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MASTERARBEIT

**Pride and Prejudice: Women's Voices
in White Nationalism and Extreme Right**

Qualitative Content Analysis of Online Discourse

**Stolz und Vorurteil: Frauenstimmen im weißen
Nationalismus und im Rechtsextremismus.**

Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse des Online-Diskurses

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Introduction

An attractive young woman talks about how to look more feminine on her YouTube channel, a woman organizes an invitation-only book club on European Literature, a devoted mother spends her days homeschooling her three kids, a female University student advocates for more security for female students. These are just a few inconspicuous faces of women in white nationalism.

White nationalist women do not get as much attention as their male counterparts – most of them do not seem violent or dangerous and not many of them are willing to be public about their affiliation. Hence, white nationalism has long been perceived as the movement of angry white men. Yet, it is worth remembering that women are, in fact, essential for the movement's survival and ideology. Simply put, the future of the “white race” directly depends on white women giving birth to white children. Moreover, women have a long history of ethnocentric political activism, be it in the 1920s U.S. where they established the Women of the Ku Klux Klan organization, or in Germany's Third Reich, where an estimated third of female citizens were active in the Nazi Party organizations (McRae 2018; Holocaust Encyclopedia 2022).

Only a handful of academics focused their research on white nationalist women, their profile, motivations, roles, world view, and aspirations. Without a better understanding of women in organized racist movements, it becomes easy to assume that they have no significant role or even independent agency. Today, many Western countries are experiencing the return of white nationalism to mainstream politics, and women are, in fact, more and more visible even in leading positions of many far-right parties. At first glance, this does not make any sense. Why would women be part of a political movement that is known for hostile attitudes towards them? This master's thesis seeks to contribute to a better understanding of white nationalist women, especially when their interests are at odds with the interests of the movement they support. This work aims to answer the following research question:

How do women in white nationalism cope with ideological conflicts in the movement, namely the conflicts related to gender roles, misogyny, and the lack of women?

Methodologically, this work is based on qualitative content analysis – “a method for systematically describing the meaning of qualitative data” (Schreier 2014). Qualitative text analysis presupposes a deeper understanding and interpretation of the text, unlike classical content analysis which is more limited to superficial conceptual manifestations that are then often quantified (Kuckartz 2014). This method presupposes labeling text segments with the categories of a coding frame. This method is useful for analyzing and conceptualizing textual data and is commonly used to work with interviews or media sources like websites, newspapers, magazines, blogs, letters, *etc.* (Schreier 2014).

More specifically, this paper uses Anselm Strauss and Barney Glaser’s Grounded Theory approach (Glaser and Strauss 1965; Glaser and Strauss 1967; Kuckartz 2014). Initially, this approach was formulated as inductive and refrained from using any existing theoretical frameworks, rather — it was utilized to derive a theory from data. This method even allows not formulating the research question in advance but to infer it from the material. Eventually, this approach acquired more elements from classical research and is now very flexible when it comes to the question of integrating a pre-existing theory.

Given that this method is used to work with recorded public data (*e.g.* websites, magazines), it is beneficial for researching sensitive topics where the deliberate collection of data is challenging or impossible. It is also effective for analyzing underresearched subjects and phenomena where the general features are unknown. The qualitative content analysis focuses on a limited amount of data, but analyzes it in a great amount of detail, enabling relevant themes, patterns, framings, language, and imagery to reveal themselves. As a qualitative method, it allows a better analysis of personal experiences, emotions, and attitudes. As this thesis is focused on the experiences of women in white nationalism and this subject is both sensitive and underresearched, the qualitative content analysis offers a uniquely accessible way to examine it, using public online resources such as forums, vlogs, or podcasts.

This thesis starts with Section 1, which outlines the essential ideas of white nationalism to provide a better understanding of the subject’s complexity. The following Section 2 presents the results of prior theoretical research on gender and nationalism, gender and far-right, and

cognitive dissonance theory, all of which guided the coding process. The research question was defined at the beginning of the study. The description of the selected material is detailed in Section 3 of this work. The data was open-coded in MAXQDA with both in-vivo and conceptual codes that were then categorized and organized in a coding system. The examples of codes include: “*white men treat women well*”, “*fear of social exclusion*”, “*need for a positive focus*”, “*white men are in danger*”, “*gender stereotypes*”, “*misogyny is a problem*”, *etc.* Finally, the resulting codes were analyzed using cognitive dissonance theory which allowed for the creation of reduction strategies typology presented in Section 4. The results are then summarized and discussed in the [Conclusion](#).

1 Understanding White Nationalism

Defining the term “white nationalism” is challenging as its meaning depends strongly on the context in which it is used, *e.g.*, journalistic, colloquial, or academic. Even in academia, there is no unified definition of what this term means. This thesis does not attempt to define it but will rely on this narrow working definition: white nationalism is a movement whose goal is to create and/or maintain a separate nation-territory(ies) for people of the white race. The white race is usually defined as people with fair skin of European ancestry.

The following propositions w.r.t. the definition of “white” and “white nationalist” were published by senior moderator Andy Robertson (*a.k.a.* John Joy Tree) in Stormfront, one of the oldest pro-white websites created by former Ku Klux Klan leader and white supremacist Don Black in 1996.

“ Proposition zero. A White person is a human being of solely Native European ancestry; or a human being who, if they have non-European antecedents, is nonetheless of a physical and genetic makeup that is within the range typical of people of solely European ancestry; or, the child of two Whites.

Proposition one. A white nationalist is a White person who is, by their actions and their voluntary public declaration, politically committed to the welfare of

Whites, and their continuing survival as a distinct and reproductively isolated group of human beings.

COMMENT: The vexed question of how much non-white blood to allow and “where Europe ends” can not be solved by a formula. We may nonetheless reasonably hope that the term “the range typical of people of solely European ancestry” shall have a more precise scientific definition in the future than we can offer now.

((In fact, the White race has never been a completely separate and distinct group in the past, but, paradoxically, may hope to be a separate and distinct group in the future. In the end, all Whites will be white nationalists and everyone else will be clearly non-white.)) ”

User John Joy Tree, Stormfront, 08-08-2005

Many white nationalists distinguish themselves from white supremacists by saying that they do not think that the white race is superior to any other, but that “the white race has a right to live separately from other races”. If we look at white nationalist discourse, most of it does contain the expression of white superiority in some form. Critics argue that the term “white nationalism” is just a rebranding of white supremacy to become more palatable to the general public (Eckman 2018). In journalistic discourse white nationalism, white supremacy, and alt-right are often used interchangeably.

Some of white nationalism’s central ideas include:

- White Genocide – a conspiracy theory that the white race is “dying” due to growing non-white populations and “forced assimilation,” all of which are deliberately engineered and controlled by a Jewish conspiracy to destroy the white race (Anti-Defamation League 2022a)
- 14 Words – a reference to the most popular white supremacist slogan in the world: “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.” The slogan was coined by David Lane, a member of the white supremacist terrorist group known as The Order (Anti-Defamation League 2022b).

- Cultural Marxism – a conspiracy theory, according to which the followers of Marxism, usually perceived as Jewish elite, control modern progressive politics, mass media, and academia, and are trying to subvert Western culture. Cultural Marxism is often associated with political correctness (Scatamburlo [1998](#); Jamin [2014](#)).
- Red-pilled – either someone who has been politically “awakened” to embrace white nationalism or someone who realized that feminism is destroying society (Al Jazeera [08.10.2017](#))
- International Jewish Conspiracy – a conspiracy theory according to which Jewish people are controlling the world behind the scenes and one of their goals is to destroy the white race.
- The Great Replacement (*a.k.a.* the Replacement Theory) – a conspiracy theory that states that European white populations are being demographically and culturally replaced with non-European peoples, especially Muslim populations through mass migration, demographic growth and a drop in the birth rate in Europe (Bracke and Hernández Aguilar [2020](#)).

It is quite common for white nationalists to homeschool their children to avoid exposure to Cultural Marxism and other anti-white ideas. White nationalists also like to express their “whiteness” in all aspects of life: music, food, clothes, style, books, movies, dances, household, furniture, decorations, *etc.* For instance, in a White Nationalist woman’s magazine Homefront there is a running section with recipes that a white family can cook, including mostly European and American dishes (WAU [2022](#)).

It is also crucial to understand that numerous pro-white movements are often scrambled under the label of white supremacy or white nationalism or more recently alt-right. It covers, *e.g.*, Ku Klux Klan (KKK), neo-Nazis, militia movements, the Christian Identity Church, the National Association for the Advancement of White People, *etc.* These groups have a lot of ideological differences and frequently have serious conflicts with each other. To name a few, a neo-fascist, and exclusively male organization Proud Boys often criticized Donald J. Trump’s government and MAGA movement on Telegram, whereas many other self-described

white nationalists fully embraced him. A militant white supremacist group Boogaloo openly declared the alt-right a controlled opposition on their Telegram channel, see Figure 1.

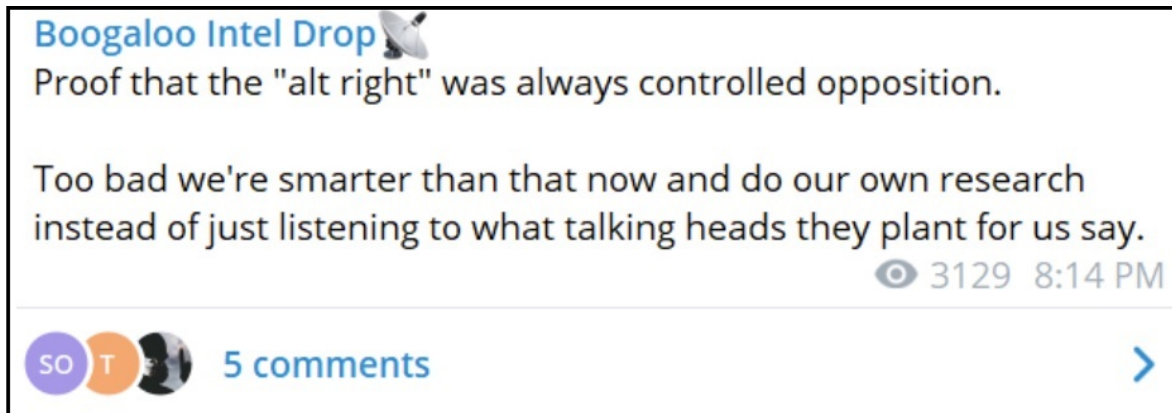


Figure 1: Screenshot from the Telegram channel **Boogaloo Intel Drop**, post date: 17.01.2021

There is a long-standing feud between Christians and those who identify as pagans (*e.g.*, Odinists) to be closer to their European identity. There are white nationalist vegans and eco-fascists (Adler-Bell 24.09.2019), alt-right gay men groups (who prefer to be referred to as androphiles, O’connor 30.04.2017), identitarian feminists (Collectif Nemesis 2020) and the list goes on. On sites like whitedate.net, a white ethnocentric dating platform, users receive suggestions to choose from the following list of political orientations:

- Pro-White
- Alt-Right
- New Right
- Fully redpilled
- Based
- Woke
- Traditionalism
- Ethnonationalism
- Ethno Regionalism
- Ethnotribalism
- Volkism
- Conservatism
- Civic Nationalism
- Cuckservatism
- Socialism
- Democratic Socialism
- Monarchism
- National Socialism
- Fascism
- Liberalism
- Distributism
- Libertarian Capitalism
- Ultra-Capitalism
- Left-Libertarianism
- National Communism
- New Left
- Anarcho-Socialism
- Anarchism

(WhiteDate 2022)

Many analysts suggest dividing right-wing political movements into three major sectors: dissident (often populist) sectors between the conservative right and the extreme right (Berlet 2004) as demonstrated in Figure 2

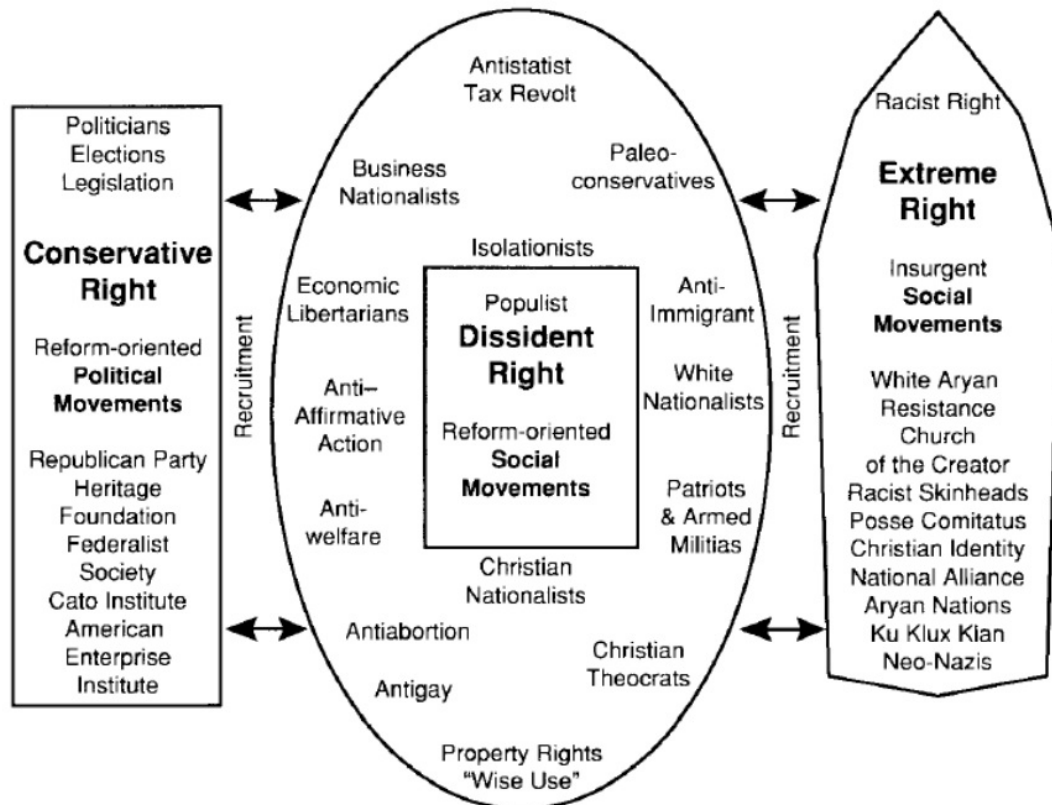


Figure 2: **Sectors of Far-Right Political Movements**, figure source: Berlet 2004; Berlet and Lyons 2000

To add to this complex landscape, some groups have a number of common interests with white nationalists but are primarily focused on different issues, *e.g.*, incels (involuntary celibates), tradwives (women who advocate for the traditional female role), anti-vaxxers, QAnon, *etc.*

In sum, white nationalism is difficult to define as it is an umbrella term for different ethno-

centric movements that can vary widely in their ideologies. The common elements of these groups are that they are pro-white, characterized by binary thinking, an apocalyptic style, conspiracism, and populist anti-elite rhetoric (Berlet 2004).

2 Gender, White Nationalism and Cognitive Dissonance

To understand why women are actively involved in white nationalism despite its unmistakable patriarchal and misogynistic philosophy, this work focuses on theoretical literature in three relevant fields: gender and nationalism, gender and far-right, and cognitive dissonance theory.

First, this thesis presents the literature on gender and nationalism, which dives into different configurations of gender roles in nationalist states and nationalist political projects and movements. Second, the paper explores a relatively new field, namely gender and far-right that seeks to explain how different extreme right groups, including white nationalism, understand gender roles in the light of their political ideology. It also attempts to explain the growing popularity of white nationalism and its appeal to women. Finally, given that the data sample of this paper consists of personal accounts and reflections of individual women, Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance is used to explain how white nationalist women might handle ideological inconsistencies (Festinger 1957).

Studies on the gender dimension of nationalism reveal that all nations depend on constructions of gender and gender roles (McClintock 1993; Enloe 2014; Yuval-Davis 1993). Nevertheless, nationalism does not automatically presuppose adherence to traditional gender roles and adoption of gender essentialism, as different nationalist projects are driven by a distinct understanding of who comprises the nation. In this respect, it is helpful to turn to the work of Michael Ignatieff who distinguished between ethnic nationalism, *i.e.*, focused on narratives of common descent, and civic nationalism, *i.e.*, which is rooted in common civic ideals and cultural traditions (Ignatieff 1994) ¹.

Given the limited scope of this thesis, it makes sense to focus solely on the notion of ethnic

¹ Some academics criticize this differentiation, as in most countries where nationalism is civic, culture and ethnicity still play a significant role that cannot be ignored (Tamir 2019)

nationalism, as white nationalism can be categorized as such. From the gender perspective, the dominant interest of ethnic nationalism is maintaining gender essentialism where women have a clear function in securing the reproduction and purity of the nation. Ignatieff also believed that ethnic nationalism is intrinsically exclusive with violent potential as every boundary defining national sovereignty has to be maintained at all costs (Ignatieff 1994).

Sociologist Nira Yuval-Davis similarly observed that “those who are preoccupied with the ‘purity’ of the race would also be preoccupied with the sexual relationships between members of different collectivities” which inevitably results in control of female sexuality and social role (Yuval-Davis, Anthias, and Campling 1989). In her later work on the Politics of Belonging, Yuval-Davis concluded that nationalist projects focused on race are the least permissible of belonging, which leads to exclusion and inferiorization of the racial Other (Yuval-Davis 2011). This exclusion can be achieved through violence and strict control of female sexuality and reproduction (Boehmer 2009). Logically, this results in the proliferation of traditional gender roles, to secure the nation’s next generation and its nation-conform upbringing. Therefore, female reproductive health becomes a national interest, so in nationalist states, it is not uncommon to observe limited access to abortions (Mostov 2012), or even certain professions that can potentially harm female reproductive health (Wang and Sychenko 2019) Following the same logic, in the case of an international conflict, women from the enemy are commonly raped not only as a demonstration of domination but also as an act of damaging the nation’s fabric, its purity (Pettman 2005).

The research on white nationalism is relatively new but existing studies demonstrate that this movement’s discourse shares many features with ethnic nationalism, as described by Ignatieff where the white/western nation is constructed as a social body with shared civilizational, ethnic, racial, and religious elements (Mulholland, Montagna, and Sanders-McDonagh 2018), including a similar justification of traditional gender roles (Blee 2002; Daniels 2016; Ferber 2004) Pointedly, as white nationalism is centered around the idea of “white genocide”, *i.e.*, rapid forced extinction of white people that must be stopped and reversed. Thus, racial purity simply cannot be achieved without clear traditional gender roles and control of female sexual

behavior. This means that all white women have to strive to become mothers while white men should be occupied with politics and the security of the white race (Ferber 2004).

Sophie Bjork-James introduces the term “white sexual politics” and articulates how white nationalist movements have the patriarchal, nuclear family as their primary locus. She argues that heterosexuality serves as an ideological framework for the white nationalist movement, and gender conformity is a measuring stick for belonging to white people whereas gender nonconformity is a characteristic of the movement’s enemies. Bjork-James claims that the moral order of this movement is thus derived from gender essentialism and gender complementarity (Bjork-James 2020a). The protection of the traditional family hence serves the restoration of white male authority through “the appropriation of white women’s labor in the home, the production and ownership of white children, and the insured continuation of heterosexuality” (Daniels 2016).

When it comes to a de facto female role within white nationalist movements, Kathleen Blee documented that they are not only domestic but also social, and informal-executive (Blee 2002). Domestic tasks include childcare and indoctrination (often through homeschooling), creating a proper “white household”, control of family consumption, first aid, and midwifery. Social function usually includes coaching younger women, organizing get-togethers, providing group cohesion, and mediating conflicts. Finally, Blee also found that women tend to be in the middle and less visible layers of race-centered organizations but their involvement is often informal, *i.e.*, they do not have official leadership titles. Yet, women actively help organize events and rallies, develop political strategies, do clerical work, find and educate new recruits (Blee 2002).

Kathleen Blee also demonstrated that white nationalist women often agree with and internalize white nationalist rhetoric and this is hardly a new phenomenon. History demonstrates that women were often supporters of white supremacist/nationalist movements, *e.g.*, German Nazism, Slavery, KKK, where they advocated for traditional gender roles (McRae 2018; Darby 2020; Lavin 2020). Women in such movements are convinced that they are in imminent danger and from this standpoint the adherence to traditional roles is not only a moral

obligation but a survival necessity.

To understand why women join white nationalist movements, we can turn to the historical analysis of the development of gender and racial power structures.

According to the so-called White Backlash theory, initially described by Richard Hamilton, the popularity of white nationalism, especially in the US, can be seen as a reaction to the civil rights movement and the success of leftist politics defined by diversity and feminism. White men were slowly forced to share their privileges and power with other groups (*i.e.*, minorities and women) leading to the rhetoric that frames white people, in particular white men, as victims of political neglect, betrayal, and discrimination (Rhodes 2010; Mulholland, Montagna, and Sanders-McDonagh 2018). Therefore, the return to traditional gender norms is seen as one of the essential steps to protect the white race by restoring the “natural balance”, *i.e.*, lost power structures and hierarchies. Movements sharing white nationalist ideology are thus normalized as interest groups for whites. The urgency of the matter is reinforced by conspiracy theories of white genocide, Cultural Marxism, the fear of identity loss caused by the rapid spread of “degeneracy”, *i.e.*, LGBTIQ rights (Mulholland, Montagna, and Sanders-McDonagh 2018) and the harm to the imagined future white child, viewed as a repository of innocence (Levander and Pease 2020). The idea that non-white people are not only destroying white identity but also harming innocent white children appeals to conservative women, many of whom see motherhood and protecting children as their natural gender role.

When it comes to the feminist movement itself, it is worth noting that many suffragettes in the U.S. were not concerned with racial equality and it was not until the early 1990s with third-wave feminism and the popularisation of Black feminism that the question of intersectionality and racial equality was explicitly formulated as central for the mainstream women’s rights movement (Bhavnani 2000). We can therefore conclude that white backlash in the women’s rights movement is a relatively recent phenomenon and it could partially explain the increasing number of women within white nationalism as well as the emergence of identitarian feminist movements.

Further research seeking to explain why women are drawn to the ideas of white nationalism suggests that many are moved by the “sense of strength, dignity, and mission drawn from participation in collective action” (Graff, Kapur, and Walters 2019). In other words, it gives women a sense of community and purpose, and these benefits might outweigh the negative sides that can be attributed to patriarchy and sexism.

Furthermore, researchers have observed that white nationalist groups often purposefully hide their hateful and violent side to become more mainstream and normalized, in particular among women. Members of these groups are encouraged to focus on their love for the white race in their public statements, and not on hate for non-white and queer people. Racist groups also emphasize the importance of projecting a positive self-image as educated, happy family people. Barbara Perry concludes that this strategy is especially effective for attracting women to these movements (Perry 2004). Women’s greater participation and visibility in racist movements are seen as another factor contributing to making them more accessible to mainstream populations (Blee 2002). The research on populist radical right parties in Europe also shows that the rise of women in leadership positions of far-right political movements, (*e.g.*, Le Pen in France, Giorgia Meloni in Italy), allows them to reach a broader electorate (Mayer 2013; Erzeel and Rashkova 2017; Feo and Lavizzari 2021). In other words, today’s far-right movements that have a greater female representation are more appealing in general, and especially to women.

More recently, white nationalist discourse started to instrumentalize some feminist ideas, such as eradicating violence against women to appeal to more women (Lim and Fanghanel 2013; Mulholland, Montagna, and Sanders-McDonagh 2018; Graff, Kapur, and Walters 2019). White people are perceived as inherently respectful towards women, whereas non-white Others are constructed as uncivilized, uneducated, and dangerous: non-white men are portrayed as sexual predators and abusers, and non-white women are unqualified mothers abusing welfare (Daniels 2016; Sanders-McDonagh 2018). Therefore, white nationalism appeals to women’s sense of physical and economic security (Ardizzoni 2004). An example of this can be seen in Figure 3 showing a campaign poster of AfD (German far-right party), de-

picturing a crying white girl in the night surrounded by dark male silhouettes in the background. The inscription says “Cologne-Berlin-Kiel...” (a reference to news reports on sexualized violence of immigrants towards women) “More security for our wives and daughters! Choose AfD now”. This poster is clearly addressing men and the use of the preposition “our/unsere” serves two functions here: on the one hand, it appeals to the dichotomy our=German=white vs. other=non-German=non-white, on the other hand, it indicates the relationship of possession, that a man has towards the women of his family. So despite the quasi-women’s rights message, it is actually about the question of preserving control over “our” women by protecting them from the Other.



Figure 3: **AfD campaign poster** – Image from a video reportage by Stoll [2017](#).

There are studies indicating that not all women in such movements are content with the current state of affairs and openly criticize the misogyny in white nationalist groups while they continue to support racist, homophobic and anti-Semitic goals (Mulholland, Montagna, and Sanders-McDonagh [2018](#)). Some women even hesitate to involve their children, especially their daughters, in organized racism due to the hostility towards women (Blee [2002](#)). This leads us to the philosophical conflict within the movement that pathologizes the non-white

men as sexual predators and oppressors while advocating for traditional patriarchal gender roles, which are oppressive towards women. Furthermore, women who want to be actively involved in the “fight for the survival of the white race” on a political level face the conflict concerning their “natural social role” which is at odds with the notion of independent female agency.

A theoretical framework that can help explain how these women deal with inconsistencies of white nationalism on a personal level is Festinger’s cognitive dissonance theory. It suggests that if two ideas or beliefs are dissonant with one another, a person will seek to make them more consistent as the state of cognitive dissonance causes great psychological discomfort. To reduce this discomfort, people turn to different adaptive strategies: they add more supportive beliefs that outweigh dissonant beliefs, reduce the importance of the conflicting belief, change their belief, or continue blindly believing a challenged idea (Festinger 1957). Further developments of this theory suggest additional coping strategies, *e.g.*, confirmation bias (avoiding circumstances and contradictory information), rationalization, and reaffirmation. Though one might argue that it is just a case of difference in terminology (Dawson 1999; Mahaffy 1996).

3 Online Media

Analyzing online sources has gained in popularity in sociology, especially when it comes to demographics that are hard to access through conventional means and with sensitive topics where reliable data through polls and interviews are difficult to obtain (Herring 2004). Collecting data online is very accessible, low to no cost, and often faster. However, online data sources like forums, social media, podcasts, blogs, and vlogs have their limitations, especially in terms of representability, *i.e.* no control over sampling. Moreover, the researcher usually has little to no ability to guide the conversation, specify missing information, or even collect reliable data on demographics. In terms of qualitative content analysis, it can be problematic to use pre-defined coding categories with online media as different sources may follow a very different logic, patterns, and ways of expressing ideas.

Understanding which online material is best suited for answering the research question was not an easy task. The total amount of sources processed for this thesis is significantly larger than the sample selected for actual coding due to the scope limitations of the present work. Altogether, significant time was spent studying different types of media and understanding what type of content they contain and how suitable they would be for qualitative content analysis. The initial material included over 50 videos on YouTube, 4Chan, Bitchute, and RedIce by female white nationalist vloggers like Lana Lokteff, Tara McCarthy, Bre Faucheux, Britanny Pettibone, Lauren Southern, and Lacey Lynn, multiple forum threads on Daily Stormer, and Stormfront, websites like Shieldwall Network (now permanently disabled), Women for Aryan Unity (WAU), Renegadetribune, Nordic Resistance Movement, online women's magazines like Homefront, podcasts, including Firestarter-radio, Dinosaur-news, Aryan Women with Heks and Sinead, Balk Right Ladies Night, social media Gab and Parlor and multiple telegram channels including, Boogaloo Intel Drop (now disabled), Proud Boys, Proud Girls, Blackpilled, Way of the World.

Given that solely the female perspective was relevant for this paper, preference was given to sources that contain conversations between white nationalist women on patriarchal structures of the movement and the ways they handled them. As a result, the materials selected for this thesis include a forum thread on Stormfront Women's Forum entitled "*What would Attract More Women to WN?*" and a video conversation between Bre Faucheux and Lana Lokteff on YouTube, entitled "*How Women Can Course Correct*". These sources were chosen due to the abundance of content for analyses and because they represent two opposite types of conversations, that allowed showing two different perspectives.

The first dialogue on Stormfront Women's Forum is among "average" white nationalist women who, despite the title of the thread, mostly shared their opinions on the place, role, and problems of women within the movement. At the time of this writing, the thread contains a total of 479 messages from 166 users and has 256410 views. The thread was created on October 4, 2008 and is still active, the last message in the thread was posted on April 28, 2021 (Stormfront 2008). Figure 4 shows the number of messages posted in this thread per month for the

whole period of its existence ².

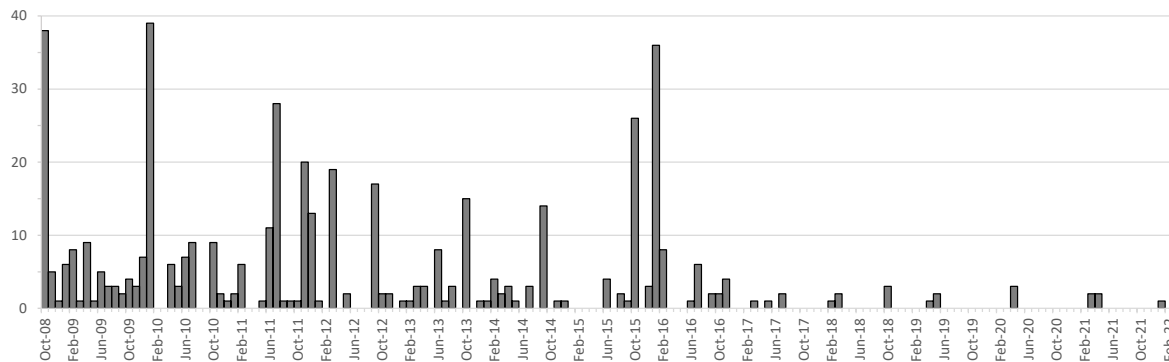


Figure 4: Number of Messages Posted per Month on a Stormfront Women’s Forum Thread Entitled “What would Attract More Women to WN?”

The opening post of the thread reads:

“ What would Attract More Women to WN? I guess this is a two part question spawned from another thread that has since gone down memory lane for the female bashing that was going on there. So, now we can have our own discussion here, with no male influence.

Please remember to keep it civil and no male bashing here.

- 1. What would attract more women to WN?*
- 2. What attracted you, personally, to WN?*

”

User Keelan, Stormfront, 04-10-2008

Already in this initial message, we can see the acknowledgment of some inside problems, including “female bashing”, the need for a separate female-only space, and the need to attract more women.

It is challenging to determine the demographics of the users as no consistent data is publicly available. Most users self-reported location data in their profile, though it is hard to estimate how reliable they are. The distribution of geographic locations is presented in Figure 5.

² Special thanks to Dr. Benjamin Planche for extracting and aggregating additional data on users and posts. The scripts written by Dr. Planche can be found in appendix B

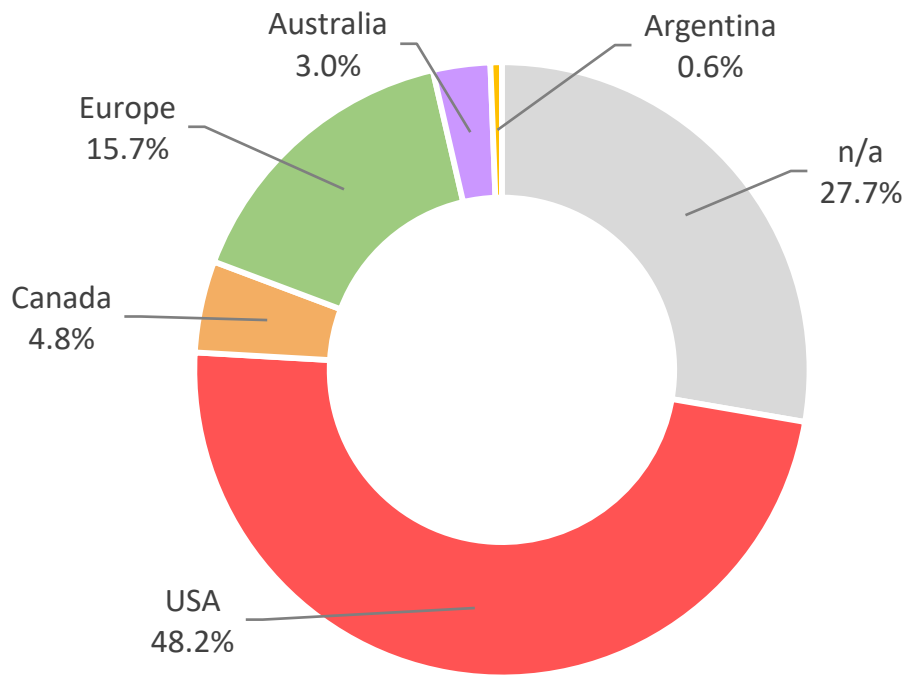


Figure 5: **Distribution of Users' Self-Reported Geographic Locations**

Here, we can see that almost a third of the users in the thread did not disclose their location, nearly half of the users wrote that they lived in the U.S., 15.7% in Europe, almost 5% in Canada, and 3% in Australia. For more details see appendix [A](#)

When analyzing the concepts that were important to the women from the selected Stormfront thread, they mostly expressed them in terms of the opposition to what women considered to be wrong. Table [1](#) demonstrates the frequency of text segments coded with a particular belief.

The discourse in the selected data is dominated by negative language with a lot of antagonistic opinions. Quite unexpectedly this discussion thread contained many segments that were coded with “feminism”, a concept that is usually not associated with the white-nationalist movement. It is important to note that while there were indeed women that described themselves as feminists, most of them did not but expressed ideas that one would usually categorize as feminist, *e.g.*, “*The same is true with women, they are capable, just like men, of doing other tasks, and I agree that any woman should be utilized in the field she excels in*”.

The term feminism in the code system is used in the narrow sense of “the advocacy of

Table 1: Frequency of Belief-Related Quotes in the Data Sample.

Code	Frequency
Feminism	56
Anti-semitism	32
Anti-feminism	30
Anti-mainstream media	24
Anti-communist/left	18
Anti-multiculturalism/diversity	17
Against violence/hatred	15
Trans/homophobia	8
Anti-immigration	6
Anti-mainstream education	3
Anti-political correctness	2

women’s rights based on the equality of the sexes”. It is critical to mention that many modern feminists would argue that feminism and white nationalism are mutually exclusive, as the struggle against sexism encompasses the struggle against racism. Notwithstanding, this work keeps this term, as it is primarily focused on the self-perception of women, and several women from the sample self-identified as feminists.

As can be seen from Table 2, when answering the initial question, *i.e.*, “What attracted you, personally, to WN?” some women focused on why they joined *e.g.*, “*I was attracted to it years ago as I just hate blacks in my white Country.*” while others on how they joined, *e.g.*, “*As for what got me started with WN, it was my husband.*”

The most common answer on the why-question was the desire to protect “whiteness” from multiple threats, *e.g.* extinction, the loss of traditional values, or perceived victimhood in the hands of a liberal agenda. Many women from the sample shared their experiences of anti-white victimization, explaining that white people are always blamed for everything, shamed, discriminated against at work for the benefit of minorities, overlooked politically, forced to accept liberal values, *etc.* Another common reason for joining was to find like-minded people, who share the pride of the white race or disdain for other races, or both. Several people also mentioned that they have never liked other races and perceived this as a natural part of human nature.

Table 2: Why and How Women Joined White Nationalism. Frequency of Responses as Observed in the Data Sample.

Question	Code	Frequency
Why	Protection of white identity / heritage	48
Why	Fear of / disdain for other races / their behavior	34
Why	Protection of children/future generation	26
Why	Need for a community/ like-minded people	24
Why	Anti-white discrimination/shaming	20
Why	Fear of extinction	12
Why	Protection of traditional values	11
Why	Essentialism of racism	8
Why	White men are in danger	3
Why	Source of meaning in life	2
Why	Patriotism	2
Why	Appeal of being in the underground movement	1
How	Upbringing	19
How	Self-education	15
How	Introduction through relative/boyfriend/friend	15
How	Introduction through Stormfront	11
How	Exposure to white nationalist video content	3
How	Exposure to white nationalist music	3
How	Introduction through other white nationalist women	1

As to the how-question, most women in the thread were introduced to white nationalism either through their upbringing or through a relative or friend who was an active member in the movement. When no other people were involved in recruitment, the women talked about “researching” this topic for a while, before discovering the “truth” and with it the movement. Stormfront was often mentioned as the platform where people educated themselves on white nationalism.

It is also curious that why-answers (191 segments) were almost three times more frequent than how-answers (68 segments). This suggests that ideological reasoning and justification are more important than practicalities. The need for cognitive self-defense suggests that cognitive dissonance exists. If we look at the linguistic connotation (*i.e.* emotional value) of these beliefs we can see, yet again, that a lot of them are negative and are connected with either fear or threats.

The quotes from the selected Stormfront thread that are used in this paper are rendered in their initial form, *i.e.*, with unchanged spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and the use of slurs and pejoratives. Every quote has a reference to the original user name and the date of a respective post.

The second source for this paper is a video interview hosted on YouTube and initially posted from Bre Faucheux's account. It is one of the last episodes of Ms. Faucheux's podcast project "27Crows Radio" (Faucheux 2018). This source gives a different perspective on the question of adaptation to patriarchal structures because it features two public women well known in white nationalist circles.

Bre Faucheux is an author of dark fantasy and paranormal romance and a former host of 27Crows Radio. She describes herself as Identitarian and Nietzschean with her interests lying in Self Mastery and European Heritage (Faucheux 2016) Until recently she has been an outspoken activist for alt-right causes but since 2019 she stopped her social media activity.

Lana Lokteff is arguably one of the most visible women in white nationalism. She describes herself on Gab as "*Slavic. Wife. Mother. Fighting Europhobic Lies. Banned from Most Platforms For Telling The Truth. Producer of Indie Media for Red Ice. Hostess of 3Fourteen. I'm Not The Woman They Say I Am.*" (Lokteff 2017) She became a prominent YouTube personality before being banned. Together with her husband Henrik Palmgren, a prominent Swedish white nationalist they own Red Ice – a far-right multimedia company that produces various written, audio, and video white nationalist content. Lana is also the host of Radio 3Fourteen, and a militant white cause activist (Darby 2021).

The interview was posted on February 26, 2018, has 30,182 views, 335 comments, and is 52 minutes and 46 seconds long. It was organized as a video call between Bre and Lana (see Figure 6) and it begins with Ms. Faucheux introducing Ms. Lokteff and the topic of the interview.

" Hello and welcome back to 27 Crows Radio. Today I have an exciting guest: the beautiful and smart co-host of RedIce TV and the hostess of Radio 3Fourteen



Figure 6: Screenshot from the Video Interview of Lana Lokteff by Bre Faucheux

Lana Lokteff. For years now she's fought in the culture war against rabid lefties, feminists, neo-cons, and all those who oppose the preservation of the west and the white race. She joins me today to have a discussion about her journey with RedIce TV and how women can potentially course-correct in the future after decades of being manipulated by the media, the internationalists, and Hollywood propaganda. Thank you for joining me."

Bre Faucheux, YouTube, 26-02-2018

The questions Bre asked Lana during their conversation include:

- How Lana balances her role as a wife and mother with activism
- How Lana found her way to the alt-right
- If the alt-right has a negative attitude towards women
- If women in politics are anomalies
- Tips for women who want to create alt-right content
- How Lana deals with negativity surrounding her work
- How women are misled by feminism

- How to attract more women to the movement

The content of the interview makes it clear that its main goal is to demonstrate the appeal of the alt-right to women. As such, it offers a great opportunity for studying how these two women handle cognitive dissonance caused by the gender-specific conflicts in the alt-right. The interview was transcribed and all quotes used in this work are referenced with the speaker's name and interview date.

4 Deny, Negotiate or Demand Reforms

The selected sample revealed three main conflicts of interest that women face in white nationalism: disagreements on appropriate female roles, misogyny, and lack of women in the movement.

4.1 Gender Roles

The first conflict is defined by patriarchal gender roles and women's interest in self-determination. As described in Section 1, the resistance to white genocide is a central idea of the movement that predetermines women's primary role as mothers and those who refuse to have children are often seen as willfully betraying the white race. Another conflict connected to women's role is whether women in white nationalism should be allowed to pursue a career. Focusing on work is believed to distract women from their primary role as mothers and also negatively affect their ability to raise children.

The first strategy to reduce this cognitive dissonance found in the sample was by retreating to gender essentialism, which allowed for the **denial** of the very existence of a conflict. It makes sense that if a woman's only "natural" role is to be a wife and mother, it removes the conflict caused by the desire for self-determination. If a woman is biologically predisposed to a certain role, any attempt to deviate from it will be unnatural, cause suffering and ultimately fail. It follows that the only reason why some women think that they don't want children or that they want a career is because they have been brainwashed by the media and feminism.

The following Stormfront posts summarize this idea quite well:

“ White women in this country have been duped into thinking their identity and self worth lies outside the home. As a result we are left with a race of worn-out, lonely White women, who, if they were fortunate enough to have children before they got to old, are wondering what they hell happened? Why are their children addicted to sex, drugs, etc. Why wasn’t the extra money mom earned (and all the STUFF it was able to buy) enough to keep their kids on the right path? ”

User Seriouswon, Stormfront, 04-01-2010

“ It is one of the reasons why our race has been so successful that we have mutual respect between the genders. We know our differences and celebrate them. We need our men to be strong but we also need them to be gentle with us, to know when to take charge and when to listen to our input. This works both ways....in the female dominated arena of child-rearing we women know when to take the lead and when to listen to the father’s input. Trust your instincts - they’re written in your genes. ”

User GI_Jane, Stormfront, 20-08-2009

Some Stormfront users focused on emphasizing the drawbacks of the conflicting belief (that a woman’s role can lie outside her family) and its destabilizing impact on both men and women:

“ I, for one, would love to go back to the old ways. I think women have it worse now. Now that men feel they are constantly competeting w/ women - I think they have less respect for them and treat them even more poorly. Are there any less rapes? Is there any less abuse? On the contrary. And divorce has risen steadily over the years. Yes, we’ve had change - but can we say any of it is good? ”

User Haus Drachen , Stormfront, 06-07-2011

The underlining of the unnatural character of working women was also found in the YouTube conversation between Bre Faucheux and Lana Lokteff:

“ [Lana] These feminists have created this cartoon version of what how they

think women were treated back then and “how they were oppressed, look!” Just because they don’t want to be a housewife doesn’t mean that other women don’t want to be.

[Bre] And it’s fine, they can just die off.

[Lana] yeah cuz they are having a view that is oppression in itself. Well, to whom? Most women don’t feel that way. Most women prefer to if they have children to be home with them. They don’t want to be working and worrying about all these things. Nobody wants that.

[Bre] I mean if I were in that second-wave feminism and I saw them pushing me to go out to work at the same job my fiance does, I’d be like huh? what? like I don’t want to do this. what? I’ve been doing what I’m doing. I imagine there were some women back then who were just like uh? are you pushing... why are you pushing this?” Lana Lokteff and Bre Faucheux, YouTube, 26-02-2018

For these women, the idea that white women are “programmed” to want careers and not to want children fits very neatly into the conspiracy theory that Jewish people are the master-minds behind white genocide (see Section 1). Given that for white nationalists, both feminism and the mainstream media are controlled by Jewish people, brainwashing women about their role in society is just another part of the elaborate plan to get rid of the white race, as demonstrated by the following quotes:

“ Let’s face it, white women are getting hit with probably the most amount of propaganda, I would say. White women... there’s really a number being done on them. I kinda, I do have compassion and I do hope that some of them will come over because such a number is being done. I mean, millions of dollars are being spent on pushing propaganda on white women. So we have to be a little... a little compassionate sometimes. I know it’s hard when you see that but I anticipate more coming up to our side. ”

Lana Lokteff, YouTube, 26-02-2018

“ I don’t think that things changed because women truly wanted change. I think the old way was working just fine for US - but our enemy saw it differently. They knew the best way to attack us was to destroy the family unit. So they convinced women that they were being treated unfairly and deserved more. That’s why so many pioneers in the feminist movement were Jews. Same w/ the civil rights movements. ”

User Haus Drachen, Stormfront, 07-06-2011

The idea that women are programmed or brainwashed was repeated multiple times in the data, and this also suggests that the deceived women are in some way inferior to the “awakened” women. Some women in the sample expressed either contempt or pity for them, that on the one hand suggests that through belonging to white nationalism these women feel special, on the other hand, it poses a problem in attracting more women, whom female white nationalists often have a low opinion about. Even though multiple women admitted to have been “on the other side”, and confessed that brainwashing is hard to escape:

“ Like so many other women, I was misled by feminism and liberalism. We were surrounded by it in school and a university. Pretty much there was no escape so they... they just got me in their clutches. ”

Bre Faucheux, YouTube, 26-02-2018

The position of public female activists like Bre and Lana is controversial because, following the logic of gender essentialism, these women are not supposed to be involved in public activism. They should be at home with their children. Both women are aware of this inconsistency and in their interview to reduce this cognitive dissonance in the public eye, they justify their activism with the urgency of the current state of affairs and with their obligation as mothers to do anything they can to protect their children.³

³ As mentioned in Section 3, a wider range of materials was also reviewed for this paper, which indicated that women in more “public” types of media, *i.e.* podcasts or vlogs seemed to be more eager to follow white nationalists conservative “party line” concerning gender roles than those writing on forums. Though this matter is outside the scope of this research, it could be interesting to further investigate the question of whether the rigidity of white nationalist convictions depends on the degree of a person’s publicity/prominence. I would hypothesize that white nationalist women who are more public would be more likely to lean on gender essentialism because otherwise, they would run a higher risk of being ostracized by the movement.

“[Lana] And I wish, really, that I could just be a housewife. And some days I wish that Henrik [Lana’s husband] just had a normal job and it was this normal chilled-out life and I didn’t have to worry about these things. But that’s just not the time that we live in. And frankly, I don’t think I would feel good about myself if I just walked away from Red Ice, walked away from these things. Like that’s it. Because when you have kids you worry about them. And you want to fight for their future. I don’t want to sit around and say I didn’t do anything for them.

[Bre] That’s what I tried telling people. I wish we lived in peaceful times where I didn’t have to do these kinds of things. Where I didn’t feel so compelled to put my face out there and to fight in whatever small way that I can. But those aren’t the kind of times we live in and we live in times where we have to be that voice. Because if we don’t do it, who else is gonna step up? Because people will see that we step down and they’ll just get scared.”

Lana Lokteff and Bre Fauchaux, YouTube, 26-02-2018

Yet later in the same interview, Lana contradicts her justification, indicating that walking away from her activism would have been extremely difficult for her:

“ [Lana] I’ve had to be really strong to be able to endure the things that my husband does and be supportive of him and help him with RedIce. I mean this is our life, it’s not something that I could just walk away from, you know. It’s everything.”

Lana Lokteff, YouTube, 26-02-2018

This shows clearly the existence of cognitive dissonance for Lana, who advocates for other women to follow traditional gender norms, while she, herself, is not able to fully commit to them. This might explain why she is so zealous in promoting gender essentialism in her public work, as it helps to compensate for her inconsistency in this matter.

Most women from the sample did not fully embrace gender essentialism. Their strategy to reduce cognitive dissonance related to the conflict of female social roles was **negotiation**, *i.e.*, adding new ideas and contexts that help to minimize cognitive inconsistency. The most

common line of argument recognized certain “essential differences” in men and women as well as their “natural predispositions” but opposed (to various degrees) the idea that women should be exclusively focused on the home and childcare.

For example, some members claimed that a woman can be active outside her gender role but only on the condition that she does her best to fulfill her primary duty as a mother. In the following example, a woman’s role as a mother is defined not as much by her biological destiny, but rather by her obligation towards the white race:

“ This has got to be one of my biggest pet peeves. Yes, it does sometimes happen that people just don’t find a partner until it is too late, but all WN’s should be actively seeking a husband/wife and someone to have children with and as many children as they can have. Everyone seems to want to pass the buck on this, but I think any woman who can have children who wilfully neglects her duty to do so is not fulfilling her purpose. Women can do other things too, but they should work children into that plan. ”

User Eris, Stormfront, 25-09-2012

This quote also suggests that being a mother might not be enough for a woman, as so many women are trying to either avoid it or seek self-realization in additional fields. This in itself questions the essentialism of motherhood as it seems not to come naturally to many women, or does not meet all the needs a woman has. This user frames motherhood as a duty for the white race and recognizes the existence of a desire to be more than that.

In some cases, white nationalist women agreed with one or several elements of gender essentialism while refuting another. This allowed them to be theoretically compliant with the traditional gender roles while having room for some exceptions, as in:

“ I have the utmost respect for women who are mothers and home-makers, one of the most important roles is to sustain the white race and hopefully increase the populations of whites in the face of attempts to effectively ethnically cleanse us, but it’s not for every woman either, it would be immoral to hold women back from reaching their professional/academic potentials or denying us basic rights,

though I'm also of the belief that women should not intrude in masculine fields, especially where physical strength is key, e.g., there should be no women in military ground combat or firefighters, simply because men are by far the best suited for that role. Feminists think women can do 'anything' a man can when clearly we can't... that's a destructive delusion. ”

User IrishBritChick92, Stormfront, 19-08-2015

Similarly, many women demonstrably recognized the importance of traditional gender roles while indicating additional/alternative plausible roles women can assume.

“ I hardly think any movement would want to boast that all their women are subservient baby machines. The wn men want to be proud of us as we want to be proud of them. While most of us value motherhood as one of the most honorable things a woman can do, we know it's not ALL she can do. ”

User Tulia, Stormfront, 11-10-2008

Other women in this study reduced their inner conflict by claiming that activism is merely an act of speaking the truth and as such does not mean assuming a male role:

“ ..there are women like us who really... We can see the obvious of what's happening and I don't think that requires, like, a super-duper high IQ or even a male brain. Because what we're saying is true so the truth doesn't really require a male brain or a high IQ. We are simply highlighting the truth and I think the truth will come out in any vessel that really wants to channel that. ”

Lana Lokteff, YouTube, 26-02-2018

This quote distinctly shows the degree to which some white nationalist women are embracing gender essentialism. What Lana indicates here is that men are naturally more intelligent than women and as such they lead the way in politics, while women can help and follow. In the same interview, Lana also expressed her opinion that giving women the right to vote was a mistake and that most women are not interested in politics, because it is not natural for them.

Often, white nationalist women used a logical fallacy, which attempts to discredit an op-

ponent's position (women should strictly follow traditionally female roles) by intentionally presenting an extreme version of it, which most people would disagree with. All while still agreeing with selective elements of gender essentialism, as in:

“ I think dating and having relationships is part of white culture. I mean, if we keep our daughters locked up until marriage, we might as well slap a burka on her ha ha. :p But I do think it's worth mentioning that I think we should discourage our daughters from sleeping around and acting loose. ”

User Fairlight, Stormfront, 08-07-2010

We see a careful balancing act between an acceptable degree of promiscuity and purity. The problem of walking this thin line is well known and is sometimes referred to as the *Madonna–Whore Dichotomy*, *i.e.* polarized perceptions of women in general as either chaste and pure Madonnas or as promiscuous and seductive whores (Bareket et al. 2018). The patriarchal fear of and desire to control female sexuality has been thematized for decades by psychologists, sociologists, and feminists. Women are often presented with the challenging task of being sexual but not too sexual, with very vague rules that define a permissible degree of the expression of female sexuality, which must be constantly negotiated.

Finally, there were surprisingly many women for whom cognitive dissonance resolved in **demand for reforms** in the movement. They were dissatisfied with the current status quo of white nationalism in regards to gender norms and tolerated such attitudes only because they believed in a “higher cause”, *i.e.*, protecting the white race. Many women admitted that because of rigid gender norms they had been reluctant to join the movement initially and still sometimes thought about leaving the organized movement. These women saw gender essentialism as outdated and misogynistic and advocated for women's right to choose how to contribute to white nationalism. Ironically, these women often would call for more diversity, tolerance, and open-mindedness in regards to white women's roles. However, nobody in the sample directly addressed the question of how modernized female roles could be compatible with the existential crisis that the white race allegedly faces.

“ Another thing that puts me off this place is the notion that females need to ‘do their bit’ and have as many white babies as possible to re-stock the white race. While I can appreciate the idea of this I, personally, do not plan on having any children. Parenthood has never interested me and never will. There are more ways than child birth to contribute to the protection of the white race. And yet I feel there is an air of animosity towards women here who would prefer to contribute to the white race in ways other than motherhood. I’m 37, white and proud of it, childless, a feminist (shock! horror!), friendly, approachable, conscientious, gentle and caring, and I lead a happy, fulfilling life. White nationalism and pride need not involve going back in a time warp to the 50’s when women stayed at home, the man went out and worked, and people in general were restricted to gender roles and lacked the freedom to pursue their own interests regardless of gender or age. ”

User Joanne Purcell, Stormfront, 29-06-2011

“ For myself, I’d like to see more diversity amongst women welcome and the same respect shown to women as is shown to men. As women, we need to put aside our differences because homemakers and career women shouldn’t be at war with each other. At the end of the day, we are all human, and should be doing what comes most naturally to us to help promote our race whether that is raising a beautiful family or developing a god-given talent for the betterment of mankind. ”

User Rorschach74, Stormfront, 23-01-2010

Additionally, women with this outlook mentioned economic reasons that made a stay-at-home mum role impossible in the modern world:

“ The whole “women are just here to have kids and that’s the only contribution they can make” outlook some people here seem to have, and the ones who choose not to (for whatever reason) are looked down upon. I was browsing the forums earlier, and was appalled at some of the comments calling women “selfish or cold” if they choose not to have kids. I myself chose not to have kids a long time ago, and my mind is not going to be changed on the matter. It’s 2012, in case

you haven't noticed, we are facing a world-wide economic crisis. This isn't the old days when the husband went to work and the wife could stay at home raising a big family. "

User scarlette, Stormfront, 24-09-2012

Contributors from this group also emphasized that women and the choices they make must be respected given the central role they play in white nationalism. They speculated that those who demand women to conform to traditional role do so out of personal insecurity:

" Just ignore the men that believe women should know their place. If you are a good woman maybe they should know their place and mind their own business. Most of the big talkers are full of themselves anyway. Windbags on a soapbox. Most of them can't even keep a girlfriend. Don't be discouraged by them. But be proud of the men that can put food on the table for a house full of kids and threats his wife like a queen. The rest of them don't even matter. They can't do it without us. White Girl Power. "

User Jessica Reeves, Stormfront, 30-06-2011

" Let's see how long your white nationalism lasts without females. Not all females follow a man around like a sad puppy dog. Not all of us are only good for making babies either. Try to have a little more of an open mind. I would think all WN could be helpful in some way for the cause. And don't get that confused with me being a feminist. I am not. But until I settle down and have a family, there are others ways I can help with the movement. And I'm sure I'm not the only female that doesn't start popping kids out at 18. Attitudes like that are what drive females away. "

User Nosrep, Stormfront, 16-10-2015

4.2 Misogyny

The second conflict this paper analyzes is misogyny in the white nationalist movement, *i.e.*, opinions, and ideas that are degrading and humiliating to women. This conflict is complicated by the belief that the white race is the most moral race there is, and as such, theoretically, it should not have any such glaring problems of disrespect towards women.

As described in the previous sub-section, white nationalist women do not agree on the role of women in the movement and hence have different perceptions of what constitutes misogyny. After all, if a woman is convinced that her natural purpose is to be a good wife and mother, she will see nothing misogynistic in calls for more women to become mothers. For “conservative” women, misogyny rather refers to openly humiliating commentaries about women or the accusations that all the shortcomings and failures of the movement were caused by women. For women who demand a review of their roles in white nationalism, the very articulation of traditional female roles is misogynistic. Overall, the most common opinions that white nationalist women in the sample recognized as misogyny were the accusations of:

- not conforming to their gender role
- not being capable of political thinking
- being feminists
- race-mixing
- having lesser intelligence
- exploiting men

Additionally, some women brought up the instances of sexual objectification as a form of misogyny. It stands out from the rest, because it is directly connected with lived experiences whereas other forms of misogyny are mostly rhetorical.

Below is an example of a post that women from the Stormfront thread unanimously found misogynistic ⁴:

“ Spoken like true SIMPs⁵ and a woman that can admit to no wrong doing from her sisters. Obviously a feminist. White men are constantly beaten down, emasculated and brainwashed. Start calling out the bad behavior of women and maybe we’ll think about doing something. White women, to a degree, are responsible for what has happened to White men, because they have sucked on the Jew-

⁴ For the context, as mentioned in Section 3 the thread is from a women’s only forum, however, an occasional male user would still post there. This would usually follow by an overwhelming criticism from female users and a warning from a moderator

⁵ Simp is a slang insult for men who are seen as too attentive and submissive to women, especially out of a failed hope of winning some entitled sexual attention or activity from them

ish government's teet and become dependent on welfare, alimony, etc. unfairly extracted from men. Once the situation has been corrected by us men, women will go back to raising children, cooking, cleaning and doing other motherly, feminine things. Women are at their unhappiest now more than at any other point in history because they've gotten 'equality' delivered to them by Jews. Women never really wanted the equality they received, they just acted impulsively because that's how women are. Men are leaders and women are followers, so focusing on appealing to women is pointless. ”

User manofire, Stormfront, 18-10-2015

Even for women who expressed beliefs in gender essentialism, it was very hard to ignore the overall condescending tone of this post that accused women of all the sins a white nationalist woman can commit.

Similar to the conflicting understanding of gender roles, cognitive dissonance caused by misogyny found three main resolutions.

First, the smallest group of women chose to ignore or **deny** accusations of misogyny, because it conflicts with existing beliefs (white men are always respectful to women) ⁶. To dismiss the existence of sexism in the movement, women tried to explain where this misconception comes from.

“ You know, but in my experience I just, it doesn't resonate with me, this whole like oh it's all a woman-hating. I mean that's baloney. Most of the guys in the altright, they're fighting for a future, for women and children. And they aren't fags, aren't homosexual. They like women, they want to have sex with women, they want to marry women, so they want women to be around. It's ridiculous, so. I think that there's a lot of confusion and a lot of fightings. ”

Lana Lokteff, YouTube, 26-02-2018

⁶ As in the case with the female roles conflict, denial was seemingly more prominent in vlogs and podcasts rather than on forums, though this link should be studied more closely in future research.

This quote obviously does not explain the sexism away, as men might like women, and at the same time assume their supremacy over them and hence control their behavior, sexuality, or reproduction. Most domestic violence perpetrators claim that they love the partners they abuse. What is not being said by white nationalist gender essentialists like Lana is what would happen, should white nationalists win. If we take the U.S. as an example, what should happen with approximately 30% of the non-caucasian population of the country (who are essential for sustaining the U.S. economy)? How would one secure the absence of race-mixing? How are they planning to raise the fertility rate of caucasian women that at the moment lies at about 1.6 instead of the 2.1 needed to sustain a population? It is hard to imagine a non-violent solution to these questions. Women would have to suffer increasing control over their bodies and lives for the white nationalist life model to be viable.

The second explanation that enabled denying the existence of misogyny boiled down to a conspiracy theory in which sexism was spread by the opposition or enemies of white nationalism to divide it:

“ I mean many who spread this claim, you know, that identitarian men, altright men, hate women, they don’t actually meet up with people in real life. They just, you know... people see a few anonymous Twitter accounts trashing women and they think that represents the movement. And it just really irritates me, like you’re so naive, you know. There’s plenty of people that are trying to create division because they hate our movement. Even people who claim to be on our side who think like the altright, consensus-controlled opposition, you know. So, for me, it’s just... it turns into just a class... excuse my language but it’s a clusterfuck. it is dramas. ”

Lana Lokteff, YouTube, 26-02-2018

“ I admit I found this trend alarming too when I started spending more time actually reading the posts on forums. Nobody needed to tell us the non-whites were dangerous but it’s a bit of a shock to read so much boiling hatred from supposedly White men, isn’t it? That’s why I rather doubt they are all White as much as I doubt they all are adults. How could we be sure? If most of the White men we

know personally behave sensibly and then we come here and see professed WN's writing screeds as if they're recruiting for the Taliban, well, maybe non-white troublemakers is what they are and not White at all. ”

User ApricotMallow, Stormfront, 14-10-2013

Overall, the common consensus among the denialist group was consistent with the movement's philosophy, *i.e.*, that misogyny just cannot come from *real* white men, because they are inherently respectful of women.

“ These men are not really WN, no matter how much they profess to be. In my opinion, they are usually those who have emotional/mental issues, race traitors and reds et al., who are actively putting Women off from being WN. ”

User VikingSong, Stormfront, 26-03-2013

“ Behind the computer screen, the ones who are the loudest in their misogyny, are usually just a bunch of cowardly weaklings. They would be far too cowardly to say those things in person that they say behind the security of their computer screen. Even if they had the courage to say such things in person, I'm sure you would not have to confront him, yourself because the real WN men would probably beat the crap out of him. It's likely most who post such things are either:

- 1. Little boys about the age of 11-14, just trolling around.*
- 2. Physically grown men with emotional, mental, or developmental problems.*
- 3. Males of other races or mixed races trying to sabotage this forum. Think about it: Which race is infamous for its bad attitude about women? When you read this obnoxious stuff, does it really sound like a white man or perhaps somebody of another race? My point is you will never know until you start stepping out from behind the anonymity of the computer screen. Here's a vid from a WN man who talks about this issue.*

”

User HaplogroupHelena, Stormfront, 12-10-2008

The second way to resolve this cognitive dissonance was through **negotiation** where women admitted the existence of sexism but tried to downplay it, showing that it was unimportant. The most common rationalization attributed misogyny in the movement to a few “bad apples” that exist primarily online:

“ Yeah online this may be true, but my experiences in real life say otherwise. I’d suggest getting off the internet and meeting people in real life. In all honesty, I’ve only met one man who actually believes that women are the bane of their existence. ”

User momofthree, Stormfront, 05-12-2011

“ We’re talking about a very tiny fraction of people mostly on Twitter and forums who are fighting a lot like a thought game. Seem like very few people, near, like, most of our members are professional people and a lot of married couples and they had no idea that any of that was going on because they’re coming for... they’re quite busy they didn’t even know, but yeah. ”

Lana Lokteff, YouTube, 26-02-2018

“ It just seems like a few male posters are only here because they might have gotten really burned by a white female in the past. Like for instance maybe his girlfriend left him for a non-white male. ”

User Dixie Girl, Stormfront, 07-10-2008

Another way of rationalizing misogyny was its relativization through additional context within which it should be viewed, e.g., claiming that women are also misogynistic or that sexism is everywhere.

“ I’ve had the opposite experience [to men being hateful towards women]. I find that some (not all) females on this board are worse than middle school girls. ”

User Haus Drachen, Stormfront, 20-03-2012

“ I get trashed by more often is actually some women. Female journalists or women who just hate for whatever reason. ”

Lana Lokteff, YouTube, 26-02-2018

“ There are always misogynists everywhere (oh, boy, are there always) but they get stepped on pretty hard here, I’ve noticed. This is good. Most of the men I’ve met on Stormfront are very nice. I’ve had MUCH worse experiences on both liberal and conservative forums elsewhere. ”

User Fair Bianca, Stormfront, 11-02-2011

Besides, some white nationalist women claimed that the whole problem of sexism is exaggerated by insecure women:

“ I mean, I’m a married woman. I’m grown. I’m secure in many ways. My life is full, you know. So I don’t feel the need to respond to a lot of this kind of woman drama [accusations of misogyny in the movement] because I just feel so far reach from a... you know even if it is real. I’m saying... with you, you’re in a secure relationship. I think some of the women that might be vulnerable to some of these things might be single maybe not in a long-term relationship.”

Lana Lokteff, YouTube, 26-02-2018

The third and largest group in the sample recognized misogyny as a real problem in the movement and, for them, the only way to overcome this conflict was **to demand reforms**. It is important to point out that women who believed in gender essentialism did not automatically deny or negotiate misogyny, as seen from the following quotes:

“ People in general within the WN movement need to remember that even though we as women have our own special, unique role, it doesn’t negate our value. Mutual respect needs to be given. ”

User snowwhite86, Stormfront, 21-11-2016

“ I hate to beat a dead horse here, but to echo the sentiments of other women...the blatant sexism within White Nationalism kept me at bay for over a year. I come from a long line of fire-blooded ladies who always maintained a consistent balance between keeping to their traditional feminine roles, and demanding a certain level of respect from everyone in their lives (including men). The men in my

family are not intimidated by, or resentful of, women who could give them a good challenge.”

User Aine, Stormfront, 04-07-2017

Those who negotiated or opposed traditional female roles usually viewed all or part of those roles as sexist. For them, demanding reforms in gender roles went hand-in-hand with demanding reforms with respect to the general attitude towards women.

“ Another would be a mass campaign to rid the idea of WN being chauvinistic. Too many women I’ve talked with (and I once believed it myself) think that all WNs want women to be mothers/in the kitchen/etc. One girl I talked to once insisted she wanted to be a welder and didn’t seem to understand that that is perfectly ok, not everyone has to be a mother, its just nice if they are. We walk a fine line of feminism vs traditional family values, and people need to realise it isn’t as black and white as that. ”

User Syn, Stormfront, 06-10-2008

“ Also, there does seem to be a lot of men who think that because they have a penis, they are the boss and women should bow down and worship them. Ok, that ight be an exageration, but not by much, and that will turn a lot of stronger-willed women away. I almost was turned off by that myself. ”

User Lizzie K, Stormfront, 31-01-2010

“ There is an element within WN who (perhaps rightfully) angered by some of the excesses of feminism want to return to the Stone Age. They express the belief that women must be controlled by men in all aspects of their lives. Some openly admire Sharia Law. Some seem to view gender relations as a battleground - which one or the other sex must lose- and they don’t want it to be them. Many intelligent women will take umbrage at this, and be repelled by WN, not realizing that this is a minority opinion. ”

User pinkysmom, Stormfront, 10-06-2013

Different persons from the reformist group focused on different manifestations of misogyny, which they personally experienced as the most appalling. For users like Leni Riefen, it was sexual objectification:

“ Maybe if male treated us as equals, instead of 2nd class sex objects. I can’t tell you how many times I have an online conversation with someone who interests me, and in no time I’m asked to forward a photograph of myself. ”

User Leni Riefen, Stormfront, 05-10-2013

This example is different from others because it directly relates to the lived experience of being sexually objectified. The reactions to this post were not very understanding. One user said that there is nothing wrong with such behavior:

“ I think that’s pretty normal...why does it bother you? :confused: ”

User Florentia, Stormfront, 05-10-2013

To which Leni Riefen replied that sexual objectification is disrespectful and therefore not white. She emphasized that women are an essential part of the movement, and have an important political role to play.

“Why does it bother me???

Really, . . .

well if we are to be taken seriously in this movement, a cause that effects our current lives and future generations, if we, as women, hold within us the key to the future of the White Race, namely the ability to have children, we should not be objectified.

We can, and are active. We can, and do protest and raise our voices. And, if the day comes (RAHOWA ⁷), we can, and will stand our ground and defend ourselves, our loved ones and family.

For a man to ask, or even demand to see pictures of me, or my sisters, in their panties, swim suits or even nude is demeaning to us.

*Let’s face it, that’s something a n*gger would ask, not a White gentleman, a protector of his people. ”*

User Leni Riefen, Stormfront, 05-10-2013

⁷ Racial holy war

In this comment, we can see another reference to the idea of perfect, magic-like white people who are incapable of bad behavior. This fantasy is essential to sustain this line of argumentation.

Other users sympathized with Leni Riefen and agreed that this behavior is disrespectful and that “real men” don’t behave this way. At the same time they downplayed Leni’s experience by saying that men are biologically wired to behave this way, it is in their nature.

“ It’s a natural thing for males. They care so much more about girl’s appearance, but it is something that all animals do. I agree that it is quite unreasonable to abandon the idea of staying with someone just because of that, but at first it means a lot.

Caring about the appearance is something unconscious for men, sometimes.. However, men of honor would think more rationally. This type of concern is kind of animalistic.

Only stupid men treat us like sex objects. Besides, nowadays, many women behave this way. If we show our respect, and if we engage only virtuous men there will be no problems.

This type of virtual conversation is usually problematic, they are there just to use girls this way. But this is not a statistic that shows the real male behavior. Even if, men are more concerned about external characteristics, real men don’t thing just about that. :clink ”

User Laly, Stormfront, 05-10-2013

The user pinkysmom was probably the most supportive of this issue, suggesting reporting such men. However, she also reaffirmed the idea that sexual objectification is natural and suggested that Leni should try to scare such men off by mentioning her grandchildren:

“ Try making a few references to your grandchildren now and then. Works wonders. Seriously, if someone is demanding nudies/harassing you, please report them. They will be dealt with accordingly, I’m sure. Other than that- chalk it up

to flirting, which has been going on since cave days and will continue until the world stops spinning. Enjoy your posts. ”

User pinkysmom, Stormfront, 07-10-2013

From these exchanges we can see that even though sexual objectification is a universal problem for women, no one on this thread expressed unconditional support to the user who shared her concerns on this matter, downplaying it as “not a big deal” or “natural”. This suggests that many women are not ready to give up on stereotypical thinking even when it is discriminatory towards them, maybe because they understand that it would be hard if not impossible to change these attitudes that are a part of a bigger power structure, which holds the movement together.

Other users saw misogyny in the accusations of failing the white race, especially through race-mixing:

“ There is a lot of hostility towards women in this 'movement'. I think there is a lot of bitter men who like to scapegoat women. The comment sections of some sites like Daily Stormer are absolutely crawling with posts saying 'white women are our biggest enemy and so on.' Without women, we wouldn't be here. These manlets should be shunned by anyone who is serious about our race's survival. ”

User TSFH14, Stormfront, 22-09-2015

“ Having faith in us would be a great start. I've seen multiple posts about how white girls are all evil slutty race traitors and are more likely to date outside their race than white guys, seeing those kind o f things hurts us you know :(it's not true! this kind of horrible stereotype will drive us away. ”

User switchfootfangirl, Stormfront, 07-07-2014

Many women did not specify how they understood misogyny, and spoke about it in general terms, assuming that everyone on the forum understood what is meant by that:

“ For one, I didn't realize it was such a hostile environment towards women & girls in general (in the white nationalist-type circles) & I did NOT know that

until I logged on to Stormfront. And APPARENTLY stormfront is one of the nicest aka LEAST hostile places (on the internet) for women to, idk..... be women?I did NOT realize white nationalist men hated women so much (ESP. their OWN women) & blamed US for all of the problems in the world.. including the problems brought upon us by men & people of OTHER races..... ”

User snowkitten, Stormfront, 05-12-2011

“ I post under a male user name for exactly this reason- all the female bashing on here!:mad::mad: ”

User Lucius Malfoy, Stormfront, 07-10-2013

Some Stormfront users who demanded the end of misogyny even went as far as admitting that they resent white men from organized movements because of the prevalence of sexist attitudes:

“ It’s easier for me to speak to guys about white nationalism. I love white men, but in all honesty I don’t really care for racially awakened white men (romantically) because they’re in the habit of behaving like a neanderthal. ”

User pagan22, Stormfront, 08-11-2008

“ WN Male - Me, King of House. Me, Bring Food Home. Me, Fix and Repair. You, Clean My Kitchen. You, BREEDER BREEDER BREEDER BREEDER BREEDER. It’s rare to find a racially awakened male who does not expect the woman to take on the traditional role of baking bread and padding around the house pregnant for 14 years straight. I will admit that some men on SF, a Mr Smith (if I remember the screenname correctly) for example, are more my type of not being adamant about taking on traditional roles like that. I guess that I am drawn towards males that I can basically train to understand white nationalist values, but I can certainly appreciate strong pro-white males. I’m just not attracted to them. ”

User pagan22, Stormfront, 08-11-2008

4.3 Lack of Women

The third and final ideological conflict that this paper analyzed is the lack of women in white nationalism despite the belief that this movement is the best place to be for a white person – among your own kind, who are respectful, intelligent, and morally superior to anyone else. Yet, the movement seems to have a very tangible problem of female underrepresentation. Though no official statistics on white nationalist membership is available today, data scientist Seth Stephens-Davidowitz estimated that less than a third of Stormfront members are female (Stephens-Davidowitz [12.07.2014](#))

The same typology of cognitive dissonance reduction strategies, namely **denial, negotiation, and demand for reforms** can also be applied to this conflict. Additionally, the overwhelming majority of women from the sample who recognized the problem of insufficient female membership discussed how to increase these numbers. A brief description of strategies suggested by and aimed at women is included in this subsection. The thematization of recruitment strategies demonstrates the acknowledgement of the aforementioned problem and reveals the parts of white nationalism that female members prefer to put forward.

In the sample, only a few women **denied** that white nationalism does not have enough women, mainly suggesting that women tend to be less outspoken about their affiliation.

“ I think there are a lot of women quietly involved in the WN movement... In general, the WN men seem to be more vocal about their beliefs. I think women tend to be more private with their thoughts and opinions. ”

User Great White Hope , Stormfront, 04-10-2008

From the group of **negotiators**, a few contributors relativized female underrepresentation stating that there was no need for more women, because the movement’s message should speak for itself to those who are ready to listen:

“ I believe we shouldn’t have to try to ‘attract’ people to the movement. If they were any sort of respectable person who could be accepted into the WN move-

ment then I think people need to find their own way into WN, not the movement looking for 'recruits'.”

User Bestellen, Stormfront, 17-06-2011

“ If you ask me, I really don't think it's necessary to attract more of anybody to WN, unless it's to sell them t-shirts or something (which they aren't going to buy anyway). All the people who have our beliefs by this time, are all the people who are ever going to have them! If there is ever a true purpose of this cause that would lead people into a full physical action rather than a "preach-to-the-choir" all-talk type membership, then you will most likely be amazed at how many more women there will be than men who will be on the front line.”

User JaneBGood, Stormfront, 24-05-2010

Some developed this idea further and mentioned that women who join for the wrong reasons, *i.e.*, personal victimization or looking for a partner, usually are not as committed and do not remain in the movement for a long time:

“ I simply said we don't need women (or men, for that matter) who come around for the wrong reasons. All they do is sidetrack and cause more drama. Like Miss Kat said, the bad ones ruin it for the good ones and long-standing women in the movement are skeptical of new girls cause they're used to seeing "groupie" types come after the men. I just want people who are here for TRUE reasons, not chasing tail.”

User Haus Drachen, Stormfront, 09-11-2011

“ Some people would say this happened to me. Or my daughter was raped. Or this and that. And I feel those people, they are more than welcome to join but in the back of my head I always know to keep an arm's distance. Because those are the people that will throw in the towel and run when shit hits the fan. And I always wondered why. And I think they wanna join because they feel someway in their head like it is a revenge on something that was done to them, so they feel that they join a group, kinda like a counseling thing⁸. ”

⁸ This quote is not from the selected data sample, but from a different white nationalist podcast Balk Right Ladies Night, Episode 4: Survival of the Fittest. It contains an interview with a KKK female activist who

Daisy, Balk Right Ladies Night: Survival of the Fittest, 10-04-2021

The majority of women who rationalized low female numbers in the white nationalist movement focused on essentialist or external obstacles that prevent women from joining. The first essentialist obstacle discussed was female “innate” indifference to politics:

“ So often, when I look at political pundits on TV or on the radio so often it is men and when I talk to women in real life they’re kind of like meh I don’t want to talk about that stuff, just. I don’t know. ” Bre Faucheux, YouTube, 26-02-2018

“ Just as most men ’wear the pants’ I believe most men will wear the political pants too. I think women are less likely to know whats really going on in the world because most don’t care. ”

User browneyedgirl, Stormfront, 10-02-2009

“ I’ve always considered politics to be very male brain and I’ve heard you say the same and women like us I kind of considered us to be anomalies. ”

Bre Faucheux, YouTube, 26-02-2018

The second essentialist obstacle mentioned was a keen sense of empathy and selflessness that is “characteristic” of the white race and especially white women, which prevents them from seeing “the truth”.

“ White nationalism is not about racism as the multiculturalist brainwashers would have us believe; having pride in our heritage and in our race all ties in with respecting ourselves as individuals. Which is why the kind of woman who’s stuck in the trap of believing that loving herself and caring for herself equates to selfishness would find our ideology abhorrent. When the truth is, we need to love ourselves first BEFORE we can adequately care for others.;) ”

User Celtic Aussie, Stormfront, 31-07-2011

“ I think many women deep down have an attraction to WN. however, most are

has been involved in the movement for over 30 years. It was exceptionally included as it offers additional perspective on right vs. wrong reasons-to-join dichotomy

so loving and nurturing.. that being labeled racist in the process by others, or hurting someone's feelings unintentionally would keep them from doing anything about it. ”

User Lara3777, Stormfront, 19-11-2010

One of the external hindrances for attracting more women to white nationalism is directly connected to the conspiracy theory about Jewish world domination including media and education control. Women are believed to be manipulated by calculated propaganda aimed at them, forcing them to follow mainstream ideas (like feminism) that have the subliminal purpose of destroying the white race.

“ Too many females have been effected by the media, depopulation movements and public schools. Us females need to come together again. And more are. I see it. Im on facebook, and have much networking with people I suspect are members here. More females then males. ”

User sidewayreality, Stormfront, 03-01-2013

“ They are brainwashed beyond belief when it comes to feminism. And there is this whole media portrayed image that its glamorous and cool and a trend to be with a black guy...I think they would fear not being a sheep anymore. ”

User Liefde, Stormfront, 09-06-2013

“ White girls are groomed into "putting out" more, becoming promiscuous, encouraging anti-white and morally corrupt values as a way to "empower" themselves. I was one of the victims who fell for that trap. I was surrounded by terrible people who have taken advantage my vulnerable, impressionable, and traumatized nature for their own benefit. We need to lend a hand out for girls and women who have hope of becoming not only better women, but better people for our children, family, and generations to come. Maybe if a few women, myself included, talked about our stories and what led us embracing being white, more of our girls will realize we do care about those disadvantaged. ”

User Dixie88, Stormfront, 22-05-2019

User Dixie88 suggests that the liberal agenda corrupts women morally and makes them more vulnerable to victimization.

Another external obstacle for female engagement is also seen as a consequence of successful anti-white social opinion-making orchestrated by Jewish people. In this case, the media influence is claimed to result in social stigmatization of white nationalism and hostility towards people affiliated with it. Women are thought to be inherently susceptible to public opinion and less prone to go against it. As a result, they avoid looking closer into this movement.

“ And due to this social pressure, many Whites (especially women) try to be as egalitarian and inclusive as possible, because they don’t want to be branded "racist" or a "bigot," terms that have become synonymous with "social pariah" in many circles. ”

User BluCollar, Stormfront, 05-12-2011

“ For most, as you say, there’s an automatic shut-off because they’re afraid to go there; it’s taboo to scrutinize the Jewish narrative. They don’t know they’re afraid and most would resent having that pointed out to them so the only place you can set the hook and get away with it is in their natural curiosity, if they have any. ”

User Little Ice Age, Stormfront, 24-04-2020

“ [When you are a public white nationalist] You deal with a lot of hate: you are attacked by the press, people want to know where you live, they wanna dox you, they want to ruin you financially, they want to come for your kids, you know, I mean. So, my situation, though, I think, is that... it’s not for every woman and not every woman is in my situation. ”

Lana Lokteff, YouTube, 26-02-2018

White nationalists believe that the stigmatization of their movement is directly connected to the unfavorable public image that is mainly created, spread, and amplified by the movement’s enemies. Specifically, this includes the focus on violence, misogyny, and hatred all of which scare people and especially women away.

“ I think that attitude is still there, but the image of a woman who is racially conscious is either that of a tattooed, cursing, violent drunk or drug addict or

a passive shadow who lives in absolute terror of her man, is underaged and abused. For the media images, there is no middle ground, no reality, and that hurts us. Our men are seen as violent criminals and drunks who suffer from poor impulse control. We need more positive images that are strong and soft at the same time. ”

User Lavendercelt, Stormfront, 09-11-2009

“ I definitely think the media drives women away from WN because the TV always portrays such an ugly face of any white person trying to preserve white rights or... well... ANYTHING for our race. ”

User WhiteyUngagged, Stormfront, 07-01-2011

“ Personally, I think the first goal is to wipe out any negative views the media has portrayed for being a white nationalist. The very first step is to try to unbrain-wash them that nationalism does not automatically translate to supremacism. They get intimidated thinking that if you’re a nationalist you must be a worshipper of Hitler and hate everyone except white people. Bottom line, break the stereotype and the rest writes itself. ”

User tamithomas, Stormfront, 31-10-2012

While negotiators were looking for obstacles on the outside, women who **demand**ed reforms looked within and indicated the changes that were needed to make white nationalism more female-friendly.

Interestingly, of all the problems that women identified, misogyny (see sub-section 4.2), was by far the most frequently mentioned. By comparison, a total of 92 different segments were coded with *"misogyny is a problem"*, the next most common issue discussed was *"bad reputation of white nationalism"* which included 40 segments, *i.e.*, less than a half. Though it is impossible to generalize based on such limited data, it is enough to question the widespread assumption that women in white nationalism are mostly compliant reproducers of the movement’s sexism.

Hostility towards women was also thematized from the perspective of the absence of sister-

hood and mutual support among women.

“ I think it’s about just bonding together and helping each other out as sisters regardless of whether we are stay at home Mums, single Mums, career women, single women, childless women, older women, younger women etc.... In a culture where women are forced to compete for the attention of men, men being the bread winners in said culture, there can be an unfortunate tendency for females to sling mud at each other. This kind of culture pits women directly against each other and that’s not healthy. But a lot of males (not all of them) are happy for the arrangement to stay that way as it suits them just fine. Women must not sling mud at each other! :clink: ”

User Joanne Purcell, Stormfront, 05-07-2011

“ There are so many women here, with so many different views. Of course we can’t all agree, sometimes we will discuss things, sometimes we will argue and sometimes we will agree to disagree. What we will do, is to be there for each other and that is what eventually will attract women to our movement. The sisterhood we can provide. Sad that you don’t see that. ”

User Bjarka, Stormfront, 26-09-2012

As mentioned above, the question of the movement’s reputation is an external problem. Nevertheless, some women indicated that this reputation is based on the real presence of people who are violent and hateful. They emphasized the need to exclude such people or at least moderate the hateful tone. This confirms Barbara Perry’s claims that softer, non-violent rhetoric in white supremacy is employed to attract a broader membership, especially women. (Perry 2004).

“ Hitler worship and Nazism bug me too, since I’m half Polish, and most women would be scared off by it. I always thought that bad whites are still better than most blacks, but most people hate choosing between two bad options. ”

User Amazon, Stormfront, 19-01-2009

“ Tone down the extremism, ie. no swastikas, etc. because they overall hurt the

cause since everyone is so deeply programmed. Be respectful of other people's feelings because there are gray areas, not all blacks are n1993rs and not all Jews are trying to destroy the white race. ”

User balticsunshine, Stormfront, 13-10-2016

“ I am a mother of a daughter who is 13. I want her to marry a DECENT white male. That's what brought me here. I am realizing that is not an easy thing to find.

I know there are some wonderful, cultured and DECENT white nationalists. I also know some real scum. I can remember when guys from a compound near where I lived, back in the 90s when she was a baby, came to our (we have moved) decaying urban area to pick up white girls for breeders. That is NOT what I want for her. I fear that kind of person. I came here to learn how to tell the difference in the WN movement, because I see this is where its going... factions. This is one of the few factions that I could trust to keep our heritage intact. I just don't want her used and abused in the process. Now, we moved to a small midwestern town with a heritage of KKK control, though it is underground now. There are a lot of WNs around here, and frankly some of them do scare me... there were two heavily tatoored older boys (in their 20s.. to me they were boys) who came to the town pool to scope the girls, and they looked at my daughter like she was meat, and I mean openly and in a prolonged fashion. I could tell they were WN because of the swastikas and other symboyls they had tatoored on them.

So I'm here to learn. I am not a hater: I'm not after genocide of the non whites.... I only want to shoot if you enroach on my territory or hurt my daughter.. but I will hurt you if you hurt her. I just want my grandkids to know their culture and not have to compromise. ”

User MammaBraucher, Stormfront, 25-01-2009

This shocking testimony reveals the dark side of white nationalism, as forced reproduction is utterly terrifying to any woman, no matter her beliefs. At the same time, nothing is surprising

in this, as such behavior is perfectly in line with the philosophy that seeks reproduction of the white race by any means possible. There was only one response to this post, in which a user first agreed with the proposition that white nationalism has really dangerous men, but then shared her extremely negative experience of living in a racially diverse neighborhood to show that living with other races is still worse than living with a few violent skinheads. Same as in the case with the responses to an experience of sexual objectification, the reply was aimed to relativize the concerns of user MammaBraucher.

“ I agree with you about having your children know their culture. As much as I hate to say it, the image of this movement as being extreme and all about male over female domination has brought in some pretty scary people. Certainly not what I want for my daughter. I think without knowledge of our past, our children are lost and are much more likely to get into trouble. I used to live in a city on the gulf coast that was about 95% hispanic (my estimate) 3% black and the rest white. It was hell. I lived there for a long time until my next door neighbor (a little old lady in her 80's) was murdered by 3 hispanics during a home invasion. I moved to a white area a couple of years ago and its like night and day. I can remember talking to people at work, perfectly reasonable professionals, about my plans to buy a home in a certain area and not one of them had a single problem with telling me that it wasn't a place for a white lady. They then proceeded to tell me where the white areas are. They were quite outspoken about it. Where I came from if you're white you keep your mouth shut or get stabbed or some such. I was stunned that they were completely comfortable with telling me where white people live. These people aren't extremists; its just the way it is. I love where I live now. I seldom see a hispanic person. The people are so nice and friendly and I feel much safer. Politeness and a knowledge of the English language seems to be the norm, not the rare. There are areas that are mostly white and when I moved, I finally had to realize my only choice was to move to a mostly white community. I've seen a few folks who look like skinheads, but most are just real

nice responsible white people. My point in all this is that race still matters, to young and old alike. There ARE good white men who are racially conscious and able and willing to be good decent husbands. They may not identify with any organization, but the bulk of white people don't. What's important is that they build lives and families and pass on our heritage. ANd they will. ”

User Kazzie, Stormfront, 15-02-2009

This reaction indicates that even when the problem of violence against women was acknowledged, there were no suggestions concerning what to do about it. User Kazzie offered an experience based answer to an experience based concern, implying that there is a difference between bad violence and worse violence. Non-white crimes are thus constructed as always worse than white crimes. So, in a way, Kazzie suggests that it is "better" to be abducted and raped by white men then to be brutally murdered by non-white men.

In emphasizing the movement's bad reputation, several members mentioned that another obstacle to recruiting more women is negative messaging that focuses on everything white people are against instead of highlighting what they stand for.

“ Overall, I just think more focus on the positive aspects of our race rather than focusing on the negative aspects of other races and outside forces would help attract more women to WN. ”

User Sunflowers, Stormfront, 06-10-2008

“ Definitely the emphasis on family values, education, and health, not only physical health but mental health. We should celebrate our race more than concentrate on the obvious deficiencies in others. In the Newslinks/Articles forum, it's all about how a black "stabbed" a baby (didn't stab, thankfully just scraped), raped men & women, stupid blacks did this, libtards did that, etc. and when articles are posted about POSITIVE White things, not a word is typed in response... To me, that speaks volumes. ”

User NorskyBabe, Stormfront, 09-11-2011

User NorskyBabe is making an important point that negativity is prevalent in white nationalist discourse, which is also true for the thread under analysis. The movement is unable to create

a more positive discourse simply because it is based on differentiation and opposition. To show why the white race is so great white nationalists have to compare it with the evil Other. The movement is defined by their enemies which, ironically, makes them dependent on them. The absence of safety and security within was also discussed as a separate problem that needs to be addressed to attract more women. This idea was often linked to an essentialist assumption that women naturally seek safety more than their male counterparts.

“ My personal opinion on the subject is that women tend to be a lot more cautious than men. The human race goes on because women instinctually try to put themselves in "safe" conditions in order to raise children in a safe environment. Currently, it seems like the "safe" path the mainstream is promoting is that of multiculturalism. ”

User Verona, Stormfront, 27-09-2012

“ Women in particular need this group security. So I think the most important thing is to treat this as a positive and natural thing. We can't scare them, I mean we shouldn't treat our own ideas in the dirty way media does. ”

User Laly, Stormfront, 04-10-2013

“ Many white ladies (I know) would be perfect for WN. They don't race mix, they don't do drugs, many are happy in the home, they despise illegals and value their whiteness and the whiteness of future generations. Here in Texas many of them can operate guns pretty well too :) but they have to feel safe and valued. Do we as a movement create a place where white women feel safe and valued? ”

User 915tx, Stormfront, 09-07-2014

A large group of women from the sample focused on the problem of female public visibility and representation. This included demanding more women in key positions of the organized movement as well as increased visibility in the public eye, *i.e.*, in posters, videos, at demonstrations.

“ So that's why it's important that we do what we do and that's why it is important to have some other women who are like us out there. Because women attract

other women and we do need those white women on our side. There's people we don't want to lose. But we need the smart strong quality ones. I think that they're they're still are a lot of them on the left that will come to our side."

Lana Lokteff, YouTube, 26-02-2018

" Women give respectability to political parties and movements. The BNP often push women forward. I suppose you could call it 'The Sarah Palin Effect', women 'just like me' standing up and talking directly to them. It creates a gentler, softer image rather than the 'skinhead thugs'.

Whenever I see a video on the subject of white pride or see pictures of white pride events I never see a lot of women. It's like a catch 22 situation. [...] So I think it would help if we had at least some women in the pictures and videos that are seen on the topic. And also women look up to gorgeous celebrities. I will look at a magazine with gorgeous models and see celebrities and want to be them. This is why so many companies use celebrities to advertise their products because more people are likely to buy them. White pride movements and groups don't have that. When I look at pictures from a white pride event I don't see very attractive people. It's mostly overweight bald guys. I would rather look at a white pride event and see people looking like Taylor Swift or Chris Hemsworth. So if we as a group strive to be our best then women will want to join."

User felidae, Stormfront, 04-10-2008

4.3.1 Recruitment Strategies

So how did the women in this research suggest increasing the number of female members? For those who demanded reforms, the answer was clear – the best strategy for recruitment would be to address the movement's shortcomings.

Otherwise, the most common approach in this sample was to "educate" women, show them the "truth" or what is really going on. Many insisted that timing is the key component of successful indoctrination, which should be slow, patient, and gradual because otherwise, the

risk of scaring women off is significant.

“ Then you...in baby steps...start bringing things up. Like while watching a movie...talking about news...etc. Sure...not all will bite...but someone will. Then it becomes like multi-level marketing. You brought them in...they brought someone in...someone else brought another in...so on and so forth. ”

User Violet, Stormfront, 04-10-2008

“ I think that perhaps, a gentle approach might be best. While it's easy to get up in arms, and take a more aggressive approach, you have a higher chance of success if you were to do something like holding workshops to the tune of, "Young women - Enjoy your European heritage and explore the culture and crafts of your people" as opposed to, "Young women - WHITE NATIONALISM NOW!" We have to understand that the young women of today have a certain moral timidity, brain-washing my social and mass media that any deviance in opinion from EMBRACE DIVERSITY, CELEBRATE DEGENERACY would result in shame and isolation for them. By slowly surrounding young women with the glory of their heritage, and offering a supportive community, we can undo the mental bonds the Jew has placed on her. ”

User AliceOnAlert, Stormfront, 27-01-2016

A couple of women suggested targeting female compassion and nurturing instincts that would motivate them to take better care of their race:

“ I think women like to support the perceived underdog, as they believe this automatically gives them the moral high ground. There is something to be said as well for women being more concerned with fitting in socially, as Dr. Duke has pointed out. So we have to make it socially preferable for women to support our own race, reversing decades of propaganda to the contrary. And/or we need to get women to perceive whites as the underdog in this fight, again reversing decades of propaganda which tells us that whites have ruled over the world for too long, all the while being the most evil and oppressive race on the planet. ”

User Newly Awoken, Stormfront, 14-10-2015

“ They also have inherited the white race’s tendency to empathize and want to help others, so it’s hard for them to imagine shutting non-white people out of a white country. Women especially tend to want to shelter the weaker or less-fortunate. But if they can somehow be convinced that white men, women, and children are the ones who desperately need nurturing and support, damn anyone who claims otherwise, I think we can open their eyes. ”

User Florentia, Stormfront, 10-06-2013

Setting a positive example was another recommended strategy, though, from the way members described it, it was rather a strategy of improving the movement’s public image to showcase a more positive side that appeals to more women.

“ I’m going to give the same idea I gave in another thread about attracting more people in general..I say you become friends with the person first. Be an example...kind, loving, smart, generous...etc...you know...redeeming qualities. ”

User Violet, Stormfront, 04-10-2008

“ Politeness. When I discovered WN my first response was to challenge it. I questioned, I criticized, and I listened. And honestly, the WNs who patiently explained the issues convinced me to continue to look into it. I, like most people, had been told that "White pride = racism". Obviously, this is ridiculous, but most people need to hear the explanation of why it’s ridiculous. And calm, polite responses serve both the person and WN well. :) ”

User Rexanna, Stormfront, 07-05-2010

“ But I think the most important thing is to attract and lead by example. Go back to a traditional image- no tattoos, overt anger, sloppy appearance. Dignity, poise, pride, and a classical image - like what David Duke presents. Not to express overt hate, but to maintain firm boundaries and ethics, and to be able to explain one’s ideas (rarely, and only when necessary) with logic, and not

fanaticism. Actions speak louder than words- it's not what we say so much as what we do that counts. If a friend takes up with a black boyfriend- don't argue with her about it. Just distance yourself. ”

User Sidonie, Stormfront, 26-03-2013

In terms of creating a more positive image for the movement, many also highlighted concentrating the attention on “female” topics, *i.e.*, family, education, children and even using attractive men to lure women in.

“ Men have the power to to turn women because I think that the majority of women are not political. So when I talk to a lot of your average girls out there and young girls really don't know jack about politics they don't really know what's going on. This, there's just so much that they're just unaware of. That a strong, confident capable sexy guy can really convert a woman easily I think. ”

Lana Lokteff, YouTube, 26-02-2018

“ I think focusing more on family values, education and women's rights could be a good start - afterall, we need to help, respect and fight for our women, if they're not ferocious enough to do it themselves! ”

User Bestellen, Stormfront, 17-06-2011

“ A lot of women tend to support animal rights and environmental protection. Many non-white cultures are cruel to animals. Non-whites also tend to destroy the environment as they overpopulate their lands and they pollute it more so than whites. ”

User Mara20, Stormfront, 16-06-2015

To promote “female topics” members shared the ideas of in-person events and clubs that would focus on average “soccer mom activities” while gently promoting a white nationalist agenda:

“ That said, I think that what would attract other women to WN is seeing WN women take an active role in their communities. Organizing neighborhood block parties, book clubs, recipe swaps, or mom's groups, taking a leadership role in

your community church or school, or heading up a community service project are all good ways to get yourself recognized in the community. There's no good way to be a positive example of no one knows you exist. By participating in these types of ventures, you not only get yourself recognized and create opportunities to share your beliefs with other women, you also are contributing something positive to your community. ” User SallySchnitzel, Stormfront, 28-09-2009

SallySchnitzel's suggestion recognizes the need to hide white nationalist messages behind the facade of other activities. In a way, it resembles religious missionary work, where acts of community building are combined with religious teachings. However, the only problem with this proposition is that such community events could also attract people of other races. This problem is addressed by another user who suggested organizing more exclusive gatherings:

“ I recommend starting up white-women-only groups in your neighbourhood. Remember that you cannot advertise publicly, or else by law anyone is allowed to attend. Attendance is by private invitation only, and would be restricted to white females (to discuss cultural traditions if anyone asks you. If they press on, say it's about shortbread).The difficult part is how to meet them in the first place. Aside from Stormfront, I'm not really sure. ”

User Bellatrix, Stormfront, 09-12-2009

This means that any such activities would have to be private and secretive and hence, challenging to execute, as user Bellatrix admits.

Some users suggested increasing security for white women to appeal to them. Most such posts focused on hiding or eliminating violent elements of the movement, while a few women in the sample recommended creating economic opportunities and safety nets within. In other words, to encourage “white businesses” and wealthier members to support less privileged members.

“ Maybe an economy is the issue. Women need resources for their children. The Left rob all the manual and public sector jobs. The Capitalists have all the

private sector jobs. What do we offer? Maybe secession from the union might help Americans, as they could then become nationalistic in their new homelands. In Europe, where the Globalists have taken every public sector job, we should TAKE THEM ALL BACK! ”

User lkelly, Stormfront, 22-03-2012

“ Having a business presence everywhere, combined with a willingness to support /DEFEND one another, would amount to social and personal security for women and for their prospective children, and would enable them to assess nationalist men for desirability rather than merely as providers of security. This would bring more women to nationalism. ”

User lkelly, Stormfront, 22-03-2012

Improving recruitment was also discussed in terms of utilizing modern technologies, social media, and digital platforms to spread and amplify white nationalist messages. The most common digital tools discussed were memes, white nationalist forums like Stormfront or Daily Stormer, and videos on YouTube or 4chan. Other media included online news outlets, magazines, social media like Gab or Parlor, and Telegram channels.

“ I think that there is plenty of advertising out there promoting non white females as equal in beauty or better than white females or images of white males and non white females that SHOULD set off anger in white females. I believe that we could form a montage of such images as a youtube video and this would set off some anger. Who’s with me? ”

User realist06, Stormfront, 12-10-2008

“ Another thing that would attract more people to WN (both male and female) is to be able to connect with the younger crowd. This is where websites like 4chan come in. Memes are a big thing with the alt-right, since we are pretty much kids we still get a kick out of getting reactions from people, like triggering libtards until they’re “literally shaking”, we love the shock value. Trust me, we do appreciate traditional values, but also like to do what we can to get attention. ”

User 14Ally88, Stormfront, 16-03-2017

Conclusion

Most of the current research on white nationalism is, in fact, research on men and male agency in it. Women are usually perceived as lacking agency and hence they do not attract much scientific interest. If they are mentioned at all, then most often as victims or “doormats” of white nationalism. This academic blind spot is not only sexist (given the default choice of the male perspective), but also leads to a distorted understanding of white nationalism as a whole, as the existing feminist research has repeatedly demonstrated. Much more future research is required to better understand the development of gender power dynamics in the movement as well as female interests in it.

The results of this thesis provide a valuable contribution to this study field. The question this thesis sought to answer is how women in white nationalism cope with ideological conflicts in the movement, namely the conflicts related to gender roles, misogyny, and the lack of women.

First, this study demonstrated that women in white nationalism do experience cognitive dissonance when talking about their place in the movement. We observe the repetitive manifestation of cognitive dissonance through the thematization of ideological conflicts (gender roles, misogyny, and lack of women) and insistent employment of position justifications (*i.e.* reduction strategies).

The analysis showed that these three conflicts are very interconnected and partially overlapping, as the same issues were raised over again in the context of every conflict. These intersections can be conceptualized in Venn’s diagram (Figure 7), where traditional female roles together with misogyny result in the condemnation of any transgressions of a woman’s gender role, such as work, activism, or not seeking marriage. The interrelation of traditional gender roles and the lack of women have caused the underrepresentation of women on a political level in organized movements. Hostile attitudes toward women whose numbers are still quite low help to maintain a male dominant position in white nationalism. Finally, the intersection of all three conflicts makes female reproduction – an obligation. Childbirth is seen as a natural female role essential for the survival of the white race, while the lack of

women obliges the existing female members to fulfill their maternal duty.

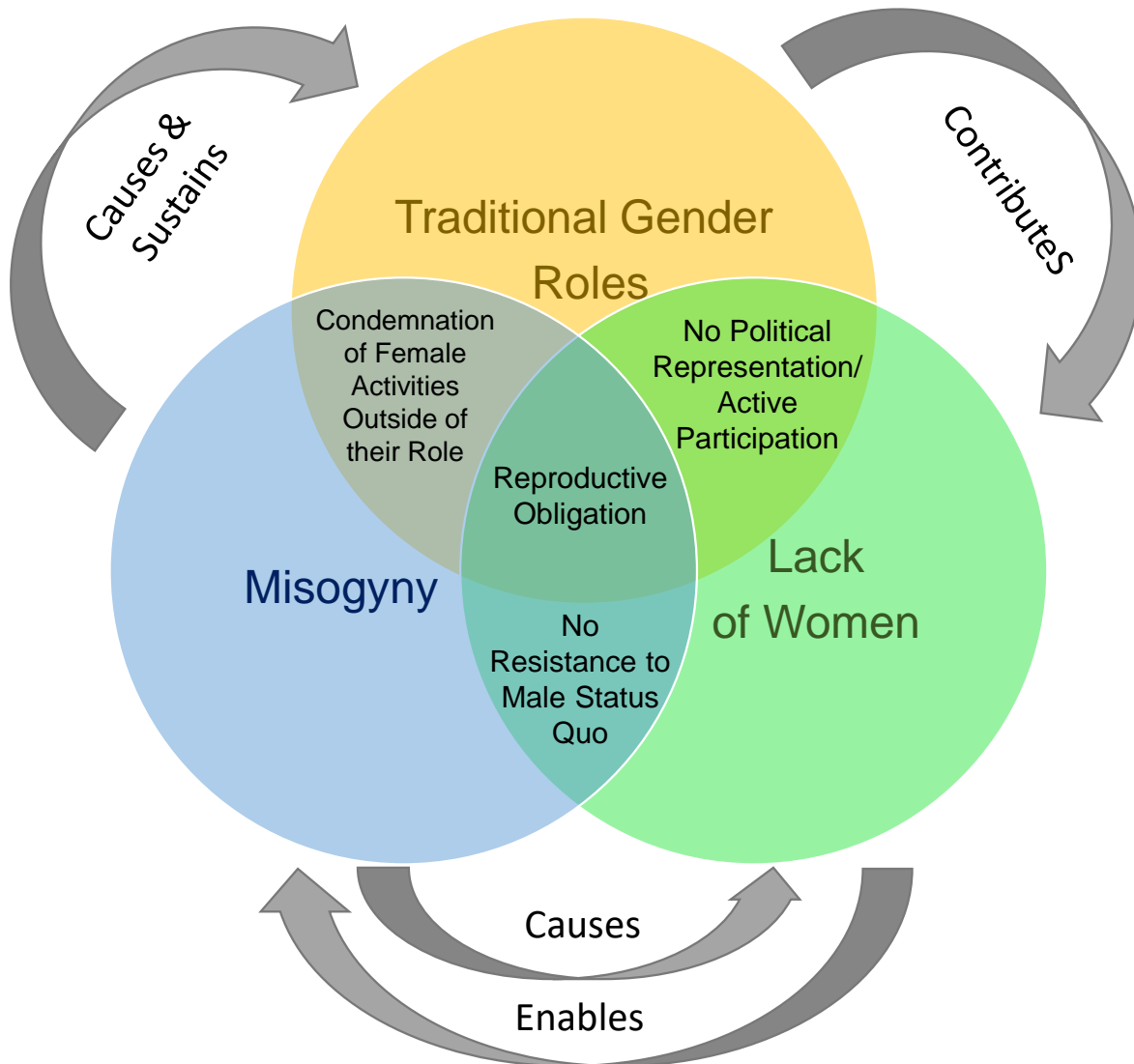


Figure 7: **Venn's Diagram** – Interaction of Conflicts.

The analysis also revealed that these conflicts do not just overlap, they also affect one another. Misogyny causes and sustains traditional gender roles, as they are defined by female inferiority and the absence of independent agency. Misogyny drives many women away from the movement, thus keeping their numbers low. Traditional gender norms also discourage many potential female recruits, contributing to the lack of women. Lastly, an insufficient number of female voices, especially those who would like to see changes in white nationalism, enables

misogyny. These structures and their interplay represent quite literally a vicious circle for anyone who would like to make white nationalism more female-friendly.

The preferred strategies to reduce cognitive dissonance are presented in Table 3. In all three conflicts, women could be divided into three groups, *i.e.* denialists, negotiators, or reformers, depending on their method of handling cognitive dissonance.

Table 3: **Strategies to Reduce Cognitive Dissonance.**

		Conflict		
		Gender Roles	Misogyny	Lack of Women
Reduction Strategy	Denial	Essentialism	Conspiracy	Hidden Participation
	Negotiation	Conditional Essentialism	Relativisation	Blaming Essentialist / External Obstacles
	Demand for Reforms	Broader Understanding of Female Role	Respectful Treatment of Women	Removing Internal Obstacles

To deny the existence of an inconsistency that causes cognitive dissonance, women gave different pretexts for various conflicts. In the case of gender roles, they leaned on gender essentialism, w.r.t. misogyny they blamed such attitudes on the opposition, and the lack of women was explained by secret participation. In the selected sample, the denialist group was the smallest in all three conflicts.

Those who chose to negotiate to reduce cognitive dissonance, in the gender role conflict, did so by retreating to conditional essentialism, *i.e.*, recognizing certain “essential differences” while insisting that the female role can be interpreted broader than it is currently understood by white nationalists. Concerning misogyny, negotiators mostly relativized its scope and impact. In this group, the lack of women was mostly blamed on essentialist or external obstacles, *e.g.*, innate female indifference to politics or corrupt media that brainwashes women.

In the gender roles conflict, the reformers group demanded a broader understanding of the female role in white nationalism. Concerning misogyny, these women largely insisted on a more respectful attitude towards female members. Finally, w.r.t. the lack of women, reformers focused on the need to address internal problems in white nationalism. Notwithstanding, despite the recognition of internal problems that affect women and the desire for changes, these women hardly suggested any practical solutions because of the magnitude of the cognitive dissonance that cannot be resolved without endangering the core principles of white nationalism.

Most people in the sample recognized the need for more female members and their active participation and therefore discussed various recruitment strategies aimed at women. The thematization of these strategies indicates that the problem of lack of women is recognized by the majority of the sample. The recruitment strategies that were suggested can be divided into three categories: overcoming internal shortcomings, practical methods, and location, as can be seen from Figure 4.

As previously stated, some women saw the focus of recruitment in addressing internal problems. This included eradicating misogyny, introducing more “female” topics, like healthcare and education, providing more support to white women, including economic assistance, and extending the understanding of the female role to a broader range of activities.

The second group of recruitment strategies can be summarized as practical advice for those who wish to engage in recruitment. The suggested methods involved building relationships with potential recruits and the subsequent slow and gradual introduction to the “truth”. The next method suggested using a woman’s natural sense of compassion to win them over. Another practical piece of advice was to set a positive example and convey an image of normal, educated, kind, and decent people, which should help to convince women who are scared to get involved. Many people in the sample highlighted the importance of female recruiters and woman-to-woman conversations, as women are perceived as less threatening and more understanding of the needs of other women. The last strategy discussed was the need to put more focus on digital tools, including the creation and sharing of white nationalist content

Table 4: **Recruitment Strategies.**

Recruitment Strategies		
Internal Changes	Method	Location
less misogyny	patient and gradual conversion	(white) female only clubs/events
more “female” topics	instrumentalization of female natural predispositions	online
more support, incl. economic	positive example	
broader gender roles	woman-to-woman conversations	
	production and amplification of white nationalist content	

online.

The third group of recruitment strategies focused on locations that would allow access to potential members. Two main options were mentioned: either organizing clubs or events that would serve as recruiting grounds, or looking for more women online and exposing them to white nationalist messages.

The analysis of online white nationalist discourse also showed that it is dominated by negative language and relies heavily on the opposition of a “good” white people and “bad” Other. This finding is consistent with the previous research, *e.g.* (Berlet 2004) confirming that binary thinking and the juxtaposition of us *vs.* them is central for white nationalism. Even though white nationalist ideology postulates that they do not believe in the superiority of the white race, their discourse shows that the contrary is true.

The material analyzed contained mostly opinions grounded in gender and race stereotyping, rather than the analysis of specific lived experiences. This is also not surprising, as binary thinking requires a high level of generalizations and not nuanced testimonies. Even white nationalists who criticize essentialism require it to sustain the construction of the white race. It seems that this fragile construct can only survive in a world of make-believe, where white people are always good and well-intended. In a way, this is what gender essentialism is also about, an archetype of an idyllic family, where the woman is a happy mother and wife and the man is a content breadwinner and protector, living in complete harmony with each other, fulfilled by their natural callings. As long as this fantasy is sustained, the hope for a white nationalist future lives on, no matter what. Needless to say that this idyllic family does not exist in real life, and neither do magical white people.

The presence of cognitive dissonance points to a legitimation problem within the movement when the authority of its core principles is being questioned. This work demonstrated that many white nationalist women acknowledge the existence of hostile attitudes toward them in the organized movement and express the desire to challenge the male status quo. This finding casts a new light on white nationalist women, not as mere reproducers of traditional gender structures (as in Bjork-James [2020a](#); Bjork-James [2020b](#)) but as actors with their own interests that do not always coincide with those of white nationalist men. Taking into account rising female participation, the cognitive dissonance towards gender roles might grow and it might come to a legitimation crisis that would allow for women to “modernize” white nationalism. As only a few women have suggested practical solutions to the internal problems, it might be too soon before the movement can be actively reformed. Another possible problem with more egalitarian white nationalism is finding a way to sustain and improve birth rates without imposing traditional gender norms⁹.

Female awareness of their agency presents a threat to white nationalism, as without control over female reproduction, the movement will not be able to achieve its goals. This seems

⁹ The observed difference in the sample between public and private white nationalist discourse w.r.t. gender roles confirms the idea, that few women dare to deviate from the “party line” in public.

to be a zero-sum game for white nationalism. By keeping current attitudes towards women, they will not be able to recruit enough women, and by modernizing their movement, they will not have enough white children and probably lose legitimacy among most white men, as their power in the movement decreases. This makes women a potential enemy within. It seems that women, in general, are perceived as a weak link of the movement, more susceptible to “brainwashing”, race-mixing, and feminist influence. White nationalist men could be increasingly frustrated with women in their movement, as they are losing control over them. This frustration might result in more violence against women at the hands of white nationalist men and increasing tensions between the two genders over time. Pride and prejudice go hand in hand in white nationalism, but this might just be what ultimately dooms this movement.

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A Processed Data from Online Thread

Table 5: Collected and processed data on forum users who took part in the analyzed discussion thread.

#	Username	Forum Join Date	Location	Message Number in Thread
001	ProudofMyRoots	01/2016	USA/Canada	15
002	Saturnia	04/2002	???	14
003	Nosrep	07/2015	White county	14
004	Seriouswon	12/2009	Southern California	12
005	Dacia	06/2008	communist/central ussr. Toronto	7
006	Eris	04/2005	Nowhere	6
007	snowkitten	04/2009	Minneapolis, MN USA	5
008	laidbackguy	10/2013	virginia	5
009	Sisu	06/2015	up north in an area that is 98% white.	4
010	Bjarka	06/2010	Norway	4
011	Iluv Elephants	03/2012	subvert the dominant paradigm	4
012	pinkysmom	11/2012	USA	4
013	WhitePrideAndPower	04/2014	Embracing & promoting white culture. Discouraging non-whites in everything they do that will benefit them, and reporting them if & when they're involve in illegal/suspicious activities	4

#	Username	Forum Join Date	Location	Message Number in Thread
014	WhitePolak	06/2012	WhiteNationalistBlog.com	4
015	PlantagenetPrincess	03/2014	Kentucky	4
016	greekproudgirl	08/2013	Ancient Greece (now Helladistan)	3
017	UntaintedTruth	07/2007	Ten minutes away from "Little Guatemala"	3
018	Firebird	07/2011	English blood, Latvian heart.	3
019	Fair Bianca	07/2010	USA	3
020	TSFH14	06/2012	Northwest England	3
021	Leni Riefen	06/2013	South Boston, VA	3
022	Laly	10/2010	France	3
023	Alfirin	01/2011	Dystopia	3
024	ANATITAN1	12/2015	I would reveal my true name but it is after a Superior High Court Far from reality , reading ,writing,observing	3
025	Skade	04/2012	Mother Europe	2
026	Helvetii	04/2014	Colorado	2
027	Newly Awoken	09/2014	Pacific NW	2
028	tankgrl	11/2008	MidWest girl living in the South	2
029	barelegs	07/2008	UK	2
030	Play_The_Game	04/2007	Deep in the woods.	2
031	Little Ice Age	06/2018	American Southwest	2

#	Username	Forum Join Date	Location	Message Number in Thread
032	PorkchopsandApplesauce	06/2014	Between the beaches and the swamps	2
033	Laurie	07/2007	Yorkshire	2
034	Rachel88	10/2008	Just another hell hole	2
035	Keelan	02/2007	R.I.P.	2
036	Kazzie	01/2009	in a nice little town	2
037	Ruthless	06/2015	Massachusetts	2
038	Badb	02/2009	Calgary, Alberta, Canada	2
039	Jessica Reeves	12/2010	North Georgia	2
040	BjrK	07/2010	Sweden	2
041	Captivating	06/2011	Northwest Florida	2
042	Scarlet Witch	03/2006	ohio	2
043	Fairlight	06/2010	In another time and place	2
044	Bugs8	04/2011	Wisconsin	2
045	lycanos	09/2008	bottom of the sea	2
046	miss kat	04/2009	melbourne, australia	2
047	Castanea	03/2009	Northeast	2
048	Frau-Rothaarige	07/2009	Middle Earth	2
049	Gladiatrix	12/2011	A dystopian nightmare	2
050	SlavicHeart444	02/2014	Canada	1

#	Username	Forum Join Date	Location	Message Number in Thread
051	yarrowannpark	10/2016	Oregon	1
052	switchfootfangirl	06/2014	Pacific Northwest	1
053	WhiteMomOf7	12/2009	U.S.A.	1
054	Vitalstatistix	10/2001	England, UK	1
055	VikingSong	03/2013	North-West Europe	1
056	tombstone88	10/2010	usa	1
057	SwedeHeart	06/2015	Michiganiac	1
058	VASkinByrd	04/2019	Virginia	1
059	Verona	09/2012	Verona	1
060	Supremely White	06/2020	Diversity hell	1
061	wahwahpupmom	10/2021	midsouth TN	1
062	trashcant	03/2021	Michigan	1
063	United1488	03/2013	California	1
064	Ungeduldig	07/2010	Grants Pass	1
065	TotallyWeirdFemale	05/2013	St Louis West County	1
066	Windigo	11/2008	The Netherlands	1
067	ThulePrincess88	02/2009	Asgard	1
068	Syn	09/2006	Out of the melting pot and into the fire	1
069	Wild One	01/2009	Scythia	1

#	Username	Forum Join Date	Location	Message Number in Thread
070	realist06	06/2006	Don't get mad, get recruiting new WNists!	1
071	Wulfrick	04/2013	Beyond the Pale	1
072	abaker	04/2014	East Coast	1
073	oriongirl3	02/2009	So Cal	1
074	natti	10/2009	So Cal	1
075	moonflower994	05/2011	texas	1
076	sidewayreality	12/2012	Midwest U.S.A	1
077	lexirebel99	05/2017	cecil county, md	1
078	snowwhite86	11/2016	Missouri	1
079	keev	05/2009	Hilo, Hawaii	1
080	jenay	02/2014	Western Washington	1
081	illhissla	02/2009	Norway	1
082	southernbelle87	11/2016	Knoxville	1
083	gia	01/2009	Chicago, Illinois	1
084	felidae	04/2008	This Blessed Plot, This Earth, This Realm, This England	1
085	spenird90	07/2009	Florida	1
086	duvexy	08/2003	Earth	1
087	dkb	04/2009	Where her head's on straight and her heart's in the right place	1
088	diane1	06/2015	Upper Chichester, PA	1

#	Username	Forum Join Date	Location	Message Number in Thread
089	swifty007	04/2014	Nottingham UK	1
090	dementedfly	09/2008	Bay Area, California	1
091	clocktower	10/2009	The South	1
092	cava23	08/2009	Greeneville, TN	1
093	bmay	11/2012	Wisconsin	1
094	properenglish	12/2013	South East Ohio	1
095	beverlyhillbilly	02/2010	Donwell Abbey with Mr. Knightley (Jane Austen's "Emma")	1
096	balticsunshine	10/2016	Trayvonmartinville	1
097	autumn1988	04/2010	Alberta, Canada	1
098	angellavamp	02/2008	Vegas, Nevada	1
099	adora	09/2011	Louisiana	1
100	blueyecrying	08/2010	Houston, Texas	1
101	ONerthus0	10/2009	Occupied California, USA	1
102	Sidonie	05/2012	Michigan, USA	1
103	Laurina	10/2015	.	1
104	Lara3777	11/2010	Michigan	1
105	Kitty0812	04/2003	In the henhouse with the cats	1
106	Jessie1024	12/2009	Finland	1
107	Jess Lennon	02/2018	Australia	1

#	Username	Forum Join Date	Location	Message Number in Thread
108	Italica	11/2009	Hispalis, Hispania	1
109	ItalianBeauty	03/2010	Toronto now NYC	1
110	IrishBritChick92	07/2015	Northern Ireland	1
111	HonorableHeritage	04/2014	Georgia	1
112	Helen of Uist	06/2009	DC Metro	1
113	Flower of SScotland	04/2013	Gold Coast QLD Australia	1
114	Etain	06/2008	Assimilation is genocide	1
115	EnglishBornAndBred	03/2011	America	1
116	EmmaOberheuser	09/2016	Pittsburgh, PA	1
117	Electric Mermaid	09/2012	Reno, NV	1
118	DelraePlease	01/2009	nevada	1
119	Chewybear2017	08/2017	Arkansas	1
120	Celtic Aussie	07/2011	Queensland, Australia	1
121	BluCollar	09/2011	Mordor	1
122	Bestellen	01/2011	Britain.	1
123	Bellatrix	09/2008	White survival	1
124	Aufreizen	01/2008	Bandenkrieg	1
125	Aryanarchy	07/2009	Cut Off	1
126	ArcticThunder	05/2006	U.S.A.	1

#	Username	Forum Join Date	Location	Message Number in Thread
127	AntiNWO	11/2011	Sunny England	1
128	AliceOnAlert	01/2016	St. Cloud, MN	1
129	Albionprincess	08/2012	UK	1
130	Aine	07/2017	Pacific NW	1
131	915tx	09/2014	Texas!	1
132	88_Soldat	08/2008	The Wilds of the North - AKA Minnesota	1
133	LastWhiteWoman	10/2005	CALIF	1
134	Liefde	06/2013	Leeds	1
135	Sherri	01/2010	Somewhere towards the south	1
136	Lizzie K	01/2010	Louisville	1
137	SallySchnitzel	09/2009	Down below the Mason Dixon line	1
138	SARIAH	04/2010	East Coast Australia.	1
139	Rowena	09/2008	london UK	1
140	Rorschaching	06/2009	Florida	1
141	Rhiannan	11/2015	Cultural Marxist Hellhole	1
142	Rexanna	03/2010	Cloud 9	1
143	RepetitionKills	10/2009	Hell, USA	1
144	PureIntensity	06/2016	dancing through the rabbit hole	1
145	PureHeartPunk	12/2014	Boston & NYC	1

#	Username	Forum Join Date	Location	Message Number in Thread
146	14Ally88	03/2017	USA	1
147	PrairieSister	10/2013	Illinois, USA	1
148	Panzer_Monski	07/2008	Canada	1
149	Palewhiterose	11/2009	Los Angeles	1
150	Ostrogordo	08/2011	Argentina	1
151	NorskyBabe	08/2011	Central WA	1
152	NatureTalker	11/2012	Canada	1
153	NUIN4	01/2009	mesa,arizona	1
154	NBKmadchen	08/2014	California	1
155	Murmur	08/2006	Willamette Valley, Oregon	1
156	MrsRain	03/2010	Bonnie Scotland	1
157	Morrighan	01/2013	Dixie [X]	1
158	MissEmily	02/2012	Canada	1
159	Mazombo	12/2013	In the underground.	1
160	MacKenziesMom	04/2011	Spokane Valley, WA	1
161	Lucrecia	10/2009	Georgia	1
162	Lucius Malfoy	08/2009	The People,s Republic of Canada	1
163	Love2Swim	07/2013	Midwest USA	1
164	Lovaniensia	12/2017	Austria (Europe).	1

#	Username	Forum Join Date	Location	Message Number in Thread
165	Lokasenna	09/2014	I don't know, where the h*ll is my GPS?!	1
166	Great White Hope	04/2008	ugh :(1

B Data Collection Scripts

B.1 Script to Extract Post Details from Forum Page

After loading one of the *Stormfront* forum webpage, the following script (written in *Javascript* programming language) can be launched into the console of the web browser (e.g., *Firefox*), to extract information from the forum posts and save everything as CSV-formatted text:

```
function scrap_field(post, css_selector, return_as_text) {
    // Extract information field from post.
    field = post.querySelector(css_selector);
    if (field !== null) {
        field = (return_as_text === true) ? field.innerText.trim() : field.innerHTML;
    }
    else {
        field = '';
    }
    return field;
}

function scrap_user_fields(post, css_selector) {
    // Extract user-related information field from post.
    field_results = {}
    fields_array = Array.from(post.querySelectorAll(css_selector));
    for (const field of fields_array) {
        field_text = field.innerText.split(': ');
        if (field_text.length == 2) {
            field_name = field_text[0]; field_value = field_text[1];
            field_results[field_name] = field_value;
        }
    }
    return field_results;
}

function to_csv(table) {
    // Convert results to CSV format
    return table
        .map(row =>
            row
                .map(cell => {
                    if (cell.replace(/ /g, '').match(/[\\s,"]/)) {
                        return '"' + cell.replace(/"/g, '') + '"';
                    }
                    return cell;
                })
                .join(',')
        )
}
```

```

        .join('\n');
    }

    // Extract all posts from forum page:
    let posts_raw = document.querySelectorAll(
        'div[align=center]>.page>div[align=left]>div>.tborder'
    );
    let posts_array = Array.from(posts_raw)

    let posts = []
    // For each post, parse user and content information:
    for (const post of posts_array) {
        content = scrap_field(post, '.alt1 div:not(.smallfont)', false);
        date = scrap_field(post, '.thead:first-child', true);
        username = scrap_field(post, '.alt2 div:not(.smallFont)', true);
        user_info = scrap_user_fields(post, '.smallfont div');
        user_location = ('Location' in user_info) ? user_info['Location'] : '';
        user_joindate = ('Join Date' in user_info) ? user_info['Join Date'] : '';
        user_from = ('From' in user_info) ? user_info['From'] : '';
        post_parsed = [username, user_from, user_joindate, user_location, date];
        posts.push(post_parsed);
    }

    // Finally, save everything as CSV:
    csv_table = to_csv(posts);
    console.log(csv_table)

```

B.2 Script to Aggregate Forum Posts per Date Interval

Given the CSV table extracted from the forum by the script presented in Subsection B.1, the following script (written in *Python* programming language) was used to create Figure 4. It aggregates and counts the forum posts per submission date:

```

"""Parse CSV-formatted forum posts to aggregate posts per time.
Author: Benjamin Planche
Date: 2022-01-29 19:35
Python Version: 3.8
"""

# =====
# Imported Modules
# =====

import os
from pathlib import Path
import pandas as pd

# =====

```

```

# Constant Definitions
# =====

# Folder and file containing information extracted from forum thread:
SCRIPT_FOLDER = Path(os.path.dirname(os.path.abspath(__file__)))
CSV_FILE = SCRIPT_FOLDER / "results.csv"

# =====
# Function Definitions
# =====

def main():

    # Read CSV file:
    df = pd.read_csv(CSV_FILE)

    # Parse date fields:
    df['date'] = pd.to_datetime(df['date'])
    df['user_joindate'] = pd.to_datetime(df['user_joindate'])

    # Aggregate (i.e., count) posts per time period
    # (either per year, per month, or per week):
    for freq in ['1Y', '1M', '1W']:
        df_freq = df.resample(freq, on='date')['date'].count()
        # Save results as a new CSV file:
        df_freq.to_csv(SCRIPT_FOLDER / f'results_post_freq_{freq}.csv')

if __name__ == "__main__":
    main()

```

B.3 Script to Aggregate Forum Posts per User

Given the CSV table extracted from the forum by the script presented in Subsection B.1, the following script (written in *Python* programming language) was used to create Table 5. It aggregates the forum posts per user, counting and sorting the number of posts that users posted in the discussion:

```

"""Parse CSV-formatted forum posts to aggregate user information.
Author: Benjamin Planche
Date: 2022-01-29 19:35
Python Version: 3.8
"""

# =====
# Imported Modules
# =====

```



```

import os
from pathlib import Path
import pandas as pd

# =====
# Constant Definitions
# =====

# Folder and file containing information extracted from forum thread:
SCRIPT_FOLDER = Path(os.path.dirname(os.path.abspath(__file__)))
CSV_FILE = SCRIPT_FOLDER / "results.csv"

# =====
# Function Definitions
# =====

def main():

    # Read CSV file:
    df = pd.read_csv(CSV_FILE)

    df_users = df.drop(
        ['date', 'user_from'], axis=1          # Drop non-relevant columns
    ).groupby(
        ['user_name', 'user_joindate', 'user_location'] # Group posts by user
    ).size().reset_index(
        name='posts_num'                        # Count posts per user
    ).sort_values(
        ['posts_num'], ascending=False         # Sort users per posts num
    )

    # Save results as CSV table:
    df_users.reset_index(drop=True).to_csv(SCRIPT_FOLDER / 'results_aggr.csv')

if __name__ == "__main__":
    main()

```

Ich versichere, dass die vorliegende Arbeit von mir selbstständig verfasst wurde. Außer den angeführten wurden dabei keine weiteren Hilfsmittel verwendet. Die Arbeit lag noch nicht anderweitig zu Prüfungszwecken vor oder wurde veröffentlicht. Die aus den im Literatur- und Quellenverzeichnis angegebenen Werken dem Wortlaut oder dem Sinn nach entnommenen Passagen sind unter Angabe der Entlehnung kenntlich gemacht.

New Brunswick, 28.02.2022, Varvara Chinenova

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'Varvara Chinenova', written in a cursive style.