"ON BOTH SIDES:" A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS BETWEEN

BLACK LIVES MATTER AND NATIONAL SOCIALIST

MOVEMENT

by

KATLYN HAR

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Psychology
and the Robert D. Clark Honors College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Science

June 2019

# An Abstract of the Thesis of

Katlyn Har for the degree of Bachelor of Science
in the Department of Psychology to be taken June 2019

Title:   "On Both Sides:" A Linguistic Analysis Between Black Lives Matter and
National Socialist Movement

Approved: _____

Gerard Saucier

Throughout the course of American history, white supremacist groups have influenced political and social constructions. While many would argue their influence has largely disappeared, political figures, including the president, have equated white supremacy with black liberation. The present study demonstrates the pitfalls of associating these two groups by analyzing the language used by BLM and NSM's website. In order to analyze the websites, I utilized two word-count programs (Latent Dirichlet Allocation and Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count) to parse the massive amounts of data. These programs portray the stark division of content between the BLM and the NSM. After analyzing the results of the study, I provide several methodological and research recommendations to help guide future research. Implications from this research include negating the political claims that white supremacy and racial justice groups occupy two sides of the same spectrum. Instead, both groups hold unique ideology that attempts to solve different issues and proposes different solutions.

# Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Professor Gerard Saucier, for his continued patience and wise instruction along the process. I would like to thank my CHC advisor, Professor Louise Bishop for positive encouragement and excitement which never failed to boots my morale. I would like to thank my second advisor, Alex Farrington, for his support and guidance in the endeavor. I would also like to thank Teagan Roberts for encouraging perseverance and working alongside this project. I would like to thank my friends and family for displaying sympathies and believing in my ability to complete the project, even when my own belief was lost.

# Table of Contents

# List of Figures

# List of Tables

**Introduction**

*A Personal Statement*

*This research derives from the desire to understand complex racial tensions and the dialogue surrounding them. Clashes among politics, culture, history and psychology make learning how we have framed our social understandings no easy feat. Empirical research and data provide invaluable significance towards unveiling the closest concepts to truth, though they cannot fully explain the complexities behind the wide-reaching issue of "race." Interpretation from people with experience and academia has the potential to integrate multiple fields and thus create more holistic approaches. As an Asian-American woman, I find myself on a particular side of the discourse. While I wish to maintain a compassionate and open mind to people's ideas, my stance is immutable and therefore creating a level of subjectivity and bias. My personal experiences and coursework with law, history, psychology, and political science, although not always explicitly stated, have culminated into my interpretations and my unique perspective. These experiences do not hinder or take away from my understanding of the data; rather they helped to create a more applicable presentation of what the data means. This is not to say that my work is completely speculative and baseless, as I utilize third-party programs and utilize all available data. This statement exists to acknowledge the person behind the research and the direction I hope to project.*

Throughout history, racism has morphed into different forms, taking on various manifestations. Despite massive social movements and progressive legislation actively fighting against it, racism persist throughout every aspect of American life. Compared

to society before Civil Rights, especially the Abolition era, contemporary America has been moving past legislative racism with the creation of the 14th Amendment and several anti-discrimination laws. However, recent scholarship states that due to shifting social norms, racism has subtly and implicitly shaped biases and consequential systemic issues (Sen, 2009). The article states that incidences of explicit racism decrease in the face of increased systemic racism. This might mean that the virulence of the KKK and other overt hate groups diminishes with the passing of each year and eventually will fade into nonexistence. While this leaves society to deal with institutional racism, at least the days of hate crimes and public displays of racism will no longer hurt people, right?

However, in 2017, a Unite the Right Rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, broke through headlines with visuals of torch marches and the story of a car taking down counter-protesters to promote white supremacy. Groups from several white supremacy groups such as the KKK, Neo-Nazis, white nationalist and several other extremist groups gathered together in large numbers to protest in Charlottesville (Coaston, 2019). While not an isolated display of white supremacy, the American public began to comprehend the persistence of these hate groups and their disregard for existing norms, seen through their openly blatantly racist language. Although in recent history white supremacy has been met with immediate disapproval and disdain, President Trump later addressed the public stating that he believed there was "blame on both sides," and "fine people on both sides," placing blame and praise on both the white supremacists and the counter-protesters (Shear & Haberman, 2018). Trump's address lumped together white nationalists, KKK members, and Neo-Nazis with Black Lives Matter and Antifa

movements as equally culpable. He went to defend his comments, claiming to be discussing those protesting the removal of Robert E. Lee's statue, while also continuing to frame the violence in the "both sides" context despite many of his administration members condemning his remarks. Unsurprisingly, Trump's comments were graciously appreciated in a tweet by David Duke, a former grand wizard of the KKK, stating "Thank you President Trump for your honesty & courage to tell the truth about #Charlottesville & condemn the leftist terrorists in BLM/Antifa" (Shear & Haberman, 2018; Wolf, 2017). Trump's words invigorate white supremacy by condemning the parties they oppose and casting white supremacy and anti-white supremacy as two sides of the same coin. While both liberal and conservative politicians have rejected Trump's remarks, this notion that white supremacists and racial justice groups occupy two opposite sides resonates with certain groups of people beyond white supremacist groups. They reduce complex racial activism to discourse to "mere" skin color differences.

As previously mentioned, Trump and white supremacists are not alone in asserting similarities between white supremacy and Black Lives Matter. After the Charlottesville rally, Republican Dan Bishop tweeted that people should condemn alt-right movements as well as Anti-fa and BLM. When asked whether he equated Neo-Nazi's with BLM, Bishop replied, "both violent, racist movements" (Abbie, 2017). Without explicitly stating it, Bishop placed the BLM movement with white supremacist's camp. Although he condemned white supremacist groups, he condemns the counter-protest groups using identical logic.

While direct comparison between white supremacy and Black Lives Matter does not always occur, many news reporters or politicians use the same language to condemn BLM as they might for white supremacy. Several petitions have been sent to the White House to label BLM as a terrorist group, equating the group to ISIS, with one from July 2016, garnering 141,000 signatures (We The People, 2016). This petition listed the BLM as a "hate group," citing the deaths of police officers in a riot following the police killing of Philando Castile. David A. Clarke Jr., an African American county sheriff, has appeared on Fox News on numerous occasions stating that the group should be called "Black LIES Matter," and requesting that the Southern Poverty Law Center should include the BLM in their list of hate groups (Clarke & U.S. Senate, 2017). Clarke also grouped the BLM with ISIS to serve as a comparison for terrorism.

In order to analyze the "both sides" argument popularized by Trump and expanded upon by other political figures, in this study, I compare one group that participated in the white supremacist movement and another that participated in the counter-movement (Who Were The Groups Protesting, 2018). For the white supremacists, I analyze the National Socialist Movement (NSM) to represent Neo-Nazi ideology. For this research, I critically analyze the NSM's website's usage of language. The group maintains a widespread presence in all fifty states and regularly updates their online activity, indicating its active status.

For the counter-protest, I analyze the Black Lives Matter movement (BLM), the group that participated in the counter-protests. The BLM acts as the comparison for modeling a racialized social justice group, although this group has a much larger membership base. While the NSM and BLM are obviously different, they share

subtleties in their methods to address their audiences, which might be indicative of how racial justice groups operate online in general. By comparing the NSM movement to the BLM, I create a model of analysis that acknowledges the organizational similarities between groups but also highlights deviating content-based aspects of the white-supremacist movement. This comparison does not occur in existing literature and can contribute to existing models of cyber-analysis. While this comparison draws from the two sides in the Charlottesville rally, these groups also represent the two sides of racialized discourse more broadly (white supremacy and people of color), and thus can be used as a tool to analyze other racialized groups as well, despite some ideological differences.

**NSM Background**

While white supremacy, white nationalists, and Neo-Nazis often become interchangeable in public discourse, each group has varying backgrounds and maintain specific goals. According to Matthew Lyons, Neo-nazis are "a form of white nationalism that borrows or shares key elements of German National Socialist (Nazi) ideology, above all the emphasis on racial antisemitism" (2018). While there might be some general overlap, it is essential to distinguish how white supremacist groups are different as these differences might also qualify as points of contention between the groups. Lyons details these nuances and variations, including divisions within Neo-nazi's themselves (2018). With members ranging from David Duke and the KKK to Willis Carto's 1984 Populist Party and regional skinhead groups, various branches of Neo-nazism holding diverse views. For example, many right-wing supremacist and nationalist groups hold to Christian Identity, whereas others find Christianity

resembling Judaism, and therefore unacceptable. These divisions make the task of analyzing all of white supremacy or white nationalism more complicated. Although many of the groups assert white racial superiority, only specific groups utilize the Neo-Nazi ideology. Despite society's tendency to group them together, we must critically analyze which aspects of the Neo-nazi ideology are specific to their cause and which ones can apply to white supremacist groups more generally.

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, the National Socialist Movement grew out from the American Nazi Party, founded by George Lincoln Rockwell, and later reestablished in 1994 when Jeff Schoep took control of the party and renamed it the NSM. Due to Schoep's young age and his promotion of open recruitment tactics, the NSM was able to rapidly grow and appeal to younger generations. The group took advantage of the digital age by building their own webpage featuring newsletters, pamphlets, application forms, and even radio stations featuring hate music. The NSM has become the largest Neo-Nazi party in America, openly displaying swastikas and regularly marching in the streets. They have created controversy and claimed several news headlines from their public demonstrations. Their protests and demonstrations typically garner larger counter-protests that create volatile interactions and help spread their notoriety.

**BLM Background**

The Black Lives Matter states that their mission is to, "work vigorously for freedom and justice for Black people and, by extension, all people" ("Black Lives Matter"). Founded in 2013 by Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi, the group maintains much of its focus within the United States but also promotes activism

around the world. While the slogan has existed since the Civil Rights Era, Patrisse Cullors used the hashtag #blacklivesmatter on social media outlets to cry out against the acquittal of George Zimmerman, who had shot and killed Trayvon Martin. In 2014, the movement rose in popularity after a police officer, Darren Wilson shot unarmed 18-year-old Michael Brown. Since then, BLM has been actively protesting every case of police shootings or other forms of brutality such as the death of Eric Garner in 2014.

While many Americans stated that they support BLM, 22% oppose their goals and/or methods (Horowitz & Livingston, 2016). In response to the BLM, counter-movements like "Blue Lives Matter" arose in support of the police involved in the unarmed shootings. Another popular movement called "All Lives Matter" gained popularity by claiming that the "Black" part of the BLM is racially exclusive, stating that the BLM advocated for black lives *only*. Rather than justifying white supremacy, these counter-movements aimed to invalidate the BLM's endeavor towards racial justice. Arguing against "Blue Lives" or "All Lives" mattered movements proved much more difficult as the 54% of the general public "greatly approved" of the police force and could not reasonably argue that "All Lives" didn't matter (Norman, 2017). The argument framed support for BLM as mutually exclusive of support for police.

For most people, the NSM represents a radical and extremist movement that cannot influence the mainstream discussion regarding race. Granted that the group operates on the fringe, their influence does not rely on reasonability. Moreover, President Trump's remarks approve of their claim for a "both sides" argument. His approval ratings rose since his address, from 38% to 41% one month later, indicating many Americans still support his agenda (RealClearPolitics). Even if his supporters

don't all agree with his direct comments about Charlottesville, they remain complacent in supporting him because they lack a strong reason to go against him. Productive political action requires that we not alienate 41% of the public at the same time, as we must also become explicit in how we identify white supremacy within the context of racialized discourse. We must understand why white supremacy occupies a different space than other racial justice groups seeking justice and reparations.

This research helps me better understand how NSM and BLM ideologies compare when analyzing their online websites. This research seeks to provide an exploratory analysis of the relevant cultural and political field in order to establish direction for future research. While this is by no means a comprehensive analysis between the two groups, this research provides both a quantitative and qualitative basis for a comparison between these movements.

For the purposes of this paper, "black" and "white" denote how the United States currently defines racial groups, yet we must also remember that these definitions of race and color are culturally and politically constructed. Our current racial assignments mostly derive from superficial features such as skin color or hair pattern or geographical ancestry, with more genetic variation within groups than between groups. However, since our society has been deeply indoctrinated into the culture of these racialized classifications, this paper utilizes the same vocabulary and definitions to produce a familiar understanding with the studied groups.

**Literature Review**

There has been significant research regarding white supremacy, yet much less when analyzing the usage of Internet. According to the SimilarWeb website traffic analysis, the NSM website has increased in traffic rankings, indicating a peaked interest, due either to academic purposes or personal interests (2019). To understand whether researching online groups accurately represents the physical manifestations of these groups, we must first investigate how these two presentations compare. Previous researchers observed how the medium of the Internet differs from traditional offline movements. To answer how online chat forums deviate from traditional social movements, one study outlines online inhibition as varying phenomena that occur when behind Internet anonymity (Suler, 2004). Without regulations or an online police, administrators can freely post without prescribed consequences. This suggests that online groups offer "exaggerated" versions of themselves that might never be presented in face-to-face interactions. Therefore, any research into online platforms would also offer exaggerated results compared to research of the traditional social groups. Yet this caveat does not invalidate the rationale for researching online forums. Researchers indicate that although the groups lack organizational unity, online platforms "have the potential to contribute to the creation of very real values" (Bowman-Grieve, 2009). Online media moderates traditional manifestations of social groups that often entail protests, riots, demonstrations, and individual action, all of which fall under the category of behavior. By focusing on Internet platforms, my research analyzes group *presentation* rather than group/individual *behavior*. Because of the diverse individual and geopolitical landscapes surrounding both the NSM and BLM, isolating their

singular presentation platform provides a general analysis for each of the movements as a whole, even if the behaviors do not always align.

While the BLM and NSM websites have existed for many years, the field of Internet research has been understudied and requires scientific analysis. In 2002, scholarship began to indicate that white supremacists use the Internet platform for breeding a new form of racism developed out of the postmodern era (Back, 2002). Alert to this new breed of racism, this study utilizes online platforms to represent each group's ideological standpoint. Online research also provides static data for analysis of their ideology rather than in-person interviews that might vary among individuals. While the research between online and in-person interaction remains a significant field of study, this study chooses to analyze Internet platform with a presumably unifying ideology.

**The NSM and Other White Supremacist Groups**

*Operating the Internet*

Although lacking substantial research, existing literature analyzes intersections between white supremacist groups and their usage of the Internet. With the relatively novel invention of the World Wide Web, an emerging field of social research has developed. The accessibility and unregulated platform provide a space for the general public to engage in social interactions. According to Lyons, Neo-Nazis began building computer boards in the early 1980s to promote outreach and prevent isolation (2018). One study supports this by suggesting that extremist groups went online not only to modernize but to gain a larger audience with their members as well as the public

(Schafer, 2002). The Internet gives groups a low-cost yet wide-reaching platform, thus giving themselves greater opportunities for recruitment. Although the NSM groups are regionalized, these groups also post on web pages where they can disseminate their ideology to others without a geographical limit. Early studies researching white supremacy online found that the groups primarily used the platform to "indoctrinate" members affiliated with the movement (Gerstenfeld, 2004). This method allowed the people within the group to seamlessly communicate across borders and maintain connections while solidifying their ideology in an echo-chamber.

White supremacists' groups also used the Internet to disseminate propaganda to populations that would not likely encounter the ideology through traditional methods, thus bolstering their recruitment tactics (Sunstein, 2007).  James Alex Fields Jr., the man who drove a vehicle into counter-protests at the Charlottesville Unite the Right Rally, utilized Internet platforms and communicated with others regarding their shared interest in white supremacy (Bromwich & Blinder, 2017).

With the current trend of Internet mobilization, such groups are predicted to continue to expand their use of the Internet. To understand how various hate groups operate online, researchers compiled a list of 157 extremist websites and then formulated specific ideological themes and identified varying formatting structures (Gerstenfeld, Grant & Chiang, 2003). These websites were then divided by varying degrees of nationalist sentiments, religious references, right-wing extremism and various other stratifying themes that differentiated between each group. This study provides a basic system on how to initially approach website analysis through

comparable content and formatting, yet lacks the in-depth analysis of any particular website, which the present research intends to explore.

*What They Put Online*

Another study performed a qualitative thematic analysis of Stormfront's content (Bowman-Grieve, 2009). Here, the researchers observed several factors such as religiosity, promotion of activism, and overall homogeneity within and between several radical right-wing groups. This research narrowed its focus to a few of the most popular groups, highlighting nuances within researching white supremacist groups online. Although these groups maintain their differences, researchers can successfully analyze these groups using underlying themes of religiosity and activism.

Another method towards categorizing online racially-charged encounters was tested by researchers who conducted a quasi-experimental study involving messaging white supremacists in online chatrooms threats (Galser, Dixit & Green, 2002). They provided an outline for categorizing concepts that elicited the strongest response (economic, territorial, and genetic threat), and sent messages from each of these categories. Researchers found that most individual respondents reacted the most strongly to genetic. Genetic threats often included interracial children or interracial marriages. This study interacted with individuals directly, yet did not assess the group's presented ideology. In addition to threat analysis, existing research has also specified the threats by analyzing how American and European extremist groups use the Internet to disseminate their propaganda in a form palatable to both "insiders" and "outsiders" (Caiani & Parenti, 2013). This illustrates the duality behind their goals to appeal to two different audiences, which I take into account when analyzing outreach goals, or

activism. These studies analyze how white supremacist groups perceive threats as well as how they attempt to convey these threats.

**The BLM**

Due to the relative novelty of the BLM movement, researchers have had significantly less time to conduct studies or analyze the group. News articles and other forms of journalism occupy most of the existing literature regarding the BLM. Comprehensive analysis or books about the BLM tends to be ancillary to general racial justice movements rather than driven by research questions.

*Operating the Internet*

Through the usage of the popularized hashtag #blacklivesmatter, the BLM was born online and through social media, specifically Twitter. Through posts and reposts, Twitter became a significant platform to disseminate information and interpret news (Himelboim, Smith, Rainie, Shneiderman, & Espina, 2017). Researchers concluded that the hashtag was primarily used in tweets to convey "solidarity or approval of the movement, refer to police violence, mention movement tactics, mention Ferguson, or express counter-movement sentiments" (Ince, Rojas & Davis, 2017; Anderson et al., 2018). By analyzing the content of the tweets, researchers hope to ascertain the public's perception and relevant discourse surrounding #blacklivesmatter. The rapid spread of information and the strong activist approaches influenced political and public opinion, operating far beyond the original intent of the hashtag (Altman, 2015; Carney, 2016). While Twitter remains an important aspect of the Black Lives Matter movement, the

group also maintains a regularly updated webpage. The group uploads petitions, articles, and features specific individuals involved in activist's pursuits.

*What They Put Online*

Despite the recent inception of the BLM movement, researchers have conducted studies on the content of BLM, especially through comparative means. One study compared the BLM to the Civil Rights movement during the 1960s by comparing and contrasting the groups on the following topics: "(a) inclusive and exclusive messaging, (b) leadership style, (c) issue framing, and (d) media coverage" (Clayton, 2018). This comparison was between two groups who shared more prevalent similarities and were both on the side of racial justice. By comparing these two groups, the researchers found both in-group variation as well as external political variations that add another perspective to the current political environment. The BLM has been received more harshly in the news with more criticism when compared to the 1960's governmental attempt to ignore Civil Rights movement, yet both groups fought for the rights for people of color, particularly black people. Whether this shift is due to changing news outlets, changing political climates, or to differences in ideology, remains unknown.

Researchers have found that anti-racist social groups like the BLM helped to decrease implicit and explicit biases (Sawyer & Gampa, 2018). The study involved tracking participant's biases across the years of 2009 to 2016, specifically analyzing the trajectory of their biases during "high times" of BLM activism such as after George Zimmerman's acquittal. While this study incorporated all of the BLM's activist efforts including their twitter campaigns, this demonstrates how the Internet has been an effective tool in swaying public opinion. The study also follows how the movement

14

changed campaign messages and proposed agendas of political leaders like Hillary

Clinton, despite her initial hesitation. Unable to ignore the growing movement, Clinton

and other politicians were forced to acknowledge and approve of the BLM's

aspirations.

Although comparisons within racialized groups have been made in research

studies, substantial research has not compared across racial groups. My research seeks

to establish a preliminary framework for social and political investigation surrounding

vastly different racialized groups online. The present study also provides an

amalgamation of both quantitative analyses and qualitative analysis of the BLM and

NSM groups, helping to reveal the varying demensions of the comparison. While

extensive literature has analyzed white supremacy or racial justice groups separately,

comparing the BLM and NSM websites indicates whether the "both sides" framework

has merit or is a gross simplification of racialized groups.

**Methods**

*Gathering data*

In order to extract textual information only, I thoroughly examined both

websites and took screenshots of all the pages. As websites change over time, I wanted

to keep to a single time-point, (July 10, 2019), for consistency within the data. I selected

every linked section within the websites but did not screenshot any external links that

left the main website to another website. However, if the link led to a pdf file or a word

document file, I kept those as separate document files as they were often larger

documents that could not be directly written on the website and provided valuable

content information. I organized the screenshots and documents into folders based on their associated link, and if I found repeated websites from different links, I did not include the repeats. With each of the screenshots, I put the picture files through an Optical Character Recognition (OCR) program and pasted them on a single document. Because the OCR did not recognize all the characters correctly, I manually checked any misspellings or non-words that converted incorrectly. If I was unsure, I referred back to the original screenshots. These texts were compiled in documents labeled "NSM RAW" and "BLM RAW" for all data not found in a pdf or word file.

With the websites compiled into a BLM and NSM documents, I edited the data to reflect content-only or substantive text. Content is defined as text that relates to the ideology, methodology, or self-attributed descriptions that help to understand more about the group. In order to ensure consistency, I used the following rules for all the documents:

1. Clear non-text (e.g., non letters or numbers, symbols, characters) as these are nonwords. (numbers not pertaining to the quantity of a noun)

2. Clear websites and website links as these also do not provide words for content. Clear email addresses as well.

3. Clear non-content or navigational tools (i.e., nav bars, side bars, footers). While these links are often words, they do not provide any content value

4. Clear words regarding to document formatting (i.e., "PDF" or "Word Document")

5. Remove dates of a post, or dating an article (not of a specific content-related event)

6. Remove other reoccurring website labels

Each document is represented in its own file with one exception. The NSM posted several individual flyers as pamphlets to print and hand out to people. As a result, these pamphlets have less than 150 words each and were compiled into a document labeled as "Flyer Compilation." This was done in order to maintain similar word-counts across all documents.

I chose to omit pages advertising for group-specific merchandise. These pages had little content related words and primarily utilized graphics and prices. While research might be done on what the groups attempt to sell, this would not work as well in a linguistic analysis.

The documents for BLM were as follows.

Black Lives Matter RAW TEXT: This is the compilation of all the text on the main webpage without leaving to another document or pdf.

Black Lives Matter Toolkit: This document provides information about specific techniques to addressing confrontation.

Black Lives Matter Booklet: This booklet was posted for the four-year anniversary of BLM. The booklet contains much of the same website content (repeats were deleted from the data) with additional articles written by various people. It also included a questionnaire and each chapter's answer to the questions.

BLM Chapter Conflict: This is a document that established guidelines for managing internal conflict within the group.

BLM Healing Action: This document details information about how to obtain healing justice through direct action and confrontation.

BLM Toolkit Trayvon: This document is designed to help activists of color use Trayvon Martin's death to raise awareness of racial injustice.

BLM White ppl Trayvon: This document is designed to help white activists use Trayvon Martin's death to raise awareness of racial injustice.

The documents for NSM were as follows.

NSM 25 Points: This document establishes 25 guiding principles to the NSM ideology as well as their future directions.

FAQs about the NSM: This document lists general questions and substantive answers regarding the ideology and nature of the group.

NSM Flyer Compilation: This document is a compilation of several printable fliers intended for public dissemination.

NSM Application Packet: This document primarily discusses the need for funding and member contribution. It also details products available for purchase/fundraising.

NSM Application: This is the blank form intended for prospective members to fill out and mail. The document also includes a pledge that members agree upon signing.

NSM RAW TEXT: This is the compilation of all the text on the main webpage without leaving to another document or pdf.

NSM To the Citizens: This document was one of the fliers that contained more than 150 words, listing reasons why the people needed to join the movement.

Why Support the NSM: This document lists the group's stance on several core issues, listing their desired reforms.

*Using Latent Dirichlet Allocation*

Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) asseses the word frequencies and generates underlying topics found within the documents and determines the likelihood of a certain topic appearing in one of the documents (Dehghani et al., 2016). Users specify the number of desired topics upon which LDA produces the topic results. For this research, I selected 8 topics. This number allowed significant and distinct topics without leading to some topics with minimal frequencies.

To help filter out words that were frequent yet had little significance to the text, "stop words" were used in a preprocessing stage. These "stop words" filtered out a custom set of words before analyzing the documents without deleting each word from the raw data. The "stop words" were chosen from among the SUBTLEX(USA) top 20 most frequent words in the US English language (Brysbaert & New, 2009).

*Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count*

In order to compare specific differences between the NSM and BLM, this study utilized the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) analysis program. This program posits a set of categories and lists several words indicative of each category, creating a dictionary. The program then analyzes the document for words in each category. It then calculates the percentage of occurrence of all the analyzed words found within a category in each document (Pennebaker Conglomerates, 2015). Due to the large number of categories that LIWC analyzes, at the outset, I unselected some groups of categories that were inconsequential. I removed the group of punctuation, other grammar, perceptual processes, cognitive processes, and informal language. These categories

either were not related to the themes in question or did not provide contextual

information.

**Results**

*Word Count Themes*

       I used Bowman-Grieve's themes of self-identity through direct self-identification, belief in religiosity and promotion of activism.

       I also used previous literature to assist formulating a novel code for threats (physical, territorial, or economic) (Galser, Dixit & Green, 2002). Researchers utilized this framework to help understand underlying themes of white supremacists' messages in chatrooms. However, this present study uses the threat analysis on the group's website rather than individual ideology. While the previous study used genetic threat, this category was specifically used for the purposes of white supremacist research. I broadened the term to physical threats, not only bodily harm but action against a person, as to generalize this to apply to any group.

       The following table illustrates the topics LDA generated from analyzing both the BLM and NSM documents.

**Table 1**

| Assigned Topic Number | Keywords |
|---|---|
| 1 | black lives matter blm network justice communities work healing new media women los rights her angeles violence global she |
| 2 | nsm national white socialist schoep nationalist movement or commander front from jeff anti at against new own rally |
| 3 | black blm chapter power community organizing folks building joy police liberation art organize movement experience city because work leadership |
| 4 | you nation be america national illegal all your nsm white race will party american if no or demand must |
| 5 | our we healing can or how are justice conflict trauma action is chapter your work time direct from you |
| 6 | national it white nsm socialism hitler race jews not government socialist who was holocaust reason if adolf |
| 7 | we is our are as people with have by be it not their will they from all an |
| 8 | black trayvon we his martin white your can talkabouttrayvon are people family he trayvontaughtme death violence how about |

The following table illustrates the probability of a topic occurring in each corresponding document.

**Table 2.1**

LDA Topic Probability for BLM Documents

| File Name | T1 | T2 | T3 | T4 | T5 | T6 | T7 | T8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Black Lives Matter RAW TEXT | 0.431 | 0.000 | 0.108 | 0.000 | 0.068 | 0.000 | 0.354 | 0.0364 |
| Black Lives Matter Toolkit | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.791 | 0.000 | 0.208 | 0.000 |

| Document | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Black Lives Matter Booklet | 0.085 | 0.000 | 0.291 | 0.002 | 0.101 | 0.000 | 0.466 | 0.052 |
| BLM Chapter Conflict | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.002 | 0.524 | 0.000 | 0.449 | 0.023 |
| BLM Healing Action | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.793 | 0.000 | 0.206 | 0.000 |
| BLM Toolkit Trayvon | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.215 | 0.783 |
| BLM White ppl Trayvon | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.298 | 0.701 |

LDA Topic Probability for NSM Documents

| Document | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NSM 25 Points | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.720 | 0.020 | 0.000 | 0.256 | 0.001 |
| FAQs about the NSM | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.071 | 0.000 | 0.519 | 0.409 | 0.000 |
| NSM Flyer Compilation | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.610 | 0.000 | 0.047 | 0.336 | 0.004 |
| NSM Application Packet | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.342 | 0.018 | 0.041 | 0.525 | 0.071 |
| NSM Application | 0.000 | 0.148 | 0.000 | 0.464 | 0.0139 | 0.004 | 0.366 | 0.000 |
| NSM RAW TEXT | 0.000 | 0.428 | 0.000 | 0.177 | 0.000 | 0.044 | 0.340 | 0.008 |
| NSM To the Citizens | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.290 | 0.001 | 0.000 | 0.622 | 0.084 |
| Why Support the NSM | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.658 | 0.013 | 0.000 | 0.327 | 0.000 |

[BLM]- Indicates the percentage (above 1% or 0.01) of the BLM documents pertaining to the relevant topic*

[NSM]- Indicates the percentage (above 1% or 0.01) of the NSM documents pertaining to the relevant topic*
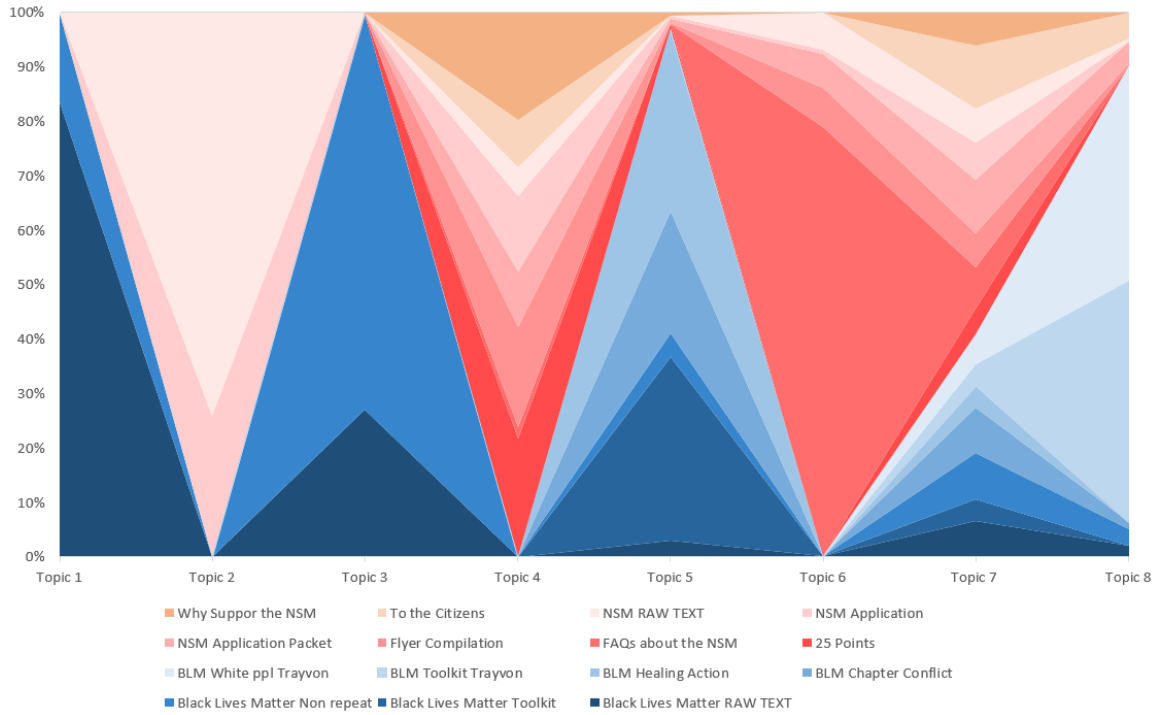
[Highlight]- Indicates the percentage (above 0.1% or .001) of the documents pertaining to the relevant topic *

[0.000]- value < 0.001. Not true 0 value

*NOT a measure of statistical significance

The following figure graphs the data from the previous table in order to illustrate the division of topics between the two groups.

Figure 1



BLM are represented in blue shades whereas the NSM are represented in red and orange shades.

Topics 1, 3, 5, and 8 clearly illustrate higher prevalence among BLM documents. Topics 2, 4, and 6 clearly illustrate higher prevalence among NSM documents. Both BLM and NSM shared Topic 7 based on their convergence towards the center or 50% line.

*LDA Results*

The following section reports how each topic aligns with the preset categories.

Topic 1: "black lives matter blm network justice communities work healing new media women los rights her angeles violence global she"

This topic was primarily used by "BLM RAW" (0.431) and the "Black Lives Matter Booklet" (0.085) and not by any NSM document. As to words pertaining to

threats, the words "violence" and possibly "justice" can be construed as physical or territorial threat, yet this distinction is not clear from the established themes. The words "communities," "new," "women," "rights," and "she" also refer to some aspect of the group or its organization. This indicates both community involvement and the value of women in the movement. The words "justice," "healing," and "work" focus on within-group activism, whereas the words "media" and "global" focus on activism outreach or methods to extend their influence. The BLM uses social media as one of it's strongest tools towards influencing the public while also reaching beyond national borders.

Topic 2: "nsm national white socialist schoep nationalist movement or commander front from jeff anti at against new own rally"

This topic was primarily used by "NSM RAW" (0.428) and "NSM RAW" (0.148) and not by any BLM document. As to words pertaining to threats, words such as "anti" and "against" indicate opposition yet the object is unknown. The words "nsm" and "national," "socialist," and "Movement" indicate self-identification words, although each of these words also represent a crucial aspect of their ideology. Words such as "white," "nationalist," "new," and "own" indicate how the group represents itself. The words "commander," and "jeff," "schoep" indicate the primary leadership of the group. The word "rally" represents a direct call to action or the reporting of an activist event. The words "or," "front," "from," and "at" do not fall into a direct category, yet they indicate frequent use of prepositions.

Topic 3: "black blm chapter power community organizing folks building joy police liberation art organize movement experience city because work leadership"

This topic was primarily used by "Black Lives Matter Booklet" (0.291) and "Black Lives Matter RAW" (0.108) and not by any NSM document. The only word that would indicate a threat would be "police," as this word might threaten the territory or the body of people within the BLM group. However, this word might also refer to the reason why the group exists, leaving it to be a word for self-identification. This topic uses several words for direct self-identification: "black," "blm," "community," "folks," "joy," "liberation," "art," "movement," "experience," "city," and "leadership." The words "building" or "chapter" could either refer to the purpose of the group or hold activist intents. These words indicate the structure or the components of the movement. The words, "organizing" and "organize," and "power" imply activist interests.

Topic 4: "you nation be america national illegal all your nsm white race will party american if no or demand must"

This topic was used by all NSM documents and had a slight reference in "Black Lives Matter Booklet" (0.002) and "BLM Chapter Conflict" (0.002). The word "illegal" represents a threat that could fall under territorial, economic, and possibly phsyical threat if referring to immigrants or unlawful actions. The word "no" indicates negation or opposition. The words "nation," "america(n)," "national," "nsm," "white," "race," and "party" indicate self-representation or ideology. The words "you" and "your," "will," "demand," and "must" indicate a call to action towards the readers and members of the group.

Topic 5: "our we healing can or how are justice conflict trauma action is chapter your work time direct from you"

This topic was discussed by "BLM Healing Action" (0.793), "Black Lives Matter Toolkit" (0.791), "BLM Chapter Conflict" (0.524), "Black Lives Matter Booklet" (0.101), and "Black Lives Matter RAW" (0.068). This topic was also discussed marginally by "NSM Application" (0.139), "Why Support the NSM" (0.138) "NSM 25 Points" (0.020), "NSM Application Packet" (0.018), and slightly discussed in "NSM To the Citizens" (0.001). For words pertaining to a threat, "justice," "conflict," and "trauma" indicate (external and internal) threats harming the internal members of the group. The words "our," "we," and "time" indicate a self-descriptive features. The words "healing," "action," "chapter," "your," "work," "direct" and "you" indicate activism and promotion of action, speaking to the members of the group.

Topic 6: "national it white nsm socialism hitler race jews not government socialist who was holocaust reason if adolf"

This topic was primarily referenced in "FAQs about the NSM" (0.519), "NSM Flyer Compilation" (0.047), "NSM RAW" (0.044), "NSM Application Packet" (0.041), and slightly referenced in "NSM Application" (0.004). While no words directly translate to a threat, the NSM ideology considers "Jews" to be a threat, yet this would also fall under ideology or self-representation. Other words for self-representation include "national," "white," "nsm," "socialism," "Hitler," "race," "government," "socialist," "holocaust," "reason," and "adolf." No words in this topic indicated religiosity nor the promotion of activism.

Topic 7: "we is our are as people with have by be it not their will they from all an"

All BLM and NSM referenced this topic, but this topic was mentioned slightly more in the NSM documents. The words "their" and "they" indicate external threats or they would also indicate ideology about a certain body. The words "we," "our," "people," and "have" indicate the members of a group and their possessions. No words indicate explicit religiosity nor the promotion of activism.

Topic 8: "black trayvon we his martin white your can talkabouttrayvon are people family he trayvontaughtme death violence how about"

This topic was discussed in "BLM Toolkit Trayvon" (0.793), "BLM White ppl Trayvon" (0.701), "Black Lives Matter Booklet" (0.052), "Black Lives Matter RAW" (0.036), and "BLM Chapter Conflict" (0.023). It was also discussed in "NSM To the Citizens" (0.084), "NSM Application packet" (0.071), and slightly discussed in "NSM RAW" (0.008), "NSM Flyer Compilation" (0.004), and "NSM 25 Points" (0.001). Words indicating a threat would be "death" and "violence," with "death" indicating physical threats and "violence" indicating both physical and territorial threats. The words "Trayvon" and "Martin" reasonably go together in a name, which would fall under self-representation for the BLM, not the NSM. Other words including "we," "his," "white," "people," "family," "he," and "about" indicate other ideological or descriptive ideas about the group. The words "talkabouttrayvon" and "trayvontaughtme" were originally hashtags that the BLM wanted the viewers to use, falling under the promotion of activism. The words "your" and "how" also refer to how the readers or members of the group can partake in activism.

*LIWC Results*

Before running LIWC, I pre-selected categories that most likely would align with threat and self-identification categories based on LIWC's category description. The threat assessment and self-identification themes were given their own set of words due to certain words not fitting in any of the sub-categories. The following table demonstrates how the LIWC categories were organized. These categories are not indefinitely bound to each theme, as some of the groupings are later challenged by the results.

Preset Themes

| Threat Assessment | physical | economic | territorial |
|---|---|---|---|
| they | body | money | space |
| anger | family | | |
| anxiety | death | | |

| Self-identification | direct | religion | call to action |
|---|---|---|---|
| drives | i | relig | time |
| | we | | focusfuture |
| | she/he | | focuspresent |
| | space | | work |
| | Social | | |
| | friends | | |
| | home | | |

**Table 3** displays the categorical results for LIWC.

**Table 3**

| Filename | BLM ALL TExt.txt | NSM ALL Text.txt | Filename | BLM ALL TExt.txt | NSM ALL Text.txt |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| WC | 18664 | 26263 | family | 0.51 | 0.27 |
| Tone | 57.89 | 41.76 | friend | 0.17 | 0.17 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| WPS* | 21.68 | 22.22 | female | 0.52 | 0.12 |
| Sixltr** | 27.48 | 26.17 | male | 0.58 | 0.48 |
| Dic*** | 81.33 | 77.32 | bio | 2.46 | 1.13 |
| function | 44.65 | 43.66 | body | 0.38 | 0.23 |
| pronoun | 9.97 | 8.38 | health | 1.74 | 0.60 |
| ppron | 6.30 | 4.25 | sexual | 0.10 | 0.17 |
| i | 0.19 | 0.18 | ingest | 0.20 | 0.12 |
| we | 4.32 | 2.33 | drives | 13.58 | 11.27 |
| you | 0.69 | 0.70 | affiliation | 7.03 | 4.44 |
| shehe | 0.62 | 0.29 | achieve | 2.70 | 2.10 |
| they | 0.49 | 0.77 | power | 3.50 | 4.49 |
| ipron**** | 3.66 | 4.13 | reward | 0.85 | 1.02 |
| article | 6.34 | 8.23 | risk | 0.60 | 0.61 |
| prep | 14.19 | 14.10 | focuspast | 1.90 | 1.77 |
| auxverb | 5.72 | 5.95 | focuspresent | 9.01 | 6.70 |
| adverb | 2.60 | 2.30 | focusfuture | 0.77 | 1.02 |
| conj | 7.29 | 5.18 | relativ | 13.03 | 13.17 |
| negate | 0.54 | 0.93 | motion | 1.98 | 1.55 |
| affect | 5.91 | 5.12 | space | 7.50 | 8.29 |
| posemo | 3.75 | 2.97 | time | 3.65 | 3.24 |
| negemo | 2.05 | 2.09 | work | 4.11 | 4.45 |
| anx | 0.40 | 0.24 | home | 0.45 | 0.33 |
| anger | 0.64 | 1.08 | money | 0.44 | 1.56 |
| sad | 0.12 | 0.29 | relig | 0.21 | 0.64 |
| social | 12.40 | 9.38 | death | 0.36 | 0.49 |

*Words per Sentence

**Words longer than 6 letters

***Dictionary word count

****Impersonal pronouns

[]- Indicates a ratio beyond 4:3

While the table might prove difficult for comprehending the data, the following graph illustrates how these categories compared between the two groups. Highlighted categories that have higher variation between the two groups correspond with the dagger-like visuals of the graph.

Figure 2
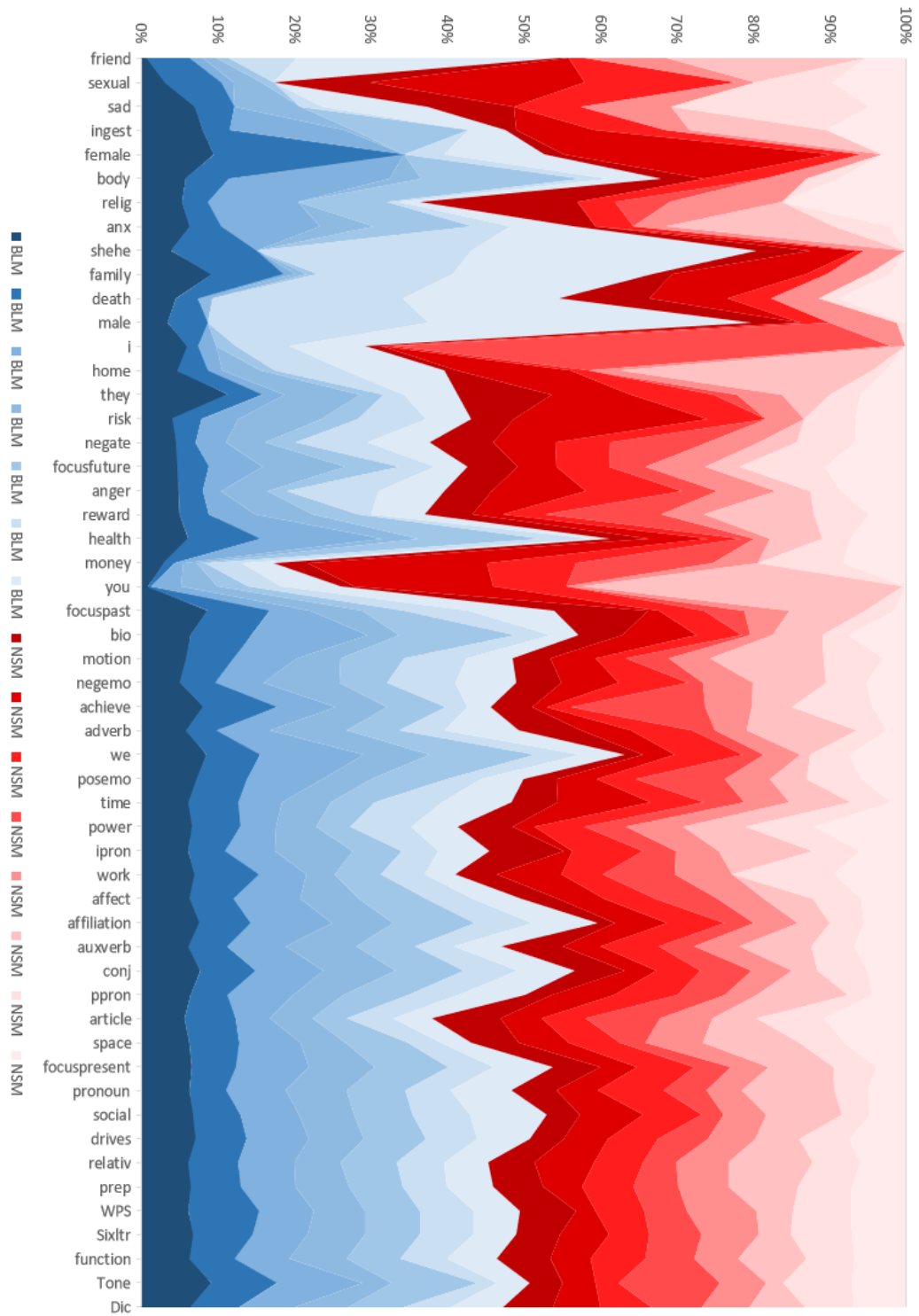


BLM documents are represented in blue shades and NSM documents are represented in
red shades. Sharp points or "daggers" represent variation between groups.

**Discussion**

      The following discussion outlines several measures and their possible implications. After discussing the results from the programs, I provide my insight based on my own analysis of the data and familiarity with the material.

*LDA Results Discussion*

      The following topics had higher prevalence among BLM documents with little to no prevalence among NSM documents. Results indicate that the BLM engages in certain words and concepts where the NSM does not.

      Topic 1 had high prevalence among the "BLM RAW" text, indicating that most of the main website discussed topic 1. The words "violence" and "justice" were listed as physical and possibly territorial threats. The violence often refers to physical violence against African Americans, either in general or from police brutality. It also has been linked to institutional violence that has imposed social restrictions for African Americans. Due to the context surrounding the word, the BLM not does attempt to incite violence but instead work against it. This violence becomes interconnected with the subsequent need for justice or lack thereof. The word "justice" might also qualify for an activism word as it seeks a specific goal.

      BLM focuses on units classified as "communities" both for groups physically occupying the same areas but also communities through shared values and interests. This indicates that the BLM works as a collective rather than through individuals. The use of "women" and "she" indicate a strong emphasis on women's "rights" as the center of several intersectionalities. The BLM values women's roles as this is illustrated by the three main founders being women, and an entire section tilted, "Her Story." The words

31

"justice," "healing," and "work" advocate for specific types of activism. These words imply a wrong has been committed against them, and they must work to bring justice and healing to the community in response to the wrongdoing. This model promotes a reactionary response rather than initiating novel movements. Overall, the probability of Topic 1 indicates the main webpage advocates for bringing justice to those who have been victims of violence, especially women.

Topic 3 was primarily mentioned in the "Black Lives Matter Booklet" with some probability lying within the "BLM RAW" text. Because this topic was discussed by the main webpage, the BLM frequently discusses this topic as the main body of its ideology. While there are several similar words to Topic 1, ("community," "black," "movement," and "work") there are several new topics that contribute varying details about BLM ideology. The word "police" is explicitly introduced, indicating the threat from police brutality. The Booklet discusses general situations regarding police interactions, but also recounts historical police encounters by select individuals such as Trayvon Martin and Michael Brown. While the police may pose a certain threat, the word "police" is also used to discuss reform and cement better relations. The words "building" refers to another method of activism, yet with constructive and positive tones. This topic also uses "organize" and "organizing" to demonstrate how the group operates and the importance of methodical activist intents.

This topic indicates other dimensions of the BLM discourse, including cultural values and potential influences. Other words such as "joy," "liberation," "experience," "art," and "city" indicate a discourse specific to BLM and not the NSM. These words

also discuss personal experiences from individuals, indicating the significance of individual testimony. In general, these words evoke positive emotions.

However, Topic 3 also discusses the word "power," which has several meanings behind it; when it is stated as a general activist discussion, it suggests strong agency and synonymous with empowerment. When stated as "black power," the phrase references resistance and protest that began during Civil Rights and popularized by the Black Panther movement. This notion of black power goes beyond reactionary responses and enters the realm of positive action, something that has remained more contentious. Overall, topic 3 shares similarities with topic 1, yet draws more from personal experiences and ventures into the realm of more active actions such as black power.

Topic 5 was discussed primarily by the "Black Lives Matter Toolkit" document and the "BLM Healing Action" pamphlet as well as three of the other BLM documents. These documents are toolkits given to audience members who wish to partake in in-person activism or demonstrations. The topic also had some probability of being discussed by the "NSM Application" as well as "Why support he NSM," with slight probability in three other NSM documents. Once again, the word "justice" reappears in this topic, yet this time in relation to "conflict" and "trauma" rather than violence. Trauma occurs from an external threat and manifests in predominantly psychological symptoms. It also indicates that the BLM seeks justice for the enduring symptoms of wrongdoings beyond physical violence. The words "our," "we," and have some self-descriptive features, demonstrating a collectivist representation. The word "healing" reappears in this topic, yet as indicated by one of the document titles, it is "healing

action." While healing might suggest passive undertones, "healing action" ensures active participation in the process.

This topic appears to have more overlap between the two groups, yet also applies to more documents within each group. This indicates the topic might be more neutral to both groups or discusses similar topics. However, due to the nature of the words in the topic, I would claim that the topic includes more neutral words. The words "you(r)," "we," "action," "chapter" and "work" all appear in the NSM documents, with some of the words appearing in the LDA's generation of NSM topics. These words refer to the members or prospective members of the group, with no mention of ideology.

Topic 8 was primarily discussed by "BLM Toolkit Trayvon," and "BLM White ppl Trayvon" pamphlets, yet had some probability in three other BLM documents, and some low prevalence among NSM documents. As discussed in the Methods section, the two "Trayvon" documents provide guidelines for activism in regard to Trayvon Martin's death. The words "talkabouttrayvon" and "trayvontaughtme" are hashtags that the BLM suggested using when tweeting about the relevant issues, with "death" and "violence" appearing as threats. The words "black," "Trayvon, martin," "white," "people" and "family" also discuss how the Martin's death affected the black community, as well as everyone in America. While this is not largely discussed in the other documents, Martin's death indicates a specific, yet important point in the BLM ideology as they are willing to dedicate two full pamphlets to the issue. The words "how" and "your" speak directly to help demonstrate to the readers how to discuss Martin's death and the activism that arises from it. These activist words are also what is

most likely used in the NSM documents, especially the document "To the Citizens" which is addressed to speak to the "citizens" directly. Discussion of Martin's death indicates another diverging point of discourse unshared by the NSM.

The following topics had higher prevalence among the NSM documents with little to no prevalence among BLM documents. These topics indicate discourse specific to the NSM and not the BLM.

Topic 2 had high prevalence among the "NSM RAW" text and no prevalence in the BLM text, indicating that most of the main website discussed Topic 2. The words "anti" and "against" indicate some opposition to a threat, yet the object of the threat is unknown. The word "anti" might also be a part of "anti-fa," or anti-fascist movements that the NSM discuses as their opposition. The words "white," "nationalist," "new" and "own" are other words to identify ideology or group membership. While "nationalist" is part of the name of the group, it also demonstrates their desires for a homeland inhabited by white people. The website frequently mentions "commander Jeff Schoep" as their primary leader. He makes appearances at rallies and has his own page dedicated to his biography. The word "commander" also conjures militaristic implications, especially when in reference to German Nazi ideology. The word "rally" is used to both advertise for a future event and also report a past event. The word serves as a direct call-to-action but also to demonstrates the frequent usage of rallies. Overall, the main website values the rallies as its primary form of activism, desires a certain nation or homeland for white people, and places large significance on their leader, Jeff Scheop and his presence among rallies.

Topic 4 is used by all NSM documents indicating that this topic is found in all the NSM branches of ideology. There is also a slight probability that this topic is mentioned by "Black Lives Matter Booklet" and the "BLM chapter conflict." This topic shares similar words with topic 2, such as "national" and "nsm," yet introduces several other words. Pertaining to threats, the word "illegal" references territorial, economic, and physical threats for either referring to illegal governmental actions, such as illegal takings, or illegal occupation (referring to the Israel occupation). However, the word is most often paired with "immigration," in both the ideology and the general newsfeed. According to the NSM, the "illegal immigrants" impose territorial, economic and physical threats to the members or ideal members of the nation. Illegal immigrants are among one of the highest mentioned threats in the NSM document, with several fliers indicating the loss of the land, the economic burden on Americans, and the criminality associated with the immigrants. While the word "immigration" or "immigrants" is not found in this topic, the NSM clearly states their stance against the idea of "illegal immigration." The word "nation" and nationalism are indicative of nationalist sentiments. The NSM employs white nationalism to draw connections with those who share the same European "heritage" or common ancestry. The words "white" and "race" support the idea that only white Europeans should occupy the land and must unify to do so.

The words "demand" and "must" emphasizes a level of urgency in activist goals, with the words "you" and "your" directly addressing the audience's active participation. In some of the call-to-action fliers, the NSM states that the nation and race are at risk from outsiders if no action is taken, accompanied with multiple exclamation

points. Many of the words in Topic 4 ("white," "demand," "must," "you(r)" and "America(n)") have some mentions within the BLM documents, thus explaining some of the overlap. Overall, Topic 4 spreads a more activist and nationalist approach than Topic 2.

Topic 6 was primarily referenced in "FAQs about the NSM," with some mention in three other NSM documents and slight mention in another. This topic shares similarities with the other NSM topics, yet introduces more of the Nazi Germany ideology. The NSM references several antisemitic ideas and considers "Jews" to be a threat. According to the NSM ideology, the "Jews" control the "government" and other governmental agencies that seek to dismantle the white nation. While words like "white," "national," "nsm," and "socialism" reappear, other words like "Adolf, Hitler" and "holocaust" give additional context to those words. A combination of Jewish-controlled government and reference to the Holocaust indicates an NSM discourse unlike the BLM's. These words derive from the praising of Adolf Hitler and denying the Holocaust, representing one of the fundamental ideological conspiracies. Topic 6 is mentioned in five of the NSM documents and heavily mentioned in the "FAQs about the NSM," which would state much of the NSM's ideological viewpoints. Supported by the lack of activist words, Topic 6 regards the NSM's historical ideology rather than the promotion of activism.

Topic 7 had high prevalence among all BLM and NSM documents. Based on the high prevalence for both groups, this topic represents the similarities between NSM and BLM. It is worth noting that this topic contains general and broad terms for referring to in-group and out-group members with little contextual information. Many of these

words, "we," "our," "people," "their," "they," "all" refer to a general population and are generic enough to be used by both groups. The words "our" and "have" illustrate either the possession of something or the occurrence of a past event. The word "will" places an interesting slant for both the NSM and BLM. Both groups use "will" to indicate future philosophies about ideal society, "white power *will* come (NSM)," or "*will* help reduce bias (BLM)." The word operates as both an activism goal as well as ideological preferences for the desired future. Therefore, similarities in the BLM and NSM reduce to a group with goals.

While this topic might also provide insight regarding potential stop words for future research, the relatively equal distribution (with the NSM measuring slightly higher) demonstrate a tendency for both groups to discuss "us," "we," "our" and "people," indicating a shared collective approach.

Using LDA proves useful in determining certain topics and to assess which documents discussed certain topics more than others. The program drew some clear distinctions between the BLM and NSM topics while also diversifying the topics that occur in each document within the groups. Where both BLM and NSM documents fell under the same topic, this was slightly unclear about which words drove up the probability for both groups. However, based on the frequencies of the words in other topics, I inferred that they were more neutral words such as "you(r)" and "we." While this program generated both qualitative and quantitative data, it failed to demonstrate the nature of the overlaps. LDA also focused on how the groups were different and lacked quantitative evidence, something that LIWC analyzes.

For the words categorized as threat assessment: The category "They" was used slightly more by NSM (0.77) than BLM (0.49). When it came to anger, the NSM had higher scores of 1.08 compared to BLM's 0.64, yet the ranges within the groups were similar, the NSM with a slightly higher range. The BLM scored higher in the "anxiety" category (0.4) than the NSM (0.24), yet the NSM had one document (NSM To the Citizens) that rated 1.23, higher than any of the BLM documents. These were categories that discussed threats or expressed emotion regarding the threats. This anger also suggests that the NSM holds greater negative emotional affects.

For words categorized as physical threats: The category "body" was used slightly more by BLM (0.38) than NSM (0.23) yet some of the NSM documents had no uses of the words pertaining to the body. When comparing the category "death," the NSM scored higher with 0.49 than the BLM with 0.36, although this difference is small. Both the groups had some documents with no mention of death. These categories were used in less frequent amounts, indicating that while there is some between group differences, the scores were not frequent categories. Despite the BLM having much of its history based on the death's of unarmed black men, the NSM uses death as a concept of its ideology.

For the word "money," which was categorized into economic threats, the NSM scored much higher with 1.56 than the BLM with 0.44. In several activist-focused documents, the NSM describes the economic downturn that affects white people. The NSM links these problems to the influx of immigrants and the regulations from Jewish people. While the NSM discusses specific economic burdens from immigrants, they

also request money from the audience as contributions to the group. In many of the NSM recruiting documents, they convey the importance of fundraising and individual donations. This indicates that part of the category would be geared towards activism categories rather than purely an economic threat.

For the word "space," which was regarded as territorial threats, the NSM (8.29) scored higher than the BLM (7.5). These spaces often referred to locations of rallies, demonstrations or other events, often specific cities. However, the NSM uses "land" as a reference to a homeland, qualifying as a nationalist sentiment. Out-group members (non-European descent) threaten this "land" and intend to infiltrate the homeland. In the BLM webpage, the word "space" frequently appears in the context of intentionally including certain minorities such as LGBTQ or a "space" safe from oppression. Because the BLM establishes "space" as a metaphorical group description and ideology, the category of "space" does not work as well as a territorial threat.

For the word "drives" as a general self-identification, the BLM (13.58) scored higher than NSM (11.27), yet the ranges were fairly similar. The "drives" category included several subcategories such as Affiliation, Achievement, Power, Risk focus and Reward focus, encompassing a vast range of words with little linking theme between them. However, due to the vast array of words within the "drive" category, I am unable to assess larger implications other than the BLM cites more drives and motivation in their ideology.

For the words categorized in direct self-identification: For the category "I" the BLM (0.19) and NSM (0.18) scored almost the same, although the BLM had a wider range. Low scores indicate both groups do not frequently employ individual voices to

support their ideology. While both of these scores were low, the BLM included some

personal experiences in the BLM booklet, driving the score upwards.

For the category "we," the BLM (4.32) had a higher score than the NSM (2.33).

This margin is fairly substantial when compared to the other margins, suggesting that

the BLM uses much more collectivist approaches than the NSM. The BLM frequently

uses the word "we" in several of their documents, embracing the readers as already

existing members. This also aligns with LDA's analysis indicating the importance of

communities.

For the "She/he" category, the BLM (0.62) scored higher than the NSM (0.29).

While the BLM uses more "we" category words, they also use third person individual

words as well, suggesting certain people play key roles in the ideology. Many of these

words come from describing individuals who help facilitate the movement, such as

founder and cofounders. Third person is also used in memoriam of the deaths of

unarmed black men.

For the category "social," the BLM (12.4) scored higher than the NSM (9.38).

Although the groups had similar top scores of 17.53 and 17.28, respectively, the NSM

had the lowest score of 5.19, whereas the BLM had the lowest score of 10.58. The NSM

had a wider range yet had the capacity to discuss social words in some of its documents

to the same extent as the BLM documents. The "social" category had several subsets of

categories including the next category of "friends." These words include a vast array of

social relations as well as occupational relationships and leadership roles. While the

words might be used to describe general people, they also work as a call to action by

labeling members as part of a social group, e.g., brothers or sisters. However, this

category contains an extensive number of words making it difficult to generalize specific implications.

Both scored the same in the categories of "friends" (0.17), with fairly low scores. The NSM used words like "guys" and "comrades" indicating both a fellowship and comradery with the members. However, the NSM also used the word "follower" when discussing recruitment. By stating followers exist, this also implies a hierarchical framework. With the highest leaders referred to as "commanders," the NSM employs militaristic tones when describing its members.

For the category "home," the BLM (0.45) scored higher than the NSM (0.33), yet the NSM had a wide range from 0.0- 3.09, much larger than the BLM range of 0.17-1.22. This suggests that the NSM had only certain documents that discussed the category with words like "home" and "mortgage," with "NSM To the Citizens" having the highest score. Based on the high activist sentiments of this particular document, ideas surrounding "homes" would be one of the objects in danger from the lack of audience participation. The BLM regularly wrote the words "neighborhoods" and "families" in a variety of ways across different documents and pages.

For the category "focuspast," the BLM (1.9) slightly outscored the NSM (1.77), although the NSM had the widest range. For both groups, the past tense was used when describing a news event or a historical event that relates to the ideology. For example, the BLM used the past tense when discussing the death of Trayvon Martin. The NSM used the past tense when describing their historical version of the Holocaust.

For the theme of self-identification through the category "religion," the NSM (0.64) scored higher than the BLM (0.21). However, both groups scored fairly low.

Unlike other white supremacy groups, the NSM focuses on ideology rather than religious identities. In the NSM, the words "jewish," "Jew," and "Zionist" are categorized as "religious" words, whereas the BLM uses "belief" and "spirituality." LIWC categorizes them as all these words as the same, yet both groups apply different vocabulary and use the "religious" categories in varying ways. Therefore, we cannot assign the same meaning of religiosity as they are disparate across groups. In both groups, these are not direct ties with religion but rather para-religious language. For the BLM, "spirituality" pertains to the individual's wellness or "our wholeness" beyond the physical body ("Black Lives Matter"). For the NSM, "Jew" refers to a religious or ethnic group of people who the members deem to be the enemy.

For the theme of self-identification through a call-to-action: The category of "time" was more prevalent in the BLM (3.65) than the NSM (3.24), yet the NSM had a much wider range. This category included the word "until," which demonstrates contingencies. For example, the "BLM Toolkit-Trayvon" states "that there can be no liberation until we put Black lives at the center." For the NSM, the document "NSM 25 Points" states, "Until sovereignty is achieved." These operate to both demonstrate future-oriented goals and compare the current contrasting present state. However, the groups also list undesired outcomes from external threats. This category could have the potential for measuring both identification of future goals as well as a part of threat analysis.

For the category of "focusfuture," the BLM (1.9) scored higher than the NSM (1.02), although the NSM range was wider and higher than the BLM. This indicates that while most of the NSM documents contained minimal "focusfuture" category, some

43

documents such as "Why Support the NSM" had higher scores. The BLM used the word "prepare" in its noun form, past, present and future tense, suggesting relative frequent use of the word. To prepare for something has similar connotations as the word "plan," but implies additional development leading directly up to the action. The BLM often pairs "preparation" with the phrase "future generations," establishing a connection with posterity. Both groups used the words "plan" and "will" to indicate future goals and propose potential measures that work towards the goals.

For the category of "focuspresent," the BLM (9.01) had scored higher than the NSM (6.7). The words in this category included words like "is" and "now," which play different roles depending on the context. While both groups commonly use "is" in general, "is" can be used as an identifier or a statement of fact which would fall under ideology. Although the word "now," implies immediate action, both groups used the word to describe current state of being rather than demanding an urgent action. This category would better serve under general self-identification themes. In addition, this category also includes verbs in the present tense which have a wide variety of themes and applications, making it difficult to understand qualitative significance. The best implication of this result would be that the BLM uses their platform to focus on the present state of being rather than treating aspects of their ideology as if they were in the past or a part of history. This might signify that they spend more time discussing who they are currently, not who they were in the past. The NSM spends several documents detailing their origins and history

For the category of "work," the NSM (4.45) scored higher than the BLM (4.11), yet the NSM also had some documents, such as "NSM To the Citizens," that scored 0.

However, this difference is also small when compared to the value of the scores. The word "job" qualifies for this category, a word the NSM frequently uses. While the original purpose of placing "work" in the call-to-action category was to assess work that needed to be completed in order to achieve goals, the NSM uses the word differently. Instead, the NSM refers to "jobs" as the maintenance of work and income. For example, they write in "Why Support the NSM," their plan to implement more jobs and prevent them from falling to immigrant populations. Although the document attempts to advance activist sentiments, it instead presents ideological beliefs rather than directly commanding the audience. Therefore, this category would align with self-identification rather than activism, at least for the NSM.

LIWC also categorized several other words in the "work" category, such as "work," primarily "trade," "finance" and a list of occupations. For the case of BLM, the "work" words aligned more with governmental and policymaking words rather than financial and occupation related words. Both groups use words like "teach" and "schools," although the BLM uses "universities," "college," and "campus" more often to describe action in college settings. This difference might also suggest BLM occupies higher education areas as opposed to the NSM that might lack a college presence. However, because this category consists of occupations, leadership roles, and education-related words, this category encompasses a large list that have varying implications.

For the category of "you," the BLM (0.69) and NSM (0.7) scores similarly, with the NSM having a drastically wide range. The BLM range was 0.07-1.97, whereas the NSM range was 0.0-10.49. The NSM document with the lowest score was "NSM

Application" and the "NSM 25 Points," and the highest score was "NSM To the Citizens." The NSM had two other high-scoring documents, "NSM Flyer Compilation" and "NSM Application Packet," yet the other documents scored lower. This suggests that the NSM either stresses the audience's participation or does not at all. Specific documents are tailored towards activist undertones, indicating the creators intentionally aim to recruit audience members through these documents.

In addition to the preset themes, several other unassigned categories had measures beyond a 4:3 ration, indicating a notable difference. For example, BLM (1.74) scored much higher in the category "health" than the NSM (0.6). With more than double the score, health indicates a large division in ideological values. The BLM repeatedly uses the word "healing" as a solution to much of their trauma. Individual health and wellness are valued more by the BLM than the NSM. Because this health more commonly refers to the individuals' mental and emotional state, the BLM values internal reflection and deliberation.

For the measure of "sad," the NSM (0.29) scored higher than the BLM (0.12). This illustrates another negative emotional affect (the other being anger) that the NSM uses throughout their documents. This grief manifests from the loss of a white nation due to the influx of immigrants and a rising number of minorities.

For the category of "female," the BLM (0.52) scored higher than the NSM (0.12). The NSM and BLM approach the role of women differently. While the NSM attempts to include women, they are for limited and "dutiful" purposes, i.e., traditional homemaker roles. The NSM's endeavor to include women falls short of modern feminist norms, indicating that the NSM values women for specific reasons, yet values

them nonetheless. Previous literature indicates a rise in targeting women with white nationalist propaganda of traditional homemaker roles (Castle, 2012). Although this may seem progressive, appealing to women also works as a recruiting tactic. This ideology sharply contrasts from the "roles" laid out from the BLM movement. The tasks of community-building and organization do not belong exclusively to women but to all members of the group. Three women founded the organization with the hopes of keeping women and LGBTQ communities at the center of the group which contrasts from the male-centered NSM group.

*General Findings*

One of the most prevalent and recurring themes was the wide range of scores within the NSM documents. Based on the range, the NSM repeatedly had scores that were much lower than the highest scoring document. This indicates the NSM distributes specific goals and attitudes within certain documents and not others. For certain documents, they might want to promote activism and other documents they want to explain historical roots. Another explanation might be that the NSM is less uniform in its message and more of a fragmented ideology, thus lacking consistency within the website.

LDA assisted in determining the level of division between the BLM and NSM and LIWC highlighted the ways they were different. With the exception of Topic 7, there was little to no overlap between topics. LDA clearly differentiated the two topics as shown in **Figure 1**. The divergence of topics demonstrates that the BLM and NSM do not discuss the same issues. Even if the BLM and NSM were two opposite ends of

the spectrum, they would have to stand in opposition on common ground. Instead, each group holds its own particularities separate from the other.

LIWC provided quantifiable comparisons between the two groups on specific categories as well as providing insight into how well each category measured my preset themes. LIWC demonstrates the differences between the two groups in tone, usages of pronouns, and emotional affect. Although some categories performed well in measuring certain aspects of the theme, not all fitted due to certain words not measuring the theme or certain words fitting one group and not the other. This partially diminishes the validity of my theme organization.

The BLM focuses on inclusion and ensuring a wide range of possible members. They do this through the explicit inclusion of queer and trans populations, people of different faiths, and people of all ages. With both the recurrence of "communities" in the LDA analysis as well as the higher scores of "we" and more "social" descriptors assessed by LIWC, the BLM demonstrates higher inclusion of diverse populations and collectivist sentiments. This explicit inclusion repeats throughout the website, with several authors acknowledging possible intersection for sensitive issues. This contradicts the NSM framework that rejects any non-European descendants as well as any non-heterosexual orientations based on ideological stances regarding ideal membership. Both groups explicitly list out who is included, yet the NSM also maintains of list of threats who are inherently not included.

Due to the lack of overt religious references, religiosity did not need to be critically analyzed, at least between these two groups based on the low prevalence in LDA and low prevalence in LIWC. Low religiosity affiliations have been supported by

previous literature as well (Burris, Smith & Strahm, 2000). The words that LIWC

categorized as "religion" (such as Jews or spirituality) did not carry religious meaning

behind them. The NSM might have explicity stated words pertaining to a specific

religion whereas the BLM utlizied para-religious language. While some might argue

that the NSM has Christian heritage, this was not clearly stated.

*Other analyses*

Analyzing the data and their potential implications provides valuable insight, yet

I discovered other factors that help to illustrate the nature of the two groups. Although

these discussions have only descriptive statistics to support their claims, they provide

another perspective that programs fail to generate.

After analyzing both websites, I noticed that the BLM had two separate

documents of approaching activism in light of Trayvon Martin's death: one document

called "white people Trayvon Martin Toolkit" and one document named "Black and

non-black people of color Trayvon Martin Toolkit." Do these racially assigned

documents indicate a division between races and possible racism? Despite their names

suggesting racial stratification, the contents are largely the same; they discuss the

tragedy of Martin's death and provide examples of social media posts that promote

activism. The variation between the two documents lie within the roles each group

plays. People of color, especially black people, hold the role of victims and those whose

communities must endure racial profiling and unarmed police shootings. The BLM does

not cast white people as the perpetrators but rather as bystanders who have a choice to

speak out against an evil aimed at others in society. For example, one of the statements

advised for white people to use is, "When we remain silent and on the sidelines, we are

complicit in maintaining these unjust systems" ("Black Lives Matter"). Thus, while

racial divisions exist, they are to illustrate the various roles and address the different

backgrounds, not to condemn white people. The BLM portrays these groups working in

coexistence instead of generating a narrative of a racial protagonist and racial antagonist

as demonstrated through the NSM data.

*Limitations*

Due to the nature and methods of this study, I was unable to ascertain statistical

significance without potential bias. Results from this study provide descriptive statistics

that allow for potential inferences and background information, yet fall short of

asserting claims and empirical certainty.

LIWC fails to assess any specific detail about the qualitative data without

manually investigating each word, an inefficient method that should only be used to

analyze one document or to analyze fewer categoires. For example, LIWC analyzing

"anger" might register words of anger yet attach no object to the anger. Understanding

that the groups have "anger" provides insight into their emotional state yet cannot detail

how the emotion manifests. Is this anger directed towards a system, a group of people,

the government? Each of these objects carry vastly different interpretations and those

implications must be parsed.

Objects of emotions or other measures become difficult to identify, thus, the

next challenge comes when attempting to explain why certain results appear. It is

difficult to follow lines of reasoning and logic for ideology based on single word. This

is left to the researcher's interpretations and reference back to the website and back to

50

the dictionary containing all the words within a category. While this method provides some utility, it becomes subjective to the researcher and left open to questioning.

Another limitation occurs due to the constant change of websites. Since collecting data, both the NSM and BLM have updated their websites adding more documents as well as new links. Without comprehensive analysis, the NSM appears to have added more "commanders" beyond Jeff Schoep. They have also implemented a "Social Media" page for connecting with varying group members and communities. The current study does not analyze the text from these pages, yet they would also provide valuable insight into the evolution of this group.

LIWC uses generalizable words that fit into the selected categories and tends to ignore the words specific to the organization. While LIWC's creators intended to design a universal program (often used for marketing strategies), the group-specific words remain a vital part of understanding the group. For example, LIWC does not register the words "Hitler," "nazi," Mein Kampf," or "Socialism" in the NSM documents and "liberation" and "experiences" in BLM documents. These words are crucial to the NSM and BLM ideology yet are not encoded in the LIWC analysis. Although the program may be a useful tool of comparing general attributes, it does not analyze the lexicons associated with each group.

Many of the words in LDA and categories in LIWC could not fit neatly into the preset categories. While analyzing and discussing the data, the words and the categories did not fit neatly into the preset themes of threats and self-identification. The words often worked for multiple themes or were too vague to fit into one theme. The LIWC categories included numerous words that overlapped with words from several other

categories leaving it difficult to draw overall implications. As discussed in the LIWC results, the categories might have included certain words that would work better for other themes rather than the theme originally assigned. Each group had used a different subset of words from each category which illustrated some differences in how each group approached a category, yet this had to be ascertained through personal and subjective cross-referencing. For example, the category of "work" had a division of occupations and income-related words.

This study utilized preset themes based on the themes established by previous literature to analyze the construction and ideology of white supremacist groups, yet those themes do not carry over to the BLM movement. The primary reason for this is due to the absence of a clear threat. The BLM movement highlights issues that plague black communities and communities of color (police violence and systemic racism), discussing the problems as afflictions that need remedial relief rather than threats that need to be extinguished. In the LDA analysis, the words "violence" and "police" pose some threat to BLM and its members, yet the BLM proposes that these are complex obstacles that require involved participation from its members. The BLM opposes certain policing behaviors, not the police itself, and the BLM focuses on certain types of violence but not explicit about violence in general. Analyzing the threats for the BLM requires reading and understanding their ideology rather than taking the words at their face value. However, the NSM claims that the Jewish people and immigrants are a direct threat and must simply be eliminated, making their threats evident without further explanation other than rationales. The NDM's ideological framework allows for easier

analysis of threats from word-count programs, whereas the BLM's "threats" are nuanced and complex, thus needing additional context in order to interpret the data.

One of the areas where both groups demonstrated high prevalence was the theme of activism. Based on the wide ranges of LIWC scores, the NSM utilized specific documents for activism and gave little mention of it on other documents (ones detailing Nazi history). This contrasts with the BLM which tended to include activist sentiments throughout all of its documents, even in documents describing historical events. Thus, this research supports the notion that BLM activism is consistent throughout their ideology, whereas NSM ideology focuses on activism in terms of recruitment.

Upon initial analysis, both LDA and LIWC failed to register any religious themes. However, upon analyzing the LIWC categories, the word "jew" was considered a part of the religious category. Despite the NSM regarding Jewish people as threats, the word only appeared once in the LDA analysis and had low measures in the LIWC analysis. The NSM discusses conspiracies about how Jews control facets of power and cause harm to society, a crucial part to their ideology yet only appears in the LDA analysis. Higher word counts do not always correlate with increased significance, an aspect that *word count programs* cannot work around.

*Future Research Direction*

While this study has demonstrated several factors and findings using the language programs, I did not calculate statistical significance. The original purpose of this paper was to provide preliminary analysis of the available data to help guide and direct future research questions. I will first offer methodological suggestions and later address potential research questions.

Based on this study, I recommend using LDA for a qualitative analysis of the ideology of the groups. The data provided coherent measures of probability that helped determine the similarities/differences of topics between two groups. This program utilized both the prevalence of individual words and phrases, while leaving the coding and interpretation of generated topics at the discretion of the researcher. This allowed for additional in-depth analysis without referring directly back to the original data. LDA also clustered certain words that were more likely to appear as topics which can provide information about context surrounding each word. By computing the data into graphs, the differences become even more apparent, thus leading to the conclusion that these two groups do not share content.

In order to help analyze how specific components compare across the two groups, LIWC provides several advantages. Including preset themes will help to break down the ideology yet runs into several limitations when attempting to fit categories into themes, which will be discussed in the following sections. Instead, researchers should hypothesize which categories will be the same or different. They can shape their predictions with previous literature or other sources of information. From this data, they can determine the strength of their predictions or weaknesses in their argument. For example, research might predict differences in categories involving mood but similarities when discussing parts of speech. Unless the following recommendations are taken, using preset themes with LIWC proves difficult.

While LIWC offered quantitative comparisons between the two groups, the program has several limitations that prevent accurate interpretations of the data. If future studies were to use LIWC, I would recommend constructing a group-tailored

dictionary based on the old dictionary but including the ideology-specific words that the program did not read. These words are often too specific for a general program to analyze, yet they carry greater significance to the group. Context dramatically changes the meaning of the words, something that the linguistic studies lack. To help construct better measures for understanding themes, I advise building a custom dictionary that includes important words for encoding. Researchers can also add categories separate from LIWC's dictionary. Due to the nature of group-specific words, additional categories would be labeled as ideological history and ideological terminology. For example, "Adolf Hitler" would count as an ideological history and "socialism" would count as an ideological terminology.

Due to the wide array of words in each LIWC category, I also suggest using strict word counts or word percentages to analyze the data. Granted the strict word count will have several filler words to sort through, it will prevent LIWC from overanalyzing and unnecessarily grouping certain words together. This method provides both quantifiable as well as qualitative data that will allow researchers to implement or create themes. By analyzing a basic word-count before running a LIWC analysis, researchers can help shape the necessary dictionary changes.

In addition to adding words and categories to a dictionary, researchers can also limit the words in categories in order to exclude diverging concepts that occur in one category. For example, researchers can divide large categories into smaller and relevant categories or remove certain words that the researcher deems to not belong. Parsing categories into smaller groups helps to provide uniform analysis rather than attempting to encompass all the interpretative possibilities of divergent words. For example, the

category of "work" had several occupations (e.g, doctor, teacher, lawyer, etc.), generic

terminology (e.g., jobs, work) as well as finance related words (e.g., income, wages).

Occupations should separate from "work," dividing the category into specific

properties. These categories require a split because both the NSM and BLM discuss

jobs and work with different contexts. Jobs are portrayed as opportunities or

opportunities lost to others.

In order to help accommodate thematic research for BLM, I propose the

following amendments to my initial framework. The main themes will include: Self-

identification—who belongs, who we are, and what we are (without diving into

rationale or belief systems); ideological discourse—what we believe in and why, what

is the problem/issue/threat; activism—why audience should join, how we plan to solve

the issue, how members can help. Due to the complexities surrounding these themes,

each requires an investigation within their own study to provide a cohesive analysis of

the underlying factors. Much of the words and analysis fell under self-identification or

ideological beliefs, thus granting the rationale that these should occupy separate

categories to generate in-depth analysis. Due to the difficulty of measuring threats

among BLM documents, threat analysis would work better as a subcategory of ideology

rather than a theme.

For both the NSM and BLM, activism itself holds potential for research as well

as connecting that research to real-world behavior. Researchers should analyze how the

groups handle outward messages, recruitment, membership, and calls-to-actions. Each

of these frameworks indicates how a group employs their tactics for expansion and

interaction with the world. From this study, both programs demonstrated high

prevalence for activism, making the programs a suitable place to begin analysis. If researchers were to analyze the interaction of a message with an audience, this would require researchers to formulate hypothesis about the components of activism and how they align with LDA and LIWC analysis. The Internet's influence on human behavior must not be overlooked, thus, this field demands further exploration and experimental development.

**Conclusion**

While comparing these two groups might presume to yield obvious results, this research provides several findings regarding specific similarities and differences between BLM movement and NSM. However, the two groups failed to show similar discourse, even as two opposing sides of racial activism. Not only do the groups discuss different topics, but they also approach the issues of racial injustice with varying lenses and frameworks. While real-word behaviors such as riots and protests create this notion of two opposing sides (similar to conservatives and liberals), this study illustrates that the groups do much more than disagree with each other. This divide derives from fundamentally different foundations of discourse, beyond racial classifications.

The word-count programs illustrated the disconnect between the two groups by generating disparate underlying topics and diverging ranges of emotional affects. LDA demonstrates that the underlying topics of both groups rarely overlapped with one exception Topic 7 that primarily included generic pronouns. Whenever the groups overlapped, the topics contained plural pronouns, and the other group had much lower measures. The groups share little similarities other than their structure of multiple people.

57

In addition to the LDA analysis, LIWC generates results that demonstrate varying aspects of identity and mood. From the results, I suggest that BLM focuses on inclusion of all, especially women and the LGBTQ community whereas the NSM focuses on exclusions of non-Europeans. The NSM is also more likely to engage in negative moods such as sadness and anger. LIWC also compared several other categories that enhance the comparisons between specific points of dicourse.

Both programs demonstrate that the differences between these two groups indicate that they are not on the same spectrum, and that white supremacy has a unique aspect that differs from other racial justice movements. The NSM advocates for antisemitism and racial discrimination in the attempt to establish America as white nation. The BLM has no remote response or argument against this ideology other than the broad stance against discriminiation. Specific conspiracies against Jews, belief in Nazisim, and nationalistic sentiments construct specific ideology that occupies its own space rather than lying on a spectrum of political ideology.

In contrasts, the results indicated that the BLM does not create or recreate specific historical ideologies (such as the NSM's reliance on Nazism) but rather proposes solutions and empowerment in response to systemic violence. The BLM emphasized community involvement and organization in order to liberate black people from the oppression of police violence. They stress the importance of internal health and wellness in the face of emotional trauma. While ideology promotes general positivity, their specific goals involve action against police violence and the promotion of social acitivism.

Based on my study's analyses and implications, I make several methodological recommendations and potential research directions. Using these linguistics programs has several limitations that must be adjusted in order to analyze racial groups. While the programs provided valuable information, context should not be something easily omitted. Although word-count programs offer an amalgamation between quantitative and qualitative data, they are incomplete without further in-depth analysis. Effective analysis occurs with the enhancement of LIWC's preset dictionary, including adding more categoires to accommodate for group-specific words and dividing larger categoires.

Based on the results, I suggest several thematic modifications for analyzing groups with disparate discourse and dimensions. With the division of lexicons and assigned meanings to shared words, I suggest a more interpretive and broad analysis that does not restrict certain words to certain themes. I also suggest studies that analyze a specific part of the framework rather than attempting to converge several factors into a cohesive argument. In other words, researchers should set out to analyze self-identification, ideological discourse and activism as individualized studies. This will help provide detailed analysis that can later be brought together in a cohesive analysis.

The future direction explains how racial and political research can provide insight into the validity of contentious political claims. During an era where politicians state "alternative facts" with little consequence, fact checkers comparing figures and historical events play a limited role. Research must act as an advanced fact checker, investigating more extensive thematic statements and monitoring potentially dangerous

59

political claims by testing their validity. While politics entails much more than logic and

research, perhaps society will favor those who engage in intelligible discourse.

# Appendix

Appendix Table 1.1

| Filename | Black Lives Matter Booklet | Black Lives Matter RAW data | Black Lives Matter Toolkit | BLM Chapter Conflict | BLM Healing Action | BLM Toolkit-trayvon | BLM White Ppl-Trayvon |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| WC | 16884 | 8571 | 2317 | 2323 | 2317 | 1417 | 1723 |
| Tone | 67.84 | 62.93 | 82.26 | 28.64 | 82.26 | 18.49 | 31.72 |
| WPS | 17.39 | 25.82 | 19.80 | 18.89 | 19.80 | 19.96 | 16.89 |
| Sixltr | 25.94 | 28.92 | 27.45 | 27.85 | 27.45 | 26.18 | 20.84 |
| Dic | 81.05 | 76.76 | 87.74 | 86.18 | 87.74 | 77.21 | 83.69 |
| function | 44.72 | 40.30 | 49.24 | 52.65 | 49.24 | 41.21 | 45.91 |
| pronoun | 10.10 | 7.60 | 12.26 | 12.61 | 12.26 | 9.24 | 12.59 |
| ppron | 6.36 | 4.69 | 8.33 | 6.46 | 8.33 | 6.42 | 8.53 |
| i | 0.43 | 0.09 | 0.17 | 0.00 | 0.17 | 0.49 | 0.70 |
| we | 4.32 | 3.44 | 6.86 | 4.26 | 6.86 | 2.96 | 3.02 |
| you | 0.23 | 0.07 | 0.99 | 1.21 | 0.99 | 1.06 | 1.97 |
| shehe | 0.23 | 0.64 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.62 | 2.15 |
| they | 1.16 | 0.44 | 0.30 | 0.99 | 0.30 | 0.28 | 0.70 |
| ipron | 3.74 | 2.91 | 3.93 | 6.16 | 3.93 | 2.82 | 4.06 |
| article | 6.24 | 7.29 | 4.88 | 6.16 | 4.88 | 6.77 | 5.46 |
| prep | 14.24 | 13.92 | 15.24 | 15.07 | 15.24 | 12.14 | 13.23 |
| auxverb | 5.77 | 4.46 | 7.03 | 8.44 | 7.03 | 4.73 | 5.63 |
| adverb | 2.56 | 1.65 | 2.98 | 4.30 | 2.98 | 2.54 | 4.12 |
| conj | 7.15 | 6.62 | 8.29 | 8.57 | 8.29 | 6.49 | 6.91 |
| negate | 0.60 | 0.30 | 0.52 | 0.65 | 0.52 | 1.20 | 1.04 |
| affect | 5.60 | 4.95 | 7.60 | 6.72 | 7.60 | 5.29 | 5.57 |
| posemo | 3.90 | 3.44 | 5.22 | 3.36 | 5.22 | 2.40 | 2.96 |
| negemo | 1.68 | 1.48 | 2.07 | 3.19 | 2.07 | 2.89 | 2.61 |
| anx | 0.36 | 0.23 | 0.73 | 0.39 | 0.73 | 0.28 | 0.46 |
| anger | 0.70 | 0.44 | 0.35 | 0.86 | 0.35 | 1.69 | 1.22 |
| sad | 0.18 | 0.13 | 0.00 | 0.22 | 0.00 | 0.07 | 0.35 |
| social | 12.17 | 10.58 | 13.60 | 12.48 | 13.60 | 13.13 | 17.53 |
| family | 0.56 | 0.56 | 0.09 | 0.09 | 0.09 | 1.06 | 1.57 |
| friend | 0.02 | 0.13 | 0.04 | 0.04 | 0.04 | 0.21 | 0.81 |
| female | 0.38 | 0.99 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.21 | 0.52 |
| male | 0.24 | 0.36 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.98 | 2.90 |
| bio | 1.86 | 2.28 | 4.36 | 1.16 | 4.36 | 1.34 | 1.04 |
| body | 0.24 | 0.23 | 0.86 | 0.17 | 0.86 | 0.14 | 0.29 |
| health | 1.13 | 1.70 | 2.89 | 0.86 | 2.89 | 1.20 | 0.46 |
| sexual | 0.08 | 0.18 | 0.04 | 0.09 | 0.04 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| ingest | 0.28 | 0.12 | 0.52 | 0.04 | 0.52 | 0.00 | 0.17 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| drives | 13.97 | 12.50 | 15.88 | 13.65 | 15.88 | 12.77 | 13.29 |
| affiliation | 6.79 | 5.75 | 9.37 | 6.97 | 9.37 | 6.63 | 7.54 |
| achieve | 2.88 | 3.38 | 2.72 | 2.37 | 2.72 | 0.99 | 1.10 |
| power | 4.06 | 3.76 | 2.76 | 3.14 | 2.76 | 4.73 | 3.71 |
| reward | 0.87 | 0.65 | 1.04 | 1.29 | 1.04 | 0.28 | 1.22 |
| risk | 0.46 | 0.41 | 0.52 | 1.21 | 0.52 | 0.99 | 0.64 |
| focuspast | 2.19 | 2.03 | 1.34 | 1.72 | 1.34 | 2.12 | 2.79 |
| focuspresent | 8.24 | 7.18 | 11.74 | 10.76 | 11.74 | 7.34 | 9.81 |
| focusfuture | 0.65 | 0.54 | 0.95 | 1.46 | 0.95 | 0.64 | 0.58 |
| relativ | 12.56 | 12.75 | 14.80 | 12.01 | 14.80 | 12.42 | 11.49 |
| motion | 1.74 | 1.80 | 2.42 | 1.68 | 2.42 | 2.40 | 1.74 |
| space | 7.47 | 7.56 | 9.45 | 6.89 | 9.45 | 5.15 | 4.64 |
| time | 3.41 | 3.54 | 3.11 | 3.53 | 3.11 | 4.80 | 4.93 |
| work | 4.38 | 5.20 | 3.80 | 2.28 | 3.80 | 3.46 | 2.50 |
| home | 0.45 | 0.37 | 0.17 | 0.47 | 0.17 | 0.85 | 1.22 |
| money | 0.72 | 0.32 | 0.26 | 0.43 | 0.26 | 1.13 | 0.99 |
| relig | 0.24 | 0.15 | 0.52 | 0.00 | 0.52 | 0.07 | 0.12 |
| death | 0.31 | 0.19 | 0.00 | 0.13 | 0.00 | 1.69 | 1.39 |

Appendix Table 1.2

| Filename | FAQs about the nsm | NSM Flyer compil. file | NSM App. Packet | NSM App. | NSM RAW TEXT DATA | NSM To the citizen | Why support the nsm | NSM 25 points |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| WC | 5774 | 287 | 1852 | 308 | 15837 | 162 | 1209 | 835 |
| Tone | 32.30 | 31.72 | 21.62 | 98.20 | 44.37 | 16.88 | 64.96 | 52.74 |
| WPS | 20.48 | 7.18 | 17.64 | 15.40 | 25.38 | 13.50 | 20.84 | 20.37 |
| Sixltr | 21.77 | 24.04 | 19.87 | 25.97 | 28.34 | 15.43 | 29.78 | 26.95 |
| Dic | 80.90 | 76.66 | 82.07 | 81.17 | 74.82 | 90.12 | 79.32 | 82.75 |
| function | 49.13 | 36.59 | 49.73 | 43.83 | 40.71 | 61.11 | 44.00 | 46.71 |
| pronoun | 9.33 | 8.71 | 13.66 | 8.77 | 7.43 | 19.14 | 6.87 | 7.90 |
| ppron | 3.39 | 8.01 | 8.10 | 6.17 | 4.02 | 11.73 | 3.06 | 4.31 |
| i | 0.14 | 0.00 | 0.11 | 4.55 | 0.14 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| we | 1.18 | 2.09 | 4.48 | 1.30 | 2.44 | 0.62 | 2.56 | 3.71 |
| you | 0.43 | 4.53 | 2.38 | 0.00 | 0.52 | 10.49 | 0.08 | 0.00 |
| shehe | 0.40 | 0.35 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.32 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| they | 1.25 | 1.05 | 1.08 | 0.32 | 0.59 | 0.62 | 0.41 | 0.60 |
| ipron | 5.94 | 0.70 | 5.56 | 2.60 | 3.41 | 7.41 | 3.80 | 3.59 |
| article | 9.84 | 5.92 | 6.32 | 10.71 | 7.58 | 6.17 | 9.76 | 11.74 |
| prep | 14.08 | 10.80 | 14.74 | 12.66 | 13.93 | 19.75 | 14.97 | 15.21 |
| auxverb | 7.26 | 4.53 | 7.07 | 4.22 | 5.42 | 8.64 | 5.13 | 6.11 |
| adverb | 3.53 | 2.79 | 3.40 | 1.30 | 1.81 | 6.17 | 1.65 | 1.08 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| conj | 5.96 | 3.83 | 5.35 | 6.17 | 4.87 | 3.09 | 6.04 | 4.55 |
| negate | 1.06 | 1.05 | 0.92 | 1.62 | 0.87 | 0.62 | 0.99 | 0.84 |
| affect | 4.19 | 5.23 | 5.78 | 7.14 | 5.30 | 5.56 | 5.54 | 5.03 |
| posemo | 2.27 | 2.79 | 2.70 | 6.17 | 3.14 | 2.47 | 3.80 | 3.11 |
| negemo | 1.89 | 2.44 | 2.97 | 0.65 | 2.12 | 3.09 | 1.74 | 1.68 |
| anx | 0.17 | 0.00 | 0.27 | 0.00 | 0.25 | 1.23 | 0.41 | 0.12 |
| anger | 0.90 | 1.74 | 1.78 | 0.65 | 1.09 | 0.62 | 0.58 | 1.20 |
| sad | 0.29 | 0.00 | 0.22 | 0.00 | 0.30 | 0.00 | 0.66 | 0.12 |
| social | 7.69 | 14.63 | 13.28 | 5.19 | 9.73 | 17.28 | 6.45 | 8.26 |
| family | 0.16 | 1.05 | 0.16 | 0.00 | 0.33 | 0.00 | 0.17 | 0.12 |
| friend | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.25 | 0.62 | 0.00 | 0.12 |
| female | 0.10 | 1.39 | 0.16 | 0.00 | 0.11 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.12 |
| male | 0.43 | 0.00 | 0.27 | 0.00 | 0.60 | 0.00 | 0.08 | 0.00 |
| bio | 1.63 | 2.79 | 1.73 | 0.32 | 0.81 | 1.85 | 0.99 | 2.16 |
| body | 0.23 | 0.00 | 0.32 | 0.00 | 0.23 | 0.00 | 0.17 | 0.36 |
| health | 0.94 | 1.39 | 0.76 | 0.32 | 0.40 | 1.23 | 0.66 | 1.32 |
| sexual | 0.31 | 0.70 | 0.49 | 0.00 | 0.06 | 0.00 | 0.25 | 0.24 |
| ingest | 0.05 | 0.35 | 0.32 | 0.00 | 0.11 | 0.62 | 0.00 | 0.36 |
| drives | 8.64 | 11.15 | 12.53 | 12.66 | 11.80 | 11.11 | 12.57 | 14.37 |
| affiliation | 2.01 | 5.92 | 6.70 | 3.25 | 5.08 | 3.70 | 3.89 | 4.79 |
| achieve | 1.89 | 0.70 | 1.13 | 6.17 | 2.15 | 1.85 | 3.72 | 1.56 |
| power | 4.26 | 1.74 | 3.94 | 3.25 | 4.50 | 4.94 | 5.38 | 7.19 |
| reward | 1.06 | 0.70 | 0.97 | 2.60 | 0.96 | 2.47 | 1.24 | 0.84 |
| risk | 0.61 | 2.79 | 0.86 | 0.00 | 0.54 | 0.00 | 0.74 | 0.72 |
| focuspast | 3.10 | 0.35 | 1.51 | 1.30 | 1.48 | 2.47 | 0.99 | 0.36 |
| focuspresent | 7.69 | 5.92 | 9.34 | 5.84 | 6.11 | 10.49 | 6.87 | 4.91 |
| focusfuture | 0.87 | 0.70 | 0.92 | 0.65 | 1.04 | 0.62 | 1.49 | 1.44 |
| relativ | 12.14 | 15.68 | 12.69 | 8.44 | 13.68 | 22.22 | 12.32 | 11.98 |
| motion | 1.44 | 1.74 | 1.19 | 1.62 | 1.58 | 4.32 | 2.32 | 0.84 |
| space | 7.36 | 7.67 | 7.78 | 3.90 | 8.76 | 14.81 | 6.95 | 9.46 |
| time | 3.29 | 6.62 | 3.83 | 2.92 | 3.22 | 4.32 | 2.89 | 1.08 |
| work | 3.34 | 5.23 | 3.40 | 5.84 | 4.62 | 0.00 | 8.19 | 5.87 |
| home | 0.16 | 1.39 | 0.22 | 0.00 | 0.38 | 3.09 | 0.17 | 0.24 |
| money | 1.04 | 5.57 | 2.75 | 4.22 | 1.40 | 0.00 | 2.65 | 1.92 |
| relig | 0.92 | 0.00 | 0.22 | 0.32 | 0.65 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.72 |
| death | 0.80 | 0.70 | 0.38 | 0.00 | 0.43 | 0.00 | 0.17 | 0.60 |

# References

Altman A. (2015, April 9). Black Lives Matter: A new civil rights movement is turning
a protest cry into a political force. Time Magazine. Retrieved from
http://time.com/time-person-of-the-year-2015-runner-up-black-lives-matter/

Abbie. (2017, August 14). 'Violent, racist movements': Senator compares Black Lives
Matter to white supremacists. Retrieved from
https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/state-
politics/article167141422.html

Anderson, M., Toor, S., Rainie, L., Smith, A., Anderson, M., Toor, S., . . . Smith, A.
(2018, July 11). 2. An analysis of #BlackLivesMatter and other Twitter hashtags
related to political or social issues. Retrieved from
https://www.pewinternet.org/2018/07/11/an-analysis-of-blacklivesmatter-and-
other-twitter-hashtags-related-to-political-or-social-issues/

Atkinson, D. C. (2018). Charlottesville and the alt-right: a turning point? Politics,
Groups, and Identities, 6(2), 309–315, DOI: 10.1080/21565503.2018.1454330

Back, L. (2002). Ethnic and Racial Studies, *25*(4), 628–651, DOI:
10.1080/01419870220136664

"Black Lives Matter." Black Lives Matter, blacklivesmatter.com/.

Bowman-Grieve, L. (2009). Exploring "Stormfront": A Virtual Community of the
Radical Right. *Studies In Conflict & Terrorism*, *32*(11), 989-1007, DOI:
10.1080/10576100903259951

Bromwich, J. E., & Blinder, A. (2017, August 13). What We Know About James Alex
Fields, Driver Charged in Charlottesville Killing. Retrieved from
https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/13/us/james-alex-fields-charlottesville-
driver-.html

Brown, C. (2009). WWW.HATE.COM: White Supremacist Discourse on the Internet
and the Construction of Whiteness Ideology. *Howard Journal of
Communications,20*(2), 189-208, DOI: 10.1080/10646170902869544

Brysbaert, M. & New, B. (2009) Moving beyond Kucera and Francis: A Critical
Evaluation of Current Word Frequency Norms and the Introduction of a New
and Improved Word Frequency Measure for American English. *Behavior
Research Methods*, 41 (4), 977-990, DOI: 10.3758/BRM.41.4.977

BURRIS, V., SMITH, E., & STRAHM, A. (2000). WHITE SUPREMACIST NETWORKS ON THE INTERNET. *Sociological Focus, 33*(2), 215-235. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/20832076

Caiani, M., & Parenti, L. (2016). European and American extreme right groups and the Internet. London: Routledge. Retrieved from https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.libproxy.uoregon.edu

Carney, N. (2016). All lives matter, but so does race. *Humanity & Society, 40*(2), 180-199. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0160597616643868

Castle, T. (2012). Morrigan Rising: Exploring female-targeted propaganda on hate group websites. European Journal of Cultural Studies, 15(6), 679–694. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549412450636

Clarke, D., & U.S. Senate. (2017, April 17). Did Sheriff Clarke say Black Lives Matter is terror group? Retrieved from https://www.politifact.com/wisconsin/statements/2017/apr/17/sheriff-david-clarke-us-senate/pro-sheriff-david-clarke-group-says-clarke-called-/

Clayton, D. M. (2018). Black Lives Matter and the Civil Rights Movement: A Comparative Analysis of Two Social Movements in the United States. Journal of Black Studies, 49(5), 448–480. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934718764099

Coaston, J. (2019, April 26). Trump's new defense of his Charlottesville comments is incredibly false. Retrieved from https://www.vox.com/2019/4/26/18517980/trump-unite-the-right-racism-defense-charlottesville

Dehghani, M., Johnson, K., M., Garten, J., Boghrati, R., Hoover, J., Balasubramanian, V., Singh, A., Shankar, Y., Pulickal, L., Rajkumar, A., and Parmar, N. J. (2016). TACIT: An Open-Source Text Analysis, Crawling and Interpretation Tool. *Behavior Research Methods*, DOI 10.3758/s13428-016-0722-4.

Gerstenfeld, P. (2004). *Hate crimes Causes, controls, and controversies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. DOI: 10.1177/073401680402900227

Gerstenfeld, P. B., Grant, D. R., & Chiang, C. (2003). Hate Online: A Content Analysis of Extremist Internet Sites. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy, 3*(1), 29-44, DOI: 10.1111/j.1530-2415.2003.00013.x

Glaser, J., Dixit, J., & Green, D. P. (2002). Studying Hate Crime with the Internet: What Makes Racists Advocate Racial Violence? *Journal of Social Issues,58*(1), 177-193, DOI: 10.1111/1540-4560.00255

Himelboim, I., Smith, M. A., Rainie, L., Shneiderman, B., & Espina, C. (2017). Classifying Twitter Topic-Networks Using Social Network Analysis. *Social Media + Society*. DOI: 10.1177/2056305117691545

Horowitz, J. M., Livingston, G. (2016). *How Americans view the Black Lives Matter movement*. Pew Research Report. Retrieved from https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/08/how-americans-view-the-black-lives-matter-movement/

Hughey, M. W., & Daniels, J. (2013). *Racist comments at online news sites: A methodological dilemma for discourse analysis*. Media, Culture & Society, 35(3), 332-347, DOI: 10.1177/0163443712472089

Ince, J., Rojas, F., & Davis, C. A. (2017) The social media response to Black Lives Matter: how Twitter users interact with Black Lives Matter through hashtag use. Ethni*c and Racial Studies*. 40:11, 1814-1830, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2017.1334931

Lyons, M. N. (2018). *Insurgent supremacists: The U.S. far rights challenge to state and empire*. Montreal, Quebec: Kersplebedeb.

Mikels, J. A., Fredrickson, B. L., Larkin, G. R., Lindberg, C. M., Maglio, S. J., & Reuter-Lorenz, P. A. (2005). Emotional category data on images from the international affective picture system. *Behavior Research Methods, 37*(4), 626-630. Retrieved from https://alliance-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=TN_medline16629294&context=PC&vid=UO&search_scope=everything&tab=default_tab&lang=en_US

Neal Caren, Kay Jowers, Sarah Gaby, (2012), *A Social Movement Online Community: Stormfront and the White Nationalist Movement, in Jennifer Earl, Deana A. Rohlinger (ed.)* Media, Movements, and Political Change.

Norman, J. (2017, July 10). Confidence in Police Back at Historical Average. Retrieved from https://news.gallup.com/poll/213869/confidence-police-back-historical-average.aspx

Nsm88.org Traffic Statistics. (2019). Retrieved from https://www.similarweb.com/website/nsm88.org#overview

Pennebaker Conglomerates. (2015). LIWC: *Operating Manual*. Austin, TX

RealClearPolitics - Election Other - President Trump Job Approval. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/other/president_trump_job_approval-6179.html

Sawyer, J., & Gampa, A. (2018). Implicit and Explicit Racial Attitudes Changed During Black Lives Matter. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 44(7), 1039–1059. DOI: 10.1177/0146167218757454

Schafer, J. A. (2002). *Spinning the Web of Hate: Web-based Hate Propagation By Extremist Organizations*. Retrieved from https://www.albany.edu/scj/jcjpc/vol9is2/schafer.html

Sen, R. (2009). *Taking on Postracialism.* Retrieved from https://www.ontheissuesmagazine.com/2009fall/2009fall_sen.php

Shear, M. D., & Haberman, M. (2018, January 20). Trump Defends Initial Remarks on Charlottesville; Again Blames 'Both Sides.' The New York Times. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/15/us/politics/trump-press-conference-charlottesville.html

Sunstein, CR (2007) *Republic.com 2.0*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

We The People. (2016) "Petition to Formally recognize black lives matter as a terrorist organization" Retrieved from https://petitions.whitehouse.gov/petition/formally-recognize-black-lives-matter-terrorist-organization

Who Were the Groups Protesting in Charlottesville? (n.d.). Retrieved from https://learningenglish.voanews.com/a/who-were-the-groups-protesting-in-charlottesville/3986723.html

Wolf, Z. B. (2017, August 16). David Duke lauds Trump's defense of 'very fine people'. Retrieved from https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/15/politics/donald-trump-david-duke-charlottesville/index.html