein Kampf* amongst the far right is well documented (Hamm 1993; Lee 2000; Schmaltz 1999) it seems an elaborate science fiction fantasy has a greater effect on the development of contemporary racist ideology rather than sixty-year old political rhetoric. Neither of these books was preferred by White college students, ($X2=102.762$, df=1, $p<.001$). Therefore, this researcher will again reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis concluding that there is a difference in preference for literature between White Nationalists and White students.

Regarding the above cross-tabulation of literature and music, the probabilities that chi square generates are sometimes misleading when there are small expected frequencies in some of a tables cells.

Step 2: Micro-level Variables

Authoritarianism and Racist Traits

Table 11 shows the White Nationalists scored higher than White students on all

four measures of authoritarianism (2-tailed); Item 31: 'Our country will be destroyed...' (t=-8.611, p<.001); Item 32: 'The situation in our country...' (t=-14.795, P<.001); Item 33: 'The only way our country...' (t=-10.852, p<.001); Item 34: 'Once our government leaders...' (t=-7.558, p<.001). These findings are consistent with past research, which suggest that Neo-Nazi groups have a greater tendency to aggress against out-groups, (Hamm 1993) and are responsive to conspiracy theories (ZOG) of social, political, and economic events (Hofstadter 1967; c.f. Hamm 1993). Table 12 also shows that White college students scored higher than White Nationalists on all five measures of religious fundamentalism (2-tailed); Item 16: 'Of all the people...'(t=3.538, p<.001); Item 17: 'When you get right down to it...' (t=5.792, p<.001); Item 18: 'God will punish...'(t=2.821, p<.05); Item 19: 'There is a religion...' (t=2.310, p<.05); Item 20: 'To lead the best most meaningful life...' (t=2.304, p<.05). These results are inconsistent with previous research (Sharpe 2001), which further legitimizes Dobratz's (2001) assumption of a shift away from a Christian based theology among the far right. However, it is the author's assumption that a religion grounded in Christianity would be the most successful technique of the far right's recruitment of college students. As shown in Table 12, the White Nationalists scored higher on each level of racism (anti-Black, anti-Semitism) when compared to White students (2-tailed); Item 21: 'Affirmative action...' (t=-14.968); Item 22: 'Blacks have less income...' (t=-18.949); Item 23: 'Blacks are not as intelligent...' (t=-27.679); Item 24: 'I believe that Blacks...' (t=-13.865); Item 25: '..More Blacks on welfare...' (t=-11.524); Item 26'..Never consider dating...' (t=-10.670); Item 27: 'Jews are a bad influence...' (t=-24.718); Item 28: 'There are too many Jews...' (t=-28.406); Item 29: '...Jews are not patriotic...' (t=-

18.799); Item 30: 'Jew's loyalty is to Jewry...' (t=-18.890).

TABLE 11: T-TEST FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WHITE NATIONALISTS AND WHITE STUDENTS

	White Students	White Nationalists	Differences
Total	47.92	73.09	-18.248*
Authoritarianism	11.16	17.11	-13.382*
Religious Fundamentalism	13.48	10.59	4.352*
Racism	23.27	45.39	-32.698*
Anti-Black	14.33	26.77	25.446*
Anti-Semitic	8.94	18.63	-29.540*
*p<.001			

Based on the above analysis this researcher will reject the null and accept the alternative hypothesis indicating that White Nationalists have greater authoritarian and racist traits than White college students. In regards to the variable of religious fundamentalism White college students scored higher than the White Nationalists yielding rejection of the null hypothesis, indicating that religion is not as important of a factor concerning White Nationalist ideology as racism or authoritarianism.

As shown in Table 12, the authoritarian and racist traits of White Nationalists are higher when compared to the White Republican fraternity members, on every one of the fourteen measures (2-tailed); Item 31: 'Our country will be destroyed...' (t=4.013, p<.001); Item 32: 'The situation in our country...' (t=9.140, p<.001); Item 33: 'The only way our country...' (t=4.009, p<.001); Item 21: 'Affirmative action...' (t=11.757, p<.001); Item 22: 'Blacks have less income...' (t=8.590, p<.001); Item 23: 'Blacks are not as intelligent...' (t=17.098, p<.001); Item 24: 'I believe that Blacks...' (t=7.920, p<.001); Item 25: '..More Blacks on welfare...' (t=6.063, p<.001); Item 26: '...Never consider dating...' (t=7.065, p<.001); Item 27: 'Jews are a bad influence...' (t≈12.896,

p<.001); Item 28: 'There are too many Jews...' (t=21.525, p<.001); Item 29: '..Jews are not patriotic...' (t=11.004, p<.001); Item 30: 'Jew's loyalty is to Jewry...' (t=11.088, p<.001).

TABLE 12: T-TEST FOR WHITE NATIONALISTS AND WHITE REPUBLICAN FRATERNITY MEMBERS

	White Republican Fraternity Members	White Nationalists	Differences
Total	53.68	73.09	10.404*
Authoritarianism	12.30	17.11	8.167*
Religious Fundamentalism	15.18	10.59	-4.057*
Racism	26.20	45.39	24.271*
Anti-Black	16.20	26.77	17.737*
Anti-Semitic	10.00	18.63	18.790*
*p<.001			

In regard to the variable of religious fundamentalism, the White Republican fraternity members scored higher on four of the five measures (2-tailed); Item 16: 'Of all the people...' (t=-3.071, p<.05); Item 17: 'When you get right down to it...' (t=-6.248, p<.001); Item 18: 'God will punish...' (t=-3.796, p<.001); Item 19: 'There is a religion...' (t=2.439, p<.05).

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter is to present a summary of the findings, more of an in-depth discussion of how it relates to the literature in the area, to show how it relates to the theoretical background, and to provide suggestions for future research.

Previous literature characterizes White Nationalists as religious fundamentalists, racists, and authoritarian. These attitudes and beliefs are reinforced by White racialist music, literature, and religion. These studies also state that this music, literature, and religion also serve as techniques of recruitment by White Nationalists who have recently targeted college campuses. However, the findings presented in this research show that these groups have not influenced college students at this particular university.

As stated previously, the two variables of literature and religion were supported by the data from the White Nationalists but not the White college students, which yielded significant differences between these two groups (p<.001). No data from either group supported the variable of music. Authoritarianism and racism were significant (p<.001) with the White Nationalists being greater, while the college students scored significantly higher on the variable of religious fundamentalism (p<.05). These results reveal that music and religious fundamentalism are not as significant to right-wing movements as they once were, and no White college students on this campus has been influenced by White Nationalists. Based on these results, the macro level perspectives of strain theory

(Cloward and Ohlin 1960), or step 1 of Hamm's modified social control theory are not applicable for this study. White college students did not reveal any characteristics similar to those of the White Nationalists at the macro level. It is this researcher's belief that there has been very little contact between the White students in this sample and White Nationalist groups. The few students who have had contact with these groups have not adhered to their rhetoric. Although the attitudes and beliefs of the White Nationalists are much more extreme than the White college students at the micro level, this pattern of data indicates a 'tendency' for these students to be racist and authoritarian, especially among certain groups.

The socio-demographic variables used show that there are also differences within the college student sample at the micro level, and reveal that White male Republican fraternity members are the most susceptible to this ideology. Therefore, the micro level of strain theory (Cohen 1955) would be more applicable for this study, especially in regard to these White males' loss of status and status related opportunities. Once this loss of status is realized they join, "little societies" (Cohen 1955; c.f. Blazak 1995:50) in which a new form of status can be created and maintained by dominating the campus social scene.

Music, literature, religious denomination, authoritarianism, racism, and religious fundamentalism are the six variables that were given in chapter three, which this researcher hypothesized about for the analysis between the White Nationalist and White college students. Later, in chapter four, race, gender, political affiliation, and Greek affiliation were presented for an assessment within the college group.

The results of the college study show that racism (anti-Black) was significant on

every socio-demographic variable that was controlled. However, in contrast to the 'old-fashioned' racist attitudes of the White Nationalists, these college student's anti-Black attitudes could be characterized as 'laissez-faire' racism (Bobo, et al. 1997). Past literature has stated this new racial ideology: avoids direct racial discourse, but affectively safeguards racial privilege, and helps in the reproduction of White supremacy.

Authoritarianism was found to be more significant among Republicans and Greeks. No literature could be found regarding authoritarian traits among those who belong to fraternities and sororities, however, it is well documented regarding the Republican Party. Along with authoritarianism, the Republican Party has also been characterized with normativism, and conservatism, and the Democratic Party with humanism, liberalism, and egalitarianism. These two dominant political institutions make up the left (Democrats) and the right (Republican) of the mainstream ideological spectrum. Those on the far left and right of this spectrum, who advocate radical change within the system are usually tolerated, but are not recognized as serious participants by the dominant parties (Marger 1981). Although it is beyond the scope of this study to assess the far right's influence on political decisions, it is this researcher's contention that Republicans are more apt to implement policies that are sympathetic to neo-Nazi organizations. This can be elaborated on by President George W. Bush's latest decision regarding universities admission policies, and Senator Trent Lott's recent stand on segregation. With the present study revealing 53% Republican, 27% Democrat, 17% Independent, and 3% other, one can definitely see a conservative trend on this particular campus. Individuals with a conservative agenda have often been drawn into fascist regimes through the existence of popular mass movements. It is these mass movements,

which distinguishes fascism from ordinary conservatism (Parsons 1942).

Although a right-wing movement's primary orientation is political, they also have many features in common with many historical religious movements. Religious fundamentalism was also found to be significantly higher among Republicans, but not among other campus groups. Past literature has shown that members of the Christian right are very fundamentalist in their religious beliefs. However, highly educated conservatives were found to be more of a significant factor in determining voting preference.

Again Republicans were found to be significantly higher on the variable of anti-Semitism. Previous studies have shown that five anti-Semitic organizations were founded in the United States between 1915 and 1932, nine in 1933, and 105 between 1934 and 1939. During this period political anti-Semitism made its first significant appearance. At no time did it reach a position of conservative political influence, or become a rallying point for the Republican Party; but it appeared often enough in political debate to show that the United States is not immune to the growth of organized anti-Semitism (Simpson and Yinger 1953).

One situation in which Republicans were highly opposed was the Jewish stand on the immigration policy in 1924. Jews were committed to changing this policy because of their belief that they are safe only in a society acceptant of a wide range of attitudes and behaviors, as well as diversity of religious and ethnic groups. Many of the conservatives in congress opposed of this immigration policy, concerned that such immigration would lead the U.S. being dominated by such immigrants (Macdonald 1998). However, no literature has shown any recent anti-Semitic events in American politics.

The White Republican fraternity members had significantly higher scores on every variable when compared to the general student population. These scores clearly show that this group is the most susceptible to this ideology. Previous research (Hamm 1994) has shown Whites sometimes develop ideas that they are victims of social injustice and form beliefs about how minority groups have caused that victimization. Implications of being victimized and group processes of dealing with them can be triggered by male bonding. Past studies have also revealed frequent racist incidents among fraternities and the toleration of these acts by university administrators. According to one administrator from Amherst University, "The reason fraternities don't get abolished is that the trustees are generally terrified of offending the Alumni and cutting off large, essential contributions" (Craig 1987; c.f. Lord 1987).

Although the data found in this research implies that White Republican fraternity members are more susceptible to White Nationalist ideology, there is no comparison between these two groups. The variables used show that there are differences in the attitudes and beliefs of White Nationalists and White Republican fraternity members; however, this does not mean that a right-wing movement cannot occur on a college campus. The National Alliance, the largest Neo-Nazi organization in the United States, was a spawn of the National Youth Alliance, a campus organization founded in 1968 to support the Presidential campaign of Alabama Governor George Wallace.

This study has focused on the spread of White Nationalist ideology on a college campus. No literature, thus far, has determined this. Thus, this research can aid others when analyzing the ideologies of both White Nationalists and college students. A replication of this study could be useful at other college campuses around the country as

well as among different White Nationalist organizations.

A qualitative study could be beneficial when looking at an individual's ideological agenda. Whereas statistical research is useful, it may also be helpful to actually interview both White Nationalists and college students to understand their attitudes and beliefs. Prior research has found that surveys on racial attitudes have underestimated the extent of prejudice in the White population. One study revealed that White college students appeared to be more prejudiced in the interviews than in the survey, used a new "race talk" to avoid appearing racist, and the themes and arguments that they mobilized are congruent with "Laissez Faire racism" (Bonilla-Silva and Forman, 2000). It would also be informative to see how fraternity members' survey responses differ in a more conservative atmosphere (fraternity house) rather than the liberal, "politically correct" environment of a college classroom.

This study could benefit both law enforcement and college administrators in identifying common problems they encounter in responding to racist incidents on campus. The research presented here could be used to help police officers in recognizing potential hazards on campus and within the community to prevent racist incidents from occurring. Campus administrators should also be familiar with the recruiting efforts of these off-campus groups and should work with campus and municipal police in developing guidelines for reporting these activities. In the situation that neo-Nazi groups do become active on campus, administrators should set up a formal avenue of communication to inform other students. This would be to send a strong message that this type of behavior will not be tolerated, and that the institution does not support such actions from either groups or individuals.

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APPENDIX A

Student Consent Form

STUDENT CONSENT FORM
Instructions and Notification of Voluntary Participation and Anonymity

This study is one in which is for a research project by the Sociology Department at Oklahoma State University. It is a study that will measure social and political attitudes and beliefs. This questionnaire will be used to gain insight into how these attitudes and beliefs relate to college undergraduates. Participation is strictly voluntary. If you do not wish to fill out the questionnaire you can decide not to return it. The questionnaire will only take around ten to fifteen minutes to complete. The data collected will only be reported in a way were no personal identifiers or specific responses will be used in this research report- meaning that it will be used primarily for research using numbers and statistics. The anticipated benefit of this study is to better understand how these attitudes and beliefs relate between college students and those in conservative political organizations.

If you find that some of the questions are sensitive or personal feel free to leave the question blank. If you should feel uncomfortable after completing this survey you should contact the OSU counseling office (Student Union RM # 216). There are no benefits that will come to you by your participation in this project. This is for educational purposes only.

This questionnaire is anonymous. Do not place your name or any identifying information on the questionnaire itself. The questionnaires will be shredded after they have been coded for the final product. The researcher and the advisor for the project will be the only persons who will see the completed questionnaires. Your responses and consent forms will be kept by the researcher in a secure location where only he will have access to them. Nobody else will have access to them.

Please answer the question as honestly and accurately as possible. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers to the questions.

Again, your participation is strictly voluntary and anonymous, do not feel you have to answer the questions. DO NOT COMPLETE THE CONSENT FORM AND SURVEY IF YOU ARE UNDER THE AGE OF 18. There are no penalties or rewards for your participation. If any of the questions are too sensitive or personal in nature you may leave it blank or may choose not to send in the survey.

If you have any questions about the survey or the research project, please feel free to call Michael R. Jones at (405) 707-0289, his advisor Dr. John Cross at (405) 744-6126. And, should you have any other questions you can call Dr. Carol Olsen from the Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board at (405) 744-1676.

Signature of Participant: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX B

White Nationalist Consent Form

WHITE NATIONALIST CONSENT FORM

Instructions and Notification of Voluntary Participation and Anonymity

This study is one in which is for a research project at Oklahoma State University. It is a study that will measure White Nationalist ideology. This questionnaire will be used to gain insight into how this ideology relates to college undergraduates. Participation is strictly voluntary. If you do not wish to fill out the questionnaire you can decide not to return it. The questionnaire will only take around ten to fifteen minutes to complete. The data collected will only be reported in the aggregate only- meaning that it will be used primarily for research using numbers and statistics. The anticipated benefit of this study is to better understand how this ideology relates between college students and those in white nationalist organizations.

If you find that some of the questions are sensitive or personal feel free to leave the question blank. There are no benefits that will come to you by your participation in this project. This is for educational purposes only.

This questionnaire is anonymous. Do not place your name or any identifying information on the questionnaire itself. The questionnaires will be shredded after they have been coded for the final product. The researcher and the advisor for the project will be the only persons who will see the completed questionnaires. Your responses and consent forms will be kept by the researcher in a secure location where only he will have access to them. Nobody else will have access to them.

There are two enclosed envelopes. Please use one for the return of the consent form and the other for the survey. This will insure the researcher that the consent form cannot be correlated with your responses on the survey.

Please answer the question as honestly and accurately as possible. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers to the questions.

Again, your participation is strictly voluntary and anonymous, do not feel you have to answer the questions. DO NOT COMPLETE THE CONSENT FORM AND SURVEY IF YOU ARE UNDER THE AGE OF 18. There are no penalties or rewards for your participation. If any of the questions are too sensitive or personal in nature you may leave it blank or may choose not to send in the survey.

If you have any questions about the survey or the research project, please feel free to call Michael R. Jones at (405) 707-0289. And, should you have any other questions you can call Dr. Carol Olsen from the Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board at (405) 744-6501.

Signature of Participant: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX C

Undergraduate Questionnaire

Undergraduate Questionnaire

This questionnaire is being used for a graduate research project. Your participation in this study is strictly voluntary. The questionnaire will address the subject's social and political attitudes and beliefs. Please answer each question to the best of your knowledge in the appropriate space provided. Thank you for your participation in this study.

_____1. Age at last birthday.

_____2. Sex
             1.   Male
             2.   Female

_____3. Race or Ethnicity
             1.   American Indian
             2.   Spanish American or Hispanic
             3.   Black or African-American
             4.   White or Caucasian
             5.   Oriental or Asian
             6.   Other (please specify)_____

_____4. College affiliation
             1. Agriculture
             2. Arts and Sciences
             3. Business
             4. Education
             5. Engineering

_____5. Classification
             1. Freshman
             2. Sophomore
             3. Junior
             4. Senior

_____6. What is your political affiliation?
             1.   Republican
             2.   Democrat
             3.   Independent
             4.   Other_____

_____7. Residence
             1. On campus
             2. Off campus
             3. Commuter

_____8. Greek affiliation
             1. Fraternity
             2. Sorority
             3. No affiliation

_____9. Which best describes your father's current occupation?

1. Professional	7. Skilled Worker	11. Farmer
2. Technical	Union____	12. Migrant Worker
3. Manager	Non-Union____	13. Unemployed
4. Administrator	8. Heavy Equipment Operator (Dozer, etc.)	
5. Sales	9. Transportation Operative (Truck Driver, etc.)	
6. Clerical	10. Service Worker (Janitor, etc.)	

_____10. What comes closest to the type of place where you were living when you graduated from high school?

     1. On a farm
     2. In a small city or town (under 50,000)
     3. In a suburb near a large city
     4. In a medium-size city (50,000-250,000)
     5. In large city (over 250,000)

11. Make a list of your favorite rock bands, beginning with your most favorite.

12. How often do you listen to bands such as, Skrewdriver, Mid-Town Boot Boys, Brutal Attack, White Noise, Last Resort, War Zone, No Surrender, and Doc Marten?

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Rarely Ever	Occasionally	Often	All the time

13. If you do listen to these bands, to what extent do you agree or disagree with their message?

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

14. Make a list of your favorite books, beginning with your most favorite.

15. What religion do you identify with?_____

16. Of all the people on this earth, one group has a special relationship with God because it believes the most in his revealed truths and tries the hardest to follow his laws.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

17. When you get right down to it, there are only two kinds of people in this world; the righteous, who will be rewarded by God; and the rest who will not.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

18. God will punish most severely those who abandon his true religion.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

19. There is a religion on this earth that teaches, without error, God's truth.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

20. To lead the best most meaningful life, one must belong to the one, true religion.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

21. Affirmative action is reverse discrimination.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

22. Blacks have less income than whites because they are lazy.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

23. Blacks are not as intelligent as Whites.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

24. I believe that blacks are getting more than they deserve.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

25. There are more blacks on welfare than whites.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

26. I would never consider dating a black person.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

27. The Jews must be considered a bad influence on Christian culture and civilization.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

28. There are too many Jews in the various federal agencies and bureaus in Washington, and they have too much control over our national policies.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

29. War shows up the fact that the Jews are not patriotic or willing to make sacrifices for their country.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

30. The Jew's first loyalty is to Jewry rather than to his country.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

31. Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fiber and traditional beliefs.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

32. The situation in our country is getting so serious, the strongest methods would be justified to eliminate the troublemakers and get us back to our true path.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

33. The only way our country can get through the crisis ahead is to get back to our traditional values, put some tough leaders in power, and silence the troublemakers spreading bad ideas.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

34. Once our government leaders give us the 'go ahead', it will be the duty of every patriotic citizen to help stomp out the rot that is poisoning our country from within.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

APPENDIX D

White Nationalist Questionnaire

White Nationalist Questionaire

This questionnaire is being used for a graduate research project at Oklahoma State University. Your participation in this study is strictly voluntary. The questionnaire will address the subject's level of white nationalist ideology. Please answer each question to the best of your knowledge in the appropriate space provided. Thank you for your participation in this study.

_____1. Age at last birthday.

_____2. Sex
    1. Male
    2. Female

_____3. Race or Ethnicity
    1. American Indian
    2. Spanish American or Hispanic
    3. Black or Afro-American
    4. White or Caucasian
    5. Oriental or Asian
    6. Other (please specify)_____

_____4. Highest grade level completed
    1. Grades 1-6
    2. Grades 7-9
    3. Grades 10-11
    4. GED
    5. High School Graduate
    6. College (1-3 years)
    7. College Graduate
    8. Graduate or Professional Degree

_____5. Which best describes your current occupation

1. Professional	7. Skilled Worker	11. Farmer
2. Technical	Union____	12. Migrant Worker
3. Manager	Non-Union____	13. Unemployed
4. Administrator	8. Heavy Equipment Operator (Dozer, etc.)	
5. Sales	9. Transportation Operative (Truck Driver, etc.)	
6. Clerical	10. Service Worker (Janitor, etc.)	

_____6. What is your political affiliation?
    1. Republican   3. Independent
    2. Democrat   4. Libertarian

_____7. What comes closest to the type of place were you are currently living
1. On a farm
2. In a small city or town (under 50,000)
3. In a suburb near a large city
4. In a medium-size city (50,000-250,000)
5. In large city (over 250,000)

8. Make a list of your favorite rock bands, beginning with your most favorite.

9. Make a list of your favorite books, beginning with your most favorite.

10. What religion do you identify with?_____

11. Of all the people on this earth, one group has a special relationship with God because it believes the most in his revealed truths and tries the hardest to follow his laws.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

12. When you get right down to it, there are only two kinds of people in this world;   the righteous, who will be rewarded by God; and the rest who will not.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

13. God will punish most severely those who abandon his true religion.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

14. There is a religion on this earth that teaches, without error, God's truth.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

15. To lead the best most meaningful life, one must belong to the one, true religion.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

16. Affirmative action is reverse discrimination.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

17. Blacks have less income than whites because they are lazy.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

18. Blacks are not as intelligent as Whites.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

19. I believe that blacks are getting more than they deserve.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

20. There are more blacks on welfare than whites.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

21. I would never consider dating a black person.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

22. The Jews must be considered a bad influence on Christian culture and civilization.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

23. There are too many Jews in the various federal agencies and bureaus in Washington, and they have too much control over our national policies.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

24. War shows up the fact that the Jews are not patriotic or willing to make sacrifices for their country.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

25. The Jew's first loyalty is to Jewry rather than to his country.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

26. Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fiber and traditional beliefs.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

27. The situation in our country is getting so serious, the strongest methods would be justified to eliminate the troublemakers and get us back to our true path.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

28. The only way our country can get through the crisis ahead is to get back to our traditional values, put some tough leaders in power, and silence the troublemakers spreading bad ideas.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

29. Once our government leaders give us the 'go ahead', it will be the duty of every patriotic citizen to help stomp out the rot that is poisoning our country from within.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Strongly Agree

APPENDIX E

IRB APPROVAL

Oklahoma State University
Institutional Review Board

Protocol Expires: 11/6/2003

Date: Thursday, November 07, 2002   IRB Application No   AS0327

Proposal Title: A STUDY OF WHITE SUPREMACIST IDEOLOGIES AND THE RELATIONSHIP TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Principal
Investigator(s):

Michael Jones   John Cross
1019 W. Scott   006 CLB
Stillwater, OK 74075   Stillwater, OK 74078

Reviewed and
Processed as: Expedited (Spec.Pop)

Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved

Dear PI :

Your IRB application referenced above has been approved for one calendar year. Please make note the expiration date indicated above. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocc must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval.
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period of one caler year. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continu
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of this research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved projects are subject to monitoring by the IRB. If you have questions abou IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Sharon Bacher, the Executiv Secretary to the IRB, in 415 Whitehurst (phone: 405-744-5700, sbacher@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,

Carol Olson, Chair
Institutional Review Board

VITA ⟨∂⟩

Michael R. Jones
Candidate for the Degree of
Master of Science

Thesis: AN EMPERICAL ASSESSMENT OF WHITE NATIONALIST
IDEOLOGY ON A COLLEGE CAMPUS

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Altus, Oklahoma, On July 26, 1972, the son of Michael
and Anita Jones.

Education: Graduated from Coalgate High School, Coalgate, Oklahoma in May
1990; received Bachelor of Arts degree in Criminal Justice from Southeastern
Oklahoma State University, Durant, Oklahoma in May 1999. Completed the
requirements for the Master of Science degree with a major in Sociology at
Oklahoma State University in December 2003.

Experience: Collected and analyzed data for intelligence/counter-intelligence as a
reconnaissance scout/liaison operative in the United States Marine Corps from
1990 to 1994.

Professional Memberships: Alpha Kappa Delta, National Sociological Honor
Society.