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While I am not opposed to anyone using this thesis for research purposes, I encourage readers to take a look at my published (and more recent) work for more empirically-rigorous and peer-reviewed insights.

Marshall A. Taylor

MARKERS OF PERFORMANCE: EMOTION MARKING AND SACRAL BONDS IN WHITE SUPREMACIST DISCOURSE

by

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DEDICATION

To Natalie, my most influential teacher.

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Natalie, I must thank you most of all. But you already knew that.

ABSTRACT

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Using lyric data from white supremacist musicians, I build upon theories of social marking to develop *emotion marking*: i.e., the practice of using emotional labels to discursively differentiate social actors. Projections of shame and claims to pride are analyzed here as markers used within white supremacist discourse to differentiate movement loyalists from opposed others in relation to the state of their relative *sacral bonds*—that is, moral commitments to their perceived sacred social order. Borrowing from social bond theory, it is posited here that when sacral bonds are perceived to be threatened, shame is made manifest; when bonds are maintained, pride is present. White supremacists use multiple frames and discourses to mark the affective contrast between movement loyalists and opposed others. White supremacists claim pride through the maintaining of their bonds; opposed others are met with projected shame for threatening bonds, both their own and those of whites.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

. . . Ideas about separating, purifying, demarcating and punishing transgressions have as their main function to impose system on an inherently untidy experience. It is only by exaggerating the difference between within and without, about and below, male and female, with and against, that a semblance of order is created.

~ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger*

The above quote from British anthropologist Mary Douglas suggests that one way social order is maintained is through polarity—by separating the normal from the abnormal, the clean from the dirty, the prestigious from the common person. Through these separations, a collectivity's sacred moral order—that is, its norms, values, rituals, and actions—is defined, at least in part, through *what is not* a component of sacrality.

Perhaps there is no better vantage point to witness this social demarcation than that offered by social movements and contentious collective action. As social movement groups often seek to resist social structural changes (McAdam 1982; Turner and Killian 1972) and make claims on identity (Bernstein 2005), they are salient case studies in how collectivities oftentimes use varying processes and strategies to differentiate themselves from opposed others. The white supremacist movement is a particularly colorful example of how social movements use discourse and language to engage in such social differentiation. Indeed, as previous scholars of white supremacy have noted, white power advocates and activists associate and mobilize around the idea that the white race is being threatened; that its sacred core values are being polluted; and that the need for minority subordination, eradication, or at least white separation is a pressing political issue (e.g.,

Arena and Arrigo 2000; Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997; Ferber 1998b; Futrell and Simi 2004; Simi and Futrell 2010).

Previous qualitative analyses of white supremacist discourse have detailed how white supremacists cognitively distinguish themselves from opposed others. For instance, researchers have underscored how white supremacists use discourse to set themselves apart from ignorant whites:

> Nigger lover, race traitor Walk in shame and hide your face
> Nigger lover, race traitor For false pride you sold out your race
> So now it's a civil war, white against white
> You against me, and I'll take your life
> -- Blue Eyed Devils (band), "Walk in Shame" (in Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997:99)

power elites, including politicians, capitalists, and media producers:

> We think a lot about how to reach a wider audience with the [mainstream] media pushing all this anti-white propaganda. We can't let that media define us.
> -- Southeastern Aryan activist, December 15, 2002 (in Futrell, Simi, and Gottschalk 2006:282)

and racial others:

> [The black man is] crude, smelly, loud, uneducated, inarticulate and preoccupied with the most base and petty endeavors . . . He's very committed to his music . . . which shamelessly promotes violent revolution, irresponsible sexuality and the mindless worship of trinkets and trends.
> -- *WAR* (magazine), Vol.8(2), p. 11 (in Harper 1994:10)

In each of the above passages pulled from previous sociological studies of the white supremacist movement, care has been taken to delimit the ideology of whiteness, define it as something separate from opposed others, and, as scholars have noted, to use it to create Aryan collective identities predicated on out-group differences as well as in-group similarities.

Despite the wealth of social science research delineating the cognitive dimensions of white supremacist political, national, and racial ideology, these data excerpts point to an important aspect of social movement activity that has gone somewhat unnoticed in the white supremacist literature: emotions. With the exception of a few studies on white supremacist hate, anger, and pride (Coreno 2002; Futrell et al. 2006; Simi and Futrell 2010), very little has been said about how claims on emotions play into the shape and structure of white supremacist discourse. This emotional paucity in white supremacy studies is somewhat puzzling given that, as the above excerpts from previous research show, appeals to emotions fill an important role in constructing white racialist understandings of social reality. Furthermore, this dearth of attention given to the emotional dynamics of the white supremacist movement is a serious shortcoming for our current understandings of white power ideology, especially if adopting Arlie Hochschild's (1979:566) robust interpretation of ideology which dictates that " . . . [ideology has been] construed as a flatly cognitive framework, lacking systematic implications for how we feel."

With this thesis, I expound upon the emotional dimensions of the white supremacist movement by using the concept of social marking (Brekhus 1996, 1998, 2008; Pruit 2012; Sasson-Levy 2013) to address white supremacists' perceived relationships to *sacral bonds*—that is, generalized moral commitments that attune actors to their ideologically-bound conceptions of sacred sociocultural constructs. I specifically adopt both binary and trinary models of markedness, which reflect the notion that normative and unmarked characteristics of a given phenomenon are made implicitly mundane, generic, and unproblematic through the marking (highlighting) of exceptional

and/or perverse characteristics at either end of the marking spectrum (Brekhus 1996:501). Using a purposive sample of white supremacist music lyrics to capture cultural "snapshots" of white supremacist discourse, I develop the concept of *emotion marking*: i.e., the practice of claiming and projecting particular emotional labels to underscore the "asymmetrical and hierarchical relationship" (Waugh 1982:299) between an in-group and out-group. Considering specifically the processes of social differentiation in white supremacist discourse, I adopt Thomas Scheff's (1990, 1997) social bond theory to create the concept of the sacral bond and to suggest that emotion marking may be used to signify distinctions concerning the state of an in-group's sacral bonds relative to the state of an out-group's sacral bonds. Therefore, it is posited here that emotional manifestations of sacral bond maintenance may serve as emotion markers of the successful or unsuccessful performance of duties to sacral bonds—phenomena I refer to as *markers of performance*. The primary emotions of interest here rest on the "shame-pride axis" (Nathanson 1987; Scheff 2000, 2003), where pride denotes a strengthened (or maintained) bond and shame indicates a threatened bond.

I identify five shame-pride typologies as suggested through white supremacist music lyrics; each implicates projections of shame and claims to pride in the maintenance of white supremacist sacral bonds and in the perceptions of opposed others' sacral bonds. Additionally, each typology corresponds to a different white supremacist discourse: (1) an awareness discourse; (2) an authenticity discourse; (3) a racial fortitude discourse; (4) a cultural hero discourse; and (5) a domination discourse. Each of these discourses carries its own discrete "types" of shame and pride that are dependent upon the cognitive, contextual, and temporal dimensions of that particular discourse. The projections of

shame and claims to pride in each of these discourses serve as emotion markers which, in turn, are markers of performance used to draw attention to how white supremacists meet the expectations attuning them to their sacral bonds while opposed others fail to meet expectations. White supremacists, then, claim pride for maintaining their sacral bonds and project shame onto opposed others for threatening both their own sacral bonds as well as those belonging to white supremacists.

I now turn to a brief outlining of the literature on the white supremacist movement, where I also highlight the need for more systematic analyses of white supremacist emotions. Afterward, I use social bond theory and its sociological conceptualizations of shame and pride to develop the concept of the *sacral bond*. I then address the concept of social markedness, outline the intricacies of emotion marking, and elucidate how emotion marking is useful for exploring the shame-pride emotions surrounding sacral bonds. The remainder of the paper is dedicated to method, analysis of the shame-pride typologies and their associated white supremacist discourses, and discussion.

CHAPTER 2

STUDYING THE WHITE SUPREMACIST MOVEMENT

Since the mid- to late-nineteenth century, the white supremacist movement has persisted in some form or fashion throughout Western society. Currently, the movement exists as a somewhat amorphous, decentralized set of collectivities with little unified structure or mobilization. Even so, the social groups that comprise the white supremacist movement are considered efficacious components of contemporary extremism and racial violence (Simi 2010; Simi and Futrell 2010).[1] Because of this, scholars and civil rights organizations alike continue to produce research on the movement. Various components of the movement have been systematically studied by social scientists with a number of different foci, but most of these studies have focused almost exclusively on the structural and ideational dimensions of white supremacist culture. With the exception of some research on hate, anger, and pride (e.g., Coreno 2002; Futrell et al. 2006; Simi and Futrell 2010), a systematic examination of white supremacist emotions is absent from the literature—even though emotions have once again become an area of interest for social movement scholars (e.g., Britt and Heise 2000; Dunn 2004; Goodwin, Jasper, and

[1] The white supremacist movement little resembles the "standard" social movement with unified strategic planning, salient authority figures, or organizational centrality. To be sure, those who adopt a strict resource mobilization perspective of social movement activity may be inclined to view the white supremacist movement as disorganized, discordantly sectarian, and, perhaps, not a movement at all. However, such a perspective turns attention away from the structured aspects of white supremacy necessary to sustain participant commitment and "mobilize" white supremacist ideology across generational lines. White supremacist organization is, instead, found within the "'family' of overlapping groups organized to spread racist and anti-Semitic ideas and terrorist tactics"; indeed, "Aryan organization is anchored in fluid, transitory, and informal 'submerged networks' that periodically coalesce in Aryan free spaces" (Simi and Futrell 2010:9). White supremacists, then, are largely involved in the dissemination and mobilization of ideas, and, regardless of their particular sect identification, share the common belief in white superiority. For this reason, I refer to these collectivities throughout the thesis as the singular "white supremacist movement" while noting sectarian differences where necessary.

Polletta 2000, 2001; Jasper 1998; Jasper and Poulsen 1995; Reed 2004; Summers-Effler 2002, 2010; Taylor 2000; see also Jasper 2011 for a general review). In this chapter, I briefly review pertinent sociological studies of the white supremacist movement. I then discuss what existing research has elucidated about the emotional dynamics of the movement, noting where further research is desired.

The Sociology of White Supremacy

Most sociological analyses of the white supremacist movement have focused on the intricacies of collective identity.[2] In brief, a collective identity may be understood as a social group's shared definition of themselves (a sense of "we") in relation to the surrounding environment and social milieu (Melucci 1995; Taylor and Whittier 1992). It represents an attempt of a social group to carve out their own unique, explicit position in social space using shared common stocks of knowledge (Rambo Ronai and Cross 1998; see also Berger and Luckmann 1967). According to Simi and Futrell (2009), white supremacist collective identities revolve around resistance: i.e., white supremacist activists define themselves by and invoke solidarity through their shared need to resist the " . . . contemporary integrationist attitudes and multicultural ethics held by many they interact with on a daily basis" (2009:90). Similarly, Goodrick-Clarke (2002:305) noted that the "Aryan cult of white identity" is directly associated with " . . . this rise of a new nationalism as a culture of resistance to the recent forces of globalization and immigration."

As globalization continues to impact Western societies, so too do the methods for expressing white supremacist collective identities become more exclusive and

[2] There are, however, studies of white supremacy that are developed from macrostructural approaches as well (see, for example, Beck 2000; McVeigh, Myers, and Sikkink 2004).

circumscribed. Futrell and Simi (2004; Simi and Futrell 2010) identified an infrastructure of "free spaces" within which movement participants frequently meet to engage in white power cultural practices and rituals that fuel movement persistence and identity adherence. Among the most potent of these free spaces is cyberspace, where the Internet " . . . may play a crucial role in attracting new activists, pulling peripheral members closer to the movement, and maintaining the commitment of already active participants" (Futrell and Simi 2004:37). Indeed, previous research suggests that the Internet is a hotbed for forming and perpetuating white supremacist collective identities in various organizations, clubs, and subcultures across geospatial boundaries (Adams and Roscigno 2005; Bowman-Grieve 2009; Burris, Smith, and Strahm 2000; Gerstenfeld, Grant, and Chiang 2003; Hier 2000; Perry 2000).

External conditions may also influence the formation and continuation of white supremacist collective identities. Religious systems, for instance, may simultaneously contribute to forming a cohesive white supremacist collective identity (Kaplan 1998) and also divide it along sectarian lines, especially on the issue of the relationship between race and religion (Dobratz 2001; Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997). Gardell (2003), in his study of racist neo-paganism, also suggested that the movement's religious systems are not static, and that shifts in religious affiliation are associated with the radicalization of how many white supremacists perceive themselves and their movement goals (e.g., the denouncing of Christianity by racist neo-pagans, thereby further separating the group from the general public [Gardell 2003:67]).

Despite their differences, most white supremacist collectivities share a few basic tenets (Ferber 1998a). One such tenet is patriarchy (Blee 2002; Daniels 1997; Ferber

1995, 1998a, 1998b)—that is, the positioning of males as the sole authorities in the polity and economy, as well as in the family. These studies point to the overt sense of masculinity that pervades virtually all white supremacist discourse (see Daniels 1997).

Emotions and White Supremacy

The empirical analyses discussed above are fixated almost entirely on the cognitive dimensions of the white supremacist movement; indeed, there is very little research on white supremacist emotions. This is surprising, especially given that emotional labels such as "hate" and "pride" are popular keywords for identifying white supremacist culture—an observation supported by many of the book and article titles for major social scientific works on the white supremacist movement (e.g., Blee 2002; Cotter 1999; Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997; Gerstenfeld, Grant, and Chiang 2003; Messner et al. 2007; Perry 2000; Simi and Futrell 2010). Indeed, even "domestic terrorism"—a concept linked to the white supremacist movement in both academic and "watchdog" (e.g., the Southern Poverty Law Center and the Anti-Defamation League) discourses—is an emotionally-loaded term that points to the strong affective features of contemporary white supremacy as it relates to movement activism, mobilization, communication, and conflict.

There are, to present knowledge, only a handful of studies that directly (and purposefully) examined the emotional dimensions of the white supremacist movement. Pete Simi and Robert Futrell (Futrell et al. 2006; Simi and Futrell 2010), using data culled from sources ranging from interviews, participant observations, and media products, demonstrated that emotions play a significant part in constructing collective identity: specifically, while shared "reactive emotions" (Jasper 1998, 2011) such as anger

at and hate for another are central to finding a common focus of attention (Collins 2004; Durkheim [1915] 2008), "vitalizing" (Taylor 2000) and "reciprocal" (Jasper 2011) emotions such as pride and pleasure provide a more consistent affective basis for everyday solidarity among white supremacist activists and participants. Furthermore, emotions are even identified as a source of self-other differentiation when "Aryan rituals . . . arouse emotions and intensify solidarity by marking the boundaries between white power advocates and their enemies" (Simi and Futrell 2010:52).

Simi and Futrell's studies have been predicated primarily on the microinteractional and cultural components of white supremacist emotion. Thaddeus Coreno (2002)—foregrounding perceptions of subordinate social positioning in lieu of intragroup interaction—adopted a social structural approach (cf. Kemper 2001) in his analysis of anger and hate in the American "hate movement." Coreno argued that one of the primary mobilization strategies of white power groups involves turning anger, a primary emotion (that is, a biophysiological emotional reaction), into hate, a secondary emotion (a blend of primary emotions that has been socially conditioned through cognitive and cultural labels). In this way, the anger that follows a loss of status and the fear of losing power (and of another party *gaining* power) within an unequal social structural system combine and become "focused" onto an object—thereby putting a face and a name on the source of the subject's fall in social position. To compensate for this notably individualistic model of emotional manifestation and causation, Coreno also postulated that generating pride through "race consciousness and group solidarity" was then necessary so as to "instill in people a sense of their own worth as *members of a group* that is under attack from many more powerful institutions" (2002:78, emphasis

added). Pride, then, in the white supremacist movement, is treated in a similar fashion by both Simi, Futrell, and Coreno: it is an emotion used to map out where commitment, honor, camaraderie, and perseverance are, and where they are not.

The dearth of attention given to white supremacist emotions suggests that the sociology of white supremacy has typically had a cognitive focus. When emotions were attended to in the research, it was done so in a piecemeal manner. In this research, I use theories of sacral bonds and emotion markers in a systematic manner to explore, in depth, how claims to pride and projections of shame are used to separate purity from impurity, normal from abnormal, and so on. In this manner I endeavor to map out a typological landscape that white supremacists draw upon to discursively differentiate themselves from opposed others. Before creating this typology, I must first turn the discussion towards the concept of sacral bonds.

CHAPTER 3

EMOTIONS AND SOCIAL BONDS:

MOVING TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF SACRAL BONDS

In this section I will develop the concept of the *sacral bond*. First, I explicate social bond theory—the framework of which the sacral bond is an extension. I focus specifically on the shame-pride axis, as these emotions and their relationships to one another are at the core of the theory's basic propositions. Second, I argue that while social bond theory is a valuable tool for understanding how shame and pride are inherently social and relational, as we shall see, they require modifications when applied to sacral bonds. Basic propositions are developed throughout the chapter to synthesize the material and build toward a concrete understanding of the sacral bond. The reader will need to first understand the sacral bond so that I can later introduce the concepts of *emotion marking* and, in particular, *markers of performance*. These latter concepts will then be developed, in detail in the following chapter.

Shame-Pride Axis

Social bond theory is, in essence, a theory of human motivation. Drawing primarily from the microinteractionist work of Durkheim ([1915] 2008), Cooley ([1902] 1964), and Goffman (1967), and Lewis' (1971) psychotherapy research, Thomas J. Scheff (1990, 1997) posited that actors' drives to act toward one another are inspired less by individual utilitarian desires and more by the pervasive need to maintain social bonds. Scheff specifically defined a social bond as the degree to which two actors are cognitively and emotionally attuned to one another—that is, whether or not and to what extent the actors share "mutual understanding and mutual ratification" (Scheff and

Retzinger 1991:21). Social bond maintenance, then, is comprised of efforts to preserve or strengthen the attunement between two or more actors.

However, this begs the question: Why work to sustain these social bonds in the first place if the effort needed to do so is so exhausting? According to Scheff (2000), who in turn drew from Goffman's treatment of embarrassment (1967), at the core of the need to maintain social bonds is the anticipation—and, in turn, the avoidance—of shame. Scheff identified shame as the "most social of the basic emotions" (2000:97), and saw it as the emotional manifestation of a perceived threat to a social bond. Shame—which encompasses " . . . a large family of emotions that includes many cognates and variants . . . that *involve reactions to rejection or feelings of failure or inadequacy* (Scheff 2000:96, emphasis added)—is a discursively "coded" concept in Western languages (particularly English) (Scheff 1994), meaning that the emotion is often linguistically mediated through alternate verbal cues such as appeals to ridicule or inadequacy or behaviorally mediated through gestural actions such as hesitation or self interruption (Retzinger 1995); however, despite the emotion's low visibility (Retzinger 1995; Scheff 1988, 1994), shame involves a constant process of social monitoring of the self from the role-taking position of others (Scheff 1988). We may boil all of this down to the following proposition concerning the relationship between shame and the social bond:

> *Proposition 1: Shame is the emotional manifestation of a real or perceived threat to the social bond*.

If a social bond can be threatened, the inverse must also be true: a social bond can also be maintained or strengthened. According to Scheff, pride is the emotional manifestation of this successful bond maintenance; it is brought about through success,

acceptance, collective solidarity, and so on (Scheff 1988, 1994, 2003). This points to the inverse of the shame proposition stated above:

> *Proposition 2: Pride is the emotional manifestation of a real or perceived strengthened or maintained social bond*.

Social bond maintenance, then, exists along a "shame-pride axis" (Nathanson 1987; Scheff 2000, 2003), with any actions taken toward a social bond resulting in varying degrees of shame or pride (cf. Scheff 1988). However, pride has received neither the theoretic detailing nor the analytic exploration in social bond theory that has been afforded to the study of shame. This is relatively surprising given that shame and pride are conceptualized as occupying opposite ends of the same socioemotional scale of social attachment—a structure that has recently received attention by suicidologists (see Abrutyn and Mueller n.d.). Even when shame and pride are explicitly juxtaposed with one another (e.g., Scheff and Retzinger 1991; Scheff 1988, 1994), the focus of attention has invariably centered on shame with pride merely serving to hold down the symmetrical structure of the theory. Nevertheless, we must subject pride to just as much rigorous analysis as shame if we are to consider the robustness of the shame-pride axis and adopt Scheff's notion that actors are in constant states of either shame or pride at varying levels of intensity (Scheff 1988). We may therefore form a third proposition, which is, essentially, the flip of the theory's emphasis on the human drive to avoid shame:

> *Proposition 3a: Actors, by seeking to avoid shame, also seek to gain pride*.

This is a simple extension of Scheff's theory. We may also address this proposition in terms of bond maintenance so as to explicitly orient the emotions of shame and pride to their cognitive counterparts:

Proposition 3b: Actors, attempting to meet the expectations inherent in their perceivably meaningful relationships, also attempt to make explicit the successful maintaining or strengthening of their perceivably meaningful relationships.

Nathanson (1987) provided support for propositions 3a and 3b by noting how the positive social value attached to pride translates into a need to make salient one's successful maintenance of social bonds. This is in contrast to the opposite end of the axis, where shame translates into a need to play down one's unsuccessful bond maintenance:

> . . . [I]ntrinsic to the experience of pride is a certain tendency to broadcast one's success to the object world, whereas equally true of shame is a wish to conceal. The oscillation between pride and shame is more than a swing between positive and negative affect. It is an oscillation between public and private, between outside and inside. (Nathanson 1987:184)

The public and private dimensions of the polarity between shame and pride will be revisited with empirical support in the analytic strategy section of chapter 5.

Britt and Heise (2000) suggested that, in the case of social movements and contested politics, collective actors attempt to discursively change conceptions of in-group shame into conceptions of in-group pride; they endeavor to transfer themselves from the shame side to the pride side of the shame-pride axis. In the case of salient interparty conflict, *projections* of shame may become a common discursive tool for casting away in-group shame (cf. Retzinger 1995). Furthermore, projections of shame may draw attention to the in-group's relative sense of pride—that is, their solidarity and successful bond maintenance. We may form a fourth proposition from this information:

> *Proposition 4: In the case of social movements and contested politics, in-groups may claim pride through the projecting of shame onto out-groups. Conversely, in the case of salient interparty conflict, in-groups may implicitly project shame through the claiming of in-group pride*.

Whereas social bond theory has been biased toward studies of shame, the opposite is the case for studies of white supremacy: though pride has received mild examination

(see Coreno 2002; Futrell et al. 2006; Simi and Futrell 2010), research on shame among white supremacists is virtually nonexistent. This, again, is surprising, given that, according to social bond theory, shame and pride mutually infer one another. Where shame *has* been considered in white supremacy studies (e.g., Coreno 2002; Ferber 1995), it has either been only tangential to the larger discussion of emotions or used as a generic label for the threatened "white man." What is needed instead is research that considers the relationship between shame and pride and how they are differentially used to make claims on social reality. Exactly *how* this relationship may be elucidated and empirically applied is the topic of the following chapter on emotion marking.

Developing the Sacral Bond

Social bond theory asserts that actors feel shame when a social bond is perceived to be threatened and feel pride when the bond is perceived to be maintained or strengthened. However, existing discussions have been focused on the extent to which *two or more actors* are cognitively and emotionally attuned to one another—i.e., the extent to which actors *share* collective representations and emotions. Implicit in the theory has been an orientation toward tangible relationships between physical actors and how these relationships are threatened to generate shame or maintained/strengthened to generate pride. Shame and pride, then, involve both a self and an other of some sort. What I propose here—the *sacral bond*—is but a mere extension of what is meant by "relationship." More specifically, I suggest that relationships form between actors and what they perceive to be their sacred "center" (Shils 1975)—that is, the *Axis Mundi* (Eliade 1958) where the sacred communicates with the profane and, as a result, where the collectivity's values and moral commitments reside. To keep the terminology consistent

with the theoretical framework employed here, I refer to these moral commitments to a sacred center as *sacral bonds*. Sacral bonds, then, may be defined as *generalized moral commitments that attune actors to their ideologically-bound conceptions of sacred sociocultural constructs such as nation, race, and culture*. These conceptions may include beliefs of how nations, cultures, subcultures, races, status groups, class structures, sexualities, and so on are "supposed" to be structured and function. There are two key components of this conceptualization: *generalized* and *sacred*. First, sacral bonds are generalized in that the meaning structures embedded within them are shared by large portions of populations; they point to the existence of common generalized others (Mead 1934) or mental reference groups (Shibutani 1962). Second, sacral bonds are sacred: put another way, sacral bonds are erected around the central moral order as interpreted through group-specific ideological lenses (see Alexander 1988), and therefore arouse intense reactions when they are problematized. Indeed, to question the viability of an individual's or collectivity's moral consciousness is also to question the core meanings, self-concepts, and social identities that guide their day-to-day operations. The social emotions generated by threats to these sacral bonds may be remarkably strong and palpable, perhaps even more so than traditional social bonds. Whereas threatened social bonds point to unstable social relationships, threatened sacral bonds signal the loss of societal purity, cleanliness, and, by extension, godliness, since "holiness and impurity are at opposite poles" (Douglas 1966:9). Sacral bonds that are not properly respected and cared for bring forth a sense of defilement, and, therefore, passionate negative social emotions in the form of shame; likewise, sacral bonds that are maintained and/or strengthened generate positive social emotions in the form of pride. We may take this

information and create two more propositions, which are essentially propositions 1 and 2 but with the focus now on the concept of the sacral bond:

> *Proposition 5: Shame is made manifest when an actor believes they have threatened a sacral bond—that is, when they believe they have not adequately performed their duties to their nation, race, culture, and so on.*
>
> *Proposition 6: Pride is made manifest when an actor believes they have maintained or strengthened a sacral bond—that is, when they believe they have adequately performed their duties to their nation, race, culture, and so on.*

Once again, in the case of social movements and contested politics, *projections* of out-group shame may be made through the *claiming* of in-group pride (cf. Britt and Heise 2000); in the case of salient interparty conflict, claims to in-group pride may also be made through the projecting of out-group shame. These concepts will be discussed in greater detail—and with empirical examples—in the following chapter on emotion marking.

The efficacy of sacral bonds also finds empirical support in qualitative studies of gender and racial identity. For example, C. J. Pascoe (2007) noted how high school students use a "fag discourse" to ensure that expectations of masculinity are being adhered to by male students. With the "specter of the fag" always looming, the "fag" becomes a label that boys constantly work to avoid through ritual and discourse. Similarly, a multiracial individual's lack of stereotypical physical characteristics may result in stigma attribution if the absence of identifiable features results in a disruption of the micro-level racial formation project (Grier, Rambo, and Taylor Forthcoming). In each of these cases, external (and probably informal) sanctions are disseminated when central expectations about "gender" and "race" are not met; the sacral bonds connecting the individual to larger conceptions of social positioning are not being maintained.

This discussion begs the question: How are sacral bonds and shame and pride put into discursive action? That is, *how* and *with what purpose* do actors claim pride and project shame in reference to their sacral bonds? How do white supremacists, for example, claim pride for themselves and project shame onto opposed others when describing their responsibilities to their race? In what discursive contexts do these processes take place? One way to address these questions is to consider the polarity between shame and pride. If shame and pride are dichotomous in lived actions directed toward sacral bond maintenance, then we may expect this polarity to also be salient in textual form—e.g., discourses surrounding "projections of shame" and "claims to pride." If these concepts exist on the shame-pride axis and are polar opposites, then we may turn to another theoretical construction to capture the intricacies of this polarity in discourse. I turn to the concept of social marking, and, in particular, *emotion marking*. A synthesis of these two theories—social bond theory and social markedness—will provide the tools necessary to capture the emotional dynamics of white supremacist discourse as they relate to sacral bond maintenance.

CHAPTER 4

SHAME AND PRIDE AS EMOTION MARKERS

Now that I have introduced the idea of the sacral bond, we may turn our attention to the second major theoretical construction of this thesis: *emotion marking*. In order to place this discussion within the context of shame, pride, and the sacral bond, I will also address what I refer to as *markers of performance*, which, in this research, are specific types of emotion markers. This chapter is divided into two sections: first, I give a brief overview of social marking, the conceptual foundation of emotion marking; second, I delineate the specifics of emotion marking and markers of performance and place them within the context of the sacral bond. These concepts—in conjunction with the sacral bond—comprise the theory for this thesis and underpin the analysis of the appeals to shame and pride found within white supremacist discourse.

Social Marking

The study of marking has its origins in linguistic research on phoneme pairs and grammatical meaning, where " . . . it was found that there is a constraining, focusing characteristic for the marked term of any grammatical opposition: the marked term necessarily conveys a more narrowly specified and delimited conceptual item than the unmarked" (Waugh 1982:301). Wayne Brekhus (1996, 1998, 2008) brought the concept to the attention of sociologists by noting that actors cognitively organize prototypical social identities by "marking" specialized identity traits while leaving mundane and "unmarked" traits "epistemologically unproblematic" (1996:500). Particular social identities become politically salient when they are marked and therefore made distinct from the unacknowledged generic identities (Brekhus 1998). As social markedness refers

to the differentiating between the "specialized" and the "unspecialized," the "pure" from the "impure," and the "normal" from the "abnormal," the marking process becomes, in part, a practice in defining normativity through the non-normative (Pruit 2012).

There are two models of social markedness: a binary model and a trinary model (Brekhus 1996). The binary model deals with the contrasts most similar to those addressed in linguistic analysis. There is a single marked pole that is differentiated from the normative core; the marking is unidirectional. For example, Brekhus (1996:501) identified sexuality in the United States as a binary contrast, with homosexuality marked as "perverse" and separated from unmarked and "sexually generic" heterosexuality. Brekhus also noted weight fetishism as binary with "fat fetishists" marked as perverse and "thin fetishists" unmarked and therefore normative. The trinary model is a slightly more complex construction: it features an unmarked core with two marked poles at either end, each of which is made distinct by an attached value judgment. Brekhus (1996:501) identified these values as "perverse" and "exceptional" with the former considered inferior to the unmarked and the latter superior to the unmarked. "Sexual experience" is an example of a trinary contrast (Brekhus 1996:501), with "virgins" and "studs" residing at opposite marked poles with the unmarked "averagely experienced" serving as the normative core. Similarly, sexual timing exists as a trinary contrast with "sexually fast" and "sexually slow" holding down the marked ends at either side of the "sexually mid-paced" normative core (Brekhus 1996:501-2).

Binary and trinary models of social marking are quite prevalent in white supremacist ideology. For instance, racial superiority is a binary contrast: "white" is marked as exceptional and therefore distinct from the large and unmarked swath of racial

others ranging from black to Asian; white people, then, are labeled as a "cut above the rest." The trinary contrast is present in white supremacist political ideology with "communism" or "capitalism" occupying the perverse marked pole opposite the "third positionism" exceptional marked pole; various political ideologies comprise the unmarked normative core, including traditional populism and conservative nationalism.

Emotion Marking and Markers of Performance

To present knowledge, social markedness has been discussed as exclusively cognitive in its focus. Analyses of social marking among gay suburbanites (Brekhus 1996), Internet bloggers (Pruit 2012), and ethnic groups (Sasson-Levy 2013) have all shown how actors establish normativity through marking and unmarking; however, virtually nothing has been said about the role of claims on emotions in the marking process. I argue here that claims on emotions—rather than simply being the byproducts of lived experience—may themselves constitute modes of perception and classification. In particular, I posit that emotions at the level of discourse may serve as *emotion markers*: that is, emotional resources or labels that are claimed or projected so as to underscore the polarity between an in-group and out-group. These emotion markers are used to distinguish the emotive repertoire of a collectivity from that of the larger societal core (in the case of the binary model), or as distinct from the societal core *and radically distinct* from another collectivity at the opposite pole (the trinary model). Verta Taylor (1999, 2000), for example, examined how activists in the postpartum depression self-help movement were encouraged to share their survivor narratives with media sources and therefore make salient their guilt, anger, depression, and anxiety—emotions regarded as deviant within the wider social context. Though Taylor herself did not think in terms of

marking and unmarking, it may be argued that the "deviant" emotions (cf. Thoits 1985) were discursively marked in a binary contrast so as to draw attention to how the activists were exceptional, courageous, and in defiance of the normative and unmarked culture of silence and self-effacement that so often encompasses the negative emotions of new mothers. As an example of the trinary model, "social movement participation" includes an affective contrast with fears of ontological security explaining nonparticipation and pride and dignity explaining movement participation (Norgaard 2006). As before, though Norgaard did not discuss emotion marking, between these "fear" and "pride/dignity" marked poles resides an unmarked core of affective neutrality that is associated with a lack of awareness of social movement activity.

Cognitive and emotion marking may be mechanisms relevant to social bond and sacral bond maintenance. More specifically, in the case of traditional social bonds, marking may serve to differentiate a strengthened bond from a maintained bond, a threatened bond from a maintained bond, and, in the case of trinary models, a strengthened bond from a threatened bond (see Figure 1 in Appendix B, p. 119). In the case of sacral bonds, markers may be used to discern ideologically-bound conceptions of strengthened or maintained bonds from normative bonds, ideologically-bound conceptions of threatened bonds from normative bonds, and strengthened or maintained bonds from threatened bonds (see Figure 2 in Appendix B, p. 119). Markers of the successful or unsuccessful performance of duties to social bonds, then, may be termed *markers of performance*. I am concerned primarily with emotion marking in this thesis, so I will focus on emotion markers of performance; however, there are certainly cognitive

markers of performance as well.[1] Emotion marking becomes predicated on shame and pride when dealing with bond maintenance because "if we are adequate to our tasks, we tend to experience pride . . . [and] if inadequate, we feel shame" (Nathanson 1987:184).

Emotion marking has been a latent operation in several studies of emotions in protest and social movements, especially when addressing actors' sacral bonds. Even though these researchers did not identify emotion markers, they are implicit in their findings. Arlene Stein (2001:126), for example, observed how Christian conservatives in a small Northwest community used various rhetorical strategies to position themselves as a select prideful few fighting for the sanctity of heterosexual marriage (the sacral bond) against the " . . . liberals, homosexuals, and their secular humanist cronies." The conservative activists used pride as an emotion marker to distance themselves from the shameful acts of polluting others and to underscore their fight for the sanctity of marriage. Other research on the emotional foundations of movement micromobilization has suggested that moral shocks—"the vertiginous feeling that results when an event or information shows that the world is not what one had expected" (Jasper 2011:14.5)—are driving forces behind member recruitment when existing social network ties are not available to link together seemingly disparate individuals (see Jasper 1998; Jasper and Poulsen 1995; Nepstad and Smith 2001; Reed 2004). These moral shocks bring about intense outrage and spur actors toward contentious political action. For instance, organizers behind the U.S. animal rights movements of the 1980s utilized "one of the

[1] Cognitive markers of performance are quite prevalent across micro, meso, and macro levels of analysis. A nod of approval when a job is adequately performed is an example of a microinteractional marker of performance, while a retail organization choosing to honor one of its individual stores with a "branch of the year" award is a meso-level marker of performance. The United Nations choosing to recognize the independence of a nation-state is an example of a macro-level marker of performance.

family" and "one of us" master frames to appeal to pet owners who included animals in their intimate "emotional circle" (Jasper and Poulsen 1995:505). When images of caged monkeys and test rabbits were shown to these empathic actors, rage was translated into recruitment and movement support. Upon a deeper reading, what seems to be at play within these moral shocks is rage brought upon by intense unacknowledged shame over the failure of the collectivity (of which the individual feels to be a part) to meet the standards of human morality (the sacral bond).[2] Shame becomes a negative marker of performance—that is, it signifies the collectivity's failure to maintain or strengthen the sacral bond. Individuals embedded within the collectivity may then seek out political action in an effort to "right the wrongs" and therefore transform in-group shame into in-group pride (Britt and Heise 2000). In the case of the U.S. animal rights movement, actors may feel ashamed of their participation in a culture that supports animal exploitation and may therefore seek movement participation as a way to make up for their lack of previous action. In doing so, the shame of nonparticipation is morphed into pride for showing that morality also involves the fair treatment of nonhumans.

Emotion marking is necessary for understanding the shame-pride dynamics of the sacral bond. When social movement actors engage in sacral bond maintenance, they work to show how they are successful relative to opposed others and their poor sacral bond maintenance. The shame-pride axis, then, is relevant to social movement discourse with projections of shame and claims to pride being dichotomous to one another. This discursive shame-pride polarity points to the efficacy of emotion marking in elucidating how projections of shame (marks of bond maintenance failure) and claims to pride (marks of bond maintenance success) are interconnected in white supremacist discourse.

[2] Research suggests that anger and shame are intimately related (Scheff 2000).

Specifically, emotion marking underscores the relational nature of claims to pride and projections of shame by highlighting how, in binary marking, marked claims to pride implicitly define unmarked projections of shame and how marked projections of shame implicitly define unmarked claims to pride. In trinary marking, marked projections of shame and marked claims to pride tacitly delimit discursive emotional normativity—or, more precisely, the "normal," "average," or "mundane" emotional state of being. We may therefore use emotion marking to formally add to the sacral bond theoretical propositions listed in Chapter 3:

> *Proposition 7: When an in-group perceives an opposed out-group to threaten their sacral bonds—that is, when it is believed that the out-group is not adequately performing their duties to their nation, race, culture, and so on—marked projections of shame onto the out-group implicitly define unmarked claims to in-group pride.*
>
> *Proposition 8: When an in-group, relative to an opposed out-group, perceives themselves to maintain or strengthen their sacral bonds—that is, when it believes that the in-group is adequately performing their duties to their nation, race, culture, and so on relative to an opposed out-group—marked claims to in-group pride implicitly define unmarked projections of out-group shame.*
>
> *Proposition 9: In the case of trinary marking, marked projections of out-group shame and marked claims to in-group pride tacitly delimit discursive emotional normativity. This emotional normativity is the perceived "normal" emotional state of being.*

Discourse and narrative are just as loaded with instances of emotion marking as they are with traditional cognitive marking. A social group's emotional culture is often explicated through written language and other symbolic forms of meaning (Gordon 1989). Emotional norms may be found in the social group's intellectual publications—e.g., religious writings, scientific journals, and so on (Gordon 1990)—as well as in popular culture documents such as magazines, films, novels, advice books, music, and Internet content (e.g., Cancian and Gordon 1988; McDaniel 2001; Scheff 1990, 1997,

2011). Just as cognitive marking is a common feature in narrative presentations of self in extant textual data (Pruit 2012), so too may we expect emotion marking to play a fundamental role in the shaping of hierarchical relationships between collectivities through the claiming and projecting of emotional resources and labels.

The remainder of this thesis is dedicated to empirically applying the theory elucidated throughout the last two chapters to white supremacist discourse—particularly in the form of white power music lyrics. I now address in detail the nature of the data and the employed analytic strategy.

CHAPTER 5

METHODS

Data

Social movement groups' cultural artifacts reflect and structure the ideational components of movement activity (Gongaware and Benford 2003). Music has long been an area of interest for social movement scholars (e.g., Eyerman and Jamison 1998; Kaminski and Taylor 2008; Roscigno and Danaher 2001; Roy 2010), and, as such, has been used as historical data as well as a source from which to unobtrusively analyze knowledge production in contemporary collective action. However, most studies have focused specifically on the roles of music in left-wing movements while virtually ignoring the functions of music in their radical right-wing counterparts. In other words, most scholars have been interested in exploring the sociological foundations of music in only *progressive* social change. This study therefore reflects an attempt to join a small group of researchers who have considered the richness of music lyric data in right-wing extremist politics (see, for example, Cotter 1999; Eyerman 2002; Futrell et al. 2006; Messner et al. 2007; Shekhovtsov 2009; Simi and Futrell 2010).

The data for this study consisted of a collection of music lyrics (n = 145) from various bands and singer-songwriters that, at the time of data collection, were identified by civil and human rights organizations as performing white supremacist music. (For the sake of cultural context, a brief historical primer on the white supremacist music scene may be found in Appendix A.) The lyrics were collected from lyric websites, though some were collected directly from band/singer-songwriter websites (see Tables 1, 2, 3, and 4 in Appendix B, pp. 110-113). More specifically, obtaining the lyric data was a two-

step process. First, I limited my choice of bands and singer-songwriters from which I was to draw the data to those identified as popular or historically prominent within the scholarly literature (e.g., Futrell et al. 2006; Goodrick-Clarke 2002; Simi and Futrell 2010) and those with frequent mentions on white supremacist Internet forums. An additional criterion was that only bands and singer-songwriters that perform (or performed) in English were to be considered for inclusion in the analysis. Second, using purposive sampling techniques, the lyric data were collected. Given the time limitations inherent in a master's thesis, only one band/singer-songwriter was chosen from each of the following major white supremacist music genres: white power rock (including racist Oi!, Rock Against Communism [RAC], hatecore, racist forms of heavy metal, and so on), National Socialist black metal (NSBM), "volk"/folk rock/acoustic rock (i.e., nationalist folk), and racist country/western.[1] The representative bands/singer-songwriters were as follows: Skrewdriver (white power rock), Der Stürmer (NSBM), Prussian Blue and Saga (nationalist folk), and Johnny Rebel (racist country/western). As one can see, two musical artists represented nationalist folk: this is because a single group could not be found that provided an adequate number of lyric sets for that genre. Using this collection of bands and singer-songwriters, I searched the aforementioned digital resources for lyric transcriptions of their songs, pulling all available (and non-repeated) original lyric

[1] Though it may not be ideal to lump some of these "sub-genres" under single categories (e.g., racist Oi! with racist forms of thrash metal), this classification system helped maintain analytical and conceptual clarity while still paying respect to larger genre distinctions. This classification system also mirrored in large part those employed by civil rights organizations and monitoring groups (e.g., Anti-Defamation League 2013; Turn It Down 2002). Though fascist experimental is a popular genre within the white power music scene, it was negated from the present study due to its focus on instrumental/electronic music and its lack of consistent lyric use.

material.[2] I first attempted to find the lyrics on record label, artist, and record promotion websites; however, the lyrics were often not available at these locations—an issue likely attributable to the performers being unsigned, defunct, or without a prominent Internet presence at the time of data collection. When such situations arose, I searched for the material on lyric websites such as LyricsMode, LyricsTime, Metal Archives, and so on. Given the non-random, non-probabilistic nature of the data collection procedures, it should be disclosed here that no attempt to generalize to a broader population was intended or necessary with this study.

Finally, a caveat: The potential for poor quality fan or third party lyric transcriptions is unavoidable when dealing with lyric websites. To ameliorate this limitation as much as possible, a sample of recorded music from each band with lyrics featured on lyric websites was collected, listened to, and interpreted for discrepancies in transcription. While some of the lyric sets were not completely aligned with the recorded music, the discrepancies were minor: i.e., no major semantic or syntactic differences appeared to separate the lyric transcriptions from the recorded material. Thus, the auditory external validity checks suggested that the lyrics in question were appropriate for analysis.

Analytic Strategy

I employed ethnographic content analysis (ECA) to systematically examine the lyric data (Altheide 1987, 1996; Altheide et al. 2008). ECA is oriented toward the notion that cultural artifacts are in and of themselves sources of ethnographic data that require the researcher to immerse themselves in the cultural milieu of the collectivity,

[2] Cover song lyrics were excluded from the analysis when they were identified. There is, however, the chance that some were not noticed and therefore made their way into the analysis.

organization, or institution that produced the material and to allow the steps of the research design to feed upon one another. ECA, then, involves the "reflexive analysis of documents" (Altheide 1987:65)—that is, the "recursive . . . movement between concept development, sampling, data collection, data coding, data analysis, and interpretation" (Altheide et al. 2008:128). I used these reflexive techniques to constantly compare data and reveal robust meaning structures comprised of frames and discourses in the lyric data. These frames and discourses served as the interpretive mechanisms through which the shame and pride typologies were made evident.

I operationalized the content analysis by specifically adopting the initial, focused, and theoretical coding processes of the grounded theory framework upon which ECA is based (Charmaz 2006; Glaser and Strauss 1967). The primary analysis took place in three phases. First, after collecting all necessary data, I used initial coding to interrogate the content while staying as close to the *in vivo* language of the data as possible. This ameliorated the threat of forcing data into preconceived categories that may not have been proper theoretical fits. Second, I used focused coding to collapse relevant initial codes into one another and develop significant conceptual categories. It was at this stage in the analysis that the relevant frames and discourses began to emerge. Third, I used theoretical coding to "reweave" (Charmaz 2006:63) the discourses back together and develop the theoretical structure that best captured the emotional dynamics in the lyric data.

I also used computer modeling as a means of methodological triangulation (Denzin 1970). This component of the analytic strategy was used to build more robust conceptual categories in the focused coding process by elucidating a "deeper, simpler,

structural logic" (Mohr 1998:356) that may have been missed with more traditional interpretive coding. I specifically used CATPAC, a self-organizing text-mining program that uses artificial neural network technology to inductively analyze unstructured textual data (Woelfel 1998). First, I "standardized" the semantic and syntactic features of each lyric set: that is, I changed all noticeable synonyms (such as "commies" and "reds") to shared word signs ("communist"), converted all verb tenses to present tense, removed all punctuation, switched all plural nouns to singular nouns (unless the noun was proper), deleted all repeating lyric stanzas (particularly in the case of recurring choruses), and so on. This semantic and syntactic standardization helped place all of the lyric sets on equal interpretive planes, and, therefore, opened the analysis to more accurate conceptual constructions across lyric sets. This process is particularly important when argotic language is present in the data; such is the case with white supremacist discourse (Zellner 1995). Second, I ran the standardized data through CATPAC one band/singer-songwriter at a time. The program read through the texts and—after filtering out "exclude words" such as prepositions and personal pronouns—created unique word lists comprised of the texts' most frequent words in descending and alphabetical order. The program then assigned a neuron to each unique word. As scanning windows ran through the texts, these neurons became active and the connections between active neurons in the same window were strengthened; this meant that words often co-occurring near one another became associated in the CATPAC memory (Woelfel 1998:21). The products of the window scanning were then subjected to agglomerative hierarchical cluster analyses and presented in dendograms. Ward's minimum variance method (Ward 1963) was used to generate the clusters because it develops intra-grouping homogeneity by pairing together

concepts that effect the smallest internal variance. Third, the dendogram files were saved as coordinate files, which, using a complimentary perceptual mapping program called ThoughtView, were used to create multidimensional models of the concept clusters. Three-dimensional maps are presented in this thesis because the program's neural algorithm represents the distance relationships between words as three-dimensional. Two-dimensional representations, though perhaps more interpretively digestible, are intrinsically distorted in CATPAC.

Since the hierarchical cluster analyses naturally forced words into their single "best fit" categories (Battleson et al. 2008), nonhierarchical clusters were also produced so as to account for the efficacy of context and the presence of homographs (i.e., words that share the same written form yet vary in meaning). These clusters were created using the ORESME interactive clustering module in CATPAC and were nonhierarchical in two ways: first, every concept was treated as alike; and second, concepts could exist in multiple clusters (Woelfel 1998). Using both hierarchical and nonhierarchical clusters—as well as the initial and focused codes—allowed me to approach the data from multiple vantage points as I conceptualized the major frames and discourses from within which the emotion markers were found.

An additional point should be made regarding theoretical implications of this analytic strategy. As mentioned before, shame has relatively low visibility in discourse (Retzinger 1995; Scheff 1988, 1994); pride, on the other hand, because of its positive social value, may involve more vocal expression because of the need for one to make known their successes (Nathanson 1987).[3] The distinction between pride and shame may

[3] Scheff noted that pride carries a pejorative connotation in Western cultures (Scheff 1994); claims to pride are identified as linguistic symbols signaling haughtiness, vanity, and

be explained in part by the distinction between public and private. One may therefore expect claims to pride to be more explicitly presented (i.e., addressed with specific emotion words) within textual data, while projections of shame may require more in-depth interpretive analysis and familiarity with alternate shame indicators (Retzinger 1995). This hypothesis finds support in the CATPAC descending frequency lists, where three out of the four represented genres include "pride" as a significant unique word (see Tables 5, 6, and 8 in Appendix B, pp. 114-117), while shame is not included. Pride, then, is indeed more of a marked "public" emotion, while shame is cognitively lost, private, and unmarked—at least in the English language.

Now that the methods have been delineated, I turn to a discussion of the dominant frames and miniframes found within the data. An understanding of these schematic structures is necessary to orient the reader while addressing the emotion markers in chapter 7 and their associated discourses. At each level of framing, shame and pride serve to mark and unmark the emotional discourses of white supremacists.

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narcissism. This usage of the "pride" emotion word, according to Scheff, is the product of sociolinguistic convention and forgoes reference to the emotional reaction that results from the perception of a maintained or strengthened bond. Scheff ameliorated this issue by referring to "natural" pride as "justified pride" and the sociolinguistically-conditioned pride as "false pride" (Scheff 1994:43-4). However, for present purposes, I will simply use the word "pride" to refer to the emotion resulting from bond maintenance.

CHAPTER 6

TALKING ABOUT WHITE SUPREMACY: UNDERSTANDING THE FRAMES

Discourses are sites of emotion marking. However, before we address the white supremacist discourses that facilitate the shame and pride emotion marking typologies, we must first "orient" the discourses: that is, we must gain insight into the frames that structure just what information is presented (and not presented) in the discourses and how the information is displayed. These frames are "very broad thematic emphases or definitions" (Altheide 1996:30) that delineate what details of a phenomenon are relevant or not relevant (see Benford and Snow 2000; Goffman 1974; Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1988; Snow 2008). There are two dominant frames within these data: a subjugation frame and a combat frame. Each of these frames represents a different subjective placement of the white population within the structure of sociopolitical action. On the one hand, the subjugation frame is defined by a passive orientation toward social action that perceives white social actors as objects who are either oppressed by pluralist social change or victimized by political tyranny. On the other hand, the combat frame positions white individuals as instigators of social action. Each of these frames is also comprised of "miniframes" (Altheide 1996:30): the subjugation frame includes oppressed and victimized miniframes; the combat frame includes warrior and aggressor miniframes.

The frames and miniframes explicated below house the discourses which, in turn, house the projections of shame and claims to pride markers surrounding sacral bond maintenance (see Figure 3 in Appendix B, p. 119, for the frame-discourse-emotion marking schematic). Familiarity with these frames and miniframes will help the reader to

better grasp the emotion marking typologies discussed in the following chapter. Each frame and its subsequent miniframes are discussed in turn.

Subjugation Frame

Subjugation, with the oppressed and victimized miniframes, is the most widely used frame throughout the data. The frame is most ubiquitous in three of the four represented genres: white power rock (Skrewdriver), nationalist folk (Prussian Blue and Saga), and racist country/western (Johnny Rebel). This frame paints white actors as both the recipients of unfair institutional practices and the casualties of apathy and cultural denigration. Within this frame is the oppressed miniframe: in some cases, the "white man" is oppressed and prevented from engaging in meaningful living due to existing institutional arrangements and bleeding-heart liberal norms. The following excerpts from Johnny Rebel's "Nigger Hatin' Me" and Skrewdriver's "Before the Night Falls" provide cases in point:[1]

> And I'm broke…no joke
> I ain't got a nickel for a Coke!
> And I ain't black, you see
> So Uncle Sam won't help poor nigger-hatin' me.
> -- Johnny Rebel, "Nigger Hatin' Me"

> They come here to this country from the jungles and from trees
> The traitors in the parliament give them a better deal
> Spend the nation's money, to cater to their needs
> They all accept our charity, then bite the hand that feeds
> -- Skrewdriver, "Before the Night Falls"

Oppression is painted as a structural condition; it is the product of what is perceived to be reverse discrimination.

[1] Obvious grammatical and spelling errors in the lyric excerpts were corrected where necessary. Colloquialisms and eye dialects, however, were mostly left alone.

Also within the subjugation frame is the victimized miniframe: i.e., perceptions of (oftentimes physical) attacks on cultural expression. Though appeals to victimization have been documented extensively in existing studies of white supremacy (Berbrier 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002), there is a definite empirical distinction between oppression and victimization. Unlike oppression—where white subjugation is attributed to the structural repercussions of sociocultural favoritism and political correctness—victimization is construed as the outcome of attempted white eradication and, perhaps, social cleansing. Rather than not having access to resources that are allocated to other social groups (as is the case with the oppressed), the victimized are directly antagonized because of a "putative cultural disdain for all things white" (Berbrier 2002:576). Skrewdriver, for example, suggests that skinheads are a group targeted for removal:

> Being patriotic's not the fashion they say
> To fly your country's flag's a crime
> Society tried its best to kill you
> But the spirit lives until the end of time
> -- Skrewdriver, "Back with a Bang"

As the above excerpt suggests, the victimized are the receivers of hate and actively acknowledge their stigma (Simi and Futrell 2009; see also Goffman 1963). However, the stigma is not painted as a blemish on personal or social identity; rather, the stigma is merely an externally-defined type of deviance applied through a mainstream worldview considered to be at odds with the way things should be (cf. Becker 1963). In this example, patriotism is a cherished resource for identity expression that has become stifled and criminalized. As such, the victimized category is often broadened to include any "patriot" who openly espouses love and pride for their nation and race. This discursive

generalization may offer a more powerful collective "we" than those lyrics specific to exclusive subcultures. Saga offers an example:

> Gods of the rabble are greed and lust
> Love and honor turned to dust
> Patriots in cages and liars as sages
> The tyrants rage in every age
> -- Saga, "The Nation's Fate"

The subjugation frame balances out the claims to oppression and victimization with what may be interpreted as a flipped "We Shall Overcome" narrative. The song "We Shall Overcome"—the "anthem of the Civil Rights Movement" (Eyerman 2002:447)—began as a spiritual sung by nineteenth century African American slaves in the American South and was later picked up by black union activists during the 1940s amidst labor conflicts before being adopted for civil rights purposes in the 1960s (Eyerman and Jamison 1998). The song, perhaps more than any other, symbolized the importance of resilience, perseverance, and collective solidarity in the face of racial oppression and adversity. However, even with mass distribution and commercialization leading to the separation of cultural artifacts from their cultural contexts, "We Shall Overcome" has become so imbued with sociohistorical meaning that it has become a "global symbol of political struggle" (Eyerman 2002:448). Its adoption is therefore far-reaching, perhaps even in historically contradictory ways. Though white supremacist music does not utilize the song itself, the general aesthetic is prominent. This appropriation is made quite clear in the performers' claims to resilience and their descriptions of the inevitable victories in the impending race war.[2] The following lyric excerpts reflect this "We Shall Overcome" usage:

[2] This finding supports Eyerman and Jamison's (1991, 1998) theory that social movements—rather than just being mere historically-situated moments of contentious political

They'll always put the blame on you and tell the public lies
But we'll be here a long long time 'cos the spirit never dies
We'll speak our minds, we'll fly our flags, we'll fight for victory
We'll just keep on fighting, that's the way it's got to be
-- Skrewdriver, "The Way Its Got to Be"

There soon will come a great war, a bloody but holy day.
And after that purging, our people will be free, and sing up in the bright skies, a sun for all to see.
-- Prussian Blue, "Victory Day"

Johnny Rebel's country/western songs do not generally reference a conspiratorial race war; however, there is a persistent reference to organized white racialists and fraternal orders (specifically the Ku Klux Klan) as the vigilantes that will undoubtedly "correct" intellectually inferior African Americans as they attempt to overstep their boundaries:

Now, niggers understand
They tied up both [Levi Coon's][3] hands
He was at the mercy of the Kajun Ku Klux Klan
. . .
Don't you demonstrate
Around the Kajun Ku Klux Klan!
-- Johnny Rebel, "Kajun Ku Klux Klan"

Therefore, even Johnny Rebel's more caricatured and sensationalized brand of lyric content implicitly assumes some form of white victory.

The hierarchical and nonhierarchical CATPAC cluster analyses provide support for this frame. For instance, the five most frequent words in the Skrewdriver lyrics are

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action—are broader sociocognitive processes where cultural traditions are continuously made, remade, and appropriated by larger social systems after the movements cease to exist. Movements, then, become experiments where norms and collective memories are created and redefined by movement intellectuals and cultural artifact producers. White supremacists' use of the "We Shall Overcome" narrative exhibits how movement resources transcend temporally-bound repertoires of contention (Tilly 1995) to influence contemporary modes of expression.

[3] Levi Coon is the name given to a (perhaps fictionalized) African American male trying to receive a meal at a café. When the waitress refuses to serve the man, she calls the "Kajun Ku Klux Klan."

"fight," "communist," "down," "never," and "people," all of which occupy the same hierarchical cluster (see Table 5 for the frequency list and Figure 4 for the dendogram, both of which are in Appendix B). "Stand," "street," "life," and "white" also share this cluster, with "stand" and "street" peaking at the top of the dendogram (Figure 4). Furthermore, the multidimensional perceptual map of the Skrewdriver lyrics (Figure 5, Appendix B) indicates that this cluster is very compact (on the edge of the map); each word in the cluster is highly associated with the other members of the cluster.[4] This particular hierarchical cluster underscores the use of the "We Shall Overcome" narrative by highlighting how Skrewdriver lyrics frequently suggest that whites are always "kept down" with the quality of living suffering as a consequence, and that even through the turmoil, proud nationalists should stand and fight against the forces of their subjugation. The frame's emphasis on structural inequality is also supported by the fact that the only antagonists included in the Skrewdriver lyric cluster analyses are communists and capitalists, who are generally portrayed as either puppet master or bully-type characters that control existing institutional arrangements. Additionally, the positioning of "capitalist," "Europe," and "pride" within the same hierarchical cluster—as well as the pairing of "capitalist" with "nation" and "communist" with "country" in the nonhierarchical clusters (Table 9, Appendix B)—draws attention to how these antagonistic institutional actors are the masterminds behind (or at least the enforcers of) the criminalization of nationalism and its associated positive emotions. The following excerpt provides an example:

[4] Figures with the perceptual map in different phases of its three-dimensional rotation are available from the author upon request.

It's time our people stood side by side
It's time we stood and fought against the media's lies
The capitalists and the communists, well they co-exist
If you love your country, you'll be on their list
-- Skrewdriver, "Free My Land"

The subjugation frame also finds empirical validation in the Prussian Blue/Saga and Johnny Rebel CATPAC analyses. Looking at the Prussian Blue/Saga descending frequency list in Table 6 and the dendogram in Figure 6 (both in Appendix B), "face" and "stand" cluster together similar to the "fight" and "stand" cluster in the Skrewdriver sample. "Die" and "heart" also form the peak of a separate cluster that also consists of "day," "down," "we," and "fight." This again supports the "We Shall Overcome" narrative through its foregrounding of the collective "we" (the most frequent word in the genre sample with 48 references) and the juxtaposition of reliance words like "fight" and "heart" with oppressive vocabulary such as "die" and "down." The virtually identical nonhierarchical clusters created with "heart" and "die" further substantiate this claim (Table 9, Appendix B). The distance of "fight" from the rest of its hierarchical cluster in Figure 7 (Appendix B) may also indicate that while action and resilience are components of the subjugation frame, the main emphasis is placed upon a collective "we" that is at the receiving end of structural inequality.

The Johnny Rebel sample also lends support to the collective "we" element of "We Shall Overcome." The term appears 58 times throughout the data (Table 7, Appendix B), and peaks with "nigger" (by far the most frequent word in the data with 103 references) in the largest hierarchical cluster (Figures 8 and 9, Appendix B). This cluster—which also includes "black," "never," "cause," "man," and "white"—is quite evocative and suggests its own unique discourses through its juxtaposition of terms such

as “white,” “man,” and “we” with “black” and “nigger.” Specifically, by dichotomizing these concept groupings with “never” and “cause” sandwiched in the center, this cluster reflects two different social stances: (1) that whites should not feel responsible for the past plights of blacks in the United States and that blacks should themselves stop using discourses of subjugation (see, for example, the song “Reparations”); (2) that blacks are intellectually, ethically, and physically inferior, and will therefore never be as good as whites (e.g., the song “Nigger, Nigger”). Concerning the former, Johnny Rebel’s lyrics are pregnant with the denial of blame and, therefore, with the conception that whites are expected to make up for social injustices of which they are not the cause. Johnny Rebel himself adopts an injustice frame by denying the blame for injustice and acknowledging whites’ role as the penalized in the fight for racial equality (Gamson, Fireman, and Rytina 1982). This cluster also suggests that Johnny Rebel positions white *men* as the primary objects of subjugation. This highlights masculinity as an important white supremacist sacral bond that is front and center in many of the movement grievances—indeed, white supremacist discourse is, in many ways, a discourse of white masculinity (Daniels 1997).

These Johnny Rebel lyrics insinuate that racist county/western is a regionally-specific genre: i.e., the grievances, demands, and stories all revolve around the culture and setting of the American South. The terms “South” and “live” are two of the most frequent words in the sample with 17 and 12 references respectively, and both of the terms occupy the same hierarchical cluster. This feature—along with the lyrical emphasis on the relationship between whites and blacks—is most likely attributed to the sociohistorical context of the American South, the civil rights movement, and the white resistance to integration in the early- to mid-twentieth century.

Combat Frame

The combat frame is the second most common frame in the data. While the subjugation frame emphasizes a passive social actor that is constrained by the detrimental effects of an increasingly multicultural society, the combat frame is centered around a highly agentic social actor—one who is bellicose, blunt, and sees violent bloodshed as the natural recourse for human conflict. This frame is utilized almost exclusively by one of the four represented genres: NSBM. Some of the most frequent words from the Der Stürmer sample—such as "war," "iron," "enemy," and "march" (Table 8, Appendix B)—support this frame, as well as the largest hierarchical cluster including the words "Aryan," "fight," "might," and "blood" (Figure 10; see also Figure 11 for the NSBM perceptual map in Appendix B).

The combat frame is comprised of both warrior and aggressor miniframes: the actor is portrayed as either a glorified neo-Norse or Greek warrior on a predestined mission to bring about sociocultural purity or an inexorable aggressor set on viciously destroying modernity, multiculturalism, and Abrahamic theological influences. The following lyric excerpts provide illustrations of warriors and aggressors, respectively:

> Macedonian might and Spartan wrath
> Summoning the warriors from the Aryan lands
> Sunwheel banners will fly in the wind
> Kalki the avenger will lead our race to win
> -- Der Stürmer, "The Heroic Ideal (What Once Was Again Shall Be)"

> They trespass on our Aryan soil
> They set their filthy feet on our ground
> Crush the words of equal rights
> And put a bullet in their ugly heads
> -- Der Stürmer, "Hearts Full of Hate"

The warrior seems to follow an honor code in a transcendental battle against ancient evils while the aggressor is a brutish trailblazer bent on remorseless confrontation. However, these miniframes often coalesce, especially when depicting violent sequences of battle-like brutality against non-whites and communism. The following example evidences this hybrid by blending Viking-like images of an axe-wielding warrior with the derogatory language and violence of the aggressor:

> My weapons again bloody shall become
> To cease your misery, I grind my axe
> Niggers, Jews, Gooks, and Red Scum
> Your filth is soon to end in blood
> -- Der Stürmer, "Sieg Heil Vaterland"

In the above examples, the white actor is portrayed as the hypermasculine bringer of pain, fear, and bloodshed. Unlike the subjugation frame, most talk of structural inequality is left out of the combat frame; instead, attention is focused upon the tribalism of white supremacy (Lacy 2008). By drawing attention to the tribal nature of white supremacist ideology, Der Stürmer creates a sort of embodied rhetoric that glorifies whiteness by contrasting white purity and physical strength with non-white filthiness and weakness. Additionally, the combat frame highlights how white supremacists "equip whites with redemption dramas that justify the violence of white heterosexual masculine heroes in their quest to restore absolute, white patriarchal control and civilization" (Lacy 2008:286). As such, this frame blends hypermasculinity, Norse and Greek mythology, and even (in some cases) Hindu cosmology to produce extravagant (and certainly visceral) tales of white superiority.[5] In "Europa Erwache!," for example, Der Stürmer references paternal defense, ancestry, and Greek gods in their claim to racial supremacy:

[5] Gardell (2003:183) refers to this as a "Norse-Hindu synthesis." It is inspired by the writings and teachings of Savitri Devi, the creator of a "pro-German Hindu nationalism." Devi

Defenders of our past we are
True descendants of noble ancestors
Thor and Ares guide our warpath
As we scream Europa Erwache
-- Der Stürmer, "Europa Erwache!"[6]

The use of the combat frame in NSBM does seem to point to a fundamental ideological difference between this genre and those that utilize the subjugation frame. Whereas traditional white power rock—such as that produced by Skrewdriver—typically reflects an opposition to the political and economic structures of both capitalism and communism, NSBM is usually associated with a complete disgust for modernity in general (cf. Goodrick-Clarke 2002):

Under the sniper's hail of fire
Miscegenation slain on its knees
On the vigilante's hinting [sic] ground
Modernity's pawns bleed
-- Der Stürmer, "Day of the Hunter"[7]

Indeed, Der Stürmer's lyrics even seem to favor a sort of battle royal—that is, an environment of complete chaos where the superior race (Aryans) will inevitably come out on top of the ensuing melees. Figure 10 in Appendix B provides support for this construct with the far right "death"-"race" cluster, which eventually connects with the neighboring cluster that includes relevant words such as "Aryan," "Jew," "fight," and "blood." Der

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claimed that Hindu understandings of the cosmic order help explain the purpose and function of Adolf Hitler by painting him as an "avatar of Vishnu, coming like Krsna in Kalki yuga to pave the way for the last incarnation, Kalki the Destroyer" (Gardell 2003:184).

[6] "Europa erwache" is German for "Europe awake." The song title is likely a "continentalized" version of "Deutschland Erwache" ("Germany Awake"), a popular Nazi song during World War II. This appropriation may suggest that white supremacist politics is less about national identity than it is a complex mix of racial, ethnic, and political identities—the political aspect coming from the fact that white supremacists generally despise socialist forms of government such as that previously found within the former Soviet Union, even though Russians and other Slavic peoples are by all accounts Caucasian.

[7] "Hinting" is likely a misspelling of "hunting" in this excerpt.

Stürmer's "Age of Barbarism" and "Götterdämmerung" offer short examples, the latter even referencing the Norse myth of Ragnarök, which foretells a great battle between gods and the ultimate destruction and reconstruction of the world:

> This is the Day of the Rope
> Chaos and bloodshed on the rise
> Retaliation fulfilled
> See the cruelty in our eyes
> -- Der Stürmer, "Age of Barbarism"

> Spiritual collapse – Fall of races
> Final deathblow of the nations
> Marching in the cleansing funeral pyre
> Man against Man – Wolf-Age unleashed
> -- Der Stürmer, "Götterdämmerung"

As the examples suggest, descriptors such as "cruel" are not downplayed for the purposes of normalization. Instead, remorselessness and hate are considered positive in-group attributes within the combat frame, as both the "hate"-"rise"-"triumph" cluster (Figure 10) and the following excerpt imply:

> Profound hate burns in our souls
> Catharsis, our uttermost desire
> Melancholy that turns to fierce rage
> That will set the whole world on fire
> -- Der Stürmer, "Those Who Speak with Death"

The ideological differences evidenced between the subjugation and combat frames may be due, at least in part, to differences in theological orientation (Dobratz 2001). Though Der Stürmer is the only group in the data to stake out an explicit spiritual stance, other studies (e.g., Gardell 2003) suggest that racist neo-paganism (the dominant spiritual foundation of NSBM) has become a major set of spiritual constructs in the white supremacist scene next to the more traditional Christian Identity and British Israelism religious systems. Indeed, according to Gardell (2003:1), racist neo-paganism is

surpassing the "earlier racist creeds" in terms of member support: "the most cursory glimpse at white-racist publications, Web pages, and white-power lyrics reveals muscular heathens, pagan gods and goddesses, runes and symbols, magic, and esoteric themes in abundance."

The subjugation and combat frames will orient the analysis which takes place in chapter 7. Within these four white supremacist miniframes, the oppressed and the victimized, the warrior and aggressor, sacral bonds are identified and emotional marking takes place. In the next chapter I will explore the emotion marker typologies suggested through white supremacist song lyrics and how they serve as markers of performance for sacral bond maintenance.

CHAPTER 7

EMOTION MARKING AS MARKERS OF PERFORMANCE: PROJECTING SHAME AND CLAIMING PRIDE IN WHITE SUPREMACIST SONG LYRICS

The discourses that operate within the aforementioned frames are sites of emotion marking. In this thesis, I identify projections of shame and claims to pride as types of markers of performance—i.e., as indicators of the successful or unsuccessful performance of perceived duties to sacral bonds. These markers of performance are special types of emotion markers. I first address the nature and content of white supremacist sacral bonds as evinced by the lyric data. Second, I discuss the discourses and the emotion marking typologies that they include within each frame. The nature of each typology is colored by the specific discourse within which it operates; as such, the shame-pride typologies identified here are addressed as discourse-specific emotion markers. I specifically identify five white supremacist discourses, each with its own associated shame-pride emotion marker typology: (1) an awareness discourse; (2) an authenticity discourse; (3) a racial fortitude discourse; (4) a cultural hero discourse; and (5) a domination discourse. The binary and/or trinary nature of each of these discourses is discussed.

Sacral Bonds of White Supremacy

The sacral bonds—i.e., the generalized moral commitments attuning actors to their ideologically-bound conceptions of sacred sociocultural constructs—most prominent in the data are aligned with the major white supremacist ideologies discussed in the existing scholarly literature (e.g., Adams and Roscigno 2005; Barkun 1989;

Berbrier 2000; Ferber 1995, 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 1999; Gardell 2003; Goodrick-Clarke 2002; Simi and Futrell 2010). These white supremacist sacral bonds include actors' ideologically-defined connections and responsibilities to culture, nation, race, and masculinity. Regardless of the ideological intricacies that may separate the subjugation and combat frames, it is collectively agreed upon that these sacral bonds are *threatened*—in other words, that culture, nation, race, and masculinity are, in some form or fashion, bastardized by contemporary social structures and micro-level events (such as interracial mingling). The following excerpts provide examples of each of the four threatened sacral bonds:

> Don't understand our culture, don't understand our lives
> Don't understand our suffering, don't understand our strife
> -- Skrewdriver, "Poland"

> The ancient Aryan symbol is also drawn in black
> So underneath that color we will take our nations back
> -- Saga, "Black Bannered Legion"

> They're trying to start trouble
> By mixing up the races
> They'd be a whole lot better off
> By staying in their places
> -- Johnny Rebel, "Move Them Niggers North"

> Der Hakenreuz [sic], symbol of our nation
> Der Hakenreuz [sic], may you bring Aryan Man's salvation
> -- Der Stürmer, "Der Hakenkreuz"[1]

Scheff (1990) posited that specialized groups such as white supremacists only create "pseudobonds" for their adherents. In a society where concrete social bonds are

[1] "Hakenkreuz" is a German word referring to a hooked cross. It is generally synonymous with "swastika," which was the Third Reich's defining symbol during their campaigns throughout the 1930s and 1940s and which continues to hold significance for neo-Nazis and other contemporary white supremacist groups. Even Hitler himself noted in *Mein Kampf* the masculine nature of the symbol and how it signified *white* masculine superiority in particular: "In *red* we see the social idea of the movement, in *white* the nationalist idea, in the *swastika* the mission of the struggle for the victory of the Aryan man" (Hitler in Shirer 1960:44).

inadequate at best, actors supposedly give up some or all of their individual needs and join these groups in order to avoid social isolation; these groups "furnish only the semblance of community" (Scheff 1990:14). While this may or may not be empirically valid, these data suggest that the cognitive and emotional commitments among white supremacist movement participants are more honest than Scheff's view would allow. This point is made clearer by moving attention away from traditional social bonds and towards sacral bonds—that is, from the relationships between physical actors to the moral commitments binding the individual to the ideologically-bound contents of the sacred center (Shils 1975). Emotional reactions are often described explicitly when addressing a threatened sacral bond, as the following Saga passage illustrates:

> Disease encroaching on all I hold dear
> Somehow I gotta get my soul outta here
> Heart of agony, faint burning hope
> I'm finding it hard to try to cope
> -- Saga, "Ode to a Dying People"

These lyrics—constructed within the subjugation frame—adopt a sort of clinical grief and loss discourse with the last line: "I'm finding it hard to try to cope." The emotional pain resulting from watching a (liberal/multicultural?) "disease" contaminate their sacred moral order is too much to bear for this character and is complex enough to make the coping process difficult. These white supremacist sacral bonds consist of emotionally loaded commitments and demands that, for the actor, are real and palpable. Furthermore, white supremacist activists often maintain ties to other intimate social networks (see Simi and Futrell 2009); these sacral bonds, then, far from reflecting a last-ditch effort to find solidarity in an overly-individualized society, are often espoused because of an intersubjectively-genuine idea of how the world should function. When

candid commitment is made to the sacral bonds, candid displays of the ultimate social emotions—shame and pride—are implicated. In turn, these social emotions may be used as discursive tools to make claims on the state of sacral bonds.

I will now outline the specific shame-pride marking typologies and their associated discourses as they relate to sacral bond maintenance. Claims to pride indicate one particular in-group: that is, white supremacists. Projections of shame, however, assume some sort of out-group or out-groups; it is therefore necessary to delineate here just who these out-groups are. Projections of shame are used to underscore the unsuccessful performance of duties to a sacral bond, and there are three distinct perpetrators of these unsuccessful performances: ignorant whites, power elites (including capitalists, politicians, and media producers), and racial others. Awareness of these "targets" of projected shame is necessary to fully grasp the marked poles of the discourses discussed below.

Awareness Discourse: Ignorant White Shame and Alert White Pride

Both the subjugation and combat frames include an awareness discourse. This awareness discourse includes a shame-pride typology: "ignorant white shame" and "alert white pride" serve as the two categories of sacral bond maintenance. This discourse is generally binary: projected ignorant white shame is marked while alert white pride is unmarked.

Marking ignorant white shame. The way in which white efficacy is discussed varies between the subjugation and combat frames. In the subjugation frame, it is asserted that ignorant whites suffer from a lack of awareness and fail to sense the urgency behind the need to act. Despite shame's low visibility in language, ignorant white shame is

tacitly projected onto ignorant whites to emphasize their lack of ability to maintain their responsibilities to sacral bonds. This perceived failure of ignorant whites to meet expectations is usually attributed to conformity to external rules and norms:

> Well you're walking round in circles, burying your head in the sand.
> Watching but not caring, while they rape your land.
> Turning your face to the wall, living in a second class world, while the valiant stand and fall.
> You just do as your told.
> -- Prussian Blue, "I Will Bleed for You"

This herd mentality is portrayed as one of the main issues allowing sacral bonds to become threatened in the first place:

> You complain about the immigration you really make me sick
> It was your vote that opened the border you filthy hypocrite
> You say one thing but do another just how weak can one man be
> You're the reason for our misery so blame yourself and don't blame me
> -- Saga, "Hypocrite"

As the above passage illustrates, the white supremacist idea of what constitutes a nation includes the notion that a nation should be racially and culturally exclusive. Race and nation are envisioned as paired natural entities that must remain distinct and separated from other race-nation pairings.[2] Immigration is perceived to be a source of national impurity, and though ignorant whites are not the contaminating agents, their actions are blamed for the sacrality of their nation becoming open to threat. Blame is externalized, directed away from the self ("and don't blame me"), and, since blame signifies the attribution of a threatened bond (Abrutyn and Mueller n.d.), it is the manifestation of projected shame. In other words, since these ignorant whites fail to meet the social expectations inherent in the sacral bond associating the individual to their nation, it is

[2] Indeed, even Richard Butler—the founder and longtime leader of Christian Identity group Aryan Nations—often said that "his race was his nation," and that the United States government "administered a multiracial state and that multiracial state was anathema to . . . [his] nation" (Zeskind 2009:152).

expected that they will be in a state of shame (or at least *should* be in a state of shame). The above Saga excerpt even goes so far as to call the ignorant white a "*filthy* hypocrite"; they use parasite-type language to classify those that share their same heritage. To fall from natural "purity" to self-imposed "filth" in relation to social and political issues certainly calls forth the personal failure to meet sacral standards and, therefore, a sense of shame. Since white supremacist ideology identifies both a threatened sacral bond and the lack of an attempt to mitigate a threatened bond (what white supremacists may consider the "mainstream" normative [ignorant] bond) as negative in their social value, the model of markedness in this white efficacy discourse takes on a binary structure and uses ignorant white shame as a marker of performance to identify anything short of white activist action as an unsuccessful performance of duties to sacral bonds. Alert white pride—that is, pride in awareness—therefore becomes the unmarked category in this context as it is passively defined through talk of ignorant white shame.

Unmarking alert white pride. Projections of shame are often not latent at all. Der Stürmer provides an example of this when discussing the Nazi belief that the Weimar Republic—the democratic government prototype established in post-World War I Germany—was an insufficient and detrimental force from which the Nazi Party (NSDAP) had to rescue the German nation and its ideals:

> 9th of November 1923
> A handful of sworn fighters of the NSDAP
> They march to save the nation from Weimar's shame
> To spread around the country the Revolution's flame
> -- Der Stürmer, "Baptized by the Blood of the Fallen (Blutfahne)"[3]

[3] Specific reference here is to Hitler's failed Beer Hall Putsch in Munich, where the Nazi Party attempted to overthrow the Weimar government.

Additionally, since shame and pride function on the same axis, it comes as no surprise that projected ignorant white shame may become synonymous with the absence of claimed alert white pride. In the following Prussian Blue excerpt, shame is the active (marked) and undesirable category while pride is the inactive (unmarked) and desirable category. This dichotomy is used to underscore the intensity of the projected ignorant white shame when heritage (likely an amalgamation of the four sacral bonds discussed here) is not maintained or strengthened:

> Tell me how do you live with yourself?
> Hang your head in shame.
> Have you no pride in your heritage, and no pride in your name?
> -- Prussian Blue, "I Will Bleed for You"

By not claiming alert white pride, the ignorant white invariably claims ignorant white shame when addressing the state of their sacral bonds.

Authenticity Discourse: Traitor Shame and Loyalist Pride

Related to the awareness discourse is a discourse surrounding what it means to be "truly white": in other words, there is a certain authenticity discourse. This discourse juxtaposes white supremacists with power elites (capitalists, politicians, and media producers) in that it presupposes a difference between honest whites who carry "Truth" and dishonest whites who propagate a selfish rhetoric of falsities. The authenticity discourse, then, is predicated on a substantive divide between white race traitors and white loyalists; hence, traitor shame and loyalist pride are the emotion markers for this discourse, and, therefore, are markers of performance for sacral bond maintenance. This discourse is, as we shall see, trinary, in that both traitor shame and loyalist pride are marked around a normative core consisting of the shame projected onto the aforementioned ignorant whites.

Marking traitor shame. This authenticity discourse is prevalent in the subjugation frame, particularly the oppression miniframe. According to oppressed white supremacists, power elites do not hesitate to betray their racial heritage for the purpose of profit, which in turn leads to financial hardship for their fellow whites:

> It's power from profit, they're buying our souls
> It's power from profit, puts you on the dole
> -- Skrewdriver, "Power from Profit"

This treachery often involves collaboration with communists, thereby associating distrust with both free market and state-centered economic systems. The earlier excerpt from Skrewdriver's "Free My Land" and the following passage provide examples:

> Our enemies are capitalists, communists as well
> Both these forms of evil are raining [sic] our death knell
> -- Skrewdriver, "Tomorrow is Always Too Late"

Power elites, when not viewed as selfish profiteers, are oftentimes accused of having no backbone and catering to the interests of racial others and political correctness. Johnny Rebel, for instance, believes that by accommodating every need of habitually lazy and cadging African Americans, the American power elites must suppress the freedom, liberty, and economic stability of hard-working white Americans:

> Affirmative action, what's this country coming to?
> Affirmative action, what's the white man gonna do?
> It's another government handout and simply said
> "You've got to hire a nigger instead"
> -- Johnny Rebel, "Affirmative Action"

Popular media are believed to be the main means of mass communication for political figures and ZOG (Zionist Occupied Government).[4] Skrewdriver, for example,

[4] ZOG is a term used to reference the conspiracy theory that Jews run the major governments and businesses of the world with those believed to be in power merely serving as political fronts. It is believed that the intent of ZOG is to rule the world and destroy the white race (Daniels 1997; Simi and Futrell 2010).

posits that the media are the tools used by oppressive authorities to control knowledge and public opinion and create white docile bodies (cf. Foucault [1977] 1995):

> I fought in Rhodesia, against the media's pets,
> Now I see democracy suspended by its neck
> -- Skrewdriver, "Soldier of Freedom"

> All the papers, the radio and TV
> Never known them to tell the truth to me
> Only there to brainwash you their way
> Got to learn to ignore them everyday
> -- Skrewdriver, "When the Storm Breaks"

> Read the paper and tut-tut at the news
> The enemies of this country are marching on our streets
> But you don't care as long as they don't touch you
> -- Skrewdriver, "Mr. Nine to Five"

Explicit mention of such treachery and corruption is less frequent in the NSBM sample as represented by Der Stürmer, though it seems to be a component of a stock set of grievances against modernity and the multiculturalism encouraged by Jewish power elites:

> Modern man breathes corruption
> Materialist bliss kills the spirit
> As hybris brings catharsis
> The mouth of Hades shall open
> -- Der Stürmer, "Iron Strife Towards Up High"

> Aryan ethos opposes Jewish internationalism
> Nature's aristocracy opposes "racial equality" lies
> -- Der Stürmer, "Poison of Modernity"

Appeals to treachery and corruption within the authenticity discourse point to a white supremacist claim about power elites: they are inauthentic. Whereas outspoken white supremacists are authentic actors due to their adherence to their nation, race, culture, and masculinity (which in turn generates loyalist pride through successful sacral bond maintenance), these power elites are not harbingers of the "Truth." Because they

engage in self-centered and greedy acts all the while being white, they have, like their ignorant white brethren from the previous section, lost sight of the selflessness, honor, and racial community at the core of the sacral bonds that give ideological meaning to kith and kin. In effect, they suffer from *inauthentic selves*; therefore, because shame involves the monitoring of the self from the standpoint of others—which, in this case, would be white loyalists who respect the sacred moral order—they are *morally shameful*. In other words, rather than only threatening their sacral bonds through a lack of awareness like the "herd" of ignorant whites, these "race traitors" actively poison and desecrate the moral core that, according to white supremacists, makes the white race biologically and sociohistorically unique and superior to all others. For this reason, power elites are marked with traitor shame: i.e., shame that is reserved for actors who actively pollute the very bonds that birthed their own inherited status and privilege.

Marking loyalist pride. Projections of traitor shame comprise one marked pole of the authenticity discourse. The other marked pole is, of course, claims to loyalist pride. Since projections of traitor shame manifest as appeals to treachery and corruption, it comes as no surprise that claims to loyalist pride take the form of resilience and bond dedication. There are two themes of resilience and bond dedication in the data, each associated with one of the two major frames. Within the subjugation frame, resilience and bond dedication are at the heart of the inverted "We Shall Overcome" narrative; they represent a refusal to bow down, a passionate and honest will, and a heart of unquestionable emotional fortitude. Try as they might, oppressed and victimized white supremacists believe, power elites cannot destroy their prideful resolve:

Try and break your spirits, they'll try to grind you down
If you stand up for your country, they don't want you around
You wonder what you're doin here, and if its all worth while
They'll never crush the pride that's in your heart
-- Skrewdriver, "Behind the Bars"

True hearts survive all battles that may come
True souls stay alive never miss the sun again
In our time we'll know if this was meant to be
Our strength our pride the honour our people's choice
-- Saga, "Stay Alive"

As the above passages illustrate, pride in one's culture and heritage is considered an unwanted trait by the general public; in fact, pride—along with other "positive" emotions such as love—are believed to be unjustly forbidden, outlawed, criminalized, and prohibited by mainstream society. Oppressed and victimized white supremacists therefore assert that the ideals of cultural plurality and the authorities used to enforce them prevent proud white supremacists from expressing themselves in the most fundamental and natural of ways. When they do engage in such expression, they and their loved ones are punished:

Our hearts are filled with love and pride for Vinland is our home
The hills and dales are in our souls and the forests ours to roam
Now we lie back in our cells and we think of the times gone by
We think back on our lives and homes and the friends who wait and cry
-- Prussian Blue, "Our Vinland"

Rather than embrace the idea of a globalized and culturally diverse social body, these white supremacists instead lament that such equality actually destroys tradition, cultural symbolism, history, and the right to be proud of racial and national legacy:

Lately you're [blacks] yelling 'bout our rebel flag
. . .
It represents our history and southern pride
. . .
So go to hell nigger, I'm tellin' ya loud and clear
-- Johnny Rebel, "Quite Your Bitchin' Nigger!"

The above passages suggest that loyalty to one's sacral bonds—and therefore their loyalist pride—are not allowed in modern society. Despite this stifling of loyalist pride, victimized and oppressed white supremacists continue to claim the emotion because they have a responsibility to do so. It is because of their loyalist pride that they must be resilient and dedicated to their sacral bonds, for they are the only ones who can speak of hope and prevent the bonds from being polluted beyond repair:

> To dream of freedom in this world
> Our banners flying proudly are unfurled
> Even if we stand alone we must never hide
> For in our hearts there is a sense of pride
> -- Skrewdriver, "Blood and Honour"

Resilience and bond dedication take on more of a biological quality in the combat frame. More specifically, Der Stürmer references resilience and bond dedication to underscore the racial hierarchy and racial antagonism components of natural law—that is, to show that the white race is inherently superior, and that this superiority is accomplished and maintained by exerting physical dominance. Resilience and bond dedication, then, are the natural ways of the white warrior and aggressor, since it is inevitable they will achieve glory:

> The laws of nature the enemy can't break
> And that's the chance that we must take
> If we manage to keep the superior blood alive
> We will be victorious in our strife!
> -- Der Stürmer, "Herrenrasse"

> With invincible weapons and tactics untold
> They are destined to fight the ultimate and more
> For they and only are the Kalki's elite
> The enemy armies are doomed to extinct
> -- Der Stürmer, "Last Battalion's Marching"

Because resilience and bond dedication are—within the combat frame—natural human actions in the context of racial preservation, so too are defense and revenge against threatened sacral bonds innate operations in communal human activity. This speaks to broader cultural trends, as Douglas (1966:xii) states:

> The implicit theory is that physical nature will avenge the broken taboos: the waters, earth, animal life and vegetation form an armoury that will automatically defend the founding principles of society, and human bodies are primed to do the same.

Resilience, bond dedication, defense, and revenge, being natural actions, are therefore expected for the maintenance of sacral bonds. These four forms of action serve as cognitive markers of performance that draw a distinction between the perseverance of white supremacists and the inevitable failure of opposed others in relation to their duties to sacral bonds. Since resilience, bond dedication, defense, and revenge signal a maintained or strengthened bond, they are sources of loyalist pride. Der Stürmer makes explicit the positive relationship between the perseverance cognitive markers of performance and the loyalist pride emotion marker of performance in the following lyric passage by drawing attention to how pride and defiance (a blend of resilience and defense) both differentiate "exceptional" white supremacists from "normative" and "perverse" others:

> Defiance is – that we are the elite
> Defiance is – that we know no defeat
> Defiance is – that we still have a pride
> Defiance is – when we don't step aside
> -- Der Stürmer, "Defiance"

Unmarked core. The use of loyalist pride within the authenticity discourse is central to white supremacists identifying themselves as authentic in relation to others, especially the inauthentic power elites. This is the case in both the subjugation and

combat frames. On the one hand, unlike the ignorant whites (who are recipients of projected shame because of their obliviousness or apathy) and racial others (who, as we shall see in a later section, are "other" shamed), power elites are marked with traitor shame because they are corrupt, conniving, and manipulative, and, even though they are aware of their sacral bonds, they choose self indulgence over cultural preservation; to use a popular Western idiom, they "bite the hand that feeds." Loyal (i.e., resilient and dedicated) white supremacists, on the other hand, mark themselves with loyalist pride—particularly pride in knowing themselves and the "Truth." This marked juxtaposition of "perverse" traitor shame with "exceptional" loyalist pride also underlines the trinary nature of the authenticity discourse. Specifically, both social groups, power elites and white supremacists, are construed as having active public opinion strategies—that is, both groups are believed to engage in public persuasion. In white supremacist discourse, however, only one of these public opinion strategies is believed to possess authentic information for how whites should orient themselves to their sacral bonds. The following passage from Skrewdriver's "If There's a Riot" captures the power elite-white supremacist and projected traitor shame-claimed loyalist pride juxtapositions and also highlights how both shame and pride tend to be marked in the authenticity discourse through appeals to media lies (traitor shame) and resistance and solidarity (loyalist pride):

> Walking down the street, avoiding the cops
> With size then boots and a number one crop
> People avoid you as you pass by
> Only the smart ones know the media lies
> -- Skrewdriver, "If There's a Riot"

What, then, comprises the unmarked normative core between the traitor shame and loyalist pride markers of performance? Given that the white supremacist lyric data

analyzed here suggest that both power elites and white supremacists are intent on altering public opinion in some fashion, it seems that, in this context, ignorant whites and their "ignorant white shame" implicitly reside within the unmarked normative core in the authenticity discourse. White supremacists, as the bringers of "Truth," and power elites, as the promulgators of fallaciousness, are positioned as persuasive actors from whom ignorant whites gain information to form their own opinions and political stances. Marked traitor shame and marked loyalist pride are discursive tools used in white supremacist discourse to acknowledge that power elites are inauthentic and white supremacists are authentic; in turn, these emotion markers of performance draw attention to how white supremacists secure their sacral bonds while power elites actively attack and therefore threaten them. Additionally, since ignorant white shame is unmarked in the authenticity discourse, it may be that ignorant white shame is not as negatively regarded as traitor shame.

Racial Fortitude Discourse: Weak "Other" Shame and Strong White Racialist Pride

At the ideological center of virtually all contemporary white supremacist groups is an opposition or distrust of all things not biologically, culturally, and historically white. There is, then, much to be said in the lyric data on the state of affairs of racial others and their relation to those of whites. Specifically, "talk" on racial others within both the subjugation and combat frames incorporates a racial fortitude discourse. This discourse is comprised of appeals to racial others' weaknesses, and the shame-pride typology at play here is predicated on contrasting white supremacists' strengths and the integrity of their sacral bonds with racial others' weaknesses and the disgrace of their inherently inferior "othered" sacral bonds. The emotion markers, then, are referred to here as strong white

racialist pride and weak "other" shame. This racial fortitude discourse is binary. However, as we shall see, the marking in this racial fortitude discourse is contextual and frame-based: weak "other" shame is generally marked in the subjugation frame; strong white racialist pride is often marked in the combat frame.

Marking weak "other" shame. Subjugated white supremacists believe they are stronger than racial others; however, leftist-leaning institutions, social structures predicated on multiculturalism, and political malice have afforded racial others rights and opportunities not available to whites. Nevertheless, the perceived allocation of resources to racial others is attributed to structural favoritism, not personal strength:

> Oh if I could be a nigger for a day
> I could live my life the free and easy way
> I'd take from Uncle Sam and let the white man pay
> If I could be a nigger for a day
> -- Johnny Rebel, "If I Could be a Nigger for a Day"

> Everybody lives here now, the dustbin of the world
> An unwelcome pool of labor, with out promises of pearls
> -- Skrewdriver, "Flying the Flag"

Indeed, subjugated white supremacists propose that when policies and programs do not seem to go their way, racial others complain and gripe rather than pull themselves up by their bootstraps and solve problems themselves:

> Now, we've all heard of the NAACP
> They say they're gonna make all them niggers free
> What they mean is they're lookin' for someone to earn it,
> Bring it in the house, put it on the table, and feed 'em!
> -- Johnny Rebel, "Still Lookin' for a Handout"

The above passages illustrate how subjugated white supremacists focus attention on racial others and the weak "other" shame generated from their inability to autonomously provide for themselves. The assumption that racial others must take away

from whites in order to garner resources at the expense of disrespecting their own sacral bonds also stands as an implicit assertion that white sacral bonds are strong enough to withstand "parasitic" attachment. Therefore, in the subjugation frame, strong white racialist pride—i.e., the claimed emotional manifestation of a maintained or strengthened sacral bond in the racial fortitude discourse—remains unmarked and in binary contrast to marked weak "other" shame, the projected emotional manifestation of a perceived threatened sacral bond belonging to racial others.

Marking strong white racialist pride. Whereas the subjugation frame emphasizes racial others' lack of ability to provide for self and marks weak "other" shame, the combat frame focuses on physical weaknesses and marks strong white racialist pride. For combative white supremacists, racial others are destined for failure on the battlefield and easily killed, annihilated, or otherwise destroyed. The primary objects of physical weakness in this discourse are Jews, who are often racialized in white supremacist discourse (Ferber 1997). This points to a complex construction of the Jewish people in white supremacist hierarchies of grievances: Jews, while being the architects behind the global ZOG conspiratorial campaign for world domination and the extermination of the white race, are also *sources* (not just *purveyors*) of filth, impurity, and sin. This explains why Jews are often lumped with other power elites and marked with traitor shame and also marked here with weak "other" shame. Der Stürmer frequently establishes Jews and their cultural repertoires as a single incorporeal, mysterious, and malevolent entity (e.g., as the "eternal Jew"); Jews, then, transcend hierarchical classifications within the combat frame and are portrayed as a thinking yet infectious disease on sacral bonds. However, despite the seemingly all-powerful evil of Jews, they are substandard and sure to collapse

in the eyes of the Aryan. The job of white warriors and aggressors is to show no mercy as they exploit this physical weakness and reaffirm the integrity of Aryan sacral bonds:

> In this society ruled by the Jews
> We are the ones that resist to all
> Our dream is to destroy your "beautiful" world
> Our dream is to save our land from the Zionist's hands
> -- Der Stürmer, "When Totenkopf Rises"

> Feel our thunder Jewish parasite
> All your hopes are turned to ashes
> How does it feel "chosen" scum
> Our weapons dripped in your filthy blood
> -- Der Stürmer, "The Hammer Falls on Zion"

Strong white racialist pride is foregrounded here in the combat frame and serves as a marker of performance because it is the claimed emotional manifestation of the invariable victory of the white race over racial others; it symbolizes the invariable strengthening of white sacral bonds. Additionally, because this combat version of the racial fortitude discourse incorporates the notion that whites will dominate racial others and force them to underperform their duties to their own sacral bonds, weak "other" shame is present yet unmarked.

Cultural Hero Discourse: Un-Martyr Shame and Martyr Pride

The cultural hero is central to another type of white supremacist discourse. Unlike the previous discourses and their associated shame-pride typologies, the cultural hero discourse is specifically oriented toward the past: that is, to the totemized political actors ingrained within white supremacist collective memories.[5] These actors, the sociohistorical contexts in which they are presented, and the strides and sacrifices they made toward strengthening their sacral bonds are sources of martyr pride; contrariwise,

[5] I specify "memories" as opposed to "memory" because of the amorphous nature of the white supremacist movement. Ku Klux Klan members, for instance, likely share more of a collective memory with neo-Nazis than they do with racist neo-pagans.

by belittling opposed martyrs, supremacists project un-martyr shame. The cultural hero discourse is binary, and, like the racial fortitude discourse, what is marked and unmarked between un-martyr shame and martyr pride is contextual. However, martyr pride is usually the marked category.

Marking un-martyr shame. Un-martyr shame is not marked as frequently as the other types of shame mentioned in this thesis; indeed, projections of un-martyr shame are usually unmarked in a binary relationship with marked claims to martyr pride. Only one of the musicians sampled—Johnny Rebel, who represents the racist country/western genre—seems to consistently mark projected un-martyr shame. However, when this type of projected shame is marked, it is quite salient; furthermore, Johnny Rebel marks projected un-martyr shame frequently enough to warrant the consideration that this particular emotion marker may be more prominent in racist country/western than in the other represented genres included in this analysis. In any case, the salience and frequency of this emotion marker in the Johnny Rebel sample are significant enough to justify discussion.

Specifically, the Johnny Rebel lyric sets analyzed here trivialize racially othered martyrs—they "un-martyr" them. Johnny Rebel, rather than acknowledging the strides taken by figures such as Martin Luther King, Jr. and Jesse Jackson for the betterment of their race, instead negates their claims to martyr pride and replaces them with projections of un-martyr shame resulting from their attempt to be encroach upon whites' healthy sacral bonds, perhaps because these actors' bonds are perceived to be inherently weak on their own:

Jesse Jackson showed up
He had a bunch of porch monkeys
Praisin' his name
While he preached and hollered
And he passed the blame
-- Johnny Rebel, "Jesse Showed Up"

I like our Southland like it is
I'm sure that you do too
Old Martin Luther thinks it's his
I know he's wrong… don't you?
-- Johnny Rebel, "Move Them Niggers North"

The projected shame is indicated by the belittling language (such as Jesse Jackson's "hollering" and "old" Martin Luther King, Jr.) used to describe the actions and statures of these productive African American political actors. By "un-martyring" racially othered martyrs and trivializing the black experience to the point that the natural integrity of the sacral bonds at the core of racial others' fight for equality is called into question, these lyrics reflect an implicit assertion that the sacral bonds of the white American South—unlike those of the North—are immovable and not susceptible to the demands of social change. Indeed, black pride is constructed in these lyrics as nothing more than the useless emotional energy generated from a talkative political figure with a group of mindless followers with no real connection to their wants or needs. Therefore, white pride is perceived to be stronger than this black "pseudo-pride," and since blacks' efforts to strengthen their bonds will surely collapse when up against white southern bonds, their failed bond maintenance becomes a source of shame. In the cultural hero discourse specifically, projected un-martyr shame becomes a marker of performance for this failed sacral bond maintenance. For instance, in the song "Jesse Showed Up" (addressed above), the lyrics warn that, inevitably, the white man will say "enough is enough" and

call on the Ku Klux Klan to quiet Jesse Jackson and his followers, thereby preventing them from achieving their goals and preserving the South's sacred moral order.

Marking martyr pride. With the exception of the Johnny Rebel sample, claimed martyr pride is generally the marked category in the cultural hero discourse. The specifics of this type of pride vary between the subjugation and combat frames.

Der Stürmer makes several references to martyrs of Nazi Germany in the combat frame. These references include mentions of individual actors—such as Adolf Hitler—but also of Third Reich military groups (the *Schutzstaffel* [SS], for instance) or event-specific collectivities (such as the Stormtroopers shot and killed in the failed Beer Hall Putsch of 1923). The warrior miniframe also appeals to ancient Greek soldiers such as the Spartans and often blends the Nazi and ancient Greek aesthetics together to create a definitive heroic ideal. Martyr pride is therefore certainly the marked category in the combat version of the cultural hero discourse; it is used to portray white supremacists as exceptional in relation to the others they fight by noting how much they are (and have been) willing to sacrifice for the sake of their sacral bonds:

> Hail to those who bled for the Reich
> Those who met a glorious death in strife
> And as long [as] their cause burns in us
> The SS-heroes are still marching on
> -- Der Stürmer, "Siegtruppen"[6]

[6] There is disagreement among the data sources on the actual lyrics to this song. According to the Der Stürmer website (n.d.), the song "Siegtruppen" appears on three different albums: *Siegtruppen* (2000), *The Blood Calls for W.A.R.!* (2001), and *Carelian Pagan Madness* (2010). Lyrics are only provided for the *Siegtruppen* version, and they do not match the lyrics reported above, which are from the Metal Archives website (2013). Instead, the lyrics provided for "Siegtruppen" on Der Stürmer's website match those for the song "Sieg Heil Vaterland"; this is the case for both the Der Stürmer website (indicating a lyric double posting for two different songs) and the Metal Archives band profile. The lyrics used here could not be attributed to any song on Der Stürmer's website. Therefore, if further inquiry into the song is desired, care should be taken to verify that the lyrics reported here for "Siegtruppen" are, indeed, performed or recorded by Der Stürmer.

Fighting for something greater than life
Ready to die in this titanic strife
Summoning the spirit of ancestors brave
He follows their steps the white race to save
-- Der Stürmer, "Der Stürmer"

Martyr pride is, then, like a "past-oriented" loyalist pride: whereas loyalist pride indicates white supremacists' ongoing efforts to maintain or strengthen sacral bonds, remain authentic, and stay true to their cause, martyr pride symbolizes *accomplishments*—instantiations of successful sacral bond maintenance.

Racial others—without reference to martyrs—are shamed for their lack of blood, sweat, and tears. In fact, the sheer weakness and helplessness of these racial others at the expense of white martyrs' strides point to unmarked projected un-martyr shame as a byproduct of marked claimed martyr pride. This is evident on the battlefields of the warrior miniframe:

Guarding the path of no return
Smiling to death they're waiting the end
Thousands of Persians will die by their sword
Heroism beyond logic, beyond any hope
-- Der Stürmer, "Those Who Lived and Died Like Heroes"

As well as in the bloody terror campaigns of the aggressor miniframe:

Niggers and Pakis, race-traitors and queers
None will escape from his [the Nailbomber's] wrath
Through streets of London
The lonewolf he comes
His mission is plain and clear
-- Der Stürmer, "The Nailbomber"[7]

The cultural hero discourse is less esoteric in the subjugation frame. Additionally, the unmarked projection of un-martyr shame may extend to ignorant whites, power elites, as well as racial others. While both frames draw heavily from the Third Reich, the

[7] "The Nailbomber" is a reference to David Copeland, a British neo-Nazi who set up and detonated multiple bombs in 1999 around London targeting non-white and gay communities.

subjugation frame makes little use of ancient Greek or Hindu characters in the structuring of their collective memories; instead, attention is given primarily to contemporary political actors and white power activists. However, despite these character and setting differences, the general usage of the cultural hero discourse remains the same across the two frames. For instance, like Der Stürmer, Skrewdriver treats martyr pride as a sort of past-oriented loyalist pride, though they tend to emphasize more how white martyrs had to go up against the stifling (i.e., the criminalization) of prideful expression. Therefore, within the subjugation frame, martyr pride is used to mark how much the white man is willing to sacrifice for their nation, race, culture, and values, and also how this willingness to do whatever is necessary results in punishment or imprisonment by "unprideful" power elites:

> The Allies want to let him go, they've decided he [Rudolf Hess][8] has paid
> The Red scum in the Kremlin with their kosher values try
> To keep a proud man locked away until the day he dies
> -- Skrewdriver, "Prisoner of Peace"

Marked claims to martyr pride in the subjugation frame may also be used to underscore ignorant whites' unmarked un-martyr shame. For example, as the following Prussian Blue lyric excerpt illustrates, by focusing discursive attention on a particular white martyr (in this case the late David Lane, an infamous member of the terrorist group The Order) and their prideful strides taken toward securing their sacral bonds, Prussian Blue is able to passively emphasize how ignorant whites' obliviousness prevents them from being aware of the white martyr's "Truth." These ignorant whites instead buy into the normativity of passivity and reject the honor and pride to which they could be entitled:

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[8] Rudolf Hess was the deputy leader of the Nazi Party.

Endless years in a prison cell, endless years in a living hell
A soldier of the Folk, with a tale to tell
Of why he fought to save his own kind, an image of beauty,
He sees in his mind
Of a beautiful maiden, now forced to fight
Because too many white men chose wrong over right
-- Prussian Blue, "The Lamb Near the Lane"

These data suggest that the cultural hero discourse is binary despite the minor thematic differences between the subjugation and combat frames. With the exception of the Johnny Rebel sample, claims to martyr pride are generally the marked category while projections of un-martyr shame are unmarked and implicitly defined through claims to martyr pride.

Domination Discourse: Defeatist Shame and Conqueror Pride

The final shame-pride typology to be discussed here is found within the domination discourse. All musical artists whose lyrical material was analyzed here romanticize white supremacist social control. This domination discourse usually manifests in the form of an idealized future of Aryan superiority or of an inevitable victory or triumph of a white collectivity over an opposed other. This discourse, like the cultural hero discourse above, is related to the authenticity discourse, but specifically captures white supremacists' perceptions of the future after strife and struggle have been overcome. Therefore, whereas the cultural hero discourse underscores martyr pride in the accomplishments of previous actors (i.e., documented instances of successful sacral bond maintenance), the domination discourse points to pride in the *future* accomplishments of white supremacists (predicted instances of successful sacral bond maintenance). We may refer to this future-oriented loyalist pride as conqueror pride and its opposite in the domination discourse as defeatist shame; these emotions are the affective equivalents of

the "cognitions of a projected future" (Mische 2009). This discourse is binary with conqueror pride serving as the marked category and defeatist shame as the unmarked category.

Marking conqueror pride. Claimed conqueror pride may be found in the songs' rhapsodizing of a future of white authority. In the subjugation frame attention is given to the state of affairs after the dust has settled and all is at peaceful equilibrium. Skrewdriver, for instance, details how a justly due glory seems to await in the near future; all that is needed is the proper opportunity:

> Now Fatherland, Fatherland, show us the sign
> Your children have waited to see
> The morning will come when the world is mine
> Tomorrow belongs to me
> -- Skrewdriver, "Tomorrow Belongs to Me"

The combat frame exhibits conqueror pride in a slightly different fashion. Der Stürmer offers a contrasting example within the aggressor miniframe of a prideful romanticized future where pleasure and redemption are found in violence. In the following passage, the Holocaust myth turns into reality when Aryans gain control over Jews and their mass conspiracy:

> Semitic parasites rounded
> Years of sick anti-propaganda
> Brought Aryans in the verge of annihilation
> . . .
> We turned Zionist lies to reality
> Mass decimation of Semitic filth takes place
> -- Der Stürmer, "Marked for Genocide"

Conqueror pride is also often marked when referencing the eventual overcoming of obstacles:

Children are playing, we have won
Victory is ours, the war is finally done
-- Prussian Blue, "Victory"

As well as in the managing of racially othered nuisances—something akin to a sort of "pest control":

Suddenly I got me an idea
And I came up with a plan
I turned my nigger-loving wife and her nigger ex-husband
Over to the Ku Klux Klan
-- Johnny Rebel, "Nigger-In-Law"

And also in the ability to completely control the battlefield:

Black blazing metal upon the battlefield
Turning to ash the Jewish holy land
Crushing even their strongest shield
The sword of victory in Aryan hand
-- Der Stürmer, "Stahlbestie des Fóhrers"

As mentioned above, claimed conqueror pride is the future orientation of claimed loyalist pride: it is generated through the expectation that sacral bonds will be maintained or strengthened by the self or other white supremacists at some later time through the regulating of life trajectories and social institutions.

Unmarking defeatist shame. The marking of claimed conqueror pride points to the unmarking of projected defeatist shame—that is, shame projected onto opposed others who, despite their best efforts, will fail to prevent white supremacists from successfully strengthening their sacral bonds through future victory and authority. Nevertheless, defeatist shame is central to the formation of conqueror pride: romanticized control implies both a controller as well as a *controlled*. In Der Stürmer's "Stalhbestie des Fóhrers" (listed above), the explicit detailing of a future Aryan victory in the "Jewish holy land" also implies a flipside: that Jews will be destroyed on their own turf—in their

own sacred space. Jews are therefore labeled with unmarked defeatist shame for not being able to uphold their own sacrality.

I have discussed the specifics of each shame-pride typology and its associated discourse. I now turn to a general discussion of the theoretical, empirical, and substantive implications of this research.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This thesis has covered much theoretical and empirical ground. This discussion/conclusion is therefore broken up into distinct sections: first, I provide an overview of the conceptual foundations of the thesis—sacral bonds, emotion marking, and markers of performance—and briefly review how these concepts function within the lyric data analyzed here; second, I discuss the social psychological underpinnings of sacral bonds and how they may inform future research both epistemologically and ontologically; third, I address the methodological limitations of this study; finally, I conclude with explications of how the findings from this study further inform the scholarly literature on the white supremacist movement and where future sociological studies of emotion and cognition may head.

White Supremacist Sacral Bonds, Emotion Marking, and Markers of Performance

White supremacist music and its associated subcultural traditions constitute liminal free spaces where movement participants may break from the confines of dominant norms, values, and institutions (Futrell and Simi 2004; Futrell et al. 2006; Simi and Futrell 2010). However, rather than acting as sites that facilitate temporary states of normlessness, movement intellectuals and producers instead use these texts as communicatory devices through which they may promote alternative ideologies and practices—they are, in a way, structured anti-structures (Turner 1969; cf. Halnon 2006). An important aspect of these cultural artifacts is their ability to clearly articulate the cognitive and emotional commitments of the subculture or social movement group that are conducive to solidarity building. Social marking—both cognitive and emotional—is a

powerful discursive tool for highlighting how in-group characteristics are exceptional and therefore meaningfully distinct from the mundane and/or perverse aspects of conventional society.

Social marking may take the form of claims-making on emotions. As these lyric data show, shame and pride are used as markers of performance within white supremacist discourse to differentiate the successful and unsuccessful performance of duties to sacral bonds between in-group members and outsiders. Sacral bonds are generalized moral commitments that attune actors to their ideologically-bound conceptions of sacred sociocultural constructs such as nation, race, culture, and masculinity. More precisely and simply stated, projections of shame—i.e., the expected state of shame for others—are, on the one hand, used to mark how ignorant whites, power elites, and racial others do not live up to their sacral bonds, be they responsibilities to their nation, race, culture, or, as in the case of white supremacy, masculinity. All three of these categories of actors are anticipated to be in states of shame because, from the white supremacist ideological vantage point, they in some way threaten the stability of sacral bonds and therefore generate a perceived sense of self that is at odds with social expectations. White supremacists, on the other hand, claim pride to highlight their maintaining or strengthening of sacral bonds in relation to opposed others: they work to prevent human pollution of the sacred moral order, and claimed pride is one way they pronounce their successful performances.

The emotional manifestations surrounding sacral bond maintenance are displayed here as typologies. These typologies are text-specific, with each major typology associated with a major type of white supremacist discourse. Additionally, each typology

revolves around an in-group and out-group binary or trinary contrast; furthermore, the projections of shame or claims to pride associated with each group in a specific discourse are marked, unmarked, or, in several cases, contextually marked or unmarked (see Figure 12 in Appendix B). Considering emotion marking is necessary when examining claims to sacral bond maintenance in the context of social movement discourse because, just as shame and pride exist in polarity to one another, so too are movement groups and opposed others discursively differentiated from one another when interparty conflict is salient. This interparty conflict and polarity are palpable in the white supremacist movement, notably through how white supremacists consistently differentiate themselves from ignorant whites, power elites, and racial others. Emotion marking is a method for accounting for a type of emotional polarity between actors and therefore offers a way of examining how social movement actors "use" emotions to discursively differentiate performances of sacral bond maintenance between movement in-groups and outsiders. Emotion marking, then, constitutes perceptions of sacral bond maintenance put into discursive action. Furthermore, because appeals to shame and pride are used in the context of sacral bond maintenance to draw attention to how sacral bonds are either being threatened (shame) or maintained/strengthened (pride), these emotion markers are specific types of "markers of performance"—i.e., markers used to document the successful or unsuccessful performance of duties to sacral bonds.

There are five shame-pride typologies detailed here, each associated with a particular white supremacist discourse: ignorant white shame-alert white pride (awareness discourse), traitor shame-loyalist pride (authenticity discourse), weak "other" shame-strong white racialist pride (racial fortitude discourse), un-martyr shame-martyr

pride (cultural hero discourse), and defeatist shame-conqueror pride (domination discourse). The awareness discourse is binary and consists of ignorant whites, who are labeled with ignorant white shame, and white supremacists, who claim alert white pride. Ignorant whites are shamed because of a lack of awareness and urgency: they are shamed because they fail to understand that their sacred moral order is "under attack," or because they have little to no interest in doing something about it. Ignorant white shame is marked and passively details an unmarked alert white pride used to indicate a sense of awareness and urgency.

The authenticity discourse is the only trinary contrast. It consists of marked traitor shame, which is projected onto power elites, marked loyalist pride, which is claimed by white supremacists, and an unmarked normative core consisting of ignorant white shame. On the one hand, politicians, capitalists, and media producers—referred to collectively here as power elites—are generally considered white, but unlike ignorant whites, they are *fully aware* of the polluting of their sacral bonds; furthermore, they are often in cahoots with communists and ZOG to destroy their own bonds in the name of profit. Power elites, then, are inauthentic and the recipients of traitor shame—that is, shame for actively desecrating the very sacral bonds that have historically afforded the high status and power to the one doing the desecration. White supremacists, on the other hand, claim loyalist pride because they are resilient and authentic. More precisely, loyalist pride is claimed when resilience is maintained in the face of continued victimization, oppression, and battle. Sustaining loyalist pride, even when the emotion is "criminalized" in the larger society, is viewed by white supremacists as a responsibility to sacral bonds; victimized and oppressed white supremacists must push back on multicultural

institutional structures for the sake of their nation, race, culture, and masculinity, and combative white supremacists must continuously live by the sword and shed blood until the battle is (invariably) won. White supremacists—either because they are willing to fight from the bottom up for the sake of "what is right" or because they are naturally inclined to succeed in battle—frame themselves as the definitive sources of "Truth." They are the proselytizers of authenticity. Loyalist pride through resilience is a marker of performance that shows dedication to sacral bond maintenance. The trinary marking model is implicated in the authenticity discourse because each of these groups—white supremacists and power elites—is considered to be a purveyor of information—one "Truth," the other untruths. A party in the unmarked normative core (i.e., ignorant whites with their ignorant white shame) is the eventual receiver of these communications. Within the context of authenticity, then, ignorant white shame is portrayed within white supremacist discourse as "generic" and normative. Of course, as the model of sacral markedness indicates (see Figure 2 in Appendix B), even the unmarked core in the trinary model of sacral bond markedness is still discretely constructed with shades of projected shame because the exceptionally marked pole features strengthened *and maintained* sacral bonds; ideologically-bound normative bonds, because they are normative by "societal" standards and not in-group standards, still signify at least a partially threatened sacral bond. However, when juxtaposed with traitor shame, ignorant white shame takes on a normative label because power elites are perceived to be polluting agents while ignorant whites are believed to simply follow "broken" societal norms through misguided and misinformed actions. Traitor shame is more "perverse" than ignorant white shame and is therefore the marked shame category in the authenticity discourse.

The racial fortitude discourse features weak "other" shame and strong white racialist pride. Weak "other" shame is used to mark racial others as inherently inferior to whites because of their weaker (or absent) sacral bonds. White supremacists claim strong white racialist pride because they believe themselves to be naturally stronger and destined to subordinate racial others. This discourse is binary, though the actual emotion marking is contextual: subjugated white supremacists mark projected weak "other" shame; combative white supremacists mark claimed strong white racialist pride.

The cultural hero discourse consists of appeals to martyrdom. The discourse is binary, with martyr pride generally serving as the marked category and un-martyr shame the unmarked category. Martyr pride is, essentially, a past-oriented version of loyalist pride: it marks past successful sacral bond maintenance by prominent white supremacist political actors who engaged in sacrifice. Despite martyr pride being marked throughout most of the data, un-martyr shame—shame generated by belittling opposed others' prominent political actors—is often marked in the Johnny Rebel sample.

Finally, there is the domination discourse. This is the only binary discourse that does not seem to be contextual other than the awareness discourse (see Figure 12 in Appendix B). Defeatist shame and conqueror pride are the categories of the domination discourse, and conqueror pride is the marked emotion. Whereas martyr pride is past-oriented loyalist pride, conqueror pride appears to be future-oriented loyalist pride. Put in other words, claims to conqueror pride are emotion markers for the expectation of a future of successful sacral bond maintenance. Projections of defeatist shame are implicitly defined through claims to conqueror pride, and both emotion markers are markers of performance: conqueror pride marks a future based on the primacy of white

supremacy, white beauty, and racial heritage; defeatist shame, though unmarked in the domination discourse, implies a future of opposed other subordination and/or separation.

Social Psychology of Sacral Bonds

Sacral bonds are cultural phenomena that, in the marrow, are social psychological constructs. Indeed, these bonds are highly structured, ideologically-specific commitments to a perceived sacred center where a collectivity's values reside (Shils 1975); in turn, these commitments may be understood as orientations to the collectivity's generalized other (Mead 1934). When actors interact, make decisions, assess situations, or simply think, they engage in an intrapersonal conversation with their internalization of the community that sets the context for action—a phenomenon Mead referred to as "mind" or "minding." However, as the nature of sacral bonds suggests, these specific internal conversations involve an *idealized* generalized other: the dialectical relationship is between the individual actor and a pure, normative, and value-driven generalized other, not a generalized other that is actively and fluidly conceived with temporal and contextual fluctuations. How, then, does one go from having a conversation with the generalized other to one with an "ideal" generalized other? Borrowing from social identity theory (Hogg, Terry, and White 1995; Hogg 2001, 2006; Hogg and Reid 2006) may offer some starting points. According to social identity theory, actors are members of multiple groups, and group membership is itself a sociocognitive act. Group membership—and the overall importance of a single group membership to one's sense of self—is determined by the actors' perceived social categories (such as race, religious denomination, nationality, and occupation) and the salience of those categories that form the basis of group affiliation for one's self-definition. The level and extent of group

membership, however, are determined by the individual actor measuring himself or herself against the group prototype—i.e., the subjectively-created in-group member that possesses the standard or stereotypical values, beliefs, and general physical and dispositional features of the group. The internal conversation an actor has with the ideal generalized other—that is, the social group and its prototype toward which the actor is oriented in a given situation—is therefore constituted at least in part by prescriptive and regulatory concerns. In other words, the conversation includes substantial considerations of *what should be*:

> Each of these memberships is represented in the individual member's mind as a social identity that both describes and prescribes one's attributes as a member of that group—*that is, what one should think and feel, and how one should behave*. (Hogg et al. 1995:259-60, emphasis added)

Sacral bonds, being naturally relational, may perhaps be synonymous with (or at the very least related to) externally-constraining-yet-internalized conversations with intersubjectively-conceived group prototypes, which are, in turn, a form of ideologically-bound generalized other.

Thinking about sacral bonds in such social psychological terms also widens the applicability of the concept to areas outside of only social movements and cultural sociology. Certainly, *every actor* is bound by sacral bonds in their internal conversations, and *every social institution* is predicated on their existence. Sacral bonds structure morality and paint it as something inherently relational—that is, as maintained through interpersonal and generalized relationships. Indeed, without sacral bonds, commitment and attunement could not exist and social organization would not be possible. The sacral bond is therefore an efficacious concept for virtually any study of social control ranging from political and economic sociology to deviance and medicalization.

Though this thesis is not meant to be an appraisal of ontology or epistemology, two brief and interrelated considerations must be made regarding the "sacral bond as generalized other" linkage. First, the ontological considerations—sacral bonds reveal themselves in reality through mundane activity. Certainly, one does not have to turn to radical right-wing politics, atavistic blood-and-soil nationalism, or any periphery group that foregrounds sacral bond concerns to document the facticity of the bonds. Even when moral commitments to one's nation or race are not cognitively front and center, their effects are pervasive in everyday practice. For instance, sacral bonds help elucidate why a middle-aged and middle class individual may feel frustration when an individual in front of them in the line at the grocery store who is enrolled in a food assistance program can purchase better products than they and for a fraction of the cost they pay for their lesser quality items; they shed light on why Americans feel pride when their fellow citizens win several gold medals at an international sporting event, even though they themselves did not participate. With the former, the individual may believe that middle class life is defined in part by a level of comfort not afforded to those of the lower classes; it represents how things are *supposed* to be, *untouchable* by human manipulation. They may feel anger directed at the ones encroaching on sacrality (e.g., the individual in front of them and the institutional structures in place to perpetuate the situation) and shame for feeling anger[1] because they also categorize themselves as a "progressive American," which is itself a sacral bond they are threatening with their own hostility. With the latter example, the individual may hold "winning" to be a fundamental element of what it means to be an American, and therefore feels pride when this assumption is validated and

[1] Scheff (2000) refers to these "emotions-from-emotions" experiences as spirals. This particular spiral may be referred to as a shame-anger spiral (Scheff and Retzinger 1991).

the sacral bond maintained. In each example, shame and pride are felt even though there is no other implicated physical actor from whom to monitor the self. To blend Mead and Hogg, the self-monitoring takes places from the perspective of the prototypical community. The factual basis of sacral bonds, then, is present within and across moments of contention and equilibrium.

Second, there is the epistemological consideration. "Conversing with" sacral bonds is itself a phenomenon perhaps best examined using a symbolic interactionist perspective. However, the two dominant takes on the perspective—processual symbolic interactionism (Blumer 1969) and structural symbolic interactionism (Stryker 1980)—each come equipped with issues that need to be addressed as they relate to the study of sacral bonds. On the one hand, the tendency of the processual approach to reduce culture and social structure to orientations in interpersonal encounters relegates these external constraints to little more than interactional settings and vastly underestimates the power integrative mechanisms play in shaping social action. The structural approach, on the other hand, takes the implications of social structure quite seriously through its adoption of role theory, but in so doing remains too enamored with questions relating to roles, hierarchies, and positional labels. To be sure, these questions of social structure *are* important to the interactionist enterprise; however, there is certainly more to external motivation. What, then, is left to examine? If we adopt a social anthropological definition of culture, then the answer is before our very eyes. According to Clifford Geertz, culture "denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in *symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life*"

(1973:89, emphasis added). If humans imbue people, places, and things with meanings and then act toward those objects based upon those meanings—in other words, if humans *symbolically* interact—and if these meanings have any grounding in historical tradition, then culture is both more than a mere setting and no less important of a factor than social structure in influencing the course of interaction. To state this simply, symbolic interactionism must be oriented toward the contextual, structural, as well as the cultural. Of course, this is certainly not the first time such a statement has been made: the influence of culture on interactional processes has been well documented, as is the case with collective memory studies (e.g., Fine 1996; Olick 1999; Olick and Levy 1997; Schwartz 1996). Rather, the point to be made here is that while culture has moved from "not observed," to "observable," and finally to "observed" status in symbolic interactionist theory in particular and social psychology in general (see DiMaggio and Markus 2010), it has mainly been viewed as an instrument—scholarly attention has been specific to how actors *use* culture, rather than how a cultural system is itself a component of interaction. What is needed to support (not supplant) the continued fusion of cultural sociology and social psychology is a symbolic interactionism that considers how actors "interact" with seemingly incorporeal sociocultural formations and constructs—such as, in the case of sacral bonds, actors' internalized ideas of what is and what should be.

Methodological Limitations

As with all empirical analyses, there are some methodological limitations to the present study. First, lyric data are very specific, structured, and, with artistic efforts behind them, perhaps embellished. Though I utilized methodological triangulation to build a more conceptually robust analysis, future studies should consider data

triangulation techniques to better model the relationship between cultural documentation and lived everyday experience. Regarding methodological triangulation, the second limitation involves choices made during the CATPAC analysis. The size of the window used to scan through the data may be specified by the number of words or the number of cases. A "full window" analysis utilizes a word-specified window to slide through the data: e.g., if the window size is set at 7 with a slide size of 1, then CATPAC will scan words 1 through 7, then 2 through 8, and so on. A "case delimited" analysis treats each individual case—be it a single survey response, a single document, or any other single "case"—as the window with the slide size then specifying how many cases CATPAC will skip before the next window is applied. Though a case delimited analysis seemed like the proper fit given the nature of the data, multiple CATPAC analyses revealed that a full window analysis provided smaller, more clearly interpretable concept clusters; therefore, the full window analyses are reported here. Because CATPAC is a neural network program, it "learns" to associate concepts by monitoring their "behavior" relative to other concepts. It is questionable if running case delimited analyses on a dataset of such a small size gives the program enough material from which to make meaningful associations and differentiate between concept clusters (i.e., to "learn" enough), and may explain why the case delimited dendograms turned out so large and compact. In addition to favoring smaller hierarchical clusters, the full window analysis also helped mitigate the potentially dominating presence of particularly long lyric sets and perhaps was more conducive to finding general structural features across the data that a case delimited analysis may or may not have been able find. Even so, with the right research question and an understanding of how to conduct a proper case delimited

analysis on sub-samples with so few cases, such an analysis may be preferred. However, applying network analytic techniques to textual data such as these is a (relatively) new endeavor across the social sciences, so experimentation with network parameters should be encouraged.

There is one final limitation inherent to the CATPAC software that must be addressed. CATPAC does not have a way to estimate the errors around the concepts in their multidimensional perceptual spaces (see Figures 5, 7, 9, and 11 in Appendix B). Therefore, care should be taken when interpreting the concepts' distance relationships.

Informing White Supremacy Studies and the Future

Emotions are important elements of social movement activity. This assertion has been addressed only tangentially in existing studies of the white supremacist movement, but what research *is* available has glossed over what is, arguably, the most important of all social emotions: shame. Shame is a palpable emotion among people engaged in identity politics (Britt and Heise 2000), and the white supremacist movement is nothing if not contention over what the self is and what the self is supposed to be in relation to others. The lack of systematic examination given to shame in studies of white supremacy may itself be the product of social scientists falling into the same sociolinguistic trap as laypersons: not talking about shame (Scheff 1994). Shame's counter emotion, pride, has received attention from scholars of white supremacy (see Futrell et al. 2006; Simi and Futrell 2010), but even this emotion has been discussed only as a resource generated from ritualized activity. The analysis presented here suggests that shame and pride are, in fact, pervasive and complex emotions in white supremacist discourse; furthermore, if these data are at all representative of the emotional dynamics in other white supremacist

cultural texts, then projections of shame and claims to pride may be fundamental to *all* forms of white supremacist discourse and, perhaps, lived experience. However, the emotion markers identified here are discursive ideal types—they may bleed together in significant ways in actual interpersonal interaction. What is needed going forward is research dedicated to examining the role of sacral bonds and emotion marking in actual interactions in white supremacist environments and free spaces using interview and participant observation methods. Such methods will also help identify other white supremacist activities that facilitate emotion marking processes not directly related to sacral bond maintenance. Indeed, moving the analytic focus away from sacral bonds may open the door to cultural analyses of other relevant emotions in the white supremacist movement: love, hate, guilt, and so on. Since white supremacist discourse is a discourse of radical white masculinity (Daniels 1997), scholars should devote substantial research efforts to exploring how these various emotions play into movement participants' lived experiences of white manhood. In any case, this study suggests that scholars of the white supremacist movement should supplement their understandings of white power thought and ideology with systematic studies of white power emotions, noting specifically how emotions play into collective identity construction and maintenance.

This research looks to make a more general contribution to the social movement literature beyond the white supremacist movement. As noted earlier, much of the work on the cultural dimensions of social movement activity has focused on the construction and maintenance of collective identity. The collective identity literature has opened up important analytical avenues between the structural analysis of macro-institutional forces and the behavioral studies of individual drives behind collective action (Melucci 1995).

Specifically, foregrounding collective identity formations in the study of social movements has oriented researchers to the "dualism between structure and meaning" (1995:42) in that it presupposes that collective action is processual: in other words, collective identity underscores how movement participants and other collective actors navigate their social and political terrain to define themselves as a group, actively construct meaning out of their structural conditions, and, in turn, determine the processes, purposes, and outcomes of social movement activity. However, most of these studies have focused on the cognitive aspects of meaning-making; forming a sense of "we" has been portrayed as a process of associating grievances and ideas with frames of interpretation and tangible objects. This study, however, suggests that emotions are an important ingredient in the building and perpetuation of collective identity (see also Taylor 2000). More precisely, where previous studies have highlighted how emotions are a source of solidarity (Collins 2004) and a mobilization resource (Jasper and Paulsen 1995), this study shows that claims to emotions may serve as discursive features used to differentiate in-groups from out-groups and, in the process, make collective identities salient and efficacious in the face of opposition. Building off of Hochschild's claim that ideology is a complex framework constructed out of both cognitive and emotional frames of interpretation (1979), this research reflects an attempt to bring emotions up to the level of cognitions in discussions of collective identity.

This thesis also suggests future theory building for both the social bond and social marking literatures. In terms of social bond theory, I have sought to add to the literature in two ways: (1) by moving analytic attention away from interpersonal bonds and onto sacral bonds, and (2) by giving pride its just analysis as a master social emotion alongside

shame. First, I considered the constraining power of actors' relationships to sacrality and how performances of duties to ideological commitments are also sources of shame and pride. Second, I argued that, at least in the context of social bond theory, pride has not received nearly as much scholarly attention as has its affective foil: shame. Though both shame and pride are identified as "master" social emotions (Scheff 1994), shame has invariably been the focus of analysis—pride has, to some degree, only been a discursive codification used to balance the conceptual background necessary for studies of shame. Despite this shortcoming, social bond theory may provide the tools necessary to develop meaningful Durkheimian interpretations of social control and organization based on relationships; however, in order to build the most robust theory possible, analytic attention must be given to manifestations of and claims to pride when social bonds are maintained or strengthened—not just threatened. Indeed, a rich sociology is predicated on questions of both social conflict as well as social solidarity. This thesis reflects an attempt to bring pride back into the "shame-pride axis" (Nathanson 1987; Scheff 2000, 2003) and highlights how discursive appeals to both shame and pride may be used to draw attention to the perceived state of social bonds.

I have also sought to influence approaches to social marking. Specifically, I argued that current approaches to social marking have been focused on the cognitive dimensions of perception and classification, and that appeals to emotions may also serve as powerful discursive tools for defining perversity, normativity, and exceptionality. Brekhus' (1996, 1998; see also Pruit 2012; Sasson-Levy 2013) research provides a theory and method for examining "cognitive asymmetry" (1998:35); what is needed now is an approach to exploring "emotional asymmetry." To this end, I put forth the notion of

emotion marking to note how emotional labels and resources are used to discursively differentiate and "hierarchicalize" social groups. In addition to emotion markers, I suggested a second concept of marking: markers of performance. In essence, markers of performance signal successful or unsuccessful sacral bond maintenance. This study focused on emotion markers of performance in the form of claims to pride and projections of shame; however, markers of performance may also be cognitive—a nod of approval at the microinteractional level, a retail outlet winning "branch of the year" at the meso level, and so on. Future research should explore in more detail the intersections of emotional and cognitive markers of performance in particular subcultures and collectivities and how they are implicated in both cultural objects and small group interactions.

This study also demonstrates that emotions are far from only being a source of solidarity for social movement participants or a means of mobilization toward collective action; rather, emotions are themselves cognitive tools used to perceive the external world, classify social reality, address contradictions, simplify complexity, and construct moral order. The flipside to this is also true: cognitions are often used to "rationalize" or "make sense of" emotional states, such as when actors employ cognitive emotion work in order to align the proper thoughts with the emotions being felt (Hochschild 1979). Ideological constructions are, as Hochschild notes, composed of mutually inferring framing rules and feeling rules, but the relationship between these rules seems to be less like a traditional partnership with each individual tasked with particular duties and responsibilities and more like an egalitarian partnership, where each individual helps the other, nurtures the other, and watches out for the other. The destination is the same; the

paths are different. Future studies should not ask how cognitions and emotions inform one another, but how cognitions and emotions *use* one another. These are questions worth answering through cultural analysis.

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APPENDIX A.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WHITE POWER MUSIC SCENE

Though the skinhead scene has persisted in some shape, form, or fashion since it first sprouted out of the British "mod" subculture in the 1960s and again through the punk subculture in the 1970s (Brown 2004), groups within the scene did not begin to cultivate explicitly fascist values until the late 1970s/early 1980s; this came with the rise of the first outspoken Aryan neo-Nazi rock group—a British band by the name of Skrewdriver (Hamm 1993; Simi and Futrell 2010).[1] Skrewdriver—fronted by the late Ian Stuart Donaldson—and their followers borrowed the musical stylings of some of their contemporary punk counterparts such as the Sex Pistols and The Clash to create an ideologically charged variant of the punk and Oi! music that was so popular with both working and middle class youth across Great Britain and Western Europe.[2]

With the Rock Against Racism movement gaining traction in the late 1970s amongst British young people thanks to the public support of popular punk and reggae artists (Frith and Street 1992; Roberts and Moore 2009), Britain's National Front (NF)—an openly racist and anti-Semitic far-right political party—began to sense a disconnection

[1] It should be noted that not all skinheads share racist values and an adversity to multiculturalism. In fact, some skinhead groups identify as explicitly antiracist—Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice (SHARP), for example, is a wide-ranging network of interconnected skinhead chapters dedicated to fighting intolerance and revitalizing the biracial origins of the skinhead subculture. SHARPs, however, are still often prone to street violence (Zellner 1995). For example, the Champaign-Urbana, Illinois chapter of SHARP stresses a do-it-yourself attitude in their website's mission statement: "We want to end racism, sexism, homophobia, fascism, and the status quo. No one is going to do it for us. We have to take the fight to them" (Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice: Champaign-Urbana Chapter n.d.).

[2] Though the skinhead aesthetic has been traditionally associated with punk and punk-inspired musical stylings, the early skinheads (mostly pre-1970s, and therefore pre-punk) drew heavy influence from reggae, ska, and the "rude boy" culture of Jamaican working class immigrants (Brown 2004; Cotter 1999).

from working-class youth. Perceiving its paper-thin cultural connection to be slipping away, the NF began the "Rock Against Communism" (RAC) countermovement and created White Noise Records to promote and distribute the music of Skrewdriver and other likeminded white power Oi! and rock music bands (Goodrick-Clarke 2002). Substituting radical right-wing politics and working class ideals for anarchism and individualism, white power music became an organized, guerilla-style form of hate-based communication for white power activists. The effect was just what the NF had been hoping for: the music's nationalist, Eurocentric rhetoric gained considerable traction with the working class youth who shared a frustration with Britain's economic instability and an aversion toward homosexuals, South Asian immigrants, consumerism, and the middle class roots of the "hippie" counterculture during the 1970s and 1980s (Brown 2004; Cotter 1999; Zellner 1995).

Beyond messages of intolerance, this early white power music also emphasized Nordic ancestry and National Socialist values; all of which were exemplified on Skrewdriver's seminal release of *Hail the New Dawn* (1984), which included tracks such as "White Power," "Our Pride is Our Loyalty," and "Soldier of Freedom." Perhaps more importantly, this new "warrior culture" (Etter 1999) branded violence as a form of subcultural style (Hamm 2009:100); i.e., the performance of violence became a necessary action for both individual and group identity maintenance.[3] Paki- and hippie-bashing were no longer just attacks on perceived intruders; rather, they were necessary means toward an unavoidable end—the end being a racially-purified, pro-Aryan Europe loosely based on the tenets of National Socialism and fascism. All of a sudden, the violent

[3] As one writer during the early stages of the racist skinhead development noted, ". . . it seems that it was hardly possible to be a 'real Skinhead' without attacking Asians" (Horobin 1972:186).

actions and deviant activities of racist skinheads were given ideological meaning and cultural significance outside of their immediate neighborhoods and work environments. The neo-Nazi skinhead was born, and a paramilitary group of youthful foot soldiers was realized.

Skinhead culture first crossed over into the United States in the late 1970s through the underground music scene in California, where most individuals categorized them as punk rockers with shaved heads. Similar to their Western European counterparts, the multiracial makeup of the subculture was not problematized until the proliferation of Skrewdriver merchandise through record stores, fanzines (including Ian Stuart's own *Blood and Honour* publication), small radio stations, and other mass communication technologies in the mid-1980s (Zellner 1995). Similar to the situation in Great Britain, racist skinheads often fought punks and antifascist skinheads for control of the music scene in and around West Coast music venues (Zeskind 2009); this turf antagonism was captured by popular anti-Nazi and anti-prejudice songs such as San Francisco-based Dead Kennedys' "Nazi Punks Fuck Off" and Los Angeles-based Black Flag's "White Minority."

Once white power rock was firmly embedded within the musical discourse of youth subcultures in both Europe and the United States, the music began to transmogrify and spread into other genre formats. In the United States, techno, thrash metal, rockabilly, and even hip-hop were suffused with white power lyrical themes (Anti-Defamation League 2012). In Northern Europe, fascism and National Socialism melded with the dark motifs of black metal to create National Socialist black metal (NSBM)—an amalgamation of Norse mythology, neo-Nazism, Heathenry, anti-Christianity,

esotericism, and the visceral aesthetics of body horror. Though European black metal had been flirting with themes of morbidity and nihilism since its inception in the early- to mid-1980s, bands such as Burzum, Graveland, and Absurd began synthesizing National Socialist politics with North Germanic folklore around the early 1990s, proclaiming that National Socialism was the ". . . logical extension of the political and spiritual dissidence inherent in black metal . . ." (Gardell 2003:307). This Nazi-meets-viking narrative created an opening through which white power music groups and organizations could expand their musical repertoire and, by extension, their fan base. NSBM producer Darker than Black Records, for example, reached a distribution deal in the late 1990s with Germany's Hate Records, a prominent Western European white power music company; around the same time in the United States, NSBM bands were discussed and praised in popular white power fanzines while the German NSBM band Absurd recorded and produced a collaboration album with an American Nazi band commemorating Adolf Hitler's birthday (Goodrick-Clarke 2002). Similar to their racist skinhead counterparts, proponents of NSBM are often prone to intimidation and violence on the basis of race, ethnicity, and religion. In 1993, sixteen-year-old Absurd founder Hendrick Möbus and two acquaintances murdered a fellow classmate, whom Möbus would later refer to in National Socialist publications as a "race defiler" (Goodrick-Clarke 2002:206). Another example comes from a sociological ethnographer, who recalls a musician describing how their bandmate "pursued some 'Jew-boys' down the street with a pig's head" (Kahn-Harris 2007:25).

According to an ADL report (2012), the white power music scene grew exponentially in the late 1990s and early 2000s. This was due in large part to the more

sophisticated organizational structure of white power music companies and the widespread use of the Internet, the latter of which effectively eliminated the traditional "middle man" distribution companies that usually rested between the purveyors and consumers of the music. Today, between 100 and 150 self-identified white power music artists operate in the United States at any given point in time (2012:4), though the scene looks to be much larger in European countries. In addition to the extensive network of white power music companies through which music from across the globe may be purchased and consumed instantaneously through sophisticated websites, much of the music may also be purchased through independent third party distributors: two of the more significant examples include Amazon and iTunes (2012:12). In fact, social network and thematic analyses of the white power Internet presence suggest that the white power music scene is central to the movement's virtual network and important in the promotion of grievances (Bowman-Grieve 2009; Burris et al. 2000; see also Gerstenfeld et al. 2003). Certainly, white power music is very much alive today and finds expression in genres as disparate as hatecore (a racist version of hardcore punk) and industrial techno. Given this ease of access, it may be argued that white power music is more effective now than it was when it first gained international prominence with Skrewdriver's original recordings.

APPENDIX B.

TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1. Music Groups Used in Analysis—White Power Rock

Group/Performer	Representative Genre	Album[a]	Release Year	Label	Tracks Used	Source[b]
Skrewdriver	White Power Rock	*Built Up, Knocked Down*	1979	TJM	1	MetroLyrics (N.d.a)
		White Power	1983	White Noise	3	
		Voice of Britain	1984	White Noise	2	
		Invasion	1984	Rock-O-Rama	2	
		Hail the New Dawn	1984	Rock-O-Rama	14	
		Blood & Honour	1985	Rock-O-Rama	14	
		Boots and Braces	1987	Rock-O-Rama	4	
		White Rider	1987	Rock-O-Rama	1	
		Land on Fire	1994	Rock-O-Rama	1	
		Unknown Album(s)	---	---	2	
					Total 44	

Note: Album, release date, and label information are from the Discogs database (Discogs 2013).
[a] "Albums" may include full length albums, extended plays, compilation discs, single releases, and so on.
[b] Citations for data collection sources are included in the references list. Parentheses indicate year of publication or copyright year for the referenced webpage.

Table 2. Music Groups Used in Analysis—National Socialist Black Metal

Group/Performer	Representative Genre[a]	Album[b]	Release Year	Label	Tracks Used	Source[c]
Der Stürmer	National Socialist Black Metal	*Europa Erwache!*	1999	Daimonion Productions	4	Der Stürmer (N.d.); Metal Archives (2013)
		The Blood Calls for W.A.R.!	2001	Wolftower Rex	8	
		Iron Will and Discipline	2002	Blacksun Records	3	
		Pollish-Hellenic Alliance Against Z.O.G.!	2003	Wolftower Rex	4	
		Once and Again Plundering the Zion	2004	Death's Abyss Productions	1	
		Split	2005	Vinland Winds	1	
		A Banner Greater Than Death	2006	Die Todesrune Rex	10	
		Si Vis Pacem Para Bellum	2007	Deathsquad Rex	4	
		Those Who Want to Create… Must Have the Will to Destroy!	2007	Breath of Pestilence	1	
		Bloodsworn	2008	Deathsquad Rex	6	
		Transcendental Racial Idealism	2011	Breath of Pestilence	9	

Table 2. Music Groups Used in Analysis—National Socialist Black Metal

Group/Performer	Representative Genre[a]	Album[b]	Release Year	Label	Tracks Used	Source[c]
					Total 51	

Note: Album, release date, and label information are from the Discogs database (Discogs 2013).
[a] Genres are condensed for the sake of conceptual and analytical clarity. For instance, RAC, hatecore, and fascist/racist versions of heavy metal are subsumed under the category of "white power rock."
[b] "Albums" may include full length albums, extended plays, compilation discs, single releases, and so on.
[c] Citations for data collection sources are included in the references list. Parentheses indicate year of publication or copyright year for the referenced webpage.

Table 3. Music Groups Used in Analysis—Nationalist Folk

Group/Performer	Representative Genre[a]	Album[b]	Release Year	Label	Tracks Used	Source[c]
Prussian Blue	Volk/Folk Rock/Acoustic Rock	*Fragment of the Future*	2004	Resistance	10	MetroLyrics (N.d.b)
		The Path We Chose	2005	Self-Released	7	
		Unknown Album(s)	---	---	1	
Saga	Volk/Folk Rock/Acoustic Rock	*On My Own*	2007	Midgård	10	Saga Website (N.d.)
					Total 28	

Note: Album, release date, and label information are from the Discogs database (Discogs 2013).
[a] Genres are condensed for the sake of conceptual and analytical clarity. For instance, RAC, hatecore, and fascist/racist versions of heavy metal are subsumed under the category of "white power rock."
[b] "Albums" may include full length albums, extended plays, compilation discs, single releases, and so on.
[c] Citations for data collection sources are included in the references list. Parentheses indicate year of publication or copyright year for the referenced webpage.

Table 4. Music Groups Used in Analysis—Racist Country/Western

Group/Performer	Representative Genre[a]	Album[b]	Release Year	Label	Tracks Used	Source[c]
Johnny Rebel	Racist Country/Western	*Kajun Klu Klux Klan*	1966	Reb Rebel	1	Johnny Rebel Website (N.d.) LyricsMania (N.d.)
		Nigger Hatin' Me	1966	Reb Rebel	1	
		The Money Belongs to Us/Keep A Workin' Big Jim	1967	Reb Rebel	1	
		Nigger, Nigger	1968	Reb Rebel	2	
		For Segregationists Only	1994*	Sunwheel	7	
		It's the Attitude, Stupid!	2006*	Johnny Rebel	10	
					Total 22	

Note: Album, release date, and label information are from the Discogs database (Discogs 2013).
[a] Genres are condensed for the sake of conceptual and analytical clarity. For instance, RAC, hatecore, and fascist/racist versions of heavy metal are subsumed under the category of "white power rock."
[b] "Albums" may include full length albums, extended plays, compilation discs, single releases, and so on.
[c] Citations for data collection sources are included in the references list. Parentheses indicate year of publication or copyright year for the referenced webpage. Citations for data collection sources are also in no particular order in the table.
* Indicates possible re-release.

Table 5. Descending Frequency List—White Power Rock

Word	Frequency	Percent	Case Frequency	Case Percent[a]
Fight	51	8.7	233	40.0
Communist	37	6.3	169	29.0
Down	37	6.3	197	33.8
Never	36	6.1	191	32.8
People	35	6.0	194	33.3
Time	28	4.8	152	26.1
Man	26	4.4	146	25.1
Country	23	3.9	132	22.7
Day	23	3.9	124	21.3
Stand	22	3.7	131	22.5
Street	22	3.7	121	20.8
Keep	20	3.4	133	22.9
Want	20	3.4	118	20.3
Around	19	3.2	113	19.4
Land	19	3.2	101	17.4
Britain	18	3.1	88	15.1
Capitalist	18	3.1	78	13.4
Europe	18	3.1	89	15.3
Flag	18	3.1	77	13.2
Life	18	3.1	105	18.0
Nation	18	3.1	102	17.5
Long	16	2.7	82	14.1
White	16	2.7	90	15.5
Night	15	2.6	61	10.5
Pride	15	2.6	78	13.4

[a] "Case" refers to the number of windows that were used by CATPAC to slide through the data.

Table 6. Descending Frequency List—Nationalist Folk

Word	Frequency	Percent	Case Frequency	Case Percent[a]
We	48	13.4	190	53.8
Man	24	6.7	105	29.7
Fight	22	6.1	113	32.0
Heart	22	6.1	121	34.3
People	19	5.3	92	26.1
Life	16	4.5	74	21.0
Die	15	4.2	77	21.8
Down	13	3.6	76	21.5
Face	13	3.6	69	19.5
Stand	13	3.6	80	22.7
Pride	12	3.3	72	20.4
Race	12	3.3	65	18.4
Time	12	3.3	79	22.4
Day	11	3.1	61	17.3
Never	11	3.1	74	21.0
World	11	3.1	64	18.1
Change	10	2.8	50	14.2
End	10	2.8	59	16.7
Ever	10	2.8	45	12.7
Eye	10	2.8	65	18.4
Black	9	2.5	36	10.2
Blood	9	2.5	48	13.6
Cause	9	2.5	58	16.4
Feel	9	2.5	50	14.2
Lie	9	2.5	53	15.0

[a] "Case" refers to the number of windows that were used by CATPAC to slide through the data.

Table 7. Descending Frequency List—Racist Country/Western

Word	Frequency	Percent	Case Frequency	Case Percent[a]
Nigger	103	19.0	408	76.0
We	58	10.7	226	42.1
Cause	30	5.5	162	30.2
Day	23	4.2	121	22.5
Man	22	4.1	149	27.7
White	22	4.1	142	26.4
Down	20	3.7	112	20.9
Look	18	3.3	99	18.4
Thing	18	3.3	118	22.0
Want	18	3.3	108	20.1
South	17	3.1	75	14.0
Time	17	3.1	97	18.1
Big	16	2.9	92	17.1
Keep	16	2.9	110	20.5
Think	16	2.9	102	19.0
Black	15	2.8	83	15.5
Something	15	2.8	97	18.1
Free	14	2.6	83	15.5
Klan	13	2.4	56	10.4
Work	13	2.4	73	13.6
Live	12	2.2	83	15.5
Never	12	2.2	76	14.2
Pay	12	2.2	71	13.2
Show	12	2.2	51	9.5
Federal	11	2.0	40	7.4

[a] "Case" refers to the number of windows that were used by CATPAC to slide through the data.

Table 8. Descending Frequency List—National Socialist Black Metal

Word	Frequency	Percent	Case Frequency	Case Percent[a]
We	73	11.1	279	42.7
Blood	62	9.4	299	45.8
Jew	42	6.4	213	32.6
Race	41	6.2	209	32.0
Death	38	5.8	205	31.4
Aryan	35	5.3	195	29.9
God	30	4.6	156	23.9
War	25	3.8	138	21.1
You	25	3.8	121	18.5
Rise	22	3.3	133	20.4
Time	22	3.3	138	21.1
World	22	3.3	121	18.5
Strong	20	3.0	118	18.1
Europe	19	2.9	115	17.6
March	19	2.9	125	19.1
Fight	18	2.7	118	18.1
Might	18	2.7	109	16.7
Die	17	2.6	108	16.5
Triumph	17	2.6	104	15.9
Again	16	2.4	100	15.3
Hate	16	2.4	101	15.5
I	16	2.4	54	8.3
Iron	16	2.4	96	14.7
Enemy	15	2.3	100	15.3
Pride	15	2.3	103	15.8

[a] "Case" refers to the number of windows that were used by CATPAC to slide through the data.

Table 9. Examples of Nonhierarchical Clusters

White Power Rock		Nationalist Folk	
Capitalist:	**Communist:**	**Heart:**	**Die:**
Europe	Around	Cause	Day
Flag	Country	Day	Die
Long	Down	Die	Down
Nation	Fight	Down	End
Night	Life	End	Eye
Pride	Never	Eye	Face
	People	Face	Fight
	Stand	Fight	Life
	Street	Life	Man
	White	Man	Never
		Never	People
		People	Pride
		Pride	Race
		Race	Stand
		Stand	Time
		Time	We
		We	World
		World	

− Value	Unmarked	+ Value
Threatened Bond (Shameful)	Maintained Bond (Equilibrium: Avoiding Shame, Seeking Pride)	Strengthened Bond (Prideful)

Note: Table structure adapted from Brekhus 1996:501.

Figure 1. Trinary Model of Social Bond Markedness (Emotional Dimensions in Parentheses)

− Value	Unmarked	+ Value
Ideologically-Defined Threatened Bond (Shameful)	Ideologically-Defined Normative Bond (Potentially Shameful)	Ideologically-Defined Strengthened or Maintained Bond (Prideful)

Note: Table structure adapted from Brekhus 1996:501.

Figure 2. Trinary Model of Sacral Bond Markedness (Emotional Dimensions in Parentheses)

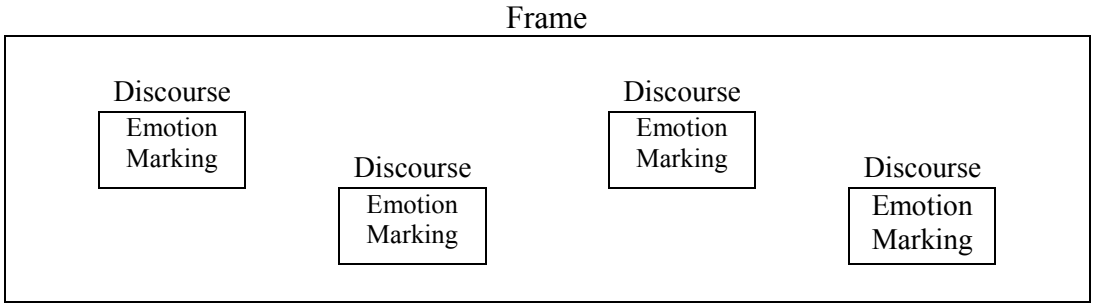

Figure 3. Schematic Structure of Frames, Discourses, and Emotion Marking

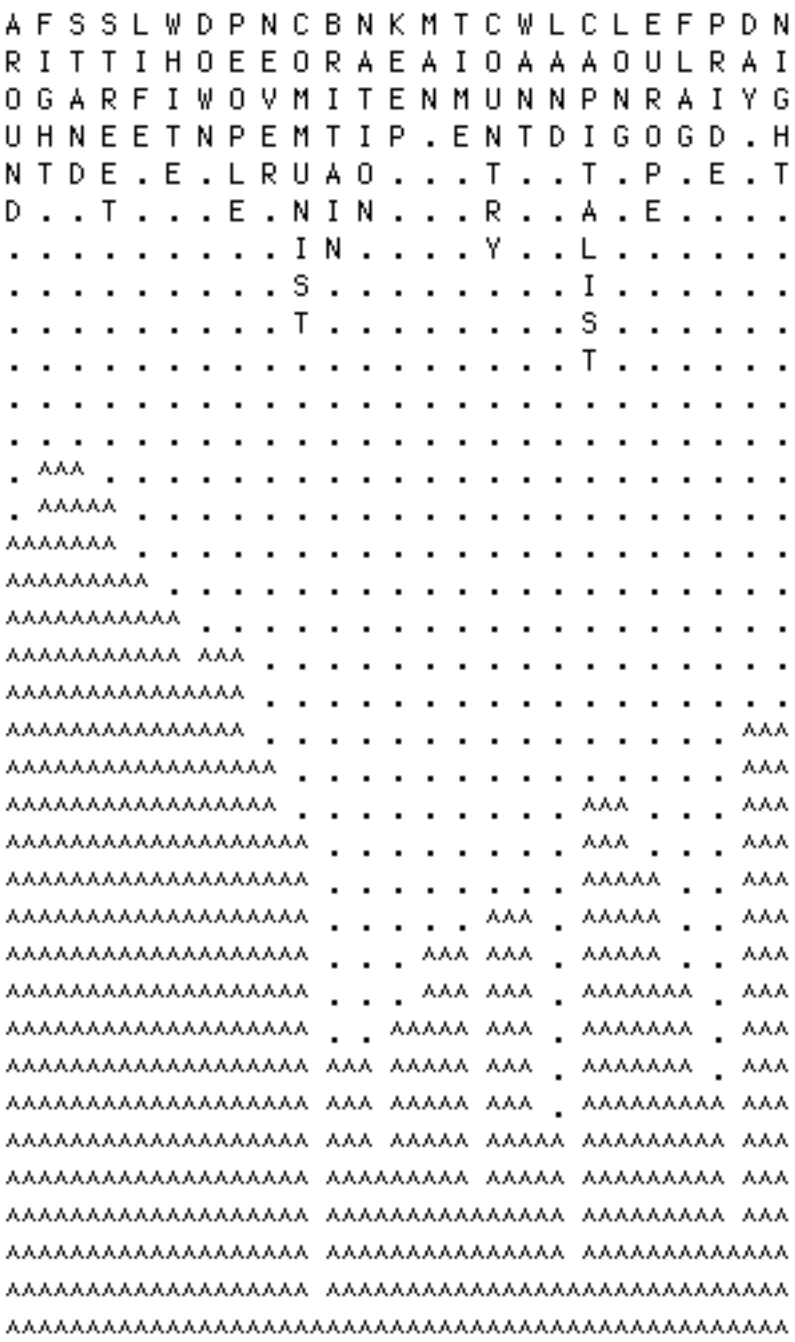

Figure 4. Hierarchical Clusters—White Power Rock

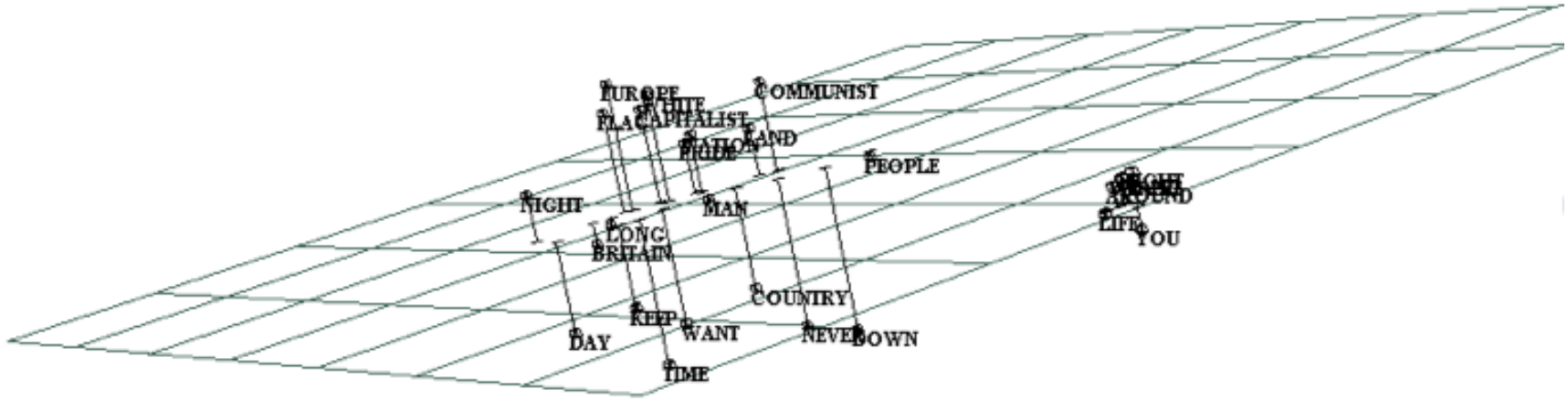

Figure 5. Multidimensional Perceptual Map—White Power Rock

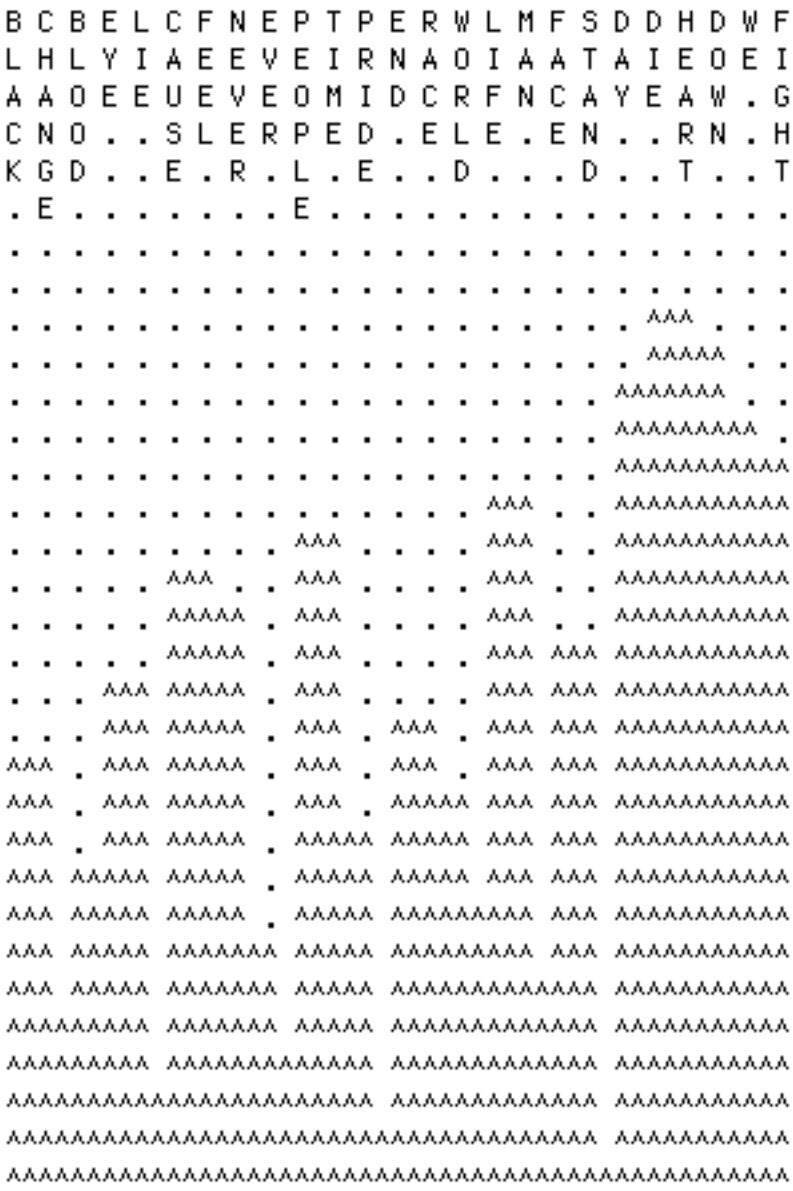

Figure 6. Hierarchical Clusters—Nationalist Folk

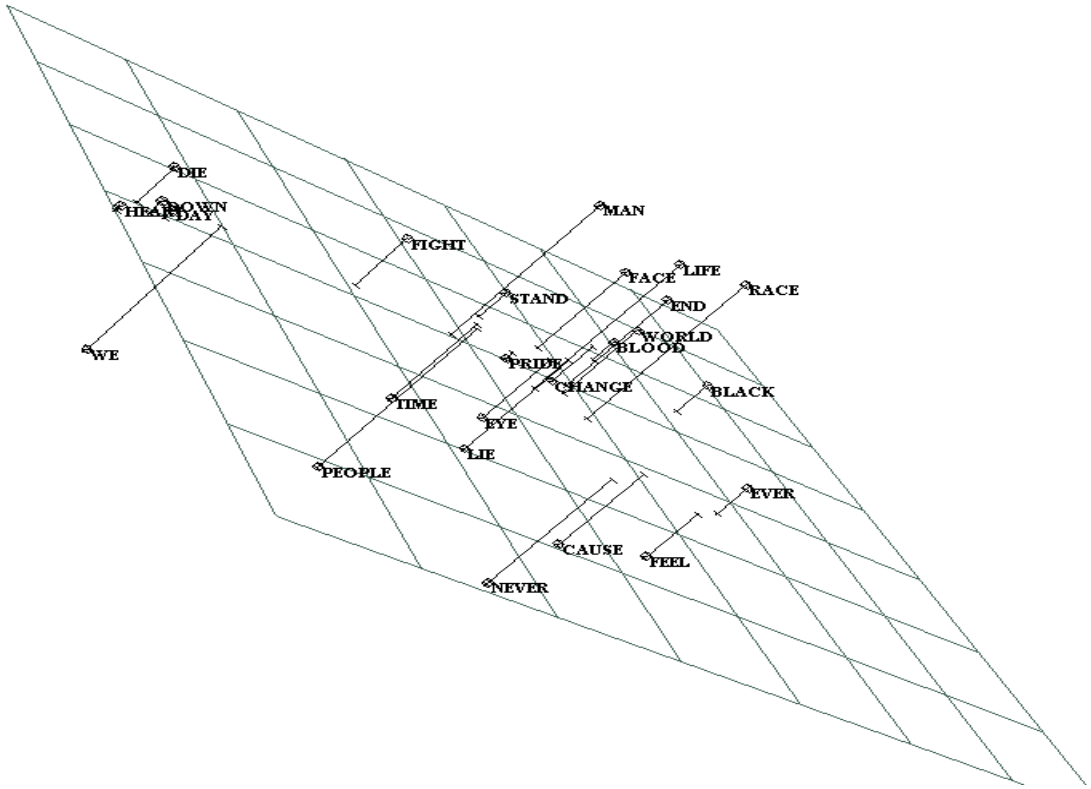

Figure 7. Multidimensional Perceptual Map—Nationalist Folk

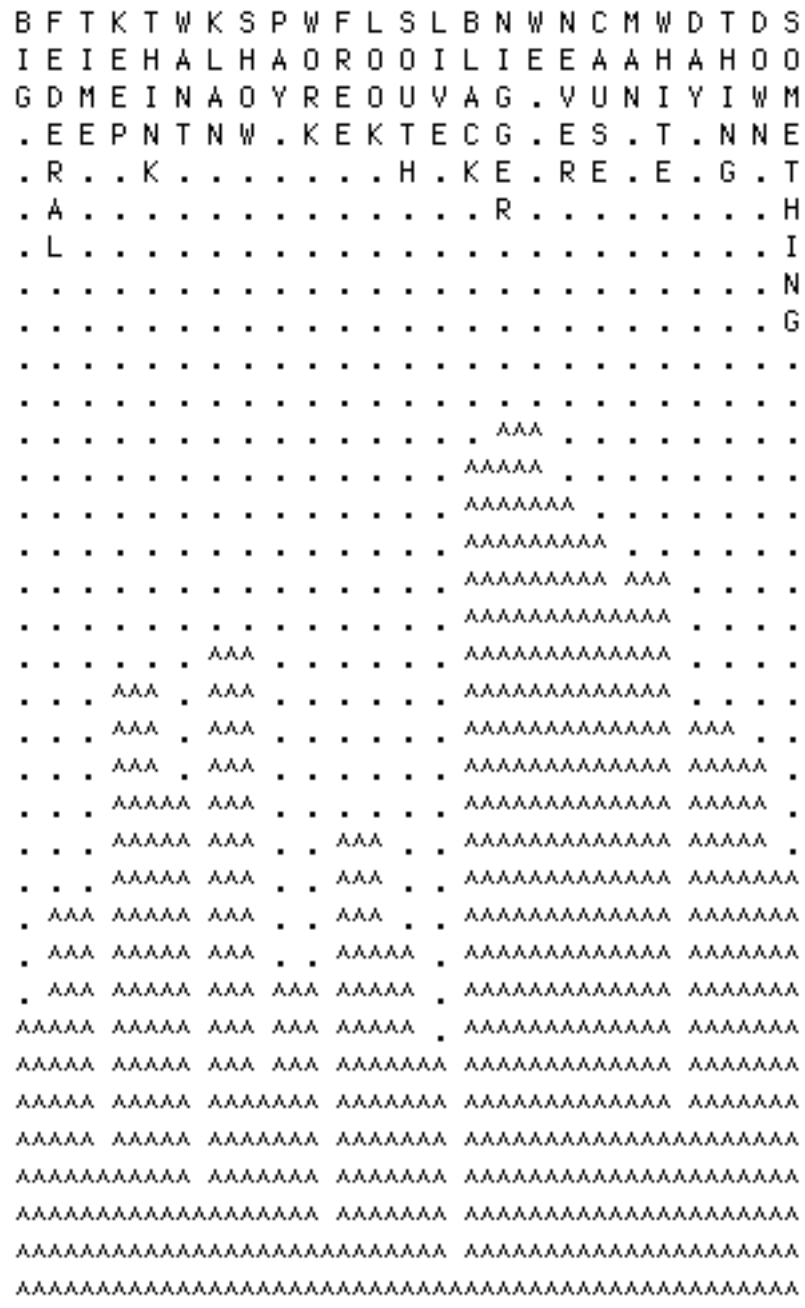

Figure 8. Hierarchical Clusters—Racist Country/Western

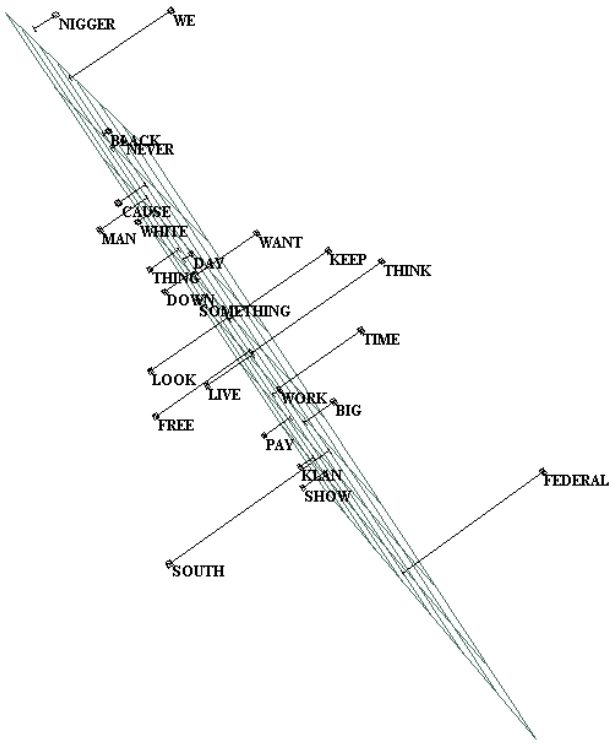

Figure 9. Multidimensional Perceptual Map—Racist Country/Western

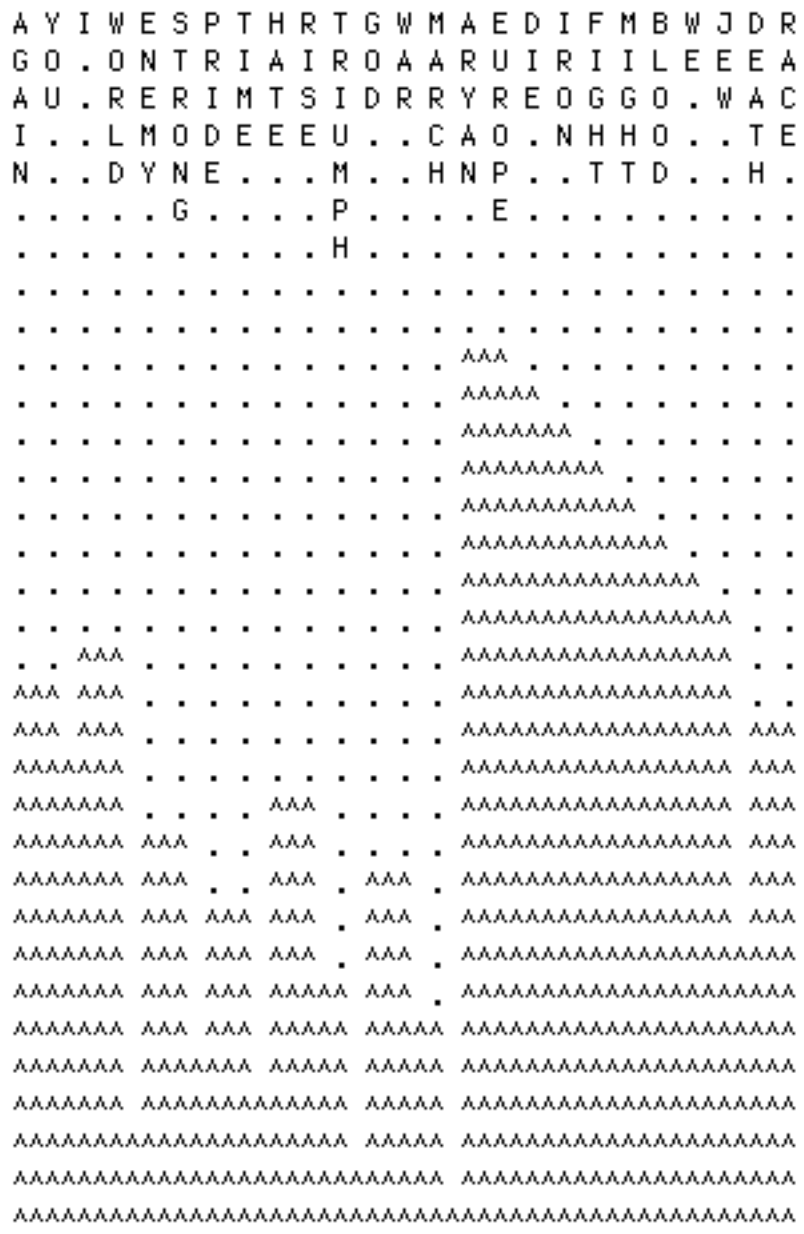

Figure 10. Hierarchical Clusters—National Socialist Black Metal

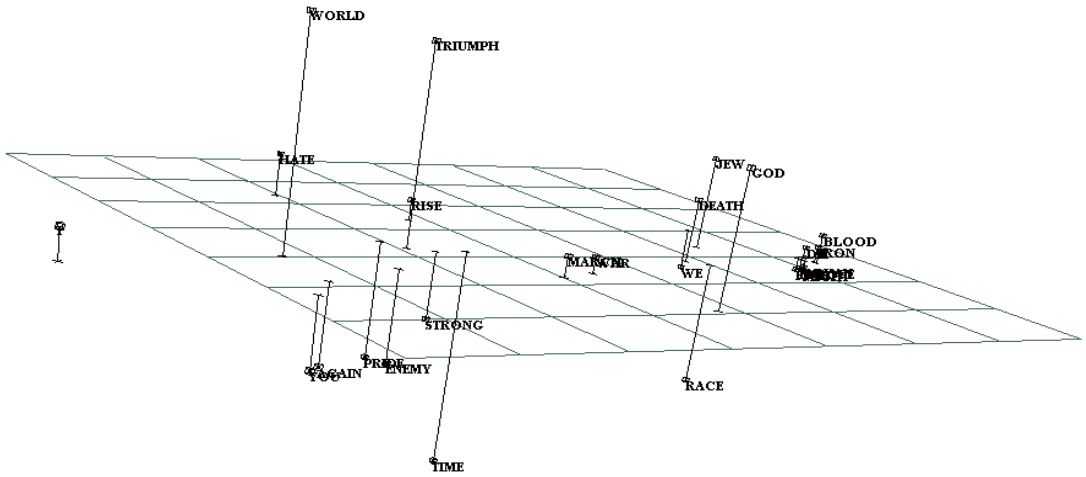

Figure 11. Multidimensional Perceptual Map—National Socialist Black Metal

Awareness Discourse

Ignorant White Shame ←→ Alert White Pride

Authenticity Discourse

Traitor Shame ←→ Ignorant White Shame **←→ Loyalist Pride**

Racial Fortitude Discourse

"Other" Shame ←→ White Racialist Pride

Cultural Hero Discourse

Un-martyr Shame ←→ Martyr Pride

Domination Discourse

Defeatist Shame **←→ Conqueror Pride**

Note: Bold font represents a marked category. Multiple bolded categories in a single discourse indicates contextual emotion marking.

Figure 12. Shame-Pride Typologies in White Supremacist Discourse

Erratum for Marshall A. Taylor's M.A. Thesis

Prepared by Marshall A. Taylor

Upon retroactive examination, my explanation of initial coding in the grounded theory framework on p. 31 is missing an in-text citation (sentences 2 and 3 of the first full paragraph). The following page numbers are provided for reference purposes. The full reference for the Pruit article can be found in the thesis itself.

- P. 31: "*in vivo* language" (Pruit 2012:442).
- P. 31: "forcing data into preconceived categories" (Pruit 2012:442).