

WHITE SHAME, WHITE PRIDE: EMOTIONAL CULTURES, FEELING RULES, AND EMOTION EXEMPLARS IN WHITE SUPREMACIST MOVEMENT MUSIC

Marshall A. Taylor¹

University of Notre Dame

Carol Rambo

University of Memphis

Abstract: *We rely on white supremacist music lyric data to elucidate how movement music suggests an emotional culture of feeling rules for white power music consumers. The feeling rules of white supremacists which are explored here are discourses, or emotion exemplars, mapped across an emotional terrain which encompasses the dimensions of pride and shame – emotions that capture opposite ends of the social bonding continuum. The five emotion exemplars identified here serve as yardsticks against which to measure a character’s status in terms of whether or not they should feel shame or pride in a given situation or context.*

We’re proud of where we’re from, we’re proud to be white, proud that we’re Skins, proud that we fight. We stand strong, strong like steel, movin’ in quick, ready for the kill. Standin’ by our brothers in times of need, being the best is what we achieve. It’s the way we are, is what we believe, hatred’s what I feel inside of me.

– Bully Boys, “Hammerskins”¹

We are a community of racial realists and idealists. We are White Nationalists who support true diversity and a homeland for all peoples. Thousands of organizations promote the interests, values and heritage of non-White minorities. We promote ours. We are the voice of the new, embattled White minority! – Opening banner running across the *Stormfront* website²

The Beginning

On August 5, 2012, Wade Michael Page, a purported former member of the Hammerskins, shot and killed six people at a Sikh temple in Wisconsin before being killed by police himself. The Southern Poverty Law Center identified him as a member of two white supremacist “hate rock” bands, including one called Definite Hate. In a 2010 interview, Page stated that he started his other band, End Apathy, because, “the value of human life has been degraded by being submissive to the tyranny and hypocrisy that we are subjugated to” (CBS, 2012).

More recently, on April 14, 2014, Frazier Glenn Cross was accused of killing two people at a Jewish Community Center and one at a nearby Village Shalom retirement

Corresponding Author: Marshall A. Taylor, graduate student, Department of Sociology, University of Notre Dame: mtaylor15@nd.edu.

community, both in Kansas. The Southern Poverty Law Center identified Glenn Miller as the former Grand Dragon of the Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Ironically, no Jews were hit in the shooting; only white non-Jews died. Nevertheless, “He reportedly was heard yelling ‘Heil Hitler’ during his arrest” (Lopez, 2014).

The emergence of white supremacy as a social movement has been fueled, in part, by a burgeoning music scene. The cultural artifacts of a social movement reflect and influence the ideas which frame movement activity (Gongaware & Benford, 2003). Music and music lyrics have long been an area of interest for social movement scholars (e.g., Eyerman & Jamison, 1998; Kaminski & Taylor, 2008; Roscigno & Danaher, 2001; Roy, 2010), and, as such, have served as a site where knowledge production processes in social movements could be unobtrusively analyzed. Past research has focused on the roles of music in left-wing movements while virtually ignoring music in their radical right-wing counterparts. In other words, most scholars have only been interested in exploring music in *progressive* social movements. With this project, we join a small number of researchers who have considered the richness of music lyric data in right-wing extremist politics (see, for example, Cotter, 1999; Eyerman, 2002; Futrell *et al.*, 2006; Messner *et al.*, 2007; Shekhovtsov, 2009; Simi & Futrell, 2010).

“Hate rock” is a genre of music identified by the Anti-defamation league as “a major recruitment tool and source of funding for hate groups” (Anti-Defamation League [ADL], 2013). Ironically, for a genre tagged with such a strong emotional moniker, the role of emotions has largely been neglected in the research on hate groups in general and white power participants specifically. As a result of these two deficits in the literature, we seek to examine how white power music lyrics are used to make claims on the emotional culture of the white supremacist movement. We argue that white power music lyrics suggest an emotional culture of “feeling rules” (Hochschild, 1979, 1983), discursively articulated through *emotion exemplars*, for white supremacist activists, potential recruits, and other white power music consumers. Particular social objects such as perceived historical events, contemporary structural conditions, totemized social actors, and so forth, are framed within lyrical narratives to create movement-specific emotional norms. The feeling norms or feeling rules of white supremacists which are explored here are discourses mapped across an emotional terrain which encompasses the dimensions of both pride and shame (Scheff, 2000, 2003).

While we do not claim that we can explain the crime of racially motivated shootings, we might be able to offer insight into some of the emotional socialization which underpins them. We identify five discourses – or *emotion exemplars* – that white supremacist lyricists draw upon when framing who should be ashamed and who should have pride. Taken as a whole, any particular set of feeling rules prescribed by any particular social movement can be understood as a form of *emotional advocacy*.

Collective Emotions and Social Movements

While the study of emotions is starting to come back in vogue amongst social movement researchers, emotions have not always been considered an appropriate

topic outside the purview of psychology. For example, for early collective behaviorists, collective emotions were portrayed as irrational in nature; they were the output of individuals responding to circular reaction as opposed to interpretative interaction, which resulted in particularly rash outbursts of (often violent) emotional and physical expression (Blumer, [1939] 1969). In general, following the rise and fall of radical nationalist political regimes in Germany and Italy and the growth of communism in Bolshevik Russia, scholars viewed the psychological and emotive effects of crowd dynamics on individual actors as pathological. Collective emotions were temporally and spatially specific, primitive, and devoid of biography, lived experience, and personal narrative. Furthermore, the structural approaches—such as the resource mobilization and political process perspectives—of the mid- to late-twentieth century took as their center a pseudo-utilitarian social actor motivated by rationality, which resulted in collective emotions being considered both theoretically and methodologically inappropriate objects of analysis (Goodwin et al., 2001, pp. 4-5).

These Weberian models, however, did put forth an important conceptualization that opened the door to much of the cultural analysis now employed in social movement research: the notion of the individual social actor as normal, clear-minded, and as utilizing “politics by other means” (Goodwin *et al.*, 2001, p. 5). Following this breakthrough, microsociologists were able to examine the cultural and cognitive processes of movement participants without a predisposition toward pathological determinism. There have also been further attempts to appease the disparities between cultural and structural approaches to social movement research through arguments that emotion management is a valuable tool for strategic grievance framing, solidarity building, and for encouragement of adherence to movement goals (Britt & Heise, 2000; Dunn, 2004).

In the following section, we outline the emotional complexities often found within a social movement culture. First, we discuss the nature of emotional norms and the role of language in forming emotional cultures. Then we focus on a movement culture’s “emotional advocacy”: i.e., the advocating of emotional states that are stigmatized by the larger society in which movement participants operate.

Emotional Norms and the Constraining Power of Language

To understand the socially-conditioned nature of emotional experience, one must analyze how emotion attributions are brought about through the verbal framing of events and other social objects (Heise & Weir, 1999; see also Reed, 2004). In order to address the cultural and linguistic processes inherent in this process, we review Gordon’s “emotional cultures” (Cancian & Gordon, 1988; Gordon 1989, 1990) and Hochschild’s “feeling rules” (Hochschild, 1979, 1983). Both the emotional cultures and feeling rules concepts are sensitive to the power of culture and language; in particular, they reflect an attempt to understand how cultural constraints delineate what is to be felt where and when and how to interpret these responses (Turner & Stets, 2005). Each of these concepts is addressed below.

Emotional cultures. An emotional culture consists of a “society’s or subgroups’ vocabulary, beliefs, norms, models, and other cultural knowledge about emotions” (Cancian & Gordon, 1988, p. 313). According to Gordon, “. . . individuals interpret emotional experience within socially constructed frameworks of meaning” (Gordon, 1989, p. 115); an emotional culture therefore comprises the meaning structures through which individuals cognitively evaluate their social context to follow the appropriate expectations for emotional display. Formal emotional norms, then, establish how a group member or movement participant is to see, feel, and interact with the social world.

Just how are movement participants to encounter these “formal” emotional norms? According to Gordon, a social group’s emotional culture is often elucidated through written language (1989, p. 115). Therefore, formal emotional norms may be found in the group’s intellectual publications – e.g., religious writings, advice books, scientific journals, and so on (Gordon, 1990). In addition to “intellectual” documents, it stands to reason that the cultural products of popular media (e.g., music, film, magazines, and Internet content) shape and constrain formal emotional norms. After all, according to cultural production theorists, social milieu create and shape culture (Peterson, 1976); therefore, culture is often bound by and representative of the milieu’s normative belief and value systems.

The accuracy with which an emotional culture represents actual emotional experience and expression varies from group to group and era to era (Gordon, 1990). However, as will be seen in the sections that follow, music is a popular source of cultural expression for those involved in the white supremacist movement (Cotter, 1999; Futrell *et al.*, 2006; Simi & Futrell, 2010). In addition, as is the case with other social groups and historical social movements, music is (and has been) a major means of cultural transformation (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998). Given the importance of music within the white supremacist movement and music’s significance to the inner-workings of social movements in general, it stands to reason that music lyrics – as a resource through which cultural producers establish group-specific norms – relate in substantial ways to how emotions are embodied and expressed in everyday performance. Indeed, when the producers that create cultural resources such as music lyrics are considered credible, the “[d]ocuments can have a socializing effect as self-fulfilling prophecies, shaping emotions toward the prescribed standards and thereby becoming veridical indicators of actual experience and behavior” (Gordon, 1990, pp. 164-5; see also Stearns & Stearns, 1985). Even so, this study focuses specifically on music lyrics as cultural artifacts imbued with emotional meaning and therefore does not make claims on emotional performance.

Feeling rules. Feeling rules closely relate to Gordon’s notion of emotional cultures. According to Hochschild (1983), every culture possesses a private emotion system managed by “scripts” or “moral stances”; these normative codes of conduct structure both how an individual is to feel toward a particular social object as well as how to display rising emotions in any given situation. These feelings are made salient during

points of emotional deviance, when there is an implicit disconnection between how one should feel and how one does feel (Thoits, 1985). Social actors employ techniques of emotion management to guide their emotional manifestations along the prototypical standards of a culture's feeling rules.

Though this study is not concerned with the subjective emotion work of individual social actors, Hochschild's analysis says just as much about the constraining power of cultural norms in emotional expression (hence feeling rules). For instance, one emotion management technique pertinent to this study is cognitive emotion work, which may be defined as the ". . . attempt to change images, ideas, or thoughts in the service of changing the feelings associated with them" (Hochschild, 1979, p. 562). Cognitive emotion work serves as an acknowledgement of how feeling rules possess leverage in the formation of cognitive understandings of the social world. As Hochschild notes, feeling rules go hand in hand with "framing rules" in ideological constructions (1979, p. 566). More specifically, while framing rules guide an actor's ascription of meaning to social objects, feeling rules inform the actor on what to feel toward social objects and their ascribed meaning, and where and how to engage in emotional expression. Framing and feeling rules are inseparable; they are, in fact, reciprocal:

One can defy an ideological stance not simply by maintaining an alternative frame of a situation but by maintaining an alternative set of feeling rights and obligations. One can defy an ideological stance by inappropriate affect and by refusing to perform the emotion management necessary to feel what, according to the official frame, it would seem fitting to feel. (Hochschild, 1979, p. 567)

Ideology, then, may be thought of as an "interpretive framework" consisting of framing rules and feeling rules for how to understand—in terms of cognition, behavior, and emotion—social reality (1979, p. 566). To cognitively understand a social object and its meaning, one must also come to understand the normative emotion(s) attached to it. The link between ideology, framing, and emotions has been further studied in empirical social movements research, which includes studies on ethnic affectations in white supremacist rhetoric (Berbrier, 1998), emotion work in transgender social movement organizations (Schrock *et al.*, 2004), organizational emotions in a women's prison movement (Lawston, 2009a, 2009b), and emotional resonance and social location in a civil rights movement organization (Robnett, 2004). These studies suggest that feeling and thinking are, indeed, parallel (Jasper, 2011).

As with Gordon's emotional cultures, language heavily constrains feeling rules. Particular words, phrases, metaphors, euphemisms, dysphemisms, and other rhetorical devices are assigned to particular social objects within a given culture so as to bring about particular perspectives; as the linkage between framing and feeling rules suggests, these perspectives are intimately linked to emotional states. In her study of flight attendants' emotion work, Hochschild observed how flight supervisors avoided vocabulary that insinuated personal faults of the passengers: for example, passengers were "uncontrolled" or "mishandled" (suggesting poor job performance on the part of the flight attendants), but never "obnoxious" or "outrageous" (1983, p. 111).

Employing softer vocabulary verified and recreated the feeling rules attached to the customer service work culture, alleviating the blame that may have been placed on passengers and avoiding interpretations of anger on behalf of the flight crew. Elsewhere, Godwin (2004) observed how parents in a support group for parents of “troubled” teenagers used a “personal responsibility rhetoric” to relieve themselves of the blame for their teenagers’ rebellion, thereby avoiding feelings and expressions of guilt that were defined by the group as inappropriate.

Emotional Advocacy

Just as emotions are components of a movement’s in-group norms, so too do they color how movement participants attempt to interact with the outside social world. Though there are undoubtedly numerous ways in which movement actors interact with outsiders and for various reasons, the present study focuses specifically upon a movement’s emotional advocacy.

Social movements are often concerned with (if not predicated on) the reshaping of the larger emotional culture in which both participants and outsiders are embedded. This cause is commonly related to a movement’s fight against the stigmatization of certain social groups (Jasper, 1998). Verta Taylor (1999, 2000), for example, examined how activists in the postpartum depression self-help movement were encouraged to share their survivor narratives with media sources and therefore make salient their guilt, anger, depression, and anxiety – emotions regarded as deviant within the wider social context. By expressing the reality of postpartum depression publicly, movement activists explicitly questioned the stereotypical bonding ideals of new motherhood and the assumptions of male-dominated psychology. Social movements such as these actively attempt to redefine popular feeling rules and the larger emotional culture.

The White Power Music Scene

Youth and young adults are among the primary demographics targeted by white supremacist organizations (Berbrier, 2000; Blazak, 2001; Hamm, 1993). Additionally, music and its related cultural products (e.g., merchandise, festivals, album art, and so on) have become major means of recruitment at a grassroots level for white supremacist activists (Corte & Edwards, 2008; Futrell *et al.*, 2006; Simi & Futrell, 2010). The white power music scene, then, is a potential breeding ground for young white racialists. As Devin Burghart states:

. . . [W]hite power music has become the most significant recruiting tool for organized white supremacists. It has succeeded in infiltrating numerous youth subcultures and creating the cultural space for fascism within those scenes. It provided [sic] those new recruits with a validation for racist, anti-Semitic and homophobic violence. It has forged new international bonds. And it has become a lucrative source of funds for the movement, generating millions of dollars. (Burghart, 1999, p. 9)

We begin this section with an outline of past research on white power music and its role within the wider white supremacist movement, and follow with a discussion of

how white power music informs our understandings of emotional norms within the white supremacist movement.

Sociological Analyses of White Power Music

The sociology of music has long been connected to studies in collective action. However, most social movement researchers and theorists have focused specifically on the historical roles of music in left-wing and progressive movements while largely ignoring the functions of music in their radical right-wing counterparts (see, for example, Eyerman & Jamison, 1998; Roy, 2010). In other words, most scholars have been interested in understanding the sociological foundations of music's role in only progressive social change. Though studies on radical right-wing politics and the white supremacist movement certainly exist, research on the white power music scene remains particularly underdeveloped. The few studies available on white power music come predominately from the fields of cultural criminology and sociology, and primarily utilize content analysis and participant observation as their modes of examination. Given the nature of this study, we will focus this review on content analyses of white power music lyrics.

Due to the secretive (and often times criminal) nature of many white power collectivities, most studies of white power music rely on lyric sets as their data; therefore, thematic content analysis is the primary analytical method. According to the literature, two overarching themes may be found within white power music lyrics: the accentuation of positive in-group attributes and the accentuation of negative out-group attributes. In general, "in-group" takes on two separate meanings within the music lyrics: with the first usage, the term refers to the entirety of the white race, spanning the United States, Canada, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Australia, and any other predominately white regions or nations (the "inclusive" usage); with the second usage, "in-group" represents movement activists specifically, be they racist skinheads, neo-Nazis, Ku Klux Klan members, racist neo-Pagans, or Christian Identity adherents (the "exclusive" usage). Cotter (1999) found several aspects of punk/Oi! music that accentuate positive in-group attributes while using the exclusive form of "in-group": these include emphases on gang culture and perceptions of isolation and persecution from the media, police, and society. Other aspects of racist punk/Oi! music that accentuate positive in-group attributes while using the inclusive form of "in-group" include discourses on chauvinistic nationalism and "racialism" (1999:128). The white power movement's need for white solidarity and an "open" definition of "in-group" is perhaps best captured by what Cotter notes as a subcultural shift from ideologies of nationalism to racialism: i.e., a shift from concerns for specific national groups to concerns for "... people of European descent [that] have common cultural bonds and are threatened by the same enemies" (1999: 128). According to the lyric sets Cotter analyzed (mostly of the punk/Oi! genres), European conflicts – including those between nations of European descent – have been "Brothers' Wars" perpetuated by money-mongering Jews; the real war, the lyrics suggest, is to be an apocalyptic final battle with the "warriors" of the white race on one side and the Zionist Occupied

Government (ZOG) and their “forces of evil” (including non-whites and race-traitors) on the other. Additionally, the “battle theme” – which accentuates both positive in-group attributes and negative out-group attributes – includes appeals to martyrdom and “calls to arms.”

As the above themes suggest, white power music lyrics appear to revolve around white pride and racial/multicultural contempt. Pete Simi and Robert Futrell (Simi & Futrell, 2010, p. 63; see also Futrell *et al.*, 2006) identified several running themes that pervade white power music lyrics: on the one hand, themes of Aryan nationalism, white power, Aryan heritage, and racial loyalty signify the overarching notion of white pride; on the other hand, themes such as race war, anti-Semitism, anti-immigration, and anti-race mixing are indicative of racial/multicultural contempt. Somewhat outside of these two thematic categories are themes of white subjugation: i.e., white victimization and white persecution by the government (Corte & Edwards, 2008; Simi & Futrell, 2010). According to Brown (2004, p. 167), nearly all hate music bands express nostalgia for a time of white world dominance and “. . . [look] to some Germanic past as a mythic site of heroic identity” predicated on National Socialist ideals, a racist take on Norse mythology, or a mix of the two.

Although the white supremacist movement consists of decentralized networks of social groups with varying interests, theologies (or lack thereof), and methods of public communication, they all share fundamental tenets of white European supremacy (Burris *et al.*, 2000; Ferber, 1998; Futrell *et al.*, 2006). It therefore stands to reason that many of the themes imbued within punk/Oi! music lyrics also find expression in other white power music genres. In a study of country hate music from the 1960s, researchers found that the lyrical content could be categorized into confrontational hate music (overt racist themes) and social hate music (covert racist themes) (Messner *et al.*, 2007). Themes of racial/multicultural contempt were particularly salient within the confrontational hate music category – for example, “dehumanization” and “infantilization” of African Americans, African Americans as undeserving of basic rights, and white violence toward African Americans – while both confrontational and social hate music promulgated themes of white pride and white subjugation (e.g., “threat to freedoms” and “government enablement of African Americans”).

Emotions and White Power Music

Music is simultaneously personal and collective, and it connects to individuals through emotions (Corte & Edwards, 2008). Regardless of the genre through which lyrical messages are disseminated, white power music (and music in general) may have profound effects on both reactive emotional responses and deeper affective attachments. As Simi and Futrell (2010, p. 81) state: “. . . [White power] music itself evokes multiple emotional appeals The songs express racial hatred and violence along with potent emotions of pride, honor, love, and movement unity” (see also Futrell *et al.*, 2006, pp. 289-94).

In general, the white supremacist movement’s emotional cultures have remained unexplored; most studies have been limited to discussions of “hate,” “anger,” and

“pride” (e.g., Coreno, 2002). One notable exception is the study by Futrell *et al.* (2006), where the researchers examined how white power music scene lived experiences fostered feelings such as dignity, pleasure, exceptionalism, and superiority. However, this study was not an examination of the formal emotional norms that are articulated within the music lyrics themselves. Given the historical richness of the movement and the persistence of the white power music scene, it stands to reason that music lyrics produced within the movement explicate its emotional norms to some degree. Additionally, the movement’s emotional norms could be much more dynamic than some earlier studies on the emotional dimensions of the movement suggest. Working from the premise that lyrical narratives are primary conduits through which a social movement’s emotional norms may be established, it follows that music lyrics may provide a glimpse into the emotional complexities of the white supremacist movement; indeed, it is likely that white power music does more than simply “fuel Aryan rage” (Simi & Futrell, 2010, p. 64).

Methods

Data

The data for this study consisted of a collection of music lyrics ($n = 145$) from various bands and singer-songwriters that, at the time of data collection, were identified by civil and human rights organizations as performing white supremacist music. The lyrics were collected primarily from lyric websites, though some were collected directly from band/singer-songwriter websites. More specifically, obtaining the lyric data was a two-step process. First, the choice of bands and singer-songwriters from which the data were to be drawn were those identified as popular or historically prominent within the scholarly literature (e.g., Futrell *et al.*, 2006; Goodrick-Clarke, 2002; Simi & Futrell, 2010) and those with frequent mentions on white supremacist Internet forums. An additional criterion was that only bands and singer-songwriters that perform (or performed) in English were to be considered for inclusion in the analysis. Second, using purposive sampling techniques, the lyric data were collected. One band/singer-songwriter was chosen from each of the following major white supremacist music genres: white power rock (including racist Oi!, Rock Against Communism [RAC], hatecore, racist forms of heavy metal, and so on), National Socialist black metal (NSBM), “volk”/folk rock/acoustic rock (i.e., nationalist folk), and racist country/western. The representative bands/singer-songwriters were as follows: Skrewdriver³ (white power rock, based in the United Kingdom), Der Stürmer⁴ (NSBM, based in Greece), Prussian Blue⁵ and Saga⁶ (nationalist folk, based in the United States and Sweden, respectively), and Johnny Rebel⁷ (racist country/western, based in the United States). Two musical artists represented nationalist folk because a single group could not be found that provided an adequate number of lyric sets for that genre. Using this collection of bands and singer-songwriters, the aforementioned digital resources were searched for lyric transcriptions of their songs, pulling all available (and non-repeated) original lyric material.

Analytic Strategy

The first author employed ethnographic content analysis (ECA) to systematically examine the lyric data (Altheide, 1987, 1996; Altheide *et al.*, 2008). ECA is oriented toward the notion that cultural artifacts are in and of themselves sources of ethnographic data that require the researcher to immerse themselves in the cultural milieu of the collectivity, organization, or institution that produced the material and allow the steps of the research design to feed upon one another. ECA, then, involves the “reflexive analysis of documents” (Altheide, 1987, p. 65) – that is, the “recursive . . . movement between concept development, sampling, data collection, data coding, data analysis, and interpretation” (Altheide *et al.*, 2008, p. 128). The first author used reflexive techniques to constantly compare data and reveal robust meaning structures comprised of frames and discourses in the lyric data. These frames and discourses served as the interpretive mechanisms through which the shame-pridefeeling exemplars were made evident. The second author participated in various phases of this analysis as the feeling rules emerged.

Feeling Rules for White Power Activists

Shame and Pride as Frames for Subjugation and Domination

Shame and pride were the two emotional claims that surfaced most frequently in our analysis of white power activist emotional discourse in music. Shame and pride suggested one another as polar opposites; they were inverses of one another (Scheff, 2000, 2003). Thematically, pride suggested connection and social bonding while shame suggested disconnection and a lack of social bonding (Scheff, 2000, 2003). This polarity occurred across the various subgenres of white power music, though it manifested in a variety of ways. Shame and pride were also themes that structured the various emotion exemplars presented in the next section.

There were two overarching frames within these data: a subjugation frame and a domination frame. The subjugation frame underscored shame and the domination frame underscored pride. Each of these frames represented a different subjective emotional placement of the white population within the structure of sociopolitical action. Each of these frames implied a set of rules for how whites were supposed to feel given those particular placements. On the one hand, the subjugation frame was defined by a passive orientation toward social action that perceived white social actors as objects who were either oppressed by pluralist social change or victimized by political tyranny. This subjective position should invoke shame. On the other hand, the domination frame positioned white individuals as instigators of social action. This subjective position should invoke pride. Each of these frames was also comprised of “miniframes” (Altheide, 1996, p. 30). The subjugation frame included the oppressed and victimized miniframes. The domination frame included warrior and aggressor miniframes.

Subjugation. The subjugation frame was the most common frame in the data. It painted white actors as both the recipients of unfair institutional practices and as the

casualties of apathy and cultural denigration. Within this frame was the oppressed miniframe. The “white man” was oppressed and prevented from engaging in meaningful living due to existing institutional arrangements and bleeding-heart liberal norms. The following excerpts from Johnny Rebel’s “Nigger Hatin’ Me” and Skrewdriver’s “Before the Night Falls” provided cases in point:

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

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

Oppression was painted as a structural condition, a product of governmental intervention, either Uncle Sam or Parliament. In these examples, oppression was the product of what was perceived to be reverse discrimination.

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

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

Domination. While the subjugation frame emphasized a passive social actor constrained by the detrimental effects of an increasingly multicultural society, the domination frame was centered around a highly agentic social actor – one who was bellicose, blunt, and viewed violent bloodshed as the natural recourse for human

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

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

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

Within these four white supremacist miniframes – the oppressed and the victimized, the warrior and aggressor – white supremacist feeling rules regarding shame and pride were explored.

Shame and Pride Exemplars for White Supremacist Movement Participants

The discourses that operated within the aforementioned frames were sites where feeling rules for white supremacists were expressed. These rules were articulated through *emotion exemplars*, specifically for this study *shame and pride exemplars*. Emotion exemplars were expressed here as types; models or examples of appropriate or inappropriate emotions. Actors discussed themselves and others by comparing their position to the position charted by the exemplar. Shame and pride exemplars were expressed on a continuum, and served as a yardstick against which to measure a character’s status in terms of whether or not they should have felt shame or pride in their situation. As noted earlier, pride suggested connection and social bonding while shame suggested disconnection and a lack of social bonding (Scheff, 2000, 2003). For white supremacists, when an actor was disconnected from his or her racial identity, and their racial collective, this was a cause for shame. They were not “with” their group. When an actor was in tune with their racial identity, and living in alignment with white racial values, this was an occasion for pride. We identified five shame and pride exemplars which will be explored for the remainder of this section: awareness, authenticity, racial fortitude, cultural hero, and supremacy.

Awareness exemplar: Ignorant white shame and alert white pride. This exemplar existed as a continuum demarcated by two poles: “ignorant white shame” and “alert white pride.” It was asserted that ignorant whites suffered from a lack of awareness

and failed to sense the urgency behind the need to act. Ignorant white shame was tacitly projected onto ignorant whites to emphasize their lack of ability to maintain their responsibilities to their race. This perceived failure of ignorant whites to meet expectations was usually attributed to conformity to external rules and norms:

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

This herd mentality was portrayed as one of the main issues allowing white values to become threatened in the first place:

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

The white supremacist idea of what constituted a nation included the notion that a nation should be racially and culturally exclusive. Race and nation were envisioned as paired natural entities that must remain distinct and separated from other race-nation pairings. Immigration was perceived to be a source of national impurity, and though ignorant whites are not the contaminating agents, their actions were blamed for their nation becoming open to threat. Anything short of white activist action was an unsuccessful performance of duties to the white race. Alert white pride – that is, pride in awareness – was typically passively defined through talk of ignorant white shame.

Pride and shame as discourses were at times overtly labeled. Der Stürmer provided an example of this when discussing the Nazi belief that the Weimar Republic – the democratic government prototype established in post-World War I Germany – was an insufficient and detrimental force from which the Nazi Party (NSDAP) had to rescue the German nation and its ideals:

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

Since shame and pride function on the same axis, it came as no surprise that projected ignorant white shame could become synonymous with the absence of claimed alert

white pride. In the following Prussian Blue excerpt, shame was the active and undesirable category while pride was the inactive and desirable category. This dichotomy was used to underscore the intensity of the projected ignorant white shame when a sense of heritage was not maintained or strengthened:

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

The absence of alert white pride—pride in heritage, pride in name—signified an ignorant white identity. Generally when employing the awareness exemplar, ignorance was equated with disconnection from whiteness, in this case connection to true knowledge about whiteness. The feeling rule invoked by this particular exemplar was that this disconnection should be equated with shame. Contra wise, awareness was equated with connection to knowledge about whiteness. The feeling rule prescribed here was that knowledge of whiteness and white heritage should invoke pride.

Authenticity exemplar: Traitor shame and loyalist pride. Related to the awareness discourse was a discourse surrounding what it meant to be “truly white”: an authenticity exemplar. This exemplar existed as a continuum demarcated by at least two locations: “traitor” and “loyalist.” In one version of this continuum, ignorance occupied a middle position between traitor and loyalist (Taylor, 2014). Shame should be present if you betrayed your race through a number of potential actions; pride should be present if you were loyal to your race and its values. This discourse juxtaposed white supremacists with power elites (capitalists, politicians, and media producers) in that it presupposed a difference between honest whites who carry “Truth” and dishonest whites who propagated a selfish rhetoric of falsities. The authenticity discourse, then, was predicated on a substantive divide between white race traitors and white loyalists.

This authenticity discourse was prevalent in the subjugation frame, particularly the oppression miniframe. Power elites betrayed their racial heritage for the purpose of profit, which in turn led to financial hardship for their fellow whites:

It’s power from profit, they’re buying our souls
 It’s power from profit, puts you on the dole
 – Skrewdriver, “Power from Profit”

This treachery often involved collaboration with communists, thereby associating distrust with both free market and state-centered economic systems. The earlier excerpt from Skrewdriver’s “Free My Land” and the following passage provided examples:

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

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

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

Appeals to treachery and corruption within the authenticity discourse pointed to a white supremacist claim about power elites: they were inauthentic. Because they engaged in self-centered and greedy acts all the while being white, they had, like their ignorant white brethren from the previous section, lost sight of the selflessness, honor, and racial community at the core of being white which gave ideological meaning to kith and kin. In other words, rather than only threatening their social bonds with other whites through a lack of awareness like the “herd” of ignorant whites, these “race traitors” actively poisoned and desecrated what made the white race biologically and sociohistorically unique and superior to all others.

The other end of the continuum was loyalist pride. Since projections of traitor shame manifested as appeals to treachery and corruption, claims to loyalist pride took the form of resilience and dedication to white solidarity. There were two themes of resilience and dedication in the data, each associated with one of the two major frames. Within the subjugation frame, resilience and dedication to the white social bond were at the heart of an inverted “We Shall Overcome” narrative (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998); they represented a refusal to bow down, a passionate and honest will, and a heart of unquestionable emotional fortitude. Try as they might, oppressed and victimized white supremacists believe, power elites could not destroy their prideful resolve:

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

True hearts survive all battles that may come
True souls stay alive never miss the sun again

In our time we'll know if this was meant to be
 Our strength our pride the honour our people's choice
 – Saga, "Stay Alive"

As the above passages illustrated, pride in one's culture and heritage was considered an unwanted trait by the general public; in fact, pride—along with other "positive" emotions such as love—were believed to be unjustly forbidden, outlawed, criminalized, and prohibited by mainstream society. The ideals of cultural plurality prevented proud white supremacists from expressing themselves in the most fundamental and natural of ways. When they did engage in such expression, they and their loved ones could be punished:

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

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

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

White pride—resilience and dedication—was framed by biological discourses in the domination frame. More specifically, *Der Stürmer* referenced resilience and dedication to white values to underscore the racial hierarchy and racial antagonism components of natural law—that is, to show that the white race was inherently superior, and that this superiority was accomplished and maintained by exerting physical dominance. Resilience and dedication, then, were the natural ways of the white warrior and aggressor, since it was inevitable they would achieve glory:

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

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

Because resilience and dedication were – within the domination frame – natural human actions in the context of racial preservation, so too were defense and revenge against threatened white solidarity innate operations in communal human activity. This spoke to broader cultural trends, as Douglas (1966: xii) stated:

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

When employing the authenticity exemplar, betrayal was equated with disconnection from solidarity and white values. How could a white exploit other whites for personal gain, or sell them out to keep the peace, if he or she felt a true, authentic, connection? The feeling rule prescribed by this particular exemplar was that disconnection and betrayal should be equated with shame. Contra wise, authenticity – when one was resilient and dedicated – was equated with connection to whiteness. The feeling rule prescribed here was that loyalty was the very embodiment of connection and if one is authentic, then one naturally has pride.

Racial fortitude exemplar: Weak “other” shame and strong white racist pride.

At the ideological center of virtually all contemporary white supremacist groups was an opposition or distrust of all things not biologically, culturally, and historically white. There was, then, much to be said in the lyric data on the state of affairs of racial others and their relation to those of whites. Specifically, discourse about racial others within both the subjugation and domination frames incorporated a racial fortitude exemplar. At one end of the continuum, being non-white or “other” was a source of weakness and shame. At the opposite end, being white was a source of strength and pride. Weak other shame was generally invoked in the subjugation frame and strong white racist pride was often invoked in the domination frame.

Subjugated white supremacists were believed to be stronger than racial others; however, leftist-leaning institutions, social structures predicated on multiculturalism, and political malice, afforded racial others rights and opportunities not available to whites. Nevertheless, the perceived allocation of resources to racial others was attributed to structural favoritism, not personal strength:

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

Everybody lives here now, the dustbin of the world
An unwelcome pool of labor, with out promises of pearls
– Skrewdriver, “Flying the Flag”

Indeed, it would seem that when policies and programs did not go their way, racial others shamefully complained and griped rather than pulling themselves up by their bootstraps and solving problems themselves:

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

The above passages framed racial others as weak because of their inability to autonomously provide for themselves. The assumption that racial others must take away from whites in order to garner resources at the expense of disrespecting their own race also stood as an implicit assertion that whiteness and white productivity was strong enough to leach onto.

Whereas the subjugation frame emphasized racial others' lack of ability to provide for themselves and demarcated weak "other" shame, the domination frame focused on physical weaknesses to indicate strong white racialist pride. In the domination frame, racial others were destined for failure on the battlefield and easily killed, annihilated, or otherwise destroyed. The primary objects of physical weakness in this discourse were Jews, who were often racialized in white supremacist discourse (Ferber, 1997). This pointed to a complex construction of the Jewish people in white supremacist hierarchies of grievances: Jews, while being the architects behind the global ZOG conspiratorial campaign for world domination and the extermination of the white race, were also sources (not just purveyors) of filth, impurity, and sin. This explained why Jews were often lumped with other power elites and indicated to have both traitor shame and weak other shame. Der Stürmer frequently established Jews and their cultural repertoires as a single incorporeal, mysterious, and malevolent entity (e.g., as the "eternal Jew"). Jews transcended hierarchical classifications within the domination frame and were portrayed as a thinking yet infectious disease on whites. However, despite the seemingly all-powerful evil of Jews, they were substandard and sure to collapse in the eyes of the Aryan. The job of white warriors and aggressors was to show no mercy as they exploited this physical weakness and reaffirmed the integrity of Aryan brotherhood:

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

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

This domination version of the racial fortitude discourse incorporated the notion that whites will dominate racial others and force them to fail to perform their duties to their own race.

When employing the racial fortitude exemplar, being non-white was the very definition of weakness and disconnection from whiteness. The feeling rule prescribed by this particular exemplar was that if you were not white you should feel shame. Jews appeared to occupy a uniquely reviled status; they were non-white yet they occupied elite positions in the hierarchy. Perhaps they were equated with parasites, as *Der Stürmer* did, because in many instances they could be interpreted as white and they benefitted from that, yet they were disconnected from a white identity. Contrawise, being white was the definition of being strong. The feeling rule prescribed here was that if one is white, one should have pride.

Cultural hero exemplar: Un-martyr shame and martyr pride. Unlike the previous exemplars and their associated shame-pride typologies, the cultural hero exemplar was temporally oriented toward the past: that is, to the totemized political actors whose stories were ingrained within white supremacist collective memories. These actors, the sociohistorical contexts in which they were presented, and the strides and sacrifices they made toward strengthening the position of their race, were sources of martyr pride. Contrawise, by belittling the totemized political actors of racial others, they were “un-martyred” and revealed to be fakes, which, in turn, were claimed to be a source of shame.

Un-martyr shame was not invoked as frequently as the other types of shame. Only one of the musicians sampled – Johnny Rebel – consistently invoked the un-martyr shame discourse.

Specifically, the Johnny Rebel lyric sets analyzed here trivialized racially othered martyrs – they “un-martyred” them. Johnny Rebel, rather than acknowledge the strides made by figures such as Martin Luther King, Jr. and Jesse Jackson for the betterment of their race, instead negated them and replaced them with insults and projections of un-martyring shame:

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

I like our Southland like it is
I’m sure that you do too
Old Martin Luther thinks it’s his
I know he’s wrong... don’t you?
– Johnny Rebel, “Move Them Niggers North”

Black pride was constructed in these lyrics as nothing more than the useless emotional energy generated from a talkative political figure with a group of mindless followers with no real connection to their wants or needs. Therefore, white pride was positioned as stronger than this black “pseudo-pride,” since blacks’ efforts to strengthen their position in society will supposedly collapse when up against the efforts of whites to strengthen theirs. For instance, in the song “Jesse Showed Up” (addressed above), the lyrics warned that, inevitably, the white man will say “enough is enough” and call on the Ku Klux Klan to quiet Jesse Jackson and his followers, thereby preventing them from achieving their goals and, in turn, preserving the South’s sacred racial order.

With the exception of the Johnny Rebel sample, martyr pride was generally what constituted the discourse found within the cultural hero exemplar. The specifics of this type of pride varied between the subjugation and domination frames. *Der Stürmer* made several references to martyrs of Nazi Germany in the domination frame. These references included mentions of individual actors – such as Adolf Hitler – but also of Third Reich military groups (the *Schutzstaffel* [SS], for instance) or event-specific collectivities (such as the Stormtroopers shot and killed in the failed Beer Hall Putsch of 1923). The warrior miniframe also drew from images of ancient Greek soldiers such as the Spartans and often blended Nazi and ancient Greek aesthetics together to create a definitive heroic ideal. Martyr pride was used to portray white supremacists as exceptional in relation to others they fight by noting how much they would sacrifice and had already sacrificed for the sake of their service to the white race:

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

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

Racial others – without reference to martyrs – should be shamed for their lack of blood, sweat, and tears. In fact, the sheer weakness and helplessness of these racial others at the expense of white martyrs’ strides pointed to un-martyr shame as a byproduct of martyr pride. This was evident on the battlefields of the warrior miniframe:

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

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

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

This brand of un-martyr shame could be extended to ignorant whites, power elites, as well as racial others. For instance, within the subjugation frame, the white man who was willing to do whatever was necessary to stand for his race (a subject of martyr pride) was often punished and imprisoned by "unprideful" power elites:

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

Claims to martyr pride in the subjugation frame have also served to underscore ignorant whites' un-martyr shame. For example, as the following Prussian Blue lyric excerpt illustrated, by focusing discursive attention on a particular white martyr (in this case the late David Lane, an infamous member of the terrorist group The Order) and the prideful strides taken on behalf of their race, Prussian Blue was able to passively emphasize how ignorant whites' obliviousness prevented them from being aware of the white martyr's "Truth." These ignorant whites instead bought into the normativity of passivity and rejected the honor and pride to which they could be entitled:

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

The cultural hero exemplar made use of figures in both the distant and more recent past to construct tales of martyr pride or unmartyr shame. Un-martyring was observed infrequently but it nevertheless defined one side of a continuum. As a discourse it could be likened to a form of "doing the dozens" where racial others' cultural heroes were torn down to invoke shame and amplify the status of white cultural heroes. White martyrs of the past and present served as discursive resources which instructed listeners regarding when and why to take pride in whiteness. The feeling rules were clear: cultural others should be ashamed of their public figures while whites should feel pride about theirs.

Supremacy exemplar: Defeatist shame and conqueror pride. Whereas the cultural hero exemplar reached into a storied past with white others to draw upon resources to structure the dos and don'ts of a shame and pride experience for white power participants, the supremacy exemplar was temporally oriented toward the future: that is, the discourse emerged from a co-constructed idealized future of Aryan superiority or of an inevitable victory or triumph of a white collectivity over an opposed other. All the musical artists whose lyrical material was analyzed here romanticized white supremacist social control. This discourse, like the cultural hero exemplar discussed before, was related to the authenticity discourse, but specifically captured white supremacists' perceptions of the future after strife and struggle had been overcome. Therefore, whereas the cultural hero discourse underscored martyr pride in the accomplishments of previous actors, the supremacy discourse pointed to pride in the future accomplishments of white supremacists. We referred to this future-oriented loyalist pride as conqueror pride and its opposite as defeatist shame; these emotions were the affective equivalents of the "cognitions of a projected future" (Mische, 2009).

Claimed conqueror pride was indicated in the songs' rhapsodizing of a future of white authority. From the subjugation frame, attention was given to the state of affairs after the dust had settled and all was at peaceful equilibrium. Skrewdriver, for instance, detailed how a justly due glory seemed to await in the near future; all that was needed was the proper opportunity:

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

The domination frame exhibited conqueror pride in a different manner. Der Stürmer offered a contrasting example within the aggressor miniframe of a prideful romanticized future where pleasure and redemption were found in violence. In the following passage, the Holocaust myth turned into reality when Aryans gained control over Jews and their mass conspiracy:

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

Conqueror pride was also often invoked as appropriate when referencing the eventual overcoming of obstacles:

Children are playing, we have won
Victory is ours, the war is finally done
– Prussian Blue, “Victory”

As well as when managing racially othered nuisances – something akin to “pest control”:

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

And also when completely controlling the battlefield:

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

Similar to the cultural hero exemplar, the supremacy exemplar instructed whites to feel pride about a successful, hard fought for, carefree future that was just on the horizon. Defeatist shame was implied as the other side of a continuum. The feeling rules were clear: if you are white you should take pride in your conquering future, if you are non-white, you should be ashamed of the crushing defeat that is in your future.

Connecting White Supremacists with their True Selves and Each Other

The five pride and shame exemplars – awareness, authenticity, racial fortitude, cultural heroes, and supremacy – each implied a set of rules for when to feel pride and when to feel shame. In the case of each exemplar, pride was associated with moving towards connection, with both a white supremacist identity and the larger social movement. Shame was associated with moving away from a white supremacist identity and the movement as a whole. Emotions orient us in social spaces. These emotion exemplars provided road maps for white power music listeners who sought connection with other white supremacists and to the larger movement. They also provided maps across more treacherous emotional terrain; they provided listeners with warnings about road blocks and hazards that disrupted connection. Subjugation was framed as a form of disconnection from one’s true nature, and the movement as a whole. Domination was framed as a form of absolute success, of being at one with one’s superior status as a white, and with the movement as a whole. Awareness, authenticity, strength, a sense of one’s racial past, and a sense of one’s glorious racial future composed a surefire formula to harmony within oneself and the white race as a whole.

Back to the Beginning

This study sought to explore some of the feeling rules prescribed in the lyrics of “hate rock,” or white power music. We have added to the small body of literature by examining the emotional side of ideology and its place in social movement discourses and grievances. This study barely scratched the surface in terms of understanding how emotions are being appealed to by white supremacists specifically and social movement actors in general. There is a great deal more work to be done.

By examining the ways in which the music appeals to the themes of shame and pride, we can better speculate how the music serves as a resource in terms of recruitment and retention in the white power movement and in social movements in general. There may be a dialectical quality to the experience. Listeners listen, they identify with something they hear, they seek out more of the music, they seek out others who identify with the music, they start to cultivate a sense of an in-group and out-group status, orienting towards it based on ever more refined understandings of what is a cause for group pride and what is a cause for group shame.

One thing of interest about white power movement advocates is that their emotion exemplars stand in sharp contrast with the emotion exemplars used in mainstream culture. By expressing their white supremacy stance publicly, through music, movement activists put racial hatred, something which is greatly stigmatized, out on public display. They become emotional advocates seeking to reshape the larger emotional culture with their music and their lyrics.

Because our emphasis was on the music and the feeling rules suggested by the lyrics, we have no data regarding the actual performance of emotions. We cannot know how the feeling rules “take” or with who. We can be pretty sure that some of them do indeed “take” with various movement participants; after all, lyricists are still writing the music. We can also speculate about how the themes of pride, shame, connection, and disconnection might have some bearing on the logics of consumers of white power music.

Recall that Wade Michael Page informed an interviewer in 2010 that “the value of human life has been degraded by being submissive to the tyranny and hypocrisy that we are subjugated to” two years before he shot and killed six people. By examining some of the cultural artifacts (specifically the music) of the white supremacist movement, Mr. Page’s statement is a little less cryptic than it might have first seemed. His second band’s name was called End Apathy. The emotion exemplars for shame and disconnection – degraded, submissive, tyranny, hypocrisy, subjugated – were freely invoked in that interview. He wanted to “End Apathy” (ignorant white shame). It is not farfetched to speculate that he wanted to move from a subjugated stance (either being oppressed or a victim) to a position of domination (as either a warrior or an aggressor). Shooting someone probably goes a long way towards making that shift in position a reality.

One item of interest regarding applying Hochschild’s scheme of feeling rules to interpret song lyrics is that feeling rules imply emotion management and emotion

work. Just because a white supremacist movement participant knows what the feeling rules are, it does not mean they always feel the things they are supposed to feel. It is highly unlikely that they do. Sometimes participants' feelings may be in alignment with the emotional culture of white supremacists, and sometimes they may not. Or they may be in alignment with some of them at some times, but not others. Like any other sets of feeling rules there is an economy of give and take regarding displays of emotional expression.

A racially motivated murder could be an expression of obedience to the emotional culture around pride and shame. It could be frustration with white ignorance (and apathy), with inauthenticity (hypocrisy and tyranny), or with weak racial others. It could also be a bid for pride, to be like a cultural hero, to realize victory as a conqueror, and bring about a bright Aryan future.

Emotion work consists of surface acting and deep acting. In surface acting we put on a front and try to look right, but we do not feel right. In deep acting we do something to ourselves, cognitively or physically, to try to actually feel the feeling we want to feel for the social situation so that we can manufacture the proper outward physical display of the emotion. Or maybe we just want to feel it. Unlike Hochschild's flight attendants who used a softer vocabulary so as to avoid interpretations by passengers as someone to whom anger may be directed, "hate music" lyrics use a harder vocabulary to specifically invoke strong feelings. In this way, music can be used for deep acting and cognitive emotion work, to help us change how we feel. We listen to the lyrics, feel the aggression of the drums, hear the speed metal stylings of the guitars, and then we "feel it." But what if you don't?

Could a racially motivated murder be a form of emotion work? What if Wade Michael Page was experiencing some form of emotional deviance where there was a disconnection between how he felt and what his emotional culture as a white supremacist told him he should be feeling? What if "the thrill was gone" as B.B. King suggested and Wade Michael Page was, as Barry Manilow put it, "trying to get the feeling again?"

Notes

1. Lyrics retrieved from Release Lyrics (<http://www.release.lyrics.com/b004/bully-boys-hammerskins/>).
2. www.stormfront.org
3. Lyrics retrieved from MetroLyrics (<http://www.metrolyrics.com/skrewdriver-lyrics.html>).
4. Lyrics retrieved from Der Stürmer's website (<http://www.thepaganfront.com/dersturmer/main.html>) and the *Metal Archives* (http://www.metal-archives.com/bands/Der_Stürmer/7534).
5. Lyrics retrieved from MetroLyrics (<http://www.metrolyrics.com/prussian-blue-lyrics.html>).
6. Lyrics retrieved from Saga's website (<http://www.thisissaga.com/mymusic-onmyown-lyrics.html>).
7. Lyrics retrieved from a Johnny Rebel website (<http://www.ayan88.com/whiterider/officialjr/Lyrics.html>) and LyricsMania (http://www.lyricsmania.com/johnny_rebel_lyrics.html).

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ERRATA (added by author)

The following elements were erroneously excluded from the published version of this article.

1. The following footnote for the “Data” section: “Obvious spelling and grammatical errors were corrected in the lyric excerpts below for the sake of presentational clarity, but care was taken to ensure that meanings were not altered. Some lyric sets were also reformatted to fit the structure of the paper (e.g., all ampersands were changed to the actual word “and,” and awkward capitalizations were removed). Colloquialisms and eye dialects, however, were mostly left alone so as to maintain individual styles and voices. The original lyric transcriptions with original errors and format may be found at the websites included in the notes section of this paper.”
2. Ellipses in the second epithet: “We promote ours. . . .”
3. The following page numbers for the literature review:
 - a. P. 125: “perceptions of isolation and persecution” (Cotter 1999, p.123)
 - b. P. 125: “chauvinistic nationalism” (ibid., p. 122)
 - c. P. 125: “Brothers’ Wars” (ibid., p. 129)
 - d. P. 125: “forces of evil” (ibid., p. 131)
 - e. P. 126: the list of themes identified by Messner et al. can be found on pp. 518, 519, 520, 521, 527.