Who Will Be Violent?: Correlates of Overt Activism and Criminality Among U.S. White Separatists

Lt Col(S) Jon Drummond
JNLW HECOE
March 13, 2004
My interests in this effort...

- Most “extremists” or “racists” are neither dangerous nor criminal
  - By varied categorizations, only .005% to .5% of any group has engaged in criminal activity
- Most white separatists do not engage in overt or conspicuous activism
  - A profound issue in threat assessment and anti-racist activism
- A “living” data set... and what that means
- So, what distinguishes the violent or criminal white separatists from the rest?
What do we think we know?

- Current political beliefs/affiliations
- Govt. should leave me alone/quit intruding
- “End Times” will happen in lifetime
- Constitution NOT being followed
- 2nd Amendment in jeopardy (highest rated across groups)
- Govt. wants to destroy our inalienable rights
- Belief that YOU are target of govt. persecution
- Violence sometimes necessary for greater good
- Actions of group are patriotic
- Actions of group ethically/morally correct
"Talking to Terrorists…"

- Firstly, it is necessary to collect evidence from primary sources
- Interviews conducted via various formats/media, despite multiple obstacles
- Assessed presence of 36 different factors:
  - Demographic
  - Cultural/Society
  - Ideological
  - Personality/Individual
  - Group Processes
Demographics

- **Gender:** 35 Males, 6 Females
- **Age:** Mean 38.5 years
- **Education:** Median of some college or post-HS technical training
- **From 15 States:** 26/41 from CA, ID, WA, IL, MT
- **Religion:** 18 Identists, 8 Odinists, 5 Creators, 5 Christians, 1 Race, 1 Catholic
- **10 Groups:** 19 AN, 6 WCOTC, 4 Unaffiliated, 3 WAR, 3 Wotansvolk or Kindred, 3 NA, 2 Order, 1 KKK, 1 EC
- **14 Occupations** (41.5% self-employed): 5 Construction, 5 Pastors, 2 Farmers, 2 Salesmen, 2 Activists, 2 Medical
  - 24.4% (of 28 reporting) had served in the US military (26.8% of 41 advocated the military as a place to get training)
- **Crim/Just. System Involvement:** 43.9% to some degree
Most Widely Shared Factors

- Threat Perceptions: 100%
- Race Consciousness: 95.1%
- White Identity/Master Status: 95.1%
- In-/Out-group Differentiation: 95.1%
- Ref to Sub-/Org. Culture: 95.1%
- Moral Diseng./Violence Just.: 90.2%
- Conspiracy Theories: 82.9%
  - Dialogical Consp Theories (of 32): 43.9%
- Societal Tipping Events: 82.9%
- Personal Triggering Events: 82.9%
- Psych. Needs Fulfilled: 80.5%
The threat felt by a dying people…

- ...colored triumphs of arms are less to be dreaded than more enduring conquests like migrations which would swamp whole populations and turn countries now white into colored man’s lands irretrievably lost to the white world. --Stoddard, 1920

- It is now a dark and dismal time in the history of our race. All about us lie the green graves of our sires, yet, in a land once ours, we have become a people dispossessed...Our heroes and our culture have been insulted and degraded. The mongrel hordes clamor to sever us from our inheritance...Our farms are being seized...The Capitalists and the Communists pick gleefully at our bones while the vile hook-nosed masters of usury orchestrate our destruction. What is to become of our children in a land such as this?...Do your hear the approaching thunder? It is that of the awakened Saxon. War is upon the land. The tyrant’s blood will flow. --Mathews, 1984

- ...it is a rarity in history that a people would cheer news that they and their children would soon be dispossessed of their inheritance as the majority in the nation their ancestors built. --Buchanan, 2002

- The pervasiveness and power of “The 14 Words”
Other Factors: Descriptive Data

- Social Darwinism 65.9%
- Const Undermined/Degraded 56.1%
- Econ Hardship or Rel Depr 48.8%
- Apocalypticism 36.6%
- Attribution Error (UAE) 70.7%
- Illusory Correlations 70.7%
- Confirmation Biases 68.3%
- Availability Heuristic 39.0%
- Sel Perc & Recall 34.1%
- Socially Facilitated Entry 73.2%
- Cohesion Dynamics 73.1%
- Serial Splintering 63.4%
- Social Implosion 31.7%
## Correlations with Activism and Criminality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Activism</th>
<th>Criminality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Activism</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>.54***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># Soc Tip Events</td>
<td>.42**</td>
<td>.37*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># Pers Trig Events</td>
<td>.48**</td>
<td>.60***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Const Undermined</td>
<td>.35*</td>
<td>.47**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Econ Hardship</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.33*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Employment</td>
<td>.39*</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mil Trg Promo</td>
<td>.39*</td>
<td>.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race Conscious</td>
<td>.36*</td>
<td>.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White ID Master St.</td>
<td>.43**</td>
<td>.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conspiracy Theory</td>
<td>.40**</td>
<td>.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--Dial Consp Theory</td>
<td>.37*</td>
<td>.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001
## Correlations with Activism and Criminality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Activism</th>
<th>Criminality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sel Perc/Recall</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.42**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conf. Bias</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.41**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attr Errs/UAE</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.48**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral Dis/Viol Just</td>
<td>.43**</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Heuristics Comp</strong></td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.50***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-/Out-group Diff.</td>
<td>.36*</td>
<td>.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohesion Dynamics</td>
<td>.41**</td>
<td>.38*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Implosion</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.40**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial Splintering</td>
<td>.61***</td>
<td>.54***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grp Dynamics Comp</strong></td>
<td>.57***</td>
<td>.61***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001
SERIAL SPLINTERING...

Events
- Job Loss
- Divorce
- Odinism
- Contact with Foreign Gov’t and Possibly Euro. Terrorists

Time
- Isolation
- Conservative Activism
- W.A.R. Skinhead Recruiting
- Terror?

Illusory Correlations
- Military Service

Ku Klux Klan Rises in Organization
### T-tests* on Factors Predictive of Social Impact (Criminality-Activism Composite)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nbr Trig Pers Events</td>
<td>1.220</td>
<td>4.360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial Splintering</td>
<td>.413</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Implosion</td>
<td>.174</td>
<td>.636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Const Undermined</td>
<td>.283</td>
<td>.773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sel Perc &amp; Recall</td>
<td>.217</td>
<td>.727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attribution Error/UAE</td>
<td>.522</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Criminality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nbr Trig Pers Events</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>3.720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial Splintering</td>
<td>.125</td>
<td>.889</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*P < .05, Bonferroni Corrected
What most influences the Social Impact index?

- Group Dynamics
  - In-/Out-group Differentiation
    - R² = .97
  - Cohesion Dynamics
    - R² = .97

- Social Impact (Crim. X Act.)
  - # Personal Triggers
  - Economic Hardship
  - Constitution Undermined
  - Serial Splintering
  - Social Implosion
  - Sel. Perc. And Recall
  - Attribution Errors

R² = .77
Universally Applicable and (Sub)Culturally Specific?

- Comprehensive lit review identifies 40+ categories of grievance/threat
- Serial splintering in 3 patterns suggested elsewhere (Crenshaw, 1985; Drummond, 2002; McCauley & Segal, 1989; Pitcavage, 2001; Post, 2000; Post et al, 2002)
- Group dynamics seem key in violent socialization (Drummond, 2002; Etter, 1999; Jensen, 1986; McCurrie, 1998; Post, 2000; Post & Denny, 2002)
- Heuristics in internally consistent worldviews & “supportable” conspiracy theories (Abalakina-Paap et al, 1999; Dobratz & Shanks-Meile, 1997; Drummond, 2002; Goertzel, 1994; Post et al, 2002; Robins & Post, 1997; Sagarin& Kelly, 1986; Sprinzak, 1991)
So, where does this leave us?

- Previous foci of attention may allow us to differentiate the extremist or racist from mainstream members of society...
  - But they may be minimally helpful in our most pressing task: identifying the violent and criminal from others in the subculture!
- Some markers of criminality/activism likely deserve more research attention
Conclusions Continued

- Triggering and tipping events, serial splintering, culture-specific grievances & delegitimating discoveries, open expression of some heuristics/errors, and dialogic conspiracy theories deserve such attention...
  
  - Especially in context—i.e. “talking to terrorists,” extremists, and racists
    
    - Which necessarily means more depth, time, trust-building, etc.
  
- Deviant Legitimation Theory (Darley & Drummond) can accommodate these findings