UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

UNDERSTANDING INTER-GROUP COOPERATION AMONG FAR-RIGHT EXTREMIST GROUPS:

THROUGH THE TWO-PYRAMID MODEL OF RADICALIZATION AND TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

A Thesis

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Jerrid Carter

Norman, Oklahoma

2024

UNDERSTANDING INTER-GROUP COOPERATION AMONG FAR-RIGHT EXTREMIST GROUPS:

THROUGH THE TWO-PYRAMID MODEL OF RADICALIZATION AND TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE

POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT

BY THE COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF

Dr. Allyson Shortle, Chair

Dr. Rachel Blum

Dr. Charles J. Finocchiaro

Dr. Kathleen Tipler

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables

List of Figures

Abstract

After the event of the Unite the Right Rally in Charlottesville, NC, it has become clear that extremist white nationalist groups communicate and interact with each other. What is unclear is the criteria they use when choosing to cooperate. I seek to address this gap, by adapting the McCauley and Moskalenko Two-Pyramid Model of Radicalization to the organizations themselves and analyzing whether or not it is opinions or actions that shape one group's opinion of another. To answer this, I apply textual analysis to leaked communications from several white nationalist servers, I isolate statements referencing other white nationalist organizations, code whether or not they are referring to the group's actions or their opinions, and then code whether the statement is negative or positive. I then combined the results of the latter two textual analyses into four different values referred to as statements. With this analysis, I will test the following: H1 - Extremist groups speak more frequently about others' extreme actions than their extreme opinions. H2 - When speaking of other groups' opinions there will be more variation in positive and negative opinion statements. H3 - Groups with a higher number of negative opinion statements than positive opinion statements will have fewer instances of positive action statements compared to negative action statements My analysis shows complete support for H1 and H2 and partial support for H3.

Introduction

On August 11th and 12th 2017, roughly 600 white supremacists from around a dozen groups descended on Charlottesville NC in an event dubbed the Unite the Right Rally (URR). On the night of the 11th, 200 of these individuals dressed in polo shirts and khakis while carrying tiki torches would march around a statue of Thomas Jefferson on the campus of the University of Virginia shouting "Jews will not replace us" and "Blood and soil".[1] The next morning in downtown Charlottesville extremists, clad in helmets and wielding clubs and shields, flooded the streets from the backs of rented vans. At their side marched armed members from three militia movements. Around 11 a.m. these marches would reach a group of counter-protesters who sought to bar their advance into Lee Park this would be the first instance of violence that would lead to a full-scale riot resulting in 3 deaths and over 30 injuries.[2]

While the URR had been anticipated by the public, what was not anticipated was the amount of planning and coordination between groups that was necessary for the event to happen. Thanks to leaked Discord messages, it has become clear that these groups are capable of sophisticated inter-group cooperation.[3] What is still unclear is why certain groups decided to work with some groups but not others. This question has not yet been asked within the academic sphere. With insights from radicalization literature, I will begin to answer this question.

---

[1] Emily Blout and Patrick Burkart, "White Supremacist Terrorism in Charlottesville: Reconstructing 'Unite the Right,'" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 46, no. 9 (September 2, 2023): 1624–52, https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2020.1862850.

[2] Blout and Burkart.

[3] Blout and Burkart.

In this paper, I use the term extremist white supremacist groups. These are groups whose ideals and activities are outside the accepted political establishment.[4] Because of this, these groups generally do not participate in the electoral political process. Instead, they express their ideals through other political actions, such as protesting/rioting, acts of political vandalism, and, for some, acts of terrorism and assassination.[5] These groups organize and socialize online and on social media, where they share and discuss different aspects of their ideology and the ideology of similar groups.[6] Both of the above aspects of group activities play distinct roles in the group's political expression. This thesis asks first, what determines right-wing extremist group evaluations of each other? More specifically, I am interested in examining, in the context of extremist networks, whether inter-group evaluations are determined by agreement with positions/stances or by specific actions taken by other extremist groups?

Argument

Extreme Opinion/Action

In this study, I have borrowed the concepts of extreme opinions and extreme actions from the evolving radicalization literature. The concepts were first differentiated from each other in Horgan's book *The Psychology of Terrorism* when discussing the large number of people in Northern Ireland who supported the radical ideas of the PIRA (Provisional Irish Republican Army) and the comparatively minimum number of persons who were directly involved in the

---

[4] Matteo Vergani et al., "Racist and Anti-Diversity Attitudes as Predictors of Support for Political Violence among Supporters of Mainstream Political Parties," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 35, no. 5 (July 4, 2023): 1085–1105, https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2021.2010716.

[5] Jeffrey Kaplan, "Right Wing Violence in North America," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 7, no. 1 (March 1, 1995): 44–95, https://doi.org/10.1080/09546559508427285.

[6] Thomas J. Holt, Joshua D. Freilich, and Steven M. Chermak, "Examining the Online Expression of Ideology among Far-Right Extremist Forum Users," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 34, no. 2 (February 17, 2022): 364–84, https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2019.1701446.

PIRA's violent action.[7] More recently, McCauley and Moskalenko explain that a disconnect between attitudes and actions is not abnormal in social psychology and is more evident in extreme behaviors.[8] Additionally, there is evidence that there is a disconnect between extreme actions and attitudes, most notably seen in disconnected-disordered lone-wolf terrorists whose actions are motivated by negative aspects of their own lives rather than their extreme attitudes.[9] This is in contrast with caring-compelled lone-wolf terrorists who, due to a combination of extreme opinions and sympathy for perceived victims of injustice, commit acts of terror.[10] What this shows is that an individual's participation in extreme politics may be motivated by personally held extreme opinions or a wish to commit violent acts for psychological reasons[11] and that both forces can exert influence on the radicalization of the individual. What has yet to be answered by the research is what motivates those who are already radicalized and participating in extreme actions.

---

[7] J Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism*, 1st ed. (London, United Kingdom: Routledge, 2005).
[8] Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko, "Understanding Political Radicalization: The Two-Pyramids Model," *American Psychologist* 72, no. 3 (April 2017): 205–16, https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000062.
[9] McCauley and Moskalenko.pg 212
[10] McCauley and Moskalenko. Pg 212-213
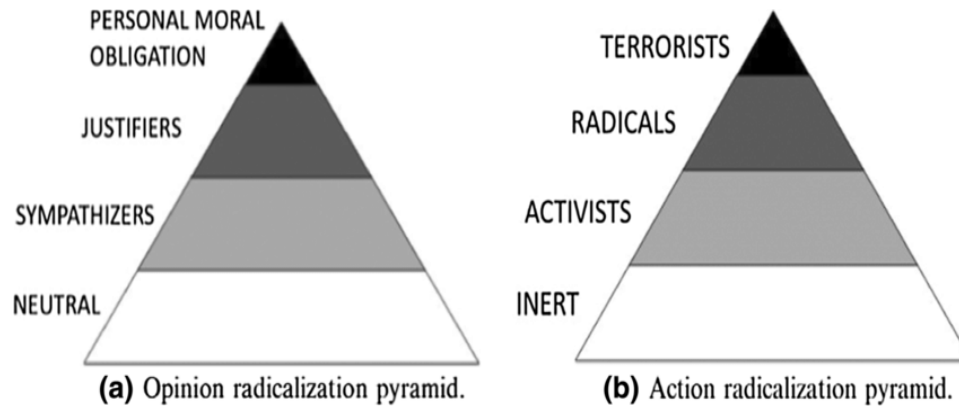[11] McCauley and Moskalenko. Pg 212

Figure 1Two pyramid model (McCauley and Moskalenko 2014)

Before addressing the motivations of extremist white supremacist groups, I will describe the two-pyramids model and explain why I have chosen it as the foundation of my analysis. The two-pyramids model was originally developed to show how an individual is radicalized. The first pyramid explains the radicalization of opinion, and the second pyramid explains the radicalization of action.[12] Each pyramid consists of four levels with the base representing individuals who do not care about political causes (neutral) and don't participate in political groups (inert).[13] The next level of the opinion pyramid represents individuals who believe in a cause but do not justify violence (sympathizers). The next level represents individuals who justify violence to defend their cause (justifiers). At the top are individuals who feel a (personal moral obligation) to use violence for their cause.[14] It should be noted that even if an individual has a personal obligation to use violence this does not mean that they will fulfill that obligation, but it does suggest that they will have a positive opinion of those who do. The levels of the action pyramid differentiate between the types of political actions an individual performs to

---

[12] McCauley and Moskalenko. Pg 212
[13] McCauley and Moskalenko. Pg 212
[14] McCauley and Moskalenko. Pg 212

support their cause. Those who engage in legal actions such as peaceful protests are labeled as activists. Those who perform illegal actions are labeled radicals. At the top of the pyramid are terrorists who perform illegal actions that target civilians.[15] While both of these pyramids work well for classifying individuals, this study examines the intergroup evaluations of group members who already rank highly on both scales. The extremist white supremacist groups that are the subjects of this study have performed illegal political acts such as vandalism and have engaged in political violence, categorizing them as at least justifiers and radicals. Because these groups are radicalized already, just deafferenting them based on acceptance of violence is not substantive enough to act as a framework that explains inter-group cooperation. However, the two-pyramid model does show that there is a difference in levels of action and acceptance of violence. While differentiating between these levels is beyond the scope of this study, the fact that these differences exist, and different groups exhibit different levels of acceptance, means that they may play a part in inter-group association. What is not known is which has more of an impact.

To better assess whether opinions or actions are the criteria of intergroup association I have expanded the concept of extreme opinion beyond just an acceptance of violence. I do this by including aspects of the group's underlying belief systems which must be accepted before an individual can justify violence in defense of the movement. It should be noted that these groups do not have a unified underlying belief system, and their belief systems vary in ideology, faith, and even the acceptance of specific conspiracy theories[16] especially since the mid-20th century.[17]

---

[15] McCauley and Moskalenko. Pg 212

[16] Holt, Freilich, and Chermak, "Examining the Online Expression of Ideology among Far-Right Extremist Forum Users."

[17] Jacob Ware, "Siege: The Atomwaffen Division and Rising Far-Right Terrorism in the United States" (International Centre for Counter-Terrorism, 2019), https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep19615.

In addition, there is non-academic evidence that groups who shift their underlying belief systems will be viewed negatively by former comrades.[18] This abundance of belief systems is not easily mapped onto the opinion pyramid. As such, this study will categorize all belief systems as an extreme opinion. Future research should differentiate between these belief systems. For consistency, I do the same with extreme actions, with the assumption that the more extreme actions are being viewed in a better light.

Groups

In this study, I look at the internal communications of three groups in particular: Vanguard America/Patriot Front, Traditional Workers Party, and Identity Evropa/American Identity Movement. All of these groups participated in the Unite the Right Rally, and all have connections with each other in the right-wing extremist coalition National Front and other outside groups.[19] They all have expressed publicly and privately political and racial opinions that are offensive to the mainstream. To varying degrees, each of these groups has performed public political actions that fall on different parts of the action pyramid, although these actions have not fallen within the realm of terrorism. For clarity, I will refer to these three groups either by name or the label of source groups. Below is a description of these groups and their status since the Unite the Right Rally.

Vanguard America/ Patriot Front

---

[18] unicornriotuser, "Leaked: A Year Inside The Failed Neo-Nazi Traditionalist Worker Party," *UNICORN RIOT* (blog), April 5, 2018, https://unicornriot.ninja/2018/leaked-a-year-inside-the-failed-neo-nazi-traditionalist-worker-party/.

[19] unicornriotuser, "DATA RELEASE: Discord Logs Expose Regional Networks Planning for #UniteTheRight," *UNICORN RIOT* (blog), August 29, 2017, https://unicornriot.ninja/2017/data-release-discord-logs-expose-regional-networks-planning-unitetheright/.

Vanguard America (V.A.) was the name of the group that participated in the Unite the Right Rally. It was a white nationalist group that used a great deal of nazi imagery and messaging. However, before and during the rally, the group's second in command fomented a coup, gained access to the V.A.'s digital infrastructure, and created the breakaway group Patriot Front (P.F.). P.F. has since shifted the group to a more American-centric understanding of fascism in an attempt to attract "moderate members of the far-right". Both iterations of this group frequently participate in rallies and protests as well as political vandalism.[20]

Traditional Workers Party

At the time of the Unite the Right Rally the Traditional Workers Party (T.W.P.) was considered the most extreme of the participating groups. They had a reputation for instigating clashes with counter-protesters and supporting violent revolutions to implement their ideals. The T.W.P. was known for its association with the AtomWaffen Division (A.W.D.), a right-wing extremist group whose European members have been responsible for bombings and political assassinations. Currently, T.W.P. has dissolved due to internal conflict between members of the group's leadership which resulted in the incarceration of the group's leader.[21]

Identity Evropa/American Identity Movement

Identity Evropa (I.E.) was at the forefront of the right-wing extremist movement's effort to recruit white, college-aged men and transform them into the fashionable new face of white nationalism. Rather than denigrating people of color, the campus-based organization focuses on raising white racial consciousness, building a community based on shared racial identity, and

---

[20] unicornriotuser, "'We're Americans, And We're Fascists': Inside Patriot Front," *UNICORN RIOT* (blog), March 5, 2018, https://unicornriot.ninja/2018/americans-fascists-inside-patriot-front/.
[21] unicornriotuser, "Leaked."

intellectualizing white supremacist ideology. That was until their group's internal

communications and many members' identities were revealed to the public showing the extent of

their racial prejudices and opinions. This resulted in the group attempting to rebrand as the

American Identity Movement (A.I.M.) this group seeks to present itself as an intellectual and

moderate right-wing extremist group.[22]

With this modified framework I was able to analyze the criteria that these groups use to

form opinions of each other and thus we can begin to consider how these groups choose to

associate with each other and test the following hypotheses.

H1 - Extremist groups speak more frequently about others' extreme actions

than their extreme opinions.

White supremacist groups have already been radicalized to the point where extremist

actions are acceptable. Thus, any successful action is considered positive no matter who

perpetrated it. If the action is not successful and two groups agree on opinions, then they will be

more likely to speak positively about the action. However, if the groups disagree on opinions,

they both will take the opportunity to speak negatively about actions.

H2 - When speaking of other groups' opinions there will be more variation in

the number of positive and negative opinion sentiments instances.

White supremacist groups function as a singular movement and are thus part of an

ingroup that is separate from the rest of society. They also are part of smaller in-groups separate

---

[22] unicornriotuser, "Identity Evropa Struggles To Gain Footing After Rebranding as Patriot Group," *UNICORN RIOT* (blog), April 11, 2019, https://unicornriot.ninja/2019/identity-evropa-struggles-to-gain-footing-after-rebranding-as-patriot-group/.

from the other groups and have different belief systems thus extreme opinions are the criteria on which they disagree the most, and the basis of negative sentiments.

This also affects the source group's views on another group's actions which is tested next.

H3 - Groups with a higher number of negative opinion statements than positive opinion statements will have fewer instances of positive action statements compared to negative action statements.

This is because negative opinion statements color the way they view the other groups and they will be more critical of both successful and unsuccessful actions.

Design

To explore if right-wing extremist groups put more stock into extreme opinions or extreme actions, I conducted a series of textual analyses of private messages between members of the source groups. This is a method that has been used by Ebner, Kavanagh & Whitehouse (2023) when they looked at the risk that groups would commit acts of violence.[23] However, this will be the first time I have seen it used to assess the collective views of these groups.

Data

---

[23] Julia Ebner, Christopher Kavanagh, and Harvey Whitehouse, "Assessing Violence Risk among Far-Right Extremists: A New Role for Natural Language Processing," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 0, no. 0 (2023): 1–18, https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2023.2236222.

The data for my analysis are messages from seventeen different discord servers owned by three different organizations V.A./P.F., TWP, and I.E./A.I.M. These data were initially collected by an activist journalist group called Unicorn Riot and has been uploaded to a public website for public use. They have also permitted me to use these data for this project. The data include the text in the message of each post, and other forms of metadata such as the username of the person who made the post, the time and date of the post, the channel, and the server where the post was made. I have also added the organization with which the server is associated. In total, my data consists of 858,755 posts from 2,563 unique users collected between 2016 and 2022.

Text Analysis

The data have gone through a series of textual analyses. Specifically, I am using a bag of words method designed to isolate specific words within the text to assign each message to a specific category. The nature of each value and the dictionaries that they correspond with will be elaborated on later. In total, I performed three different textual analyses using the above method. First, however, the messages underwent a standard natural language processing (NLP) preprocessing procedure. The preprocessing procedure included lowercasing letters and removal of numbers, special characters, and URLs. The messages were also lemmatized and tokenized so that they could be properly analyzed.

The first round of textual analysis was designed to isolate the messages that included references to far-right groups and assign values that correspond to each of the groups. In total, I looked for seven different organizations including the three from which the messages had been sourced. The others were chosen due to their participation in the Unite the Right Rally and for having known associations with the three source organizations. The dictionaries used were simplistic, including only the name of the organization and widely used abbreviations to reduce

the chances of false positives. All messages were assigned a value of 0-7 with 0 designating no reference. These observations were discarded from the rest of the analysis. A message would also be discarded if it was from a source organization coded 1-3 and had a value corresponding to itself. This was done to remove messages in which the individuals were discussing internal group issues.

The second round of textual analysis was designed to capture messages that refer to either an extreme opinion or an extreme action. To capture these sentiments, I have created two separate dictionaries with terms that were collected from the processed messages themselves to match the syntax of the processed data and to reduce the chances of false positives. In the case of the opinion dictionary, I picked terms that correspond to different ideologies, religions, races, and how to interface with the public. In the case of the action dictionary, I chose terms that correspond to actions that are frequently taken by these groups, such as protesting, training, and political crimes. The messages are then assigned a value of 0-2 with 0 being a message that referred to neither an opinion nor action, 1 referring to an opinion, and 2 referring to an action. All posts that receive a value of 0 are removed from the rest of the analysis.

The third and final textual analysis was designed to determine whether or not a post has either a positive or negative sentiment. Since looking for sentiment is a common goal of NLP, I was able to modify premade dictionaries. These modifications make use of common slang used by the groups themselves, and the negative sentiment dictionaries make use of common insults and slurs that the groups frequently use. The posts are then assigned a 0-3 value. With 0 referring to neither sentiment, 1 a positive sentiment, 2 a negative sentiment, and 3 both sentiments. Both posts with a value of 0 or 3 are discarded, because both values would confuse the analysis.

Textual Analysis Results

Finally, I have used the processed textual data to test my hypothesis. The results will show the primary groups' collective sentiments of the other groups based on those group's opinions and actions. I have combined the results of the second and third analyses, using a 2x2 design creating sentiment scores that act as the primary tool of the analysis. I have provided examples of statements that represent each category of the 2x2. The first is O.P., which is a statement that mentions a group's opinion in a positive context. "I find the ideals of National Socialist Movement appealing, that's why I identify as a NatSoc however I'm by no means an expert on the NSDAP. What's a good source to go to for future reference?" In this statement taken from a TWP server, an individual is stating approval of the ideals of NSM due to both sharing the NatSoc belief system.

O.N. refers to a group's opinion with a negative sentiment, "that fgt was dressed in all black roled with NSm to the event (in my car) then immedietly after goes on an optics fag rant about Nat soc. dudes unhinged. not a fan." In this statement also from a TWP server a person who is associated with NSM is degraded in part due to a disagreement on optics.

If both statements are to be believed to represent the collective sentiments of the TWP group, then it can be inferred that TWP broadly agrees with NSM due to a shared belief system but disagrees with optics or the actions and opinions that the group expresses to mainstream society.

A.P. refers to a group's action with a positive sentiment, "Agreed, it really depends on the event. In cville we needed numbers, NSM fought so hard regardless of their optics. Do we need them at normie events? No. We need them in a fight? Yes." In this statement taken from a VA/PA server NSMs actions during URR are being discussed positively.

A.N. refers to a group's action with a negative sentiment. "i wish AWD practiced what it preached. but it doesnt, and most of the people within the group are weak. thats why im attacked so much for pointing that out, since its true. thats why they sit in their own chat and gossip about me like women" In this statement from an IE/AIM server, an individual expresses disapproval about the perceived inaction of the AWD group, and it appears that this has resulted in mutual animosity between AWD and this person.

These results are visualized in the following table which shows the intensity of the other group's sentiments to the group's opinions and actions.

Analysis

Textual Analysis Table 1					
Discussed organizations					
Opinion Action Sentiments.	Identity Evropa	K.K.K.	AtomWaffen Division	NSM	totals
O.P.	13	18	4	8	51
O.N.	9	31	15	9	74
A.P.	9	19	15	13	69
A.N.	21	52	75	13	198
Total Sentiments	52	120	109	43	397
Percentage	13	30	27	10	

Above I have included the results of the four groups with the highest total of statements with each having at least ten percent of the total statement instances. These are referred to as the

analysis groups and include IE/AIM, KKK, AtomWaffen Division (AWD) and the National

Socialist Movement (NSM). In addition, I have included the totals for each statement type.

In the case of H1 - Extremist groups speak more frequently about others' extreme actions
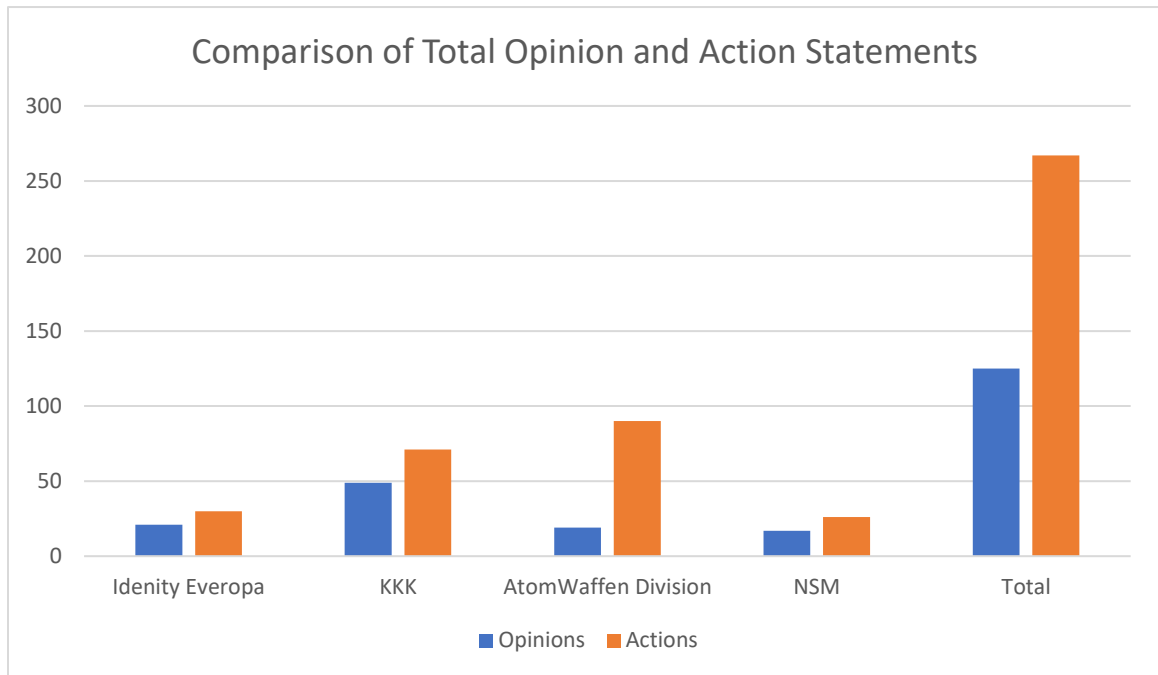
than their extreme opinions.

Figure 2

If H1 is corraborated, then a comparison between the total number of opinion and action

statements for each group would show that action statements occur with more frequency than

opinion statements. IE/AIM supports H1 with a difference of 9, as does KKK with a difference

of 22, AWD with a difference of 71, NSM with a difference of 9, and the total of opinion and

action statements with a difference of 142.

In the case of H2 - When speaking of other groups' opinions there will be more variation

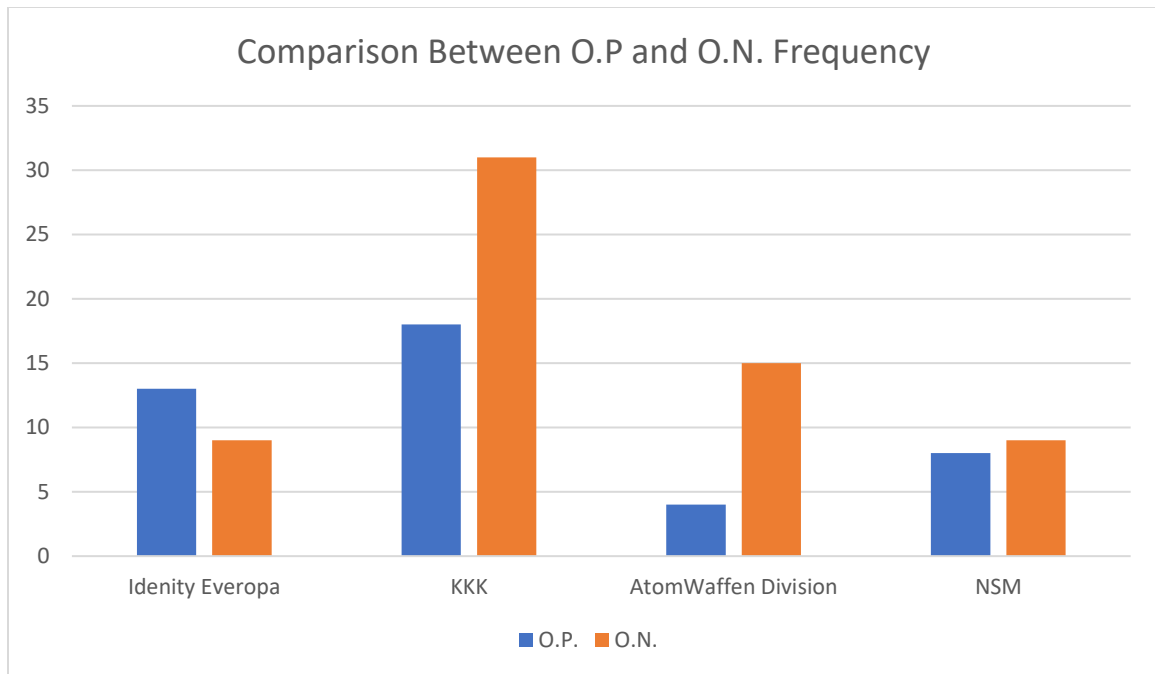in the number of positive and negative opinion sentiments instances.

Comparison Between O.P and O.N. Frequency

Figure 3

If this hypothesis is correct, then the analysis would show that there isn't a consistent pattern in whether or not a group has a larger O.P. or O.N. score. The result of the analysis supports this lack of a pattern, of the four groups one has a significantly larger O.P. score and two have a significantly larger O.N. score the remaining group NSM has a larger O.N. score with a margin of one. Additionally, the three other groups have a difference of 1-2. Thus, the results do not provide a clear pattern concerning opinion sentiments this is in line with H2 and supports the idea that action sentiments do not influence opinion sentiments.

Finally in the case of H3- Groups with a higher number of negative opinion statements than positive opinion statements will have fewer instances of positive action statements
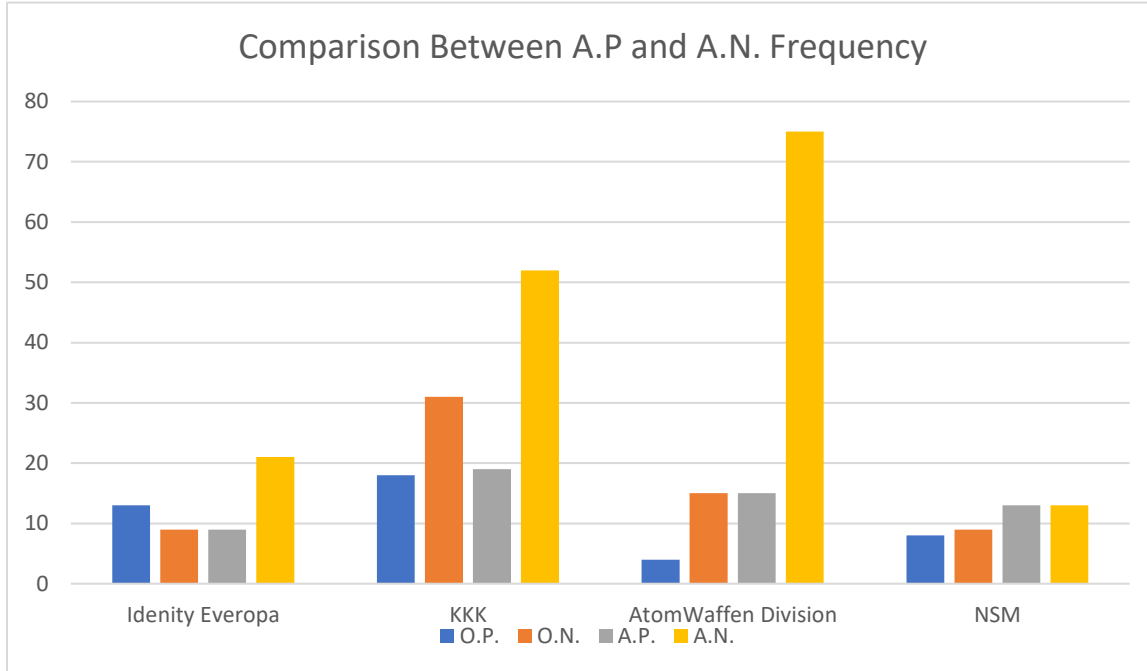
compared to negative action statements.

Figure 4

If H3 is correct, then each group with a larger number of O.P. statements compared to O.N statements will also have a larger number of A.P. statements compared to A.N. statements, and vice versa for each group with a larger number of O.N. statements compared to O.P. statements. I.E./A.I.M. does not support H3 with an O.N. score of 9 and an A.N. score of 21 compared to an O.P. score of 13 and an A.P. score of 9. The A.W.D. supports H3 with an O.N. score of 15 and an A.N. score of 75 compared to an O.P. score of 4 and an A.P. score of 15. KKK supports H3 with an O.N. score of 31 and an A.N. score of 52 compared to an O.P. score of 18 and an A.P. score of 19. Finally, NSM neither supports nor refutes H3 with an O.N. score of 9 and an A.N. score of 13 compared to an O.P. score of 8 and an A.P. score of 13. Because both the A.P. and A.N. are the same I cannot definitively say that it supports H3. However, if the opinion sentiments are indeed influencing action sentiments, then these scores are understandable considering the one-point difference between O.P. and O.N.

Discussion

Before the recent high-profile extremist white supremacist violence was perpetrated by lone-wolf spree killers such as Ander Breivik of Norway and Brenton Tarrant of New Zealand. After the URR there have been smaller gatherings of these groups. The most egregious example was the January 6th insurrection which alarmingly combines mainstream and extremist politics. Among those in the crowd that day were organized members of the Proud Boys and Oath Keepers who used the same online methods from URR to coordinate their actions that day[24]. If these events are going to continue to happen, then researchers need to understand how and why extremist white supremacist groups choose to work with each other, and this paper is a first step. I have shown that there is evidence that opinions are the driving force of the phenomena with each group supporting the first two hypotheses. In the case of **H3,** IE/AIM is the only group that does not support the hypothesis. This is likely because when this was collected, IE shifted to AIM and softened its public rhetoric. The other group's reaction to this shift is being captured and no clear consensus can be garnered. While this paper indicates that extremist opinions are the driving force behind positive and negative sentiments, further research needs to be conducted to understand what opinions, if any, are the source of these sentiments. In addition, it is unclear if specific events have a noticeable impact on sentiment, such as IE rebranding to AIM, a more sophisticated analysis is necessary to find said impact. I hope that this thesis will be the first step in the study of inter-group cooperation amongst extreme white supremacist groups.

---

[24] Kathleen Blee, Robert Futrell, and Pete Sime, *Out of Hiding Extremist White Supremacy and How It Can Be Stopped* (New York, NY: Routledge, n.d.).

Bibliography

Blee, Kathleen, Robert Futrell, and Pete Sime. *Out of Hiding Extremist White Supremacy and How It Can Be Stopped*. New York, NY: Routledge, n.d.

Blout, Emily, and Patrick Burkart. "White Supremacist Terrorism in Charlottesville: Reconstructing 'Unite the Right.'" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 46, no. 9 (September 2, 2023): 1624–52. https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2020.1862850.

Gartenstein-Ross, Daveed, and Emelie Chace-Donahue. "The Order of Nine Angles: Cosmology, Practice & Movement." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 0, no. 0 (March 7, 2023): 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2023.2186737.

Holt, Thomas J., Joshua D. Freilich, and Steven M. Chermak. "Examining the Online Expression of Ideology among Far-Right Extremist Forum Users." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 34, no. 2 (February 17, 2022): 364–84. https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2019.1701446.

Horgan, J. *The Psychology of Terrorism*. 1st ed. London, United Kingdom: Routledge, 2005.

Kaplan, Jeffrey. "Right Wing Violence in North America." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 7, no. 1 (March 1, 1995): 44–95. https://doi.org/10.1080/09546559508427285.

"Leaked: A Year Inside The Failed Neo-Nazi Traditionalist Worker Party." Blog, April 5, 2018. https://unicornriot.ninja/2018/leaked-a-year-inside-the-failed-neo-nazi-traditionalist-worker-party/.

McCauley, Clark, and Sophia Moskalenko. "Understanding Political Radicalization: The Two-Pyramids Model." *American Psychologist* 72, no. 3 (April 2017): 205–16. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000062.

Suedfeld, Peter, Ryan Cross, and Carson Logan. "Can Thematic Content Analysis Separate the Pyramid of Ideas from the Pyramid of Action? A Comparison Among Different Degrees of Commitment to Violence." White paper. Looking Back, Looking Forward: Perspectives on Terrorism and Responses to It (Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment Occasional White Paper). Department of Defense, September 2013. https://www.start.umd.edu/sites/default/files/publications/local_attachments/SMAWhitePaper_PerspectivesonTerrorismandResponsestoIt_Sept2013.pdf.

UNICORN RIOT. "DATA RELEASE: Discord Logs Expose Regional Networks Planning for #UniteTheRight." Blog, August 29, 2017. https://inicornriot.ninja/2017/data-release-discord-logs-expose-regional-networks-planning-unitetheright/.

UNICORN RIOT. "Identity Evropa Struggles To Gain Footing After Rebranding as Patriot Group," April 11, 2019. https://inicornriot.ninja/2019/identity-evropa-struggles-to-gain-footing-after-rebranding-as-patriot-group/.

unicornriotuser. "Leaked: A Year Inside The Failed Neo-Nazi Traditionalist Worker Party." *UNICORN RIOT* (blog), April 5, 2018. https://unicornriot.ninja/2018/leaked-a-year-inside-the-failed-neo-nazi-traditionalist-worker-party/.

Vergani, Matteo, Thierno Diallo, Fethi Mansouri, Kevin Dunn, Rachel Sharples, Yin Paradies, and Amanuel Elias. "Racist and Anti-Diversity Attitudes as Predictors of Support for Political Violence among Supporters of Mainstream Political Parties." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 35, no. 5 (July 4, 2023): 1085–1105. https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2021.2010716.

Ware, Jacob. "Siege: The Atomwaffen Division and Rising Far-Right Terrorism in the United States." International Centre for Counter-Terrorism, 2019. https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep19615.

"We're Americans, And We're Fascists': Inside Patriot Front." Blog, March 5, 2018. https://unicornriot.ninja/2018/americans-fascists-inside-patriot-front/.

Appendixes

Appendix 1 Codebook

Codebook for Thesis

user_name: The name of the user who made the post.

channels: The id of the channel the post was made in.

text: The original text of the post.

timestamp: the date and time of the post.

pre_text: The text after the letters have been lowered and numerals/punctuation/unique characters removed and has been separated into tokens based on individual words.

server_owner: The name of the group the server is associated with.

     1. Vanguard America/Patriot Front

     2. Traditional Workers Party

     3. Identity Evropa/American Identity Movement

disc_group: The group that the post has referenced.

     1. Vanguard America/Patriot Front

     2. Traditional Workers Party

     3. Identity Evropa/American Identity Movement

     4. Ku Klux Klan

     5. League of the South

     6. AtomWaffen Division

     7. National Socialist Movement

opinion_action: whether the post is discussing the disc_group opinions or actions or both.

     1. opinion

     2. action

neg_pos: If the sentiment of the post is discussing the disc_group in a negative or positive context.

1. Positive

2. Negative

oa_pn: where the post lies on the opinion/action and positive/negative sentiment 2*2.

1. Opinion with positive sentiment.
2. Opinion with negative sentiment.
3. Action with positive sentiment.
4. Action with negative sentiment.

Appendix 2 Dictionaries

Dictionaries

disc_group Dictionary.

Patriot Front/Vanguard America: (vanguard, va, pf , patriotfront,) (vanguard, va, pf, patriotfront)

Traditional Workers Party: (twp, tradworker) (twp, tradwork)

Identity Evropa: identity, (identity, evropa, ie, aim, europa) (ident, identiy, evropa, ie, aim, europa)

Ku Klux Klan: (ku, klux , klan, clan, kkk) (ku, klux, klan, clan, kkk)

League of the South: (league, los) (leagu, los)

Atomwaffen Division: (atomwaffen, awd) (atomwaffen, awd)

National Socialist Movement: (nsm) (nsm)

Opinion Dictionary

altright, alliance, aesthetic, asatru, belief, blog, bookclub, christian, communism, communist, confederate, conservatism, culture, ethnic, ethnostate, folk, heritage, hierarchy, hitler, homophobe, homophobic, ideology, jq, kin, leader, liberal, longterm, militia, natsoc, nazi, nazis, national, oath, optic, pagan, populist, power, presentable, punk, race, racist, resistance, rift, satanist, skinhead, socialist, swastika, teach, theory, video, white, zionist, talked, volk,

Stemmed (51)

alt, **allianc**, **aesthet**, **asatru**, **belief**, **blog**, **bookclub**, **christian**, **commun**, **confeder**, **conserv**, **cultur**, **ethnic**, **ethnost**, **folk**, **heritag**, **hierarchi**, **hitler**, **homophob**, **ideolog**, **jq**, **kin**, **leader**, **liber**, **longterm**, **militia**, **natsoc**, **nazi**, **nation**, **nationalist**, **oath**, **optic**, **pagan**, **populist**, **power**, **present**, **punk**, **race**, **racist**, **resist**, **rift**, **satanist**, **skinhead**, **socialist**, **swastika**, **teach**, **theori**, **video**, **white**, **zionist**, **talk**.

Action Dictionary

action, active, ammo, arm, assassin, attacked, ban, bomb, collect, conference, conflict, counterprotest, defense, detonate, dox, extreme, fight, fighting, fought, gun, incited, infight, join, kill, larpy, leading, meet, mob, murder, mural, operation, participate, plan, posting, postering, promat, protest, protested, responsible, retreat, riot, self, shield, shitposting, shoot, tactic, target, train, vandal, wear

Stemmed (47)

action, activ, ammo, arm, assassin, attack, ban, bomb, collect, confer, conflict, counterprotest, defens, deton, dox, extrem, fight, gun, incit, infight, join, kill, larpi, lead, meet, mob, murder, mural, oper, particip, plan, post, poster, promat, protest, respons, retreat, riot, self, shield, shitpost, shoot, tactic, target, train, vandal, wear

Positive Sentiment dictionary:

acclaimed, achieve, affluent, affirmative, ahead, angelic, assist, attain, based, beaming, bliss, bountiful, bubbly, commend, dazzling, depends, earnest, ecstatic, efficient, friend, fash, glorious, good, graceful, great, illustrious, improve, intellectual, like, love, marvelous, mighty, novel, notorious, productive, profitable, redpill, robust, ruthless, sacred, save, talent, virtuous, waking, whitepilling, vicious, zealous,

Stemmed (47)

acclaim, achiev, affluent, affirm, ahead, angel, assist, attain, base, beam, bliss, bounti, bubbl, commend, dazzl, depend, earnest, ecstat, effici, friend, fash, glorious, good, grace, great, illustri, improv, intellect, like, love, marvel, mighti, novel, notori, product, profit, redpil, robust, ruthless, sacr, save, talent, virtu, wake, whitepil, vicious, zealous

Negative sentiment dictionary:

abandon, apathy, attacking, bantzed, bemoan, blaming, burger, butthurt, censor, cuck, disbanded, disorganized, counterproductive, dreadful, expelled, fag, faggot, fat, fed, gay, goy, inbred, insidious, jew, joke, junkie, kicked, kike, leave, lolcow, mamzer, meatheads, misfits, muddled, neocucksrepublitards, nigger, neggar, pajeets, pedo, queer, rat, repulsive, retarded, shunned, shit, sperged, tranny, trannies, virgin, vice, vile, weeb, worry,

stemmed (52)

abandon, apathi, attack, bantz, bemoan, blame, burger, butthurt, censor, cuck, disband, disorgan, counterproduct, dread, expel, fag, faggot, fat, fed, gay, goy, inbred, insidi, jew, joke, junki, kick, kike, leav, lolcow, mamz, meathead, misfit, muddl, neocucksrepublitard,

21
21

neggar, nigger, pajeet, pedo, queer, rat, repuls, retard, shun, shit, sperg, tranni, virgin, vice, vile, weeb, worri