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"GOD, RACE AND NATION": THE IDEOLOGY
OF THE MODERN KU KLUX KLAN

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
University of North Texas in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

By

John Michael Paul, B.S.

Denton, Texas

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This research explores the ideology of the modern Ku Klux Klan movement in American society. The foci of study are on specific Ku Klux Klan organizations that are active today. These groups include: The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; The New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and The Knights of the White Kamellia. These groups are examined using frame analysis. Frame analysis allowed for the identification of the individual organization's beliefs, goals and desires. Data were gathered via systematic observations and document analysis. Findings identified several overarching ideological themes which classify the modern Ku Klux Klan movement.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this introduction is threefold. First, it introduces the study here in hand. Second, it relates why studying the Ku Klux Klan is important. Third, it addresses the contributions made by this research to the existing knowledge on the Ku Klux Klan. First, the intent of this study is presented.

This research explores the ideology of the modern Ku Klux Klan movement in American society. The ideology of the movement and its various participants are examined in order to understand movement participation. The term "modern", as devised by this research, incorporates several notions. First, the term modern implies a distinct change in Klan activity. This change is a movement away from overt violence (as typified in earlier Klan movements) towards a movement directed at informational outreach. This "outreach" marks the second component of the "modern" Klan. The 1990's witnessed the initial occurrence of mass, and public use, of the Internet. The primary source of data for this study is derived from Ku Klux Klan Internet web sites. The modern Klan, then for purposes of this study, is also the "Internet Klan".

The foci of study are on specific Ku Klux Klan organizations that are active today. These groups include: The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; The New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and The Knights of the White Kamellia. This study believes the aforementioned groups to be the largest

and most visibly active Klan organizations currently existing. As such, these particular groups offer the most viable information available for examination within the modern Ku Klux Klan.

Now that the goal of this research has been identified, it becomes important to ask-- Why study the Ku Klux Klan? To address this question, one must first ask-- What is the Klan? The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan identify the Klan as, "a fraternal patriotic movement dedicated to meeting the needs of White, Christian, Americans." (kkk.com, "Introduction" 1998:1). Further, the Knights write, "[The Klan is] a nationwide grassroots movement of White Christian Men, Women and Children who support a return of White Christians to government." (The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan- National Headquarters, "Introduction" 1998:2).

Finding similarity with the use of the word "movement", this study will now identify the Klan in terms of a social movement. A social movement, as defined by Wilson (1973:8), is a "conscious, collective, organized attempt to bring about or resist large scale social change in the social order by uninstitutionalized means." This study will now "break down" this definition to further conceptualize the Klan as a social movement.

First, a social movement is defined as a organized collectivity. Wilson (1973:8) writes, "The extent and sophistication of the organization may vary but there is some division of labor and some recognized hierarchy of rights and responsibilities which participants evolve." Within each of the Ku Klux Klan organizations examined here, a hierarchical system of rule does exist. Each organization has a national office which

dictates the desired mode of action to its regional, state, and local offices. Further, each organization has an identifiable leader, which as this study will show, models the group's direction after their own wishes.

Second, a social movement is large in potential scope. "Many social movements are quite small in number, numbering under one hundred members, but their message is such that they have the potential to grow to a membership numbered in thousands if not millions" (Wilson 1973:9). In 1996, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'irth reported that "current" Klan membership was near 4,000 members (ADL 1996:239). This number is quite small compared to Klan membership numbers of the 1920's. Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (1997:39) reported that Klan membership during this period was estimated between 4 to 8 million people. The reason for such overwhelming support is as Ridgeway (1995:52) writes, "[Klan] appeal lay in part to a nativist reaction against rapid and unsettling change, in a nostalgia for a simpler time". In other words, the 1920s were witness to rapid technological and social change; and with change comes the reaction against it. The Klan were so successful in numbers because they sought to "combat" these changes through the promotion of widely accepted concerns (e.g., the return of "traditional" American values). In terms of promoting widely acceptable issues, today's Klan is no different than the one of the 1920s.

While it is doubtful that Klan membership will ever equal the numbers reported in the 1920s, the potential exists for widespread approval because of the issues they promote. For instance, today's Klan writes:

Today the [Klan] exists to defend our WHITE people from the destructive influences that pelage us today. Today it is Drug dealers, Ungodly practices, Flagrant disregard for Morals... and Unneeded laws to protect You from Yourself... (The New Order Knights- International Web Page, "Guest Forum" 1999:2-3).

Further, the Klan states:

We welcome All our WHITE Brothers and Sisters to Join Our Quest for WHITE CIVIL RIGHTS and the preservation of... our Children and Grandchildren's Future. [We strive] to preserve the Morals of the God fearing America and a Decent Society." (The New Order Knights- Realm of Virginia, "New Order Knights Realm of Virginia" 1999:2).

Third, social movements use "uninstitutionalized means to achieve their goals" (Wilson 1973:9). This is not to say that social movements do not use institutionalized, or widely excepted behavior in search of their goals. Wilson (1973:10) simply implies that social movements "have more uninstitutionalized aspects than other organized collectivities". Traditionally, the Ku Klux Klan has been identified as a group who undertakes violence to achieve it means. While acts of violence are not common place in today's Klan, the Klan is still considered an "outsider" movement within American society. This is evidenced by the fact that several "watchdog" organizations (ADL and Klanwatch) were created, in part, to keep an eye on the Klan. Because of these watchdog organizations, any action undertaken by the Klan is defined as being outside normal activity. The Klan than, because of its history and current watchdog labeled definitions, is labeled an uninstitutionalized organization.

Finally, social movements are, "conscious, purposive attempts to bring about social change." (Wilson 1973:11). Examples of the "conscious" effort to evoke social change are as follows:

The time in which we live is very exciting and any like minded individual would be proud to be an associate or supporter of this grass-roots movement to take back America... The [Knights of the Ku Klux Klan], realizing that to achieve true security for our people we must achieve political power in the United States, will: (1). Become the leader of the White racist movement throughout a strong organized show of leadership; Through the training and use of qualified media representatives... (2). Strive to become the representative and driving force behind the white community through large organized public rallies; Through an aggressive use of television, radio, and print advising... Through the effective use of project committees to assist in the re-education of law enforcement agencies and the educational establishment. These two very important groups must be given another side of the story instead of only receiving information from organizations such as the ADL, NAACP, and Klanwatch. (3), Organize and direct white people to a level of activism necessary to bring about a political victory. (The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan- National Headquarters, "What is our goal" 1998:1-3).

Now that the Ku Klux Klan has been identified as a social movement, the question still exists- Why study the Klan? The answer lies within the definition of a social movement. Remember, a social movement is a conscious, organized group of people who are seeking a change in society. With this in mind, it is important to note that the Ku Klux Klan has existed as an entity for over 130 years. So then, for over 130 years the Klan has been actively seeking social change. This tells us that their are a collection of people who are dissatisfied with a way of life.

A social movement tells us that, at least for its participants, that "something wrong is going on here". Studying the Klan enables one to identify the grievances, issues and desires that exist for its members. The importance of this is several. For some (specifically government control agencies like the police or FBI), identifying the issues, grievances, etc. of the movement may help them predict (and control) the future action of the movement. This reason however, is of lesser importance than realizing that people are in need, and that identifying such needs will help in the

alleviation of them. This study is not suggesting that it is okay to promote racist ideology, or that one should not be sickened or frightened by it. This research is saying however, that behind the racist ideology, broader social issues loom (e.g., fear of governmental oppression, fear of social change, loss of political access). To these problems a solution can be offered. This then, is why studying the Ku Klux Klan is important.

Finally, this introduction will address how this study contributes to the existing knowledge on the Ku Klux Klan. Lo (1982:107) suggested that social scientists have infrequently studied right-wing social movements, such as the Klan. Traditionally, studies of the Ku Klux Klan have been historical or journalistic in nature. (Mecklin 1963; Fry 1969; Katz 1986; Chalmers 1987; Wade 1987). Such studies, while important, offer only a descriptive history of the Klan. These studies may offer inferences as to why Klan activity / participation occurred, but they do not relate the words of Klan members themselves. Further, these works do not offer a theoretical base from which to search out meanings for movement participation. Lastly, these works have become dated. None of the works cited above examine the Klan past an early 1980's existence.

More recent works however, have appeared which alleviate some of the aforementioned drawbacks (e.g., lack of a theoretical framework; noncurrent accounts of Klan activity; lack of descriptive accounts produced from Klan participants). Of these recent works, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'irth (1988, 1996), and the Southern Poverty Law Center along with its Klanwatch project (1989, 1997) offer the

most detailed, and biographical account of current Klan activity. These works have been extremely helpful in "piecing together" an outline of Klan activity in the 1990s, as well as identifying the movement's major participants.

These works however, do little to offer an "unbiased" account for why people participate in such activities. Typical descriptors of Klan participants are as follows. Klanwatch has referred to Klan members as being "wild, irrational" (Klanwatch 1997:4). In similar fashion, nearly all right-wing participants are labeled "hate mongers" by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL 1996: viii). It seems absurd to label all Klan participants within the imagery portrayed above.

Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (1997) suggest that such labels are due in part to the status of such groups like the ADL and Klanwatch. Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (1997: 2-3) state:

We consider these groups [ADL, Klanwatch] to be "watchdog" organizations... whose focus is at least partially influenced by the fact that [they] depend on public financial support, and that the public is likely to contribute to groups that they perceive as struggling against some major threat to America... We relied on SPLC and ADL reports for general information, but we have noted differences between the way events have been reported and what we saw... Also, 'watchdog' groups promote 'claims' that are compatible with their political agenda and neglect other ones as they attempt to wield their political influence among policy makers.

This research feels compelled to note that it has experienced similar instances in which reports of the ADL and Klanwatch do not match observations made by the researcher. The importance here then, is one must be cautious in accepting generalizations about who Klan members are, and why they participate in the movement.

Several other works (Shanks-Meile 1991, 1996, 1997; Zellner 1995) provide an "insider look" into the motivations, beliefs, and ideology of the Ku Klux Klan. Zellner's (1995) work is important because it relates the words of the participants within the Ku Klux Klan movement. Zellner's work is also important, in that, it offers a sociological interpretation of the "right-wing". Several core sociological concepts, such as anomie and alienation, are introduced to help the reader understand possible reasons for movement participation. Unfortunately though, Zellner's work is not presented in terms of social movement theory. Further, Zellner's (1995) gives only one chapter of study to the Ku Klux Klan. The other chapters are dedicated to similar "counter-cultural like" movements (e.g., skinheads, survivalists).

Dobratz and Shanks-Meile's (1991; 1996; 1997) works are in similar fashion to Zellner's (1995). First, like Zellner (1995), Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (1991; 1996; 1997) present a sociological study which record the voices of those who participate in the right-wing movement. Second, Dobratz and Shanks Meile (1991; 1996; 1997) focus on what they would later term, in their 1997 study, the "white separatist movement". Within the white separatist movement, several organizations are examined (e.g., Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations, Skin heads, Christian Identity groups). Because of their broad focus, the Ku Klux Klan is not given the "center of attention". Further, when research is directed specifically on the Klan, Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (1991; 1996; 1997) center largely on the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (the same group examined by Zellner 1995).

Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (1997) study however, is presented using social

movement theory. The authors state, " There are several theoretical frameworks on social movements, and we draw on their sociological concepts to help us understand the white separatist movement." (Deboratz and Shanks-Meile 1997:17). They begin by introducing "resource mobilization" theory. Deboratz and Shanks-Meile (1997:18) state, " Resource mobilization theories stress the key role of resources (e.g., money, skills) in aiding the emergence of a movement. To provide further clarity to this definition, Buechler and Cylke (1997:60) are cited. They state, "[Resource mobilization] sees social movement activism akin to economic activity or organizational behavior, with enterprising leaders mobilizing resources and seizing opportunities to create new movements to occupy an available niche in the market of social movement industry. In this view, social movement activism has become a highly professionalized businesslike activity." In other words, resource mobilization theory is a type of elite or entrepreneurial model in which a social movement is "artificially" created. In this perspective the key to movement emergence are resources, not individual grievances or frustrations.

Another version of the resource mobilization approach is the "political process" model. Marx and McAdam (1994:85) state, " Proponents of the political-process model argue that the roots of a social movement are to be found in broad economic, demographic, or political processes that serve to enhance the political leverage of a previously powerless group. An increase in political power, then, not resources, is thought to encourage the development of a social movement." Within this approach, attention is focused on how people are organized, and mobilized. This model

examines how social movements take advantage of changes within the social, political and economic world.

The two aforementioned theoretical perspectives tend to focus more on how social movements operate, rather than on why they emerge. Resource mobilization and political process models examine the tactics implemented by social movements. What they ignore are the grievances and frustrations which spawn initial mobilization. A theoretical perspective which allows for the examination of such grievances lay in "social constructionism". Social constructionism, "analyzes cultural processes of how activists use symbols and define meaning in the course of movement activity... Central questions involve how individuals interact with one another, negotiate meanings, manipulate symbols, and construct their activity as a social movement." (Buechler and Cylke 1997:61).

In their study, Deboratz and Shanks-Meile (1997), incorporate all three theoretical perspectives to address how the movement progresses from grievance construction to tactical application. This current study is less interested in how the Klan operates, than in why it exists. With this in mind, the social constructionism perspective is enacted to examine the ideology, grievances and frustrations of the modern Ku Klux Klan.

Lastly, Deboratz and Shanks-Meile (1997) study noted that poor economic conditions and lack of political opportunities were the reason for Klan participation.

They state:

The white separatist movement focuses primarily on a racial analysis, but leaders and rank-and-file members are clearly concerned about political and economic forces that they perceive as negatively affecting the white race...

People in the white separatist movement blend economic issues with racial concerns. They argue that the economic system is set up to destroy the quality of life for the average American white family. (Deboratz and Shanks-Meile 1997:258-259).

Further, they write:

About a third of the people we interviewed attributed increased movement membership to poor economic conditions, whereas others discussed political issues such as the Brady Bill, the Anti-Terrorism Bill, gays in the military, urban violence, and affirmative action. Although the white racist movement has continued to exist in periods of abundance and scarcity, we argue that rank-and-file members will be more attracted to white separatist ideology during economic downturn as they experience the negative effects of declining opportunities. (Deboratz and Shanks-Meile 1997: 259-260).

This research agrees, in part, with Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (1997) assessment.

Within this study, instances are noted in which the Klan report a lack of political opportunities. These instances however, are not tied into economic misfortunes (e.g., unemployment, economic downturn). This study argues that, within the modern Ku Klux Klan, the cry for political power lies in cultural factors, not economic ones.

As of this writing the nation is in strong economic shape. The U.S. government reports unemployment to be at a "record low". (Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Employment Situation Summary" 1999:1-6). The median annual income for American workers are up. (Bureau of Labor Statistics, " Usual Annual Earnings Explanatory Note" 1999: 1-2). Additionally, the stock market continues to set high marks, with more of the "average" American partaking. (USA Today.com, "Nasdaq-other indexes rise to records" 1999:1-8). Further, President Bill Clinton has recently announced that the government has an expected \$2.9 trillion dollar surplus in revenues, projected over the next ten years. (Reuters.com, "Clinton, republicans feud over tax cuts" 1999:1-4).

The reason for current Klan participation, then, is not due to an economic crisis. The reason for current Klan participation lies in fear based cultural interpretations. Such fears center on a loss of white cultural identity, governmental abandonment issues, and general millennial concerns.

The modern Klan expresses fear in a loss of "white culture". The white community is becoming less of a majority, so to speak. Recent polls estimate the white population to be a non-majority by the year 2050. (U.S. Census Bureau, "Annual projections of total resident population: 1996 to 2050" 1999:1-2). The modern Klan uses this estimate as a rallying cry. They state:

Our Republic is the brain child of our White Race and White Culture... You see, when other cultures, and races invade our land they... bring their values with them... They believe Liberty is the right to be how [they] wish regardless of the rest of society. They are the reason we must adopt more laws... Can I blame other people for wishing to settle our shores? Not at all. But, by the same token, should we sacrifice our dignity and honor to satisfy everyone who wishes to be here? NO! Should we give our White Christian Heritage to the dogs? NO!... Should we throw away our heroes such as George Washington, Robert E. Lee, Thomas Jefferson, and others to replace them with 'Kwame Ture', Martin King, Mao Tse Tung, Josef Stalin? NO! Should we abandon the Christmas Carols we sang as children for songs about Hanukkah? No!... Let's face it. Someone has to govern our land. Someone has to chart the course for our future. Someone must lead. Because of that fact, let it be a White Christian American. It is a White Christian set of values that were our foundation. Therefore, because of who we are, and who God is, we must maintain White Christian Values, and Culture as the LEADING Culture if we are to survive as a Race, and a Nation." (The Knights of the White Kamellia- Realm of Michigan, "Superiority" 1999:1-2).

In the same vein, the Klan argue that white people have been "suppressed" and "abandoned" by their government. The following three quotes express these concerns. First, the Klan states, "White people... This country has been taken away from you, along with your rights. You are an alien in your own land. When will you fight back?"

It is never too late. The time is NOW! not tomorrow. AWAKE! Your RACE is Calling You! " (The New Order Knights- Realm of Oklahoma, "New Order Knights Realm of Oklahoma" 1999:1).

Second, the Klan writes, "Your freedoms are slowly being diminished for you own protection... Orwell's book 1984 was only a few years too soon in it's visionary portrayal of the future, both in writing and premonition." (The New Order Knights- Realm of Virginia, "New Order Knights Realm of Virginia" 1999:2). Third, the Klan relates their belief in the government's and media's apparent lack of concern for white ills. They print:

DON'T YOU THINK WHITES FEEL PAIN TOO. DO YOU THINK WHITES HAVE RIGHTS? WHERE THE HELL ARE YOU AND YOUR FEELINGS WHEN WHITES ARE BEING MURDERED EVERYDAY IN THIS COUNTRY? WHAT ABOUT THE HUNDRED OF WHITES BEING RAPED, TORTURED AND MURDERED... EACH AND EVERY DAY? WHERE IS THE PUBLIC OUTCRY FOR THEIR RIGHTS? (The New Order Knights- Realm of Oregon, "Whites" 1999:1-2).

Finally, it is argued here that, millennial based fears (e.g., prophetic issues centering on the "end of the world") contribute to participation within the Klan. The Ku Klux Klan magnify these issues to further their appeal. They write:

The plunging moral standards of America have brought about the curses and plagues of an Eternal God upon the United States... The plague is breaking out upon us, and millions will perish: One hundred eighty million or more as related by Ezekiel 38 and 39... But we [White Christians] shall be delivered, and the earth will be prepared for the return of Jesus Christ and the Great Kingdom Age. Even so, come, Lord Jesus. Amen." (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan- Realm of Oregon, "Christian Nation- Chapter 1" 1999:15-17).

So then, this research seeks to contribute to the existing knowledge on the Ku Klux Klan in multiple ways. First, this study updates the knowledge on the Klan by

examining it in its current existence. Second, this study seeks to provide a more "accurate" portrayal of movement participation by recording the voices of those who participate in the modern Ku Klux Klan movement. Third, this work is presented as a sociological study, guided by social movement theory. Using social constructionism, this research has identified the grievances and frustrations that exist in the modern Klan. Such findings counter earlier research which suggest that Klan participation results primarily from economic and political disadvantages.

Chapter II presents a historical overview of the Ku Klux Klan, and its various movement periods. Emphasis is placed on the general aspects of the Klan, and on the characteristics of the "time" in which the various Klan movements existed. The background stories relate tales of similar conditions in which the KKK is seen to gain power. Common themes, such as changing social norms (especially when white power relationships are challenged) are good indicators to the rise of Klan activity. The background information also suggests that Klan resurgence coincides with major changes in previously accepted social orders (e.g., changing sexual norms; the introduction of alternative lifestyles; implantation of unfavorable governmental programs). It is important to note that many issues stressed by the Klan are not initially "racial" in nature. Many issues are concerned simply with social change.

Chapter III describes the concept of ideology, and explains its importance in the Ku Klux Klan movement. Afterwards, the social constructionism perspective is reintroduced. Following this reintroduction, the concept of "framing" (and frame) are introduced.

"Framing" refers to "how movements identify and interpret certain ideas and beliefs as grievances that can motivate people to act in a collective fashion." (Buechler and Cylke 1997:61). In order to create mobilization for action however, the movement requires "frame alignment". Frame alignment is the process by which movements "get the word out". Emphasis is placed on the message itself, in that, it says "who we are", "what we want", and "who we want to notice us". The frame alignment process has been extensively examined by Snow et al. (1986). This study will describe Snow et al. (1986) conceptions on the frame alignment process. Lastly, the chapter explains this study's undertaking of Snow et al. (1986) conceptions to explore the presentation of ideology within the modern Ku Klux Klan movement.

Chapter IV describes the methods used to gather the data. A qualitative content analysis, using multiple sources, drove the collection process. The data for this study were gathered via systemic observations into the Ku Klux Klan Internet web pages and published documents. Visual methods (e.g., video recordings) supplemented observations. Finally, non-Klan documents (e.g., publications of the Anti-Defamation League and Klanwatch) were obtained.

Chapter V contains the case studies and analyses of each Klan organization under examination. The analyses of the ideological constructions, are presented using Snow et al. (1986) "frame alignment process".

The final chapter, Chapter VI, summarizes the findings of the analysis. Also, the weaknesses and limitations of this study are addressed. Finally, areas for future investigation are suggested.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

Since the Ku Klux Klan's formation in 1865, it has been present in one form or another. Ridgeway (1995:52) stated, "For much of American history, the Ku Klux Klan has been a refrain that never quite fades away, a periodically renewable siren call of white supremacy." The prevalence of the Klan has led scholars, and Klan members alike, to label the Klan's varied periods of activity. Scholars seem to be in agreement that the Ku Klux Klan has been through four major periods of activity. (Chalmers 1987; Ridgeway 1995; Zellner 1995; Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997).

While the authors use different verbiage to identify the varied Klan movements, they are essentially the same. I use Zellner's (1995) titling of the movements to identify them. These titles are: "The Reconstruction Klan"; "The Patriotic Klan"; "The Anti-Civil Rights Klan"; "The Kareful Klan".

"The Reconstruction Klan"

By early 1865 the outcome of the Civil War was decided. The Union won the war and the South grudgingly surrendered. Abraham Lincoln intended to lead the South into peacetime recovery, with the support "pledged" to him by Southern political and military leaders. (Zellner 1995). A radical Republican Congress however, lacked Lincoln's "enthusiasm" in letting the South guide its own recovery. Congress nevertheless, was unable to contend with Lincoln's popularity. Guarded by his

popularity, Lincoln was able to control the members of congress who disagreed with him. His assassination however, changed the nation's approach to Southern Reconstruction.

With Lincoln dead, congress moved against his views on reconstruction and passed the first Reconstruction Act. The Reconstruction Act barred the old white leadership from voting and practicing law. Further, it mandated that federal troops be brought in and stationed in every part of the South. These factors, combined with a general bleak Southern outlook, ultimately lead to the creation of the Ku Klux Klan.

Incredible as it may seem, the Ku Klux Klan started as a joke. Six young Confederate veterans, out of work and with few prospects, met on Christmas Eve 1865 in Pulaski, Tennessee, and decided to form a club. Their intent was to add a bit of levity to their dreary, postwar life... With intent to amuse and entertain, the veterans decided to masquerade as ghosts, covering their heads with pillowcases and their bodies with bedsheets. While they were at it, they draped sheets over their horses... The veterans played pranks on their parents and serenaded their girlfriends. (Zellner 1995:21)

According to several sources the name *Ku Klux Klan* came from the Greek word *Kuklos*, meaning circle, band or wheel. (Chalmers 1987; Cook 1989; Zellner 1995 ; Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997). The veterans may have chosen word the *kuklos* to identify the group because it was suggestive of a small, closed or secret circle of friends (Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1995:35).

Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (1995:35-36) suggest, "The founders [of the Ku Klux Klan] may have changed *kuklos* to 'Ku Klux' and added 'Klan' to match the spelling of 'Ku Klux'." Zellner (1995:21) reported that "Klan" was added to "Ku Klux" because the confederate veterans were, "all of Scotch-Irish descent"; hence the addition of the word Klan from "Clan". Cook (1989:10) described the naming process in this fashion,

"One suggested 'Kukilo'... another suggested adding the word 'Klan'. Ideas were tossed back and forth; and as their thoughts were running to Ks, someone suggested 'Ku'. Putting it all together, the group came up with the name...Ku Klux Klan."

An alternative basis for the creation of the name Ku Klux Klan is suggested by Romine and Romine (1934). Romine and Romine report, "The name *Ku Klux Klan* may have come from *Cukulcan*, who in Mexican mythology was the god of light. Some of the original founders could have heard that name from their fathers or uncles who fought in the Mexican War." (Taken from Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997:36).

Concerning the organization itself, Zellner (1995:24) writes, "The Pulaski pranksters soon noticed that their ghostly night-rides were having a strange effect on the black population." The "Night Riders" began to play upon the superstitious beliefs that existed in the African cultures from which many of the free slaves descended. The new Klansmen used trickery as a psychological control to prey upon the fears of the black community. Such examples of trickery are noted by Zellner.

...they [Klansmen] would ride to a black's hut pretending to be the ghosts of Confederate soldiers killed in battle and ask for water. They would claim not to have had a drink since leaving hell. The Klansmen would then appear to drink buckets of water. Concealed under their robes were rubber bags to catch the water," Another common trick involved offering the victim a detachable hand, he was expected to shriek and run for cover. (Zellner 1995:25)

Ridgeway (1995:51) stated, "As its reputation for pranks grew, the Klan took on the trappings of a full fledged civic organization... Within a few months of its appearance, Nathan Bedford Forrest, a former slave trader and distinguished Confederate general, became head of the Klan and provided it with a semblance of a

real organization." The Klan stepped up its intimidation of blacks and other Southern "no-goods" represented by, republicans, carpetbaggers, and scalawags. Zellner (1995:24) wrote, "Political rallies were disrupted. Frightened blacks were told not to attend such meetings, vote or participate in the Reconstruction government. If they did- they were told- they would suffer retribution."

As the Klan grew beyond its initial playful existence, so too did its manageability.

Ridgeway (1995:52) writes:

... as the Klan spread, any form of control was lost. Forrest wanted out and issued the Klan to disband- which went unheeded. Klan terror actually grew more as its superstructure broke down... In 1871, President Ulysses S Grant ordered troops to march back from the Indian wars on the Western plains to help... put down Klan violence. A military investigation led to mass arrest, and the Klan dissolved.

"The Patriotic Klan"

The Patriotic Klan was the second and largest Klan movement. By the mid-1920's Klan membership amounted to three or four million (Anti-Defamation League 1996). "Famous" members and open supporters of this Klan included President Warren Harding, President Truman and President Woodrow Wilson. (Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997: 39-40).

Zellner (1995:25) writes, "Stimulated by Thomas Dixon's romantic novel *The Klansman* (1905) and D.W. Griffith's motion picture *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) a new Klan emerged in the first part of the twentieth century. Its selling point was the protection of traditional American values." Chalmers (1987:2-3) stated, "The changing world of the 1920's which saw post-World War I restlessness and new

waves of immigration combined with Prohibition-accented erosion of both the small town and fundamentalist morality, brought the Klan millions of recruits." To further emphasize the appeal of the Klan during the 1920's, Ridgeway (1995:55) is quoted. He stated, " In 1920s America, the uncertainties and rapid change of the Jazz Age hastened the spread of narrow-minded, puritanical Protestantism, encouraged anti-Papist prejudice, and sent thousands of people to thumbing their bibles for the earliest sign of a Second Coming."

The Ku Klux Klan was everywhere in American society during the 1920's. The success of the Klan in the 1920's, however, did not transfer over into the 1930's.

The leaders of the Klan were out of money and ruled irrationally and dictatorially in its pursuit. The fight over the spoils wrecked the organization in nearly every state and practically every community... Klan terror went too far, the extremists ranted too loudly and the leaders were too immoral. The affluent and civic-minded came to realize what a diverse force it actually was in a community. When a young woman whom the Klan's most dynamic northern leader, Indiana's D.C. Stephenson, had kidnapped and assaulted gave a full deathbed testimony, it cost the Klan thousands of members. Chalmers (1987:4)

The Klan's appeal was further damaged by the onset of the Great depression in the 1930's. Zellner (1995:26) reported, "Klan membership had dwindled to about one hundred thousand nationally... and by the end of World War II the organization was nearly dead."

"Anti-Civil Rights Klan"

After World War II, the Ku Klux Klan fragmented and group activity was sparse. Participation within the Klan remained limited until the civil rights movement picked up steam. The Southern Poverty Law center wrote:

When the Supreme Court threw out the "separate but equal" creed (referring to *Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education*) and ended social integration in 1954, many whites throughout the South were determined to oppose the law and maintain segregation. Like the Southern opposition to Reconstruction government, the tensions and fears that arose after the Supreme Court decision provided the ground for a Klan resurgence. (Klan Watch 1997:24).

Klan membership grew when, as Zellner (1995:27) writes, "Civil rights workers attempted to force Southern communities to comply with the Civil Rights Act of 1964." Klan Watch (1997:24) reported, "By 1965 total Klan membership had reached an estimated 35,000 to 50,000 persons." With the rise in membership so too came a rise in acts of violence. During the 1960's, numerous instances of bombings, floggings, and shootings were attributed to the Klan (Zellner 1995:27). The Southern Poverty Law Center wrote, "All totaled the Klan's campaign of terror against the civil rights movement resulted in almost 70 bombings in Georgia and Alabama, the arson of 30 black churches in Mississippi, and 10 racial killings in Alabama alone... (Klan Watch 1997:25).

The violence attributed to the Klan eventually brought nationwide notice, and mass outcry. The Southern Poverty Law Center wrote:

The acts of violence finally began to arouse public indignation in the South and across the Nation. In 1964, a silent counterattack was begun by the FBI, which made a major effort to infiltrate the Klan. By September 1965, the FBI had informants at the top level of seven of the 14 different Klans then in existence. Of the estimated 10,000 active Klan members, some 2,000 were relaying information to the government. (Klan Watch 1997:26).

Unfortunately however, it seems that the government's solution to curbing Klan activity actually encouraged it. Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (1997:47) state, "... The government attempted to disrupt the Klan as part of the FBI's Counterintelligence

Program (COINTELPRO)... Starting in 1964 and 'officially' ending in 1971, COINTELPRO engaged in many activities to make life difficult for the Klan." Such tactics on the part of the FBI included, "Smear campaigns against Klan leaders... encouraging employers of Klansmen to let them go... FBI informers were encouraged to sleep with the wives of Klan leaders to get information and create marital strife, and FBI agents provided money to form independent Klans. (Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997:48).

Wade (1987:362) suggested that COINTELPRO actually provoked Klan violence in order to arrest its perpetrators. Zellner (1995:28) alluded to this when he wrote, "...an FBI informer, armed with a lead weighted baseball bat, was a leader in the Klan's vicious beating of the Freedom Riders. In addition to his possible implication in the 1963 church bombing in Birmingham, this same informer was one of four Klansmen in a car from which a bullet was fired killing... a white civil-rights worker from Detroit..."

Despite these objectionable tactics implemented under COINTELPRO, they appeared to be effective. Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (1997:48) stated, "COINTELPRO... were extremely successful in reducing the strength of the Klan. From 1967 to 1973 the Klan lost a large part of its membership and many Klaverns (local offices) folded." As the government shut down many Klans, those that remained appeared to have become more radical. Della Porta (1996) suggested that as governments resist movement activities, the number of groups decline, but those who remain undergo a radicalization.

An example of such a occurrence of radicalization took place in the United Klans of America (UKA). Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (1997:48) write:

In the 1970's some members of the... UKA were involved in racial episodes in Talledega County, Alabama, and in the hanging of a young black teenager, Michael Donald, in 1981. In addition to the criminal case involving the death of Donald, an Alabama civil suit was filed against the UKA organization by the SPLC. There was a \$7 million damage awarded in 1987, with the UKA being forced to surrender its National Headquarters... to help pay part of the damages. Since then the UKA has not been publicly active.

This action, in essence, created the latest movement in the history of the Klan. This movement is described as the "Kareful Klan".

"The Kareful Klan"

The Kareful Klan is a description used somewhat in jest. Zellner (1995:29-30) describes the label. He stated, "The downfall of the United Klans of America taught other Klan groups a lesson. In essence, the court's ruling told Klan organizations that they were responsible for the actions of their members, just as a corporation is responsible for the actions of its employees when they carry out its policies."

Zellner (1995:30) further stressed, "Today's Klans tend to be 'Kareful Klans', at least in rhetoric. Violence is rarely mentioned openly. The focus of Klan efforts in recent years has been to promote institutional discrimination through political means."

The "Modern" Klan

This study will use the term "modern" to identify, essentially, the "Kareful Klan." The label "modern" implies a Klan movement which is moving away from overt violence, as exemplified in previous forms of the Klan. The modern Klan is one

which emphasizes other avenues of power gain, such as through political goals. The term modern will also identify the time of initial, mass, and public use of the Internet -- or the decade of the 1990's. The primary source of the data for this study will be derived from Ku Klux Klan Internet web sites. The modern Klan, then for purposes of this study, is also the "Internet Klan".

The following chapter will discuss the role ideology plays in the construction of, and the participation within, a social movement.

CHAPTER III

IDEOLOGY AND THE FRAME ALIGNMENT PROCESS

If we are to understand why the Klan exists, it becomes vastly important to understand the ideology of the movement. Herble (1951: 23-24) expresses this important linkage between movements and ideology:

The first step towards an understanding of a social movement suggests itself by common sense: we want to know what it is all about. We want to know the end or goal, the objective of the movement.... we want to know the entire complex of ideas, theories, doctrines, values and strategic and tactical principles that is characteristic of the movement. we call this complex the *ideology* of the movement, using the term in the broad, non technical sense.

Wilson (1974:91) states, " [Examining] the ideology [of the movement] must be the first consideration because of the role it plays in crystallizing and intensifying mobilization for action." Wilson (1974:91-92) defines ideology as:

The generic name given to those beliefs which mobilize people into action in social movements. An ideology is a set of beliefs about the social world and how it operates, containing statements about the rightness of certain social arrangements and what action would be undertaken in the light of those statements, An ideology is both a cognitive map of sets of expectations and a scale of values in which standards and imperatives are proclaimed. Ideology thus serves both as a clue to understanding and as a guide to action, developing in the mind of its adherents an image of the process by which desires can be achieved.

As a final descriptor of ideology, Schwant (1997:68) writes, "[Ideology is] a set of social, political and moral values, attitudes, outlooks and beliefs that shape a social group's interpretations of its behavior and its world." An ideology then, is how one "sees" the world. An ideology is a guideline for behavior and action.

Now that this study has defined what an ideology is, it becomes important to ask-- Why is an ideology created? In order to answer this, the "social constructionism" perspective is reintroduced. Social constructionism (as presented in chapter one) maintains that ideologies are constructed through the process of social interaction. Within this process, persons can "diagnose a problem, identify an enemy, suggest a strategy, and motivate a movement." (Buechler and Cylke 1997:61). By this, then, an ideology is a problem solving event used to interpret "the world around us". An ideology is created in order to make sense of, and offer solutions to problems and conditions that exist in the world.

Within social constructionist terminology, this interpretative process is termed "framing." Simply put, "framing" is the process by which one constructs an ideology. Framing is the process of "taking in" information available to us, and making sense of it. Whereas, a "frame" can be identified as the ideological beliefs themselves. In this sense, a "frame" and an ideology are the same. These terms are important, for this research will now use them to describe the process by which a social movement presents its ideological views.

For any social movement, the ability to gather support, gain approval, and garnish sympathy, is of great importance. As such, a social movement will present a "frame" (an ideology), or a set of frames in order to attract persons to its cause. When a social movement is successful in this venture (having gained support or approval from someone), a "frame alignment" has occurred. Frame alignment is the process "whereby movements articulate grievances in ways that correspond to the world views

of actual and potential movement participants, and thus retain existing members and recruit new members." (Buechler and Cylke 1997:61). In other words, "frame alignment" is the event in which the frame (ideology) of an individual corresponds with the frame (ideology) of a social movement, and visa versa. The alignment process is the social movements attempt to bring people with similar "frames" into their organization, and the attempt to convince people to change their frames to match those of those of the movements.

The frame alignment process has been extensively examined by Snow et al. (1986) in their work, *Frame Alignment Process, Micromobilization and Movement Participation*. In this work, Snow and his colleagues identify several processes that movements enact, in order to gain support for their cause. These processes will now be identified. (Please note, I have added several findings from my study in order to better conceptualize the meanings offered within the frame alignment process).

Frame alignment incorporates four processes. The first process is labeled "frame amplification." This simply refers to the ability of the movement to make their concerns known and recognized. Frame amplification is the movements expression of their values and beliefs. Values refer to the goals or end states that the movement seeks to promote. Common values are those that stress cherished principles, like justice, democracy and liberty. For example, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan write, "We seek equality for whites... We are the only organization fighting for the whites of rights." (The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, "Goals" 1998:1).

Beliefs refer to the ideational statements which express the core convictions of the

group. Five kinds of belief categories have been identified by Snow et al. (1986: 470).

These categories are: (1)- The belief in the seriousness of the problem that faces the movement. For instance, if the "problem" is white inequality, then these kinds of beliefs will report the instances in which white inequality is "seen" to exist. (2)- The belief about the creator of the problem, or in other words, "who is to blame"? (3a)- Harmful stereotypical beliefs directed antagonists, or (3b)- Helpful stereotypical beliefs directed at targets that are influential to the movement. Remember, "frame alignment" is used, in part, to make others sympathetic to the movement cause.

Harmful statements are used to hinder opponents influences on potential movement supporters; Whereas helpful statements promote the movement itself. (4)- Beliefs about the probability for social change. For example, the New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan write, "if we all ban together, if all whites support one another we can gain white equality." (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan- National headquarters, "White Civil Rights" 1999:4). (5)- The belief about the necessity to "stand up" (promote, fight) for the movement. " If we don't stand up now, Whites won't have any rights left." (The Knights of the White Kamellia- Home page of the Grand Wizard "Wizard's Page" 1999:2).

The second alignment process is termed "frame extension." In general this refers to the movements ability to "extend" their ideological concerns. Frame extension is undertaken, in order to influence support from persons who might not initially give it. For instance, the Klan's primary stated goal is one which seeks the improvement in the "life conditions" of whites. The "frame" is extended however, as the Klan begins to

promote itself as a religious organization, dedicated to "Christian revival". (please see chapter five). As one can see, the two aforementioned goals are not necessarily interrelated. The latter goal, as it is argued in this study, was incorporated to widen the base of appeal for the Klan.

"Frame transformation" is the third alignment process. This refers to the movement's conscious action in redefining activities and events. Transformation also includes the replacement of old values with the creation of new ones. In other words, movement goals, and or, actions may be looked upon as being "unfavorable" by the greater public. Transformation is the movements effort to replace or redefine issues in order to gain a more positive public reaction.

The final process is labeled "frame bridging." This process refers to an instance in which a social movement attempts to link or attach itself to one or more other movements. A movement "bridges" with another in an attempt to bring itself more credence. For instance, the Klan is often viewed by many to be in a "negative" light. As such, the Klan will try to attach itself to other movements that promote similar issues, but do not have the stigma attached to it, as the Klan does. (e.g., The Republican Party, The National Rifle Association, antiabortion groups).

The frame alignment process will serve as a guide in exploring the presentation of ideology within each of the Klan groups presented in this study. Next however, the methodology of this study is presented.

CHAPTER IV

DATA SITE SELECTION AND METHODOLOGY

The Ku Klux Klan organizations examined within this study were selected because of their relevance to the research. Such a selection is classified a "purposive sampling." Purposive sampling is described in this fashion:

The site in which a field worker chooses to study, or the case that he or she chooses to study, is often selected purposefully rather than on the basis of some random selection procedure. Sites or cases are chosen because there may be good reason to believe that "what goes on there" is critical to understanding some process or concept, or to testing or elaborating some established theory. (Schwandt 1997:128).

A purposive sampling of Klan organizations was undertaken. This design is preferred over random or representative sampling, in that, purposive samples seek to "maximize the researchers ability to identify emerging themes that take adequate account of contextual conditions and cultural norms." (Erlandson et al. 1993:82). The groups that were selected include: The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; The New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; The Knights of the White Kamellia.

These groups were selected, based on a "guided" assumption made by the researcher. The researcher considers these particular organizations to be the largest Klan groups currently active. This assumption was "guided", in that, information produced from "watchdog" organizations suggest this evidence. The Anti-Defamation (1996:240) reported that the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan are the "largest and most

active Klan organization." Likewise, the New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were reported to be a large radical offshoot of the former. (The Anti-Defamation League 1996:244). The New Order Knights and the Knights of the White Kamellia were selected, based on their large size reported by the Southern Poverty Law Center (Klan Watch 1998).

The Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Poverty Law Center (as discussed in chapter one) are identified as "watchdog" organizations dedicated to "tracking" the activity of groups like the Ku Klux Klan. As such, this research began by seeking out information produced by these organizations. Using materials provided by these watchdog organizations, the researcher began to note the Klan organizations that were deemed the largest. This classification of "being large" was ultimately the condition by which Klan groups were sought out for examination. The researcher argues that the larger the organization, the more representative it will be in producing items of "Klan culture" for study.

The Klan Watch project of the Southern Poverty Law Center maintains a web site which records the size of "known" Ku Klux Klan organizations (Klan Watch 1998). Group selection began with a referral to this web site. First, the researcher made note of the Ku Klux Klan organizations listed within (as of September 1998, Klan Watch reported 51 separate Ku Klux Klan organizations). Next, the researcher simply counted the number of "units" (identified as a regional, state, or local office) under each of the 51 separate Klan organizations. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; The New Order Knights, and the Knights of the

White Kamellia were reported to have the most "units".

Klan Watch (1998) reported that The Knights of the KKK have seven units; The New Knights of the KKK have 17; The New Order Knights have 18 units and the Knights of the White Kamellia have 12 units. The next largest Klan organizations include the America's Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (with 7 units), and the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (with 6 units). These two groups were not selected however, because little or no literature existed on them. The remaining 45 Klan organizations ranged between having one to four units. The following section identifies the materials selected for examination within this study.

Sources of Data

Data is derived primarily from documents (e.g., Ku Klux Klan Internet web sites, Ku Klux Klan publications). Video sources (e.g., video productions on the Ku Klux Klan) supplement document information. Other supplementary sources include publications by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'irth and Klan Watch. These supplementary sources serve to "fill in gaps" that document and video productions neglected (e.g., the histories of the particular Ku Klux Klan organizations).

The Knights of The Ku Klux Klan are the largest and oldest active Klan organization. (ADL 1996:240). With this in mind, the Knights are examined more historically. Materials examined from the Knights range from documents published in the 1970's to those that exist in the 1990's. The Knights' Internet sites are also examined. These Internet sites, which number fifteen, include: The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Home page; The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan District Pages 1-10; The

Northwest Knights Home page; The Aryans Woman Page; kkk.com On-line Museum, and the Kingdom Identity Ministries web page.

Supplementary material include works which bring specific focus to the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. (Dobratz and Skanks-Melie 1991, 1996, 1997; Anti-Defamation League 1988, 1996; Klan watch 1989, 1997; Ridgeway 1995; Zellner 1995). A video recording on the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (recorded in part by the researcher in 1995) also serves as a supplementary source.

The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were examined, researching their Internet sites. These sites include: The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Home Page; The Florida Realm of The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; The Louisiana Realm of The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; The Maine Realm of The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and the Oregon Realm of The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Supplementary data were derived from the Anti-Defamation League (1996); Klan Watch (1989, 1997) and Dobratz and Shanks Meile (1996, 1997).

The International Home Page for The New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, as well as their other sites (Missouri Realm; Missouri SA -Street Action page; New Jersey Realm; Oklahoma Realm; Oklahoma Realm- Grand Dragons Page; Oklahoma SA- Street Action Page; Ohio Realm; Pennsylvania Realm; Texas Realm, and the Virginia Realm) served as the primary source of data. Klan Watch (1998) served as a supplementary source.

The final organization, the Knights of the White Kamellia, are examined from material produced from their web sites. These web sites include: The Knights of the

White Kamellia National Headquarters; The Knights of the White Kamellia Realm of Texas; Realm of Michigan; Realm of Michigan- Southern Providence; Realm of Missouri; Realm of Ohio; Realm of Virginia, and The White Kamellia Wizard's Page. Klan Watch (1998) served as a supplementary source. The data for this study were gathered between September 1998 and July 1999.

Table one, listed below, provides a summary of the data sites and materials examined. The next section discusses the methodology of this research project.

Table One: Summary of Sites and Materials Examined

Ku Klux Klan Case Studies	Internet Sources	Documents	Video Sources	Secondary Pub.
The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	YES	YES	YES	YES
The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	YES	NO	NO	YES
The New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	YES	NO	NO	YES
Knights of the White Kamellia	YES	NO	NO	YES

Methodology

A qualitative content analysis was undertaken in the design of this research. Schwandt (1997:21) defines content analysis as, " a generic name for a variety of means of textual analysis that involve comparing, contrasting, and categorizing a corpus of data. The data may be cultural artifacts (texts of various kinds, documents, records, billboards, television shows, films, advertisements, and so forth), or events."

In other words, content analysis is a method by which one searches out meaning within printed or stated text and imagery.

Often, the meanings behind words, phrases and symbols are known and understood. However, when words, symbols, etc. do not make any sense, or when one seeks more in-depth meanings, a qualitative content analysis is desired. A qualitative study is one which requires the examination into the "biography, characteristics, and goals of the [subject of study], the historical and cultural conditions under which the [subject of study] existed, and similar conditions." (Glassner and Corzine 1980: 307). The goal of a qualitative study then, is the interpretation, understanding, and relation of the goals, history, culture, etc. of a particular social unit- such as the Ku Klux Klan. In this study, a qualitative content analysis was undertaken in order to approach such an understanding of the ideology of the Klan.

In the undertaking of a content analysis, a large volume of data (e.g., documents, images) can "build up". The process by which one starts to analyze a large collection of data is termed "coding."

Coding is the procedure that disaggregates the data, breaks it down into manageable segments and identifies or names those segments... coding is often classified as relatively descriptive or analytical/explanatory depending on the degree of interpretation involved. Coding requires constantly comparing and contrasting various segments of the data and subsequently categorizing them. (Schwandt 1997:16).

In other terms, coding is the process by which data are self categorized into manageable units. Thereafter, the units or classified bits of data are compared and contrasted against one another to search out meaning. Coding is a type of "checklist"

used to identify- in terms of data- what one has and what one does not.

The goal of this research is to identify and describe the ideologies that exist in the modern Ku Klux Klan movement. The "coding" of data within this study, then, was organized in terms of its ideological content. Using Snow et al.'s (1986) exploration of the "frame alignment process", this study coded data in terms of the four processes described within (see chapter 3 for a discussion of the "frame alignment process"; see the Appendix for a sample coding key, as developed by the researcher).

Once a coding key was developed, an examination of the data took place. All Internet web sites were printed off and placed into large three ring binders. The published, printed Klan documents, such as journals and newsletters, were arranged in chronological order and placed in folders. After examining the documents for their ideological content, observations were often recorded directly on the documents. These observations were recorded as "jotted notes." Jotted notes refer to "all the little phrases, quotes, key words, and the like, that you put down during the observation... They have the further function of jogging your memory at the time of writing field notes." (Lofland and Lofland 1995:90). With the coding key as a guide, the jotted notes served to "mark" the instances in which ideological expressions existed. Following the process of reviewing these jotted notes, the data were coded more thoroughly and were recorded into full field notes as described by Lofland and Lofland (1995:91-98). The full field notes, along with the binders and folders containing the Klan artifacts were incorporated into a field journal. A field journal is essentially a volume of work which records the undertaking of the study and reports

its findings.

[A field journal] includes observations and conversations, rough diagrams and charts, lists of terms and so on... [it will] record thoughts, impressions, initial ideas, working hypotheses, issues to pursue... [A field journal] also include things collected in the course of [the study]- photographs, audio- and video tapes, copies of documents and artifacts. (Schwandt 1997: 52)

A field journal also serves the added job of reporting the procedures undertaken to produce a dependable and credible study. In other words, the field journal offers evidence to support or negate the trustworthiness and accuracy of the conclusions made by the researcher. The following sections will report on the strategies enacted to ensure a dependable and credible study.

Dependability and Credibility

Dependability refers to "the process of inquiry and the inquirer's responsibility for ensuring that the research was logical, traceable, and documented." (Schwandt 1997:164). Further, dependability requires that a study "provide its audience with evidence that if it were replicated with the same or similar respondents (subjects) in the same (or similar) context, its findings would be repeated (Lincoln and Guba 1985:290). In other terms, dependability asks- Can the study be reproduced ? If reproduced, will others come to the same conclusions? Dependability is achieved primarily through the "auditing" of the field journal. "Auditing is the procedure whereby a third-party examiner... reviews the [field journal] maintained by the inquirer. The purpose of the audit is to render a judgment about the dependability of procedures by the inquirer and the extent to which the conclusions or findings are confirmable." (Schwandt 1997:6).

Credibility refers to the extent to which the inquiry is conducted in a manner that adequately identifies and describes the social world being studied. (Erlandson et al. 1993). Credibility asks- Does the researcher's findings accurately portray the context being studied? Are their findings valid? Several strategies to attain credibility were initiated. The following sections will describe these strategies. The first such section describes "prolonged engagement."

Prolonged Engagement

The term "prolonged engagement" refers to the ability of the researcher to spend " 'enough' time in the context (culture) that can be considered the amount that enables the researcher to understand daily events in the way that persons who are part of that culture... interpret them." (Erlandson et al. 1993:30).

Multiple readings/viewing of the data helped to delineate themes and present them in terms of ideological meanings. The time taken to reach such "contextual understanding" for each Klan group varied, but once saturation occurred, the review of the data ceased. Saturation refers to the point in which one may fairly accurately predict what one will find next, based on examinations of previous findings. Glaser and Strauss (1967) state, " the point at which you are not learning any more from new material is called saturation." The next section will describe "peer debriefing."

Peer Debriefing

Peer debriefing is described in this fashion:

Occasionally the researcher should step out of the context being studied to review perceptions, insights, and analyses with professionals outside the context who have enough general understanding of the nature of the study to

debrief the researcher and provide feedback that will refine and, frequently, redirect the inquiry process. (Erlandson et al. 1993:31). Further... "In such sessions the researcher thinks aloud and explores various hypothesis, while the peer debriefer asks probing questions, plays devil's advocate, and provides alternative explanations." (Erlandson et al. 1993:140).

Debriefing sessions were conducted with instructors familiar with the research. Sessions also included fellow graduate students who were familiar with qualitative methodology, and or, with persons who conducted research on the Klan and like movements (e.g., Aryan Nations, Christian Identity). Such sessions proved extremely valuable in the direction of this research. Peers helped to clarify and "tighten up" concepts by asking questions like-- "What does this mean?; How is this concept used? Further, because peers were detached from the research, they were more apt "to see things" -such as confusing terminology- that the researcher could not see.

Multiple Data Sources

Another method used to gain credibility is through the examination of multiple data sources. As previously mentioned, data was collected from various sources (e.g., Internet and documents collection, video examination). Each source of data was compared and contrasted against one another to search out meaning. Further, comparing and contrasting the data sources helped to confirm, or cast doubt upon research findings. Table 2, listed next, provides a summary of the credibility measures undertaken in this study.

Table 2: Summary of Credibility Measures

Ku Klux Klan Case Studies	Prolonged Engagement	Peer Debriefing	Multiple Data Sources
The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	YES	YES	YES
The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	YES	NO	YES
The New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	YES	YES	YES
Knights of the White Kamellia	YES	NO	YES

The following chapter includes the case studies and data analyses of the Ku Klux Klan organizations previously identified in this study.

CHAPTER V

CASE STUDIES AND ANALYSES

This chapter analyzes the production of "frames" within the modern Ku Klux Klan movement. The Ku Klux Klan groups examined include: The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; The New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and The Knights of the White Kamellia. The particular histories of the aforementioned Klan organizations are introduced, then, the analyses of the groups ideologies are offered. The ideologies are presented in terms of Snow et al.'s (1986) "frame alignment process." (For a review of the "frame alignment process" please see chapter 3). The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan are presented first.

The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

The Knights history has been an enduring one. Since the Knights formation in the late 1950's, the organization has experienced various surges in membership along with several mass defections. This section will focus on the Knights ideological construction and reconstruction through its various periods of leadership, and through its varied periods of success and decline. The framing of ideology is looked at from the point of view of the various leadership positions that have existed in the Knight's history.

The Knights mark the beginning of their history in the mid 1950's. The Knights, under the leadership of Jim Lindsay, started out as a very small group in New Orleans.

Lindsay's group remained small until a man named David Duke entered the scene.

David Duke, who is perhaps American's best known Ku Klux Klan participant, has had a long history of racist ideology. The Anti-Defamation League of B'rai B'rith (1996:36) stated, "David Duke's preoccupation with racist ideology dates back to his youth. At 17, he became active in right-wing extremist groups. While attending Louisiana State University in the early 1970's he pursued his avid interest in white supremacy, anti-Semitism and Nazi history...".

After graduating from Louisiana State University, and after an association with Jim Lindsay, Duke formed his own Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Duke's new organization was referred to as a new "buttoned down" Klan. "He [Duke] cultivated a clean cut, articulate image which served him well in promoting the Klan and its rituals. For the first time in Klan history, women were accepted as equal members and Catholics were encouraged to apply for membership". (Anti-Defamation League 1996:36-37). Duke's leadership ended somewhat abruptly however, after a rival Klan leader told the press that Duke tried to sell him the Knight's secret membership list. Duke denied the allegation, but left the Klan and turned leadership over to his friend and former Alabama Grand Dragon, Don Black.

Don Black, upon Duke's departure, moved the Knights National Headquarters to Tuscumbia, Alabama. Don Black's first objective as the new leader of the Knights was to prevent the Knights from "falling apart". Many persons left the group after it was revealed that Duke tried to sell the Knight's membership list. In time however, Black succeeded in holding the group together and actually managed to gain new members.

Don Black's new supporters arose out of the disenfranchised supporters of Bill Wilkinson's Invisible Empire Klan (Black's biggest rival Klan group). Wilkinson's supporters left, after it was discovered that Wilkinson served as a F.B.I. informant for several years. Don Black, invigorated with this new found support, developed high ambitions of uniting other rival Klan organizations under his leadership. In the early 1980's Don Black held several national meetings, in which many were poorly attended. Those who did attend however, only inspired a new radical and aggressive stance in Don Black. In 1981 Don Black was arrested along with several other Klansmen, and charged with plotting to invade the Caribbean Island of Dominica and overthrow its government (Klan Watch 1989).

Upon Don Black's imprisonment, the Knights broke apart and Stanley McCollum (a Knight under Black's leadership) challenged for leadership of the Knights. At this same time, Thomas Robb (another Knight under Black's leadership) appointed himself National Chaplain of the Ku Klux Klan, and led jointly with McCollum. The take over of the Knights by Robb and McCollum was successful despite Don Black's verbal attacks on them from prison.

Robb eventually assumed full leadership of the Knights as National Director and moved the headquarters to Harrison, Arkansas. In Thom Robb's history as leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, he has survived two major defections. (Anti-Defamation League 1996). Despite these defections, Robb is reported to lead the "largest, and most active Klan faction operating in the nation today" (The Anti-Defamation League 1996:240)

The ideology of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan will be examined under the various periods of leadership in the group. Focus will be brought on David Duke's ideological formation by examining publications of his, *The Crusader* newsletter. Don Black's construction of ideology will be examined in his publication *The White Patriot*. Stanley McCollum and Thomas Robb's ideological beliefs will be sought out in their publications of *The White Patriot*; *The Torch*. Thom Robb's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan will be examined using the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Internet Home Page; The Knights District Pages; The Northwest Knights Page; The White Aryans Women's Page; The Kingdom Identity Ministry Page, and the kkk.com Internet Home Page. The following sections present the "frames" constructed within the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

The Frame Alignment Process-

Belief Amplification

Belief amplification refers to the expression of ideational statements that voice the core convictions of the group. This research focused specifically on beliefs that are expected to be "harmful toward antagonists" (Snow et al. 1986).

Much of the material related to the beliefs of the Knights center on racial relations between minority groups and whites. The minority groups that are most frequently "discussed" in the Knights' literature center on Blacks and Jews. Groups such as Hispanics, Homosexuals, and "Liberal, Marxist, Humanitarians" however, also receive a great deal of attention in the Knights' publications (*The White Patriot*, no date. 57:10).

First, the beliefs that existed under David Duke's leadership will be examined. In David Duke's November 1975 issue of *The Crusader*, a diagram is shown that depicts three skulls. The skulls are used to "show" a correlation between intelligence and racial heredity. The skulls, one of a "Caucasoid", a "Negroid", and a "Gorilla" are contrasted against one another. The diagram implies that the "Negroid" skull is most similar to that of a Gorilla.

Such racial heredity issues are prevalent in Duke's publications. The aforementioned diagram is reprinted in a later issue with a new addition. (The *Crusader*, no date. issue 37). The new diagram, titled, "Additional Physical Evidence of Racial Differences", attempts to depict how similar Blacks are to Chimpanzees based on lower jaw construction. (See Illustration 1, page 48). These diagrams attempt to provide visual support for the Knights' main argument that Blacks are inherently inferior to whites. " The view that the Negro's limitations arise solely from environmental deprivations rather than from inborn traits-or the lack of them- is wishful thinking..." (The *Crusader*, no date. issue 37:12)

Persons of Jewish descent are another major focal point of attack in the Knights' literature. Common in the Knights' belief system is the embrace of the "Jewish World Wide Conspiracy" myth. In brief, the Jewish conspiracy belief was a myth perpetuated in America during the 1920's which diagrammed a Jewish plot aimed at undermining civil society. Ridgeway (1995:35) stated, "[The International Jewish Conspiracy] was popularized in America during the 1920's when fear and antagonism towards immigrants and naturalized aliens was at its height... the idea was taken up by the

burgeoning Ku Klux Klan, and added to its already busy agenda of anti-Black and anti-Catholic Terror."

Duke continued to fuel this myth when he reported that Jews were behind the racial troubles that existed between whites and blacks. Duke wrote:

As a political arm (the NAACP) was formed, many Jews in journalism began a comprehensive campaign for negro equality and integration... The negro never troubled his African mind with thoughts of politics or freedom, or oppression...It took the radical Jews to come down and say to the negro "*You are oppressed*"... We must defend our people from the negro, but we must never forget what is behind him and many more of the poisons afflicting our civilization; what Shakespeare called *The Eternal Jew*. We do have to defend ourselves from the black bullets flying toward our culture, but we will never win the struggle ahead until we identify and stop the enemy pulling the trigger. That is why the Klan has opposed Jewry for over one hundred years. (The Crusader 1977, Issue 19)

In the same issue, *The Crusader*, argued that that Jews control public opinion through the mass media. " This Jewish control of the American mass media is the single most important fact of life, not just in America, but in the whole world today... Until this Jewish control of American public opinion is broken, continued misfortune, confusion, and decadence shall be our lot, and there can be no national liberation or regeneration." (The Crusader, 1977 issue 19)

Beliefs against Blacks and Jews, such as those previously discussed, are historically the primary focal points in much of the Knights literature. When Don Black took over the leadership of the Knights he continued to express many of the same ideological beliefs that Duke had. Don Black continued to support the Jewish Conspiracy Myth by running stories exactly as originally published in Duke's issues of *The Crusader*. In Don Black's *White Patriot*, Issue 61, He published the story "Who Runs the Media."

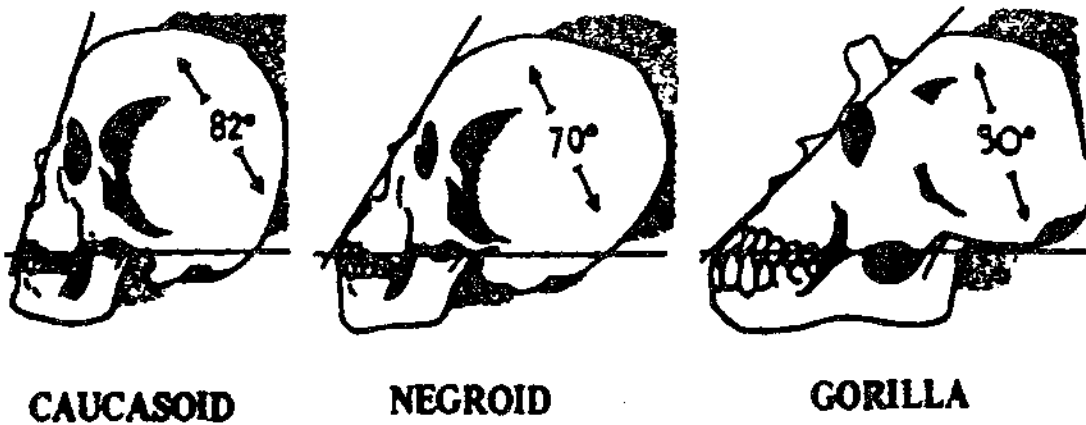
In this story it is argued that Jews control all the major news stations, as well as the major national newspapers. *The White Patriot* reported:

Many observant Americans have noted the peculiar unanimity of the mass media. On the surface there is a diversity- some papers indorse a republican ... while some back a democrat- but on really basic issues there is almost total agreement. On racial integration, U.S. policy in the Middle east, and gun control for example, the TV commentators and the news paper editors speak with one tongue... The reason for this unanimity is the hidden monopoly control of the mass media... (The White Patriot, no date. Issue 61:11)

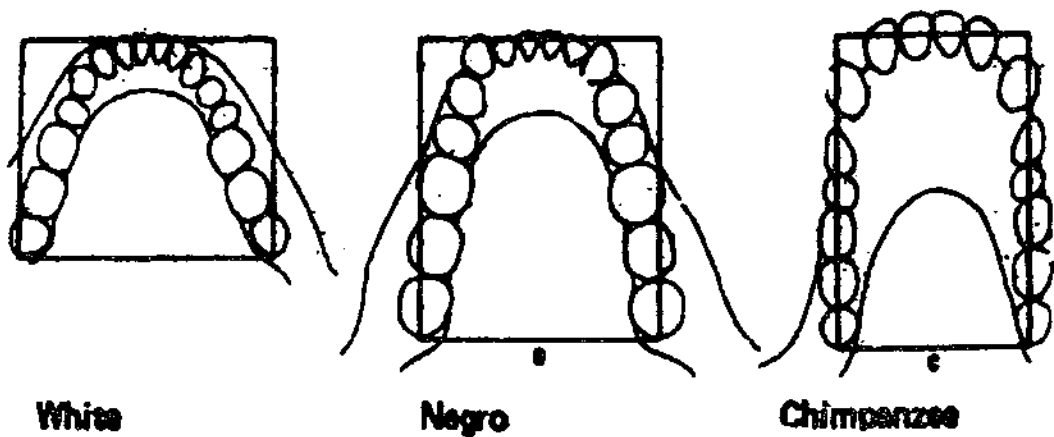
This article is presented with a cartoon that depicts the Knights impression of the "hidden monopoly control" over the media (and America in general) (See Illustrations 2 and 3, page 49-50). Don Black also continued stereotypical attacks against Blacks. These verbal attacks, however, were less personal in nature (e.g., stereotypes of racial/genetic inferiority) and more directed at governmental policies which aided Blacks (e.g., welfare, integration). It is true that Duke also focused on issues such as integration, welfare, education. Duke however, did it in a manner which implied a belief that "Blacks were incapable of keeping up with Whites". Don Black, on the other hand, ignored the majority of the aforementioned stereotypes and stressed an attitude of "let the races fend for themselves". *The White Patriot* prints " We believe that our race and all other should have the right to determine their own destiny through self-determination and rule... with the least interference from others." (The White Patriot, no date. Issue 61:6). The next section will examine frame extension tactics implemented under Don Black's and Thomas Robb's leadership periods.

Illustration 1: Basic Beliefs of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan under David Duke's Leadership- "Physical Evidence of Racial Differences"

Physical Evidence of Racial Differences



Additional Physical Evidence Of Racial Differences



Source: The Crusader (No date, issue 31:6)

Illustration 2: Basic Beliefs of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan under David Duke's Leadership- "Who Runs the Media?"

"Who Runs the Media" is often reprinted for the benefit of new readers.

These cartoons accurately depict the controlling party of the most powerful medium in the world: American television.



WHO RUNS THE MEDIA?

Source: The Crusader (no date, issue 37:5)

Illustration 3: Basic Beliefs of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan under David Duke's Leadership- "Who Rules America?"



Source: The Crusader (1977, issue 22:1)

Extending the Frame

Frame extension refers to the movements ability to "extend" their ideological concerns. Frame extension is undertaken in order to influence support from persons who might not initially give it.

We have witnessed, briefly, a small extension of the frame under Don Blacks leadership. The primary focus of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan has been to express their belief that whites are different (and superior) to minority groups. Under Duke's leadership, Blacks were deemed inherently inferior, "Ask History. The African has held one forth of this globe for 3000 years. He has never taken one step in progress or rescued one jungle from the adder, except as a slave of a superior race..." (The Crusader 1975 issue 7- originally published by Thomas Dixon, Jr. 1905, in The Clansman). Don Black similarly expressed disfavor of Black "intrusion" on American White culture, but he blamed it on governmental intervention. Don Black moved away from stereotypical attacks on individual Blacks and placed attack on governmental programs. Black extended the Frame to include attacks against " Big Government", or programs which interfered with the "White American way of life". Don Black discusses such issues as increased taxes and gun control.

In a article titled "System Pushing to Disarm Citizens", *The White Patriot* prints:

This is the target year for the disarmament of the American civilian population. "Get the Guns!" is the battle cry of the coalition of hard-core leftists and befuddled humanitarians who are preparing for an all-out drive against privately owned firearms..." America is governed by a system which day by day becomes more tyrannical and more alien to the majority of her citizens. Those citizens have been sorely tried- with school busing, intolerable taxes, no win wars, growing favoritism for non-White minorities, and a multitude

of other evils- and they have not rebelled. But the has more trials in store for America- many more-and it cannot take a chance on armed rebellion. That is the reason... for the current ant-gun program... it is the birth right of men of Aryan blood to keep and bear weapons, whether it for individual and personal self-defense or for collective and personal self-defense. (The White Patriot, no date. issue 57:10)

In an article titled "Why More Taxes ?", *The White Patriot* asserts:

The most important economic effect of Back welfare is not on the Whites who are directly discriminated against, but the millions of Whites who endure another form of discrimination. Millions of White middle class Americans are discriminated against because they give something to society. They are forced to pay for the indolence of the minorities. It has been estimated that the average working person now works over one third of the year *just to pay taxes!* A great percentage of the increase in taxes on the national, state and local level can be traced directly to the increase of minority welfare programs. (The White Patriot, no date. issue 57:9)

The frame is extended further under Stanley McCollum's and Thom Robb's leadership. Upon Don Black's imprisonment, McCollum and Robb took control of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and *The White Patriot*. McCollum and Robb continued to promote verbal attacks on blacks and Jews, but like Don Black, they depicted fewer personal attacks (e.g., cartoons expressing stereotypical beliefs). The Jewish World Wide Conspiracy Myth, however is still popular among the Knights. In a letter sent to Louis Farrakan (Leader of the Nation of Islam), Robb offered his support in matters relating to racial separation. Robb also "explains" the problem behind White/Black racial tensions. Robb writes:

I realize that the Nation of Islam is historically anti-white. Yet this doesn't really bother me... What is important to perhaps both our people is that their is an element in society that benefits from this discord and infact actually encourages it. That element sir, as you know is the eternal Jew. The Jew seeks to destroy our society by racial strife... (The White Patriot 1984 issue 65:3)

Thom Robb is a noted Christian Identity minister, and he incorporates this view of religion into the frame (Zellner 1995). Christian Identity is a variation of a theme on the Jewish World Wide Conspiracy myth. Zellner (1995) wrote, " Christian Identity is a religious philosophy rooted in the belief that the Aryans are the true descendants of Israel, those who had been earlier chosen for world domination in Hitler's 'master race' philosophy" (p.34)... Further, " In this theological framework Anglo-Saxons, not the Jews, are considered God's Chosen people. Black and other nonwhite races are called "mud people" and are believed to be on the same spiritual level as animals." (p.49)

Early in Robb's "career" as an Identity minister he was most vocal on the subject of race and his feelings toward Jews. In an article titled "Great Men Fight Jewish Power", Robb writes:

The icky sick minds of Jewish perverts gets a big Satanic thrill, out of watching little white girls holding hands with little fat-lipped niggers... There are those divinely inspired men who oppose it race-mixing] with all their body, soul and mind. There are many such men both alive and departed that fought gallantly and bravely for the survival of God's beloved race... Jesus Christ was the most ardent defender of white people and will destroy her enemies (Luke 2:71) as we become worthy and take up the fight ourselves. There should also be listed all the apostles and Prophets along with Martin Luther, Benjamin Franklin, Robert E. Lee, George Lincoln Rockwell, Adolf Hitler, Joseph McCarthy, Charles Lindbergh ...David Duke ...and many, many others... (The Torch 1975 Vol. 7 No. 3:1).

Robb continues to argue his Christian Identity position when he offers the following challenge, " I offer this challenge to any minister who teaches that the Jews are God's chosen people. I will debate them any time, any place, as long as it is public, and I will prove them wrong" (Robb, The Torch 1980, Vol. 11 / No. 7).

Robb goes on to print:

The Jewish Conspirators are fearful of the Kingdom Identity movement because it completely strips away the only protective shield from the Jews. That is, the *LIE* that they are God's chosen people. The Jews **KNOW** that when the American people finally come to realize that the Jews are liars, cheats and the greatest enemy we have ever faced and that they, the White Anglo-Saxon, Germanic and Kindred people are the true chosen people of God, there will be a **REVOLUTION! A WHITE REVOLUTION** and a **WHITE** man will drive the anti-Christ Jews out from America. (Robb, *The Torch* 1980, Vol. 11 / No. 7)

These examples illustrate Robb's involvement in the Christian Identity Movement.

Robb's beliefs have transferred over into the pages of *The White Patriot*. Under Robb's leadership the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan began to attack such social issues as abortion. *The White Patriot*, makes its cover story, "101 uses for a dead (or alive) baby." In this article, The Knights promote abortion as murder, and provide several graphic photos to make their case. (*The White Patriot* 1984 issue 65). Under Robb, the Knights also begin to address itself as a Christian Organization, "There is not another White Christian Movement in America that is touching the lives of the American People the way that the Knights is." (*The White Patriot*, no date. Issue 94).

Robb, however has not simply incorporated religion into the frame. Robb is perhaps best recognized for his prevalence in promoting political goals. In the past, under Duke's and Don Black's leadership, political power was implied to mean "physical action", or a vigilante style mode of thinking. In other words, Duke and Don Black promoted a "combatant style" mode of power claim. In an article titled "Movies Urge Murder of Whites", Duke printed the following about the movie *Farewell, Uncle Tom* (a mid 1970's film, which supposedly promoted violence against whites).

Duke prints, "...Slip a pistol in your pocket, collect a couple of your brawnier friends, and go see Farewell, Uncle Tom (matinee if possible). Then while the Blacks all around you in the audience are working up a good thirst for whitey's blood, you and your friends can work up a burning desire to save our race and culture. " (The Crusader 1975, issue 7:1)

Duke and Don Black told the people to go out and get power, but they provided few instructions on how to carry it out (other than the ones outlined above). Thom Robb, on the other hand provided these instructions. Robb backed away from a radical, "fight in the street" mode of action, and promoted a "through the system" route to power.

Turning now to Robb's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Internet site, we find multiple directives urging the need for political power. One such statement reads, "Under the leadership of Thomas Robb, associates and supporters nationwide can work through a coordinated effort to move The Knights to center stage of American politics. We must make our voice heard and get behind National Directional Thomas Robb's dream of providing a future for our children and our white brothers and sisters everywhere." (The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Home page "Introduction to the Knights" p.2 1998)

The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan web page supports a vast "political power" section. In twenty eight pages the Knights outline their political goals, party platform, party structure, historical overview of their party, and detailed information on how to become involved. (The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Home page, "An overview of the Party" 1998).

Frame Transformation

Frame transformation refers to the redefining of activities and events. This includes the replacement of old values with the creation of new ones. Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (1996) suggest that the Klan are trying to "mainstream its activities" by moving away from "hate speech" to "love speech". In other words the Klan no longer promotes verbal attacks on non-whites, but now advocates "love" or pride speech directed towards its members.

A common transformation is the use of language. Early in the Knights' history, Duke and Don Black alike referred to African Americans as "Negroes". Thom Robb, early in his career, was quite expressive, as stressed by his use of the word "Nigger" (The Torch 1975 Vol.7 /No.3). Recently, Robb addresses most African Americans and other minority groups as "non-White" (The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Home page District 2, "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" p.10 1998)

This changing linguistic approach is also present in how Robb addresses homosexuals. In the past Robb would use such terms as "Homo", "Gay", "Queer", "Faggot Slime". (The Torch 1977 vol.9/no.3). In more recent publications, Robb, in adherence with his Christian Identity beliefs, refers to homosexuals as "non-Christians" (The Ku Klux Klan Home page District 1, "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" p.6 1998).

Other linguistic changes include how the Knights refer to persons with similar "Klan beliefs". Traditionally such a person may have been identified as a racist. A racist, in generic terms, identifies a person who expels hateful, derogatory beliefs

towards those of a differing racial background. In present terminology, a "racist", or "racialist" is identified by the Klan as "one who loves his own race, and seeks the promotion of it." (kkk.com "Hotline Archives" P.3 1998).

Yet another example of a transformation in language centers on how the Klan defines a "cross burning" or "cross lighting". The event of setting a cross on fire is typically identified in terminology as a cross burning. (at least by those not familiar with the Klan). The "cross burning" is generally associated as an event used to create fear and intimidation. The Knights however argue that the cross is "lit" not burned. The cross lighting is implied to be a religious ceremony, which brings joy and hope, not fear and intimidation. The Knights write: "The Klan Crosslighting represents the Light of Jesus Christ, who died for the White Aryan Race. The Cross is not destroyed, i.e. "burned". Rather it is illuminated." (kkk.com "FAQ about the KKK" p.2 1998).

Further, " The Fiery Cross is used as a Klan Symbol representing the ideals of Christian Civilization, In no way does it represent a desecration of the cross, that is, the truth and the light of our sacred doctrine: The blazing spirit of Western Christian Civilization." (kkk.com "Intro. to the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" p.3 1998).

As a final example of a "transformation" of language, we will identify the difference between what the Klan defines as a separation and segregation. The Knights argue that the media portrays the Knights as a group promoting segregation. (The Crusader 1977 issue 19; The Crusader 1977 issue 21).

Segregation, in this light, is implied to mean White rule/domination over Blacks and other minorities. The Knights have dropped segregation from its definition and

labels itself as a "separatist" organization. Separatism refers to, " The right to determine one race's destiny through self-determination and rule". Further the Knights state, "We believe that the abundant differences between the culture, nations, and races of man give them the national right to work toward their own ideals and interests with the least possible interference from others." (The White Patriot, no date. issue 61:6)

Frame transformation also incorporates a movement's changing appearance and its changing goals and tactics. As noted earlier the Knights identify themselves as a Christian Organization (The White Patriot, no date. Issue 94). With this new label the Knights have sought to combat the label of a hate group. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan print:

... Those who want to join the Klan because they believe the Klan will be fertile ground to promote their hatred towards Negroes quickly learn that the Klan is based on LOVE not hate. The Klan attempts to be very careful so that the only people that become members are those motivated out of love for our people... Perhaps you have heard or read that the Klan is a "hate" group. Those anti-White extremists who hate America and our people have given us this label... they think the Klan promotes hatred. The Klan however, is not a hate group, but we are a LOVE group. We are a love group because we love America and we love our people. (This is the Klan- special issue of the White Patriot, no date. p.2)

The Knights have "changed" their appearance, and with that comes a change in their goals and tactics. Under Thomas Robb's leadership the Knights stressed that they were a political party for the "overlooked" white community (The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Home page "An overview of the Party" p.1 1998)

Robb has also made a change in the Knights' tactical approach in such ambitions as

political gain. When speaking of past political avenues available to the Knights members, David Duke and Don Black approached the subject in a near militant fashion. (The Crusader 1977 issue 7; The White Patriot, no date. issue 57).

Thom Robb however, promoted political gain through institutionalized means. Robb urged whites to write his/her congressperson (The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Home page "What is our Goal" p.2 1998). Robb also stressed the use of programs designed to reach many persons (e.g., cable access; radio broadcasting) (The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Home page "What is our Goal" p.1-3 1998).

Frame Bridging

Frame bridging refers to an instance in which a social movement attempts to link or attach itself to one or more other movements. A movement "bridges" with another in an attempt to bring itself more credence, recognition, or support from the greater public. In bridging it is implied that two movements attach themselves in a "reciprocal" manner. A reciprocal relationship among movements implies a sharing of ideas, and a networking of personnel. (Snow et al. 1986). In the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan this "reciprocal" element is often nonexistent (except, perhaps in groups that share similar "racialist" or "separatist" beliefs).

The Knights try to attach itself to movements that promote similar issues, but do not have the stigma associated with it as the Klan does. It is doubtful that other organizations return this "recognition" by the Klan, or that they are even aware of it. In the past the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan have supported such movements as the American Life Lobby (an antiabortion group) (The White Patriot 1984, issue 65).

Verbal support was also given to the National Rifle Association on the part of the Knights. (The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Home page, District 10 "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" 1998:1-3).

Finally, the Knights have, on various occasions, given their support to the Republican Party when an "appropriate" nominee is suggested for office. (The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Home page, District 10 "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" 1998:6).

Conclusion

The concept of framing has been selected to examine the construction of ideology within the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The construction of ideology is examined from the head leadership positions of the Knights. The leadership positions include those held by David Duke, Don Black, Stanley McCollum and Thomas Robb.

Historically, the Knights' main ideological concern has been the continued support for and appreciation of the white race. The Knights often target minority groups who are deemed responsible for "interfering" with their appreciation and practice of "white culture" (White culture, in Klan terminology, often translates to "American Culture". An "interference" in American Culture, then, refers to a change in societal norms and values). The minority groups that are the most frequent targets of the Knights include Blacks and Jews.

Under David Duke's period of leadership, his "targeting" of Blacks and Jews were very stereotypical in nature. Duke relied heavily on perceived physical differences between the races to make his case for intellectual differences between the

racism. Duke used these perceived differences to maintain images of white superiority.

When Don Black took over the Knights, his main focus continued to be the "concern" for the white race, but he relied less on stereotypical attacks on minorities. Don Black, instead, began to challenge governmental programs that attacked supposed, "traditional", white rights and values (e.g., Gun Control, Welfare programs).

With this new focus on anti- governmental programs, Don Black was successful in extending the base of support for protest in the Knights. Other support extensions are credited to Thomas Robb. Thomas Robb, the current leader of the Knights, has incorporated issues of religion and class into the traditional frame of white superiority. Thomas Robb, like Duke and Don Black, make the white race his main focus. Robb , again like Don Black, downplays the stereotypical attacks on minority groups. Robb however, justifies white superiority through religious doctrines (e.g., Christian Identity) and examples of historical political leadership (e.g., The -all white- creators of the U.S. Constitution).

The Knights' main goal has remained constant among the various leadership periods within it. The goal has been simply: The support for the belief in the superiority of the White race. We have witnessed a shift in the Knights' approach towards support of this believed superiority. Early in the Knights history, forms of traditional racism were the norm. In more recent history, the Knights appear to have "mainstreamed" many of its activities. It has been suggested in this research, that the various approaches, goals, and tactics implemented by the Knights are the product of

the frames used by the leader at that time. It is further suggested that when (or if) a new leader takes control of the Knights, the Knights will change its ideological focus to match that of the leader. The next segment examines the ideology of The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

In the previous case study the ideology of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were examined. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan appear to be the leading Klan organization in terms of visibility and notoriety. It also appears that numerous other Klans are trying to capture some of this notoriety by claiming the Knights name. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan have experienced numerous defections. It seems that many persons have left the aforementioned organization, displeased with Thom Robb's (Leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan) "less radical" public appearance. Many of the members who left the group went on to form their own Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Two "defection created" organizations are mentioned in order to lay the ground work for an examination of the New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

"In the spring of 1994, a major split occurred in the ranks of the [Knights of the Ku Klux Klan]. Ed Knovak, the Knights' Illinois state leader... and member of the Knights National Council lead a breakaway group in the formation of a new organization... called the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan..." (Anti-Defamation League 1996:241). Further, "Novack and his followers had become disenfranchised with what they perceived as Robb's watered-down message and high visibility, and promised that

their new organization would offer less talk and more action." (Anti-Defamation League 1996:243).

Later in that same year, another major walkout in the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan occurred. The Anti-Defamation League (1996:241) writes, "Klan officers David Neumann ... Troy Murphy... and Dennis McGriffen... claimed the Knights name for themselves and declared Robb disposed as National Director." The ADL go on to state "... In a marked return to the Klan's earlier days, members of the new faction held a rally... dressed in full Klan regalia. The moderate public image exposed by Robb was discarded." (The Anti-Defamation League 1996:241). In an interview with TIME magazine (1994) Neumann (the breakaway leader of the Knights) stated, "Thom Robb is a poor example of a Klansman. He comes off as a young Republican, not as a racist." (Taken from- Time.com, "1994 Archives- Controversy: Re-enter the dragon, Unable to endure a soft leadership, the Ku Klux Klan splinters 1999: 1-2).

The third such incarnation of a splinter groups exists in the form of The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan write:

The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan are the premier Ku Klux Klan group in the world. There exists several 'KKK' factions in the world today, each with its own agenda. For anyone interested in joining any KKK group check the particular group out first. Because of impostors, we are the only true Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. We trace our lineage back through many great men such as David Duke -Ex Knights of the Ku Klux Klan leader, no longer affiliated with our organization, Mr. Don Black -Ex Knights of the Ku Klux Klan leader, no longer affiliated with our organization... Beware of splinter factions with no or little leadership as the one based in Harrison Arkansas (Thom Robb's group). (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Internet Home page "White Civil Rights Now" 1999 :2-3).

The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan claim direct lineage from Thom Robb's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. It is not known, whether The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan are recent defectors of Robb's group, or from members departed of the previously mentioned organizations. What is known however, is that this is the third such group to claim to be the "real" Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. It is also apparent that all three groups are a reaction against their perceived image of a "watered-down" Klan lead by Thom Robb.

The following sections will present framing the of ideology within the New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Ideological statements will be sought out in the New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Internet web pages.

The Frame Alignment Process-

Belief Amplification

Belief amplification refers to the expression of ideational statements which voice the core convictions of the group. This research focused specifically on beliefs that are expected to be "harmful toward antagonists" Snow et al. (1986).

When the beliefs of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were examined, we witnessed an evolution of sorts. In the early periods of their existence, stereotypical beliefs ruled the organization. Latter periods however, concentrated less on "outward" stereotypical attacks (e.g., verbal attacks directed at blacks and Jews) and focused more on "inward" speech (e.g., love speech directed at its members). It has been expressed that the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan "mainstreamed" their activities as to make their group more approachable. (Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1996, 1997).

When examining the New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, this research found an organization that was "stuck" in a stereotypical attacking stage. The organization itself appears to be "immature" in every facet of its presentation. An example of such "immaturity" lies in the New Knights use of fillers. Fillers, in this essence, mean material supplied by someone else (e.g., links and information from other related Internet web pages). Most of the material expressed in their web pages are material not created by the New Knights. When it comes to discussing issues of substance the New Knights "link" to other "white racial" Internet web pages. This research however, will consider these sites to be relevant in the understanding of the New Knights ideology. These sites are deemed relevant, because the New Knights use them as theirs.

I used the term "immature" to describe the New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. This descriptor seems quite appropriate when labeling the New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The New Knights appear to be nothing more than a "name calling" Klan, with the majority of their stereotypical attacks centering on Blacks and Jews. The beliefs about Blacks are the first to be examined. An examination of such beliefs has lead to the identification of three separate belief systems targeting Blacks. These beliefs systems include: Social Differences; Mental and Physical Inferiority; Violent Tendencies.

Beliefs on Social Differences

The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan begin their argument of perceived white superiority when they state:

In the 400 years that the Black race has been residing in our country, they have made so few positive contributions to our society, so what makes you think they will start now? The only 'Afro-Americans' gaining notoriety, are doing so as the result of the constantly lowering of standards, But, then again... I assume that is why the niggers only have one month of history in February, and we have eleven. (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan-Oregon Realm, "Afro-American History Institute" 1999:3).

The New Knights continue their attack when a mock historical institute is created.

The Knights express:

Welcome to the Afro-American History Institute. Witness the outstanding Afro-American Accomplishments: Afro-American Artists: None Worth Mentioning; Afro-American War Heroes: None Worth Mentioning; Afro-American Astronauts: None Worth Mentioning; Afro-American Poets: None Worth Mentioning; Afro-American Inventors: None Worth Mentioning; Afro-American Scientists: None Worth Mentioning; Afro-American Authors: None Worth Mentioning; Afro-American millionaires: None Worth Mentioning; Afro-American Astronomers: None Worth Mentioning. (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan -Oregon Realm "Afro-American History Institute" 1999:1-2).

A mock newspaper was also created. This newspaper, titled the "Nigger Ghetto Gazette", is 15 pages long and contains 147 racist jokes. The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan make the BI-line of their mock newspaper, "We Niggers need our sleep: Never delivered before 4 P.M. - 88 cents." (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan "KKKomedly Central" 1999:1). Several of the jokes from the New Knights of the KKK newspaper are printed below, simply to further emphasize their stereotypical beliefs. The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan write:

Did you hear about Black Barbie? -It comes with 12 kids, AIDS and a welfare check"... "There is a 3 story apartment building with 1 apartment on each floor. A white family lives on the top floor. A mexian family lives on the second floor. A nigger family lives on the bottom floor. At 2:00 P.M. in the afternoon a terrible tornado hits the building, totally destroying it. Which family lived?- The White family because both parents were at work and the kids were in school. (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan "KKKomedly Central" 1999:9-11).

See Illustration 4 (page 68) as a final example of the New Knights beliefs of social differences. This example emphasizes the New Knight's belief that Blacks are overly sexual in promiscuous activity. The next section examines the New Knights beliefs of Black mental and physical inferiority.


Beliefs of Mental and Physical Inferiority

As previously mentioned, the majority of the material found in the New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Internet sites are very stereotypical in nature. The New Knights' main ideological focus appears to be one which emphasizes differences between whites and blacks. This research has briefly explored the New Knights image of social differences. Such differences are depicted wherein Blacks are portrayed as being lazy, culturally unimportant, and sexually promiscuous. This section will explore the New Knights beliefs of physical and mental differences between the white and black race.

In an Internet section titled "Whites and Blacks 100 Facts", the New Knights attempt to offer support for their argument of racial differences in a quasi-scientific manner. In this 23 page booklet, its author cites works ranging from the American Journal of Sociology to publications by noted White Racialists. The Booklet begins:

The White race has crossed seas, harnessed rivers, carved mountains, tamed deserts, and colonized the most barren ice fields. It has been responsible for the invention of the printing press, cement, the harnessing of electricity, flight... and millions of other technological miracles... Throughout 6,000 years of recorded history, the Black African Negro has invented nothing. Not a written language, weaved cloth, a calendar, a plow, a bridge... He is not known to have ever cultivated a single crop or domesticated a single animal for his own use (although many powerful and docile beasts abounded around him)... For shelter he never progressed beyond the common mud hut, the construction of which a beaver or muskrat is capable." (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan -Oregon Realm, "Whites and Blacks 100 Facts" 1999:2).

Illustration 4: The New Knights Beliefs of Black Social Dysfunction- " Where my Daddy Be?"



Where My Daddy Be Search Engine!

Simple to use, just enter your daddy's name (if known) in the box below. We will then search the prison records for a match! When we locate your daddy, the name and the state of the prison is displayed on your screen. You can then attempt to reach the man that you never know as a child!

<input type="text"/>	or	<input type="text"/>
Last Name		Street Name
<small>Not to be confused with "Who My Daddy Be Search Engine"</small>		

Source: The New Knights- Oregon Realm, "A Little Humor" (1999:1)

On the issue of intelligence the New Knights argue that intelligence is a product hereditary, not a product of environment. The booklet reads:

White/Negro I.Q. differences are constantly excused as results of environmental variations. but... as environment improves, the Negro does better but so does the White. The gap is not decreased. In fact, extensive research reveals that the gap in intelligence between Blacks and Whites INCREASES where socio-economic levels of both races are raised to the middle classes. (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - Oregon realm "Whites & Blacks 100 Facts" 1999:4)

Further, the New Knights argue:

Even when Blacks and Whites have the same backgrounds, in terms of family income and childhood advantages, Blacks still have average I.Q. scores 12 to 15 points lower than comparable Whites. This includes cases where Black children have been adopted by White parents. Their I.Q.s may be improved by environment, but they are still closer to their biological parents than their adoptive parents. (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan- Oregon Realm, "Whites & Blacks 100 Facts" 1999:4-5)

Finally, the New Knights report that blacks are inferior to whites based on brain structure. One such passage reads:

...the comparative weight of White and Negro brains [has] an 8-12 percent lower weight for the Negro brain... In addition to the difference in brain weight, the Negro brain grows less after puberty the white... The thickness of the supragranular layer of the Negro brain is about 15 percent thinner, and its convolutions are fewer and more simple, on average, than that of the White brain... The frontal lobes of the Negro brain, responsible for abstract conceptual reasoning, are smaller relative to body weight, less fissured, and less complex than those of a white brain. (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan- Oregon Realm, "Whites & Blacks 100 Facts" 1999:5-6).

Physical differences are also expressed. The New Knights like to link the physical structures of blacks to those of animals. The New Knights print:

[Blacks] eyes are prominent, iris black and the orbits large. The eye often has a yellowish sclerotic coat over it like that of a gorilla... The Negro has a shorter trunk and narrower and longer pelvis as it is in an ape... The Negro has a larger and shorter neck akin to that of anthropoids... The three curvatures of the spine are less pronounced in the Negro than in the White

and thus more characteristic of an ape... The two bones proper of the nose are occasionally united, as in apes. (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan- Oregon Realm, "Whites & Blacks 100 Facts" 1999:8).

The New Knights also like to claim the white race as being the mark of "universal beauty". The New Knights express, "Whites are universally recognized as the most attractive humans, even by Blacks". (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan- Oregon Realm "Whites & Blacks 100 Facts" 1999:11). In relation to this the New Knights create a most objectionable caricature of what they perceive to be "Black Beauty". (See Illustration 5, page 71). The next section examines The New Knights beliefs of Black's tendency toward violence.

Beliefs of Violent Tendencies

Common in much of the New Knights literature is an implied belief that the races are made up entirely of inherent qualities. The New Knights suggest that the white race has an inborn quality which offers them superiority. The black race, on the other hand, is described as "inferior and animalistic" (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - Oregon Realm "Whites & Blacks 100 Facts" 1999:2). The New Knights stress, "The plight of the Black race is not environmentally created, but determined by their heredity." (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan- Oregon Realm, "Whites and Blacks 100 Facts" 1999:5). This implied "inferiority" has been examined in the New Knights beliefs of social and mental/physical characteristics. The New Knights imply that violence is another inherent characteristic in the Black race. It is further stressed that violence is common even at an early age. (See Illustration 6, page 73).

Illustration 5: The New Knights Caricature of "Black Beauty"



Source: The New Knights- Oregon Realm, "A Little Humor" (1999:2)

Further, The New Knights offer 14 pages of statistical information to show that, "Blacks... do more than their fair share of killing and assaulting, robbing and raping and generally running amok." (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan -Oregon Realm, "Jerry's Racial Violence Statistics Page" 1999:1). The New Knights present several statistical analyses of race and violent crime rates. These analyses suggest that blacks are more likely to commit crime. The "statistics" are however, presented primarily in graphs and charts. I argue that these graphs are intended to provide visual stimulation to the viewer, and are not meant to be thoroughly examined. A methodology section does not exist with the charts, and the New Knights state that the information are "based" on information provided by the Bureau of Justice. (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan- Oregon Realm, "Jerry's Racial Violence Statistics Page" 1999:12).

The charts and graphs are accompanied with an interpretation that suggests a "hint" of bias. The interpreter of the statistics write:

When crime rates are studied... in the United States, the higher the proportion of Blacks (and likewise for certain other non-Whites), the higher is the rate of violence - and not only that: after Blacks become a majority, the violence from them *accelerates*. They do not become complacent once they have political power; they only become more aggressive, once they have learned that the law is whatever they say it is. (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan- Oregon Realm, "Jerry's Racial Violence Statistics Page" 1999:14).

While this site should in no way be considered credible due to its inherent bias, it is suggested that the New Knights use it primarily for that reason. It is argued that the New Knights use this site in an attempt to make its organization appear more credible. Such credibility can come to the New Knights if they argue that "numbers don't lie".

Illustration 6: The New Knights Beliefs of Violent, Inherent Characteristics in Blacks



Source: The New Knights- Oregon Realm, "Afro-American History Institute" (1999:3)

It has been argued by the Knights that blacks are inferior to whites based on inherent differences. When the New Knights "discuss" persons of Jewish classification, the New Knights take a different approach. The New Knights considered Jews to be "cunning", "devious", and "out to destroy the white race" (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan- Oregon Realm "Never Forget' 1999:3). The next section will explore the Knights ideological beliefs about Jewish persons.

Beliefs about Jews

When we examined the beliefs of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, we were introduced to the International Jewish Conspiracy Myth. This Myth is essentially the belief that Jews, as a collective, are out to undermine civil society and take over the world. (Ridgeway 1995). The New Knights do openly name the International Jewish Conspiracy. They state, "The 'Jews' DO have a plan for the 'genocide' of every last white man, woman, and child on the face of the planet... the Jews plan the destruction of the White Aryan Race." (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan- Oregon Realm, " Never Forget" 1999:2-3).

The New Knights express their "fear" of a Jewish plot, when they link to a passage explaining the conspiracy. The following passage is a speech credited by the New Knights to a secret meeting of the "Elders of Zion" (The Elders of Zion are implied to be a group of world wide Jewish leaders who seek global domination). The passage reads:

Gentlemen. Welcome to the Second Centennial Meeting of the Learned of Elders of Zion. We have achieved all the objectives expresses at our first

meeting 100 years ago. We control governments. We have created dissension among our enemies and made them kill each other. We have effectively silenced criticism of our affairs and we are the richest race of men on this earth. Many of you are very busy men. Let us get to the crux of the matter. As masters of business, politics, law and most importantly... media, we are ready to implement our most important and ambitious program. One that will finally and totally remove from existence the impediments of our absolute control of this earth. I speak OF THE DEATH OF THE WHITE RACE... We can ruin THE ANCIENT PURE BLOODLINE OF AN ARYAN CHILD by convincing him or her of the altruism of begetting interracial children... we want every White father to feel the sting of having their children marry colored mates and produce biracial children, we must use our power to discourage White men and Women who still persist in getting together from producing more pure white children... Finally we will SEE THE END OF THIS WHITE RACE. (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan- Oregon Realm, "Never Forget" 1999:3-4).

Obviously, such a passage is to be questioned. It is highly dubious that any such speech ever occurred. Nevertheless, the New Knights report it as such and it becomes true in their belief system. The belief in the World Wide Jewish Plot becomes a major ideological focal point in the New Knights belief system. In the following section we will examine how the belief in a Jewish plot ties into the New Knights religious views. Frame extension will be discussed next.

Frame Extension

Frame extension refers to the movements ability to "extend" their ideological concerns. Frame extension is undertaken in order to influence support from persons who might not initially give it.

The main objective of the New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is the promotion of the white race. The New Knights argue that, "The white race is superior in every way to the other races." (The New Knights- Oregon Realm "Whites & Blacks 100 Facts" 1999:2). As a justification for this superiority, the New Knights adopt a Christian

Identity Theology. Christian Identity, in brief, is a religious movement claiming Anglo-Saxons as God's "chosen people". (Zellner 1995). Within the Christian Identity framework, nonwhite races are considered to be "mud people and are believed to be on the same spiritual level as animals." (Zellner 1995:49).

While the New Knights claim to have God on their side, they take their religious beliefs a step further. In the New Knights interpretation of this "Klan Theology", Jews are considered "spawn of the devil, and eternal enemies of the Aryans." (The New Knights- Oregon Realm "Christian Nation- Chapter 1" 1999:15). The New Knights now have an open, combatant, and religious justification for hatred.

In a 134 page work, titled *Christian Nation* (found within the New Knight's web site), the New Knights present an outline of their theological beliefs. This research will "break down" the New Knight's quasi-religious work into several key ideological points. These key points are expressed in the following statements: (1)- The New Knights believe the Aryan Races are the "true" Israelites; (2)- The New Knights believe America is the "New Jerusalem"; (3)- The New Knights believe that the Devil and the Jews are out to destroy the Aryan people.

First, the Aryan-Israelite connection will be examined. The basis of Christian Identity is expressed in the following statement. The statement reads, "...the White Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, Scandinavian, Celtic and Kindred People are the Israelites, the children of Abraham, Gods Chosen People!" (The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan- Oregon Realm "Christian Nation- Chapter 1" 1999:6). Here the New Knights have made several distinctions. They state that to be an Israelite is to be a

member of the Aryan race (e.g., Germanic, Celtic, etc...). Further it is expressed that to be a Jew is to be one of "Satan's minions." (The New Knights- Oregon realm, "Christian Nation" 1999:15).

The reader of *Christian Nation* is lead through a vast number of pages outlining the history of "God's influence" on the Aryan people. Several biblical "interpretations" are then offered giving justification the Aryan-Israelite link. In very brief terms, the Aryan-Israelite connection is argued in this fashion: (1)- God made a covenant with Abraham, claiming that his people were "chosen"; (2)- Abraham's decedents (the Israelites) were offered the word of God (later to be fashioned into the Old Testament); (3)- The New Testament is a continuation of the word of God -- accepted by the Aryan people -- rejected by the Jews (This is were the Aryans are argued to be the true Israelites, because they carry on the word of God); (4)- The White Aryan race has been the one to spread the word of God (e.g., missionary work, the printing of the Bible); (5)- Because the White Aryan race has continued to spread the word of God, their nations (those of Europe and America) are the strongest and "most fruitful". This then completes God's original covenant made to Abraham which claims his people as chosen. This brief outline is meant to show the "way of thinking" expressed by followers of the Christian Identity movement. Next, I will discuss the belief which identifies America as the "New Jerusalem".

As previously examined in the Christian Identity framework, the New Knights believe they are members of God's chosen race. In continuance with this line of thinking, America is described as the "Promised Land." (The New Knights- Oregon

Realm, "Christian Nation- Introduction" 1999:4). To emphasize this point, a section from the *Christian Nation* is noted. The section reads:

The very foundations of the United States of America, was taken directly from the Laws of God as stated in the Holy Scriptures... This study is with purpose that our Christian community learn and absorb this truth. The Bible is inseparably linked to the people who comprise the Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, Germanic, Scandinavian and kindred family in the earth... The Bible shares a genetic continuity in history from Genesis to the Revelation Letter... History has since demonstrated the willingness of the White Anglo-Saxon... people to endure the hardships of the journeys in order to bring others the blessing of the open Book. So long as that Book continues to remain open in the hands of Almighty God's people, they are in possession of the perfect guide and chart which will enable them to follow the course of their God-given heritage to a glorious destiny... a destiny which brought the Pilgrim fathers to our shores to build anew a civilization in conformity with the requirements of [God's] law..." (The New Knights- Oregon Realm, "Christian Nation- Biblical Basis" 1999:1-2)

Multiple "prophetic coincidences" are also noted to further emphasize this belief in an American Promised land. The New Knights print:

The children of [God], or Israelites were freed by the exodus from the servitude of Egypt; and so the children of [God] or Christians were, by the great exodus to America, freed from the bondage of "spiritual Egypt and Sodom," Europe... The Israelites crossed a sea to get away from bondage, and so did the Christians in coming to America... At the destruction of the Egyptian tyrant's forces, Israel decreed a general thanksgiving to God, and so when the modern Pharaoh was defeated, a general thanks giving was decreed by the American Congress... The number of Israelites that escaped from bondage was estimated to be about three million; and the number of people in the revolutionary colonies, in 1776, was about three million... The Israelites were organized as a confederacy of thirteen tribes, and so there were thirteen colonies providentially organized into a Christian confederacy. Israel's tribes were called twelve, but out of Joseph there sprung two tribes who received an inheritance, thus making thirteen... These coincidences between the exodus of Israel and that of the Christians, are of the most extraordinary nature if we take them singly, but when taken together they are nothing less than miraculous. (The New Knights- Oregon realm, "Christian Nation- Introduction" 1999:5-7).

Finally, the last key Christian Identity component will be examined. This component (the belief that the Devil and Jews are out to destroy the Aryan Races) is

approached in the following manner:

Today the great Israel nation of America is surrounded and invaded by the... anti-Christ forces... as God gathers the nations of the earth for the battle of Armageddon. The wicked of the earth, who are the enemies of Jesus Christ, have grown strong and arrogant in our land. They have infiltrated our schools, the news media, even the churches and government in their attempt to keep you in ignorance of your identity as Israelites. They are attempting to steal your heritage that they may conquer America and take rule over the whole earth. (The New Knights- Oregon Realm, "Christian Nation- Chapter 1" 1999:13)

These "antichrist" forces are later identified as the Jews. This belief system is further explored in an reexamination of the New Knight's "interpretation" of the covenant made with God. Earlier, a brief outline of the New Knights belief in a covenant with God and the Aryan people was presented. The New Knights argue that America is a result of a "kept" covenant. In words according to Christian Identity theology, since the white race has been faithful to God's law, the white race was rewarded with a promised land -- America.

The New Knights however, mention that there have been times when God's covenant has been broken. The New Knights state that in ancient Israel, the Israelites strayed from God's law resulting in punishment. This punishment by God took the form of Egyptian oppression. When God's law was re-observed, the oppression was lifted and the covenant was renewed. Similarly, the New Knights use this imagery to state that the same thing is happening in modern America.

The New Knights express:

The judgment upon America; just as it was on Ancient Israel is and was a result of their national sins and their turning from Almighty God and His Laws. America, like ancient Israel has broken covenant with God Almighty and the Lord Jesus Christ; they have rejected His Laws, and have worshipped

other gods. The sin debt is piled high in America, the judgment of the living God is upon this land. (The New Knights- Oregon Realm, "Christian Nation- Chapter 1" 1999:13).

In the following passage the New Knights give their reasoning for why these events are occurring. The New Knights state:

There is a cultural and moral decline that is destroying America. Our country is now in the death phase of the Organic Culture Curve -- brought about by the manipulations of the International Jewish Conspirators... Destruction of the family is all but complete in America... No fault divorces, throw away marriage vows, live-in relationships, adultery, and wife swapping are now common place among those who travel the fast lane of America. Satan and his minions, the Jews, are attacking the Christian Family on every hand... The decline of Historic Christianity is almost complete in America... The Modern Church is inflicted with humanism, lies, worship of Baal and of the Jews. The religion of humanism is preached from the pulpits and comes from the anti-Christ Jewish Talmud. The great hymns of the faith have been discarded for the syncopated beat of the jungle bunny niggers, and Jesus Christ is no longer taught as the way, the Truth, and the Life. Our churches have lost the touch of God... They teach Jewish fables and the doctrines of Baal. Many of the most popular denominations in the Christian world are little more than houses of Baal where the false prophets preach for hire before a brainwashed congregation. (The New Knights- Oregon Realm, "Christian Nation- Chapter 1" 1999:15-16).

Within the Christian Ideology framework, two eternal and opposing forces are identified. These forces include, God with the white Aryan people, and the Devil and "his" Jews. The framework expresses that the white Aryan people are God's true "chosen people", while Jews are "spawn of the Devil". The Identity framework, further expresses that Jews are behind all of the social ills that befall America. The New Knights incorporate this Christian Identity Theology into their belief system. The New Knights urge white people to "wake up" and realize the conspiracy that lay before them.

It is important to remember that Klan activity often coincides with changing social

climates. When the Klan revivals of the 60s and 70s occurred, the Klan were responding to threats (e.g., the passing of the Civil Rights Law) to the traditional white way of life. With the Modern Klan the "new" social threat appears to be the coming of the next millennium. As of this writing, many persons both Klan and non-Klan are expressing a fear of the "end times". Often the discussion of the approaching millennium is joined with a discussion of religious matters. The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan appear to be such a group expressing concern about the coming millennium. With this in mind, it is argued that their increase in the "faith" in the Christian Identity framework is a result of the approaching millennium. The New Knights are trying to make sense of this perceived social threat by using religion to justify their position. Such a justification recognizes them as God's "chosen people"; Whereby protecting them spiritually and religiously from the threat that the world will end in the coming millennium. The next section will discuss "frame transformation" tactics (or the lack of them) implemented by the New Knights.

Frame Transformation

Frame transformation refers to the redefining of activities and events. This includes the replacement of old values with the creation of new ones (Snow et al.).

When the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Thom Robb's group) were examined, a common example of frame transformation was characterized by the use of language. Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (1996) expressed that the Knights were trying to mainstream its language by moving away from "hate speech" to "love speech". In

other words the Knights no longer promoted verbal attacks on non-whites, but advocated love or pride speech directed towards its members.

The New Knights do not seem to be following suit. The New Knights, as previously expressed, seem to be stuck in a "name calling" phase. The Knights (Thom Robb's group) moved away from the use of derogatory terms identifying minorities. The Knights incorporated the term "non-white". The New Knights, on the other hand, are verbally attacking in nature. They still prefer to use derogatory identifiers. For example, Blacks are referred to as "niggers" and homosexuals as "faggots" (The New Knights- Oregon Realm, "A Little Humor" 1999:1).

Other examples of language transformation center on the usage of segregation and separation. Segregation is implied to mean white rule/domination over minorities. Separation refers to "the right to determine one race's destiny through self determination and rule... with the least possible interference from others." (The White Patriot no date. issue 61:6).

The Knights, under Thom Robb's rule, abandoned the usage of the term segregation and adopted the separation label. The New Knights prefer the segregation or supremacy label. In a section titled *beliefs*, the New Knights state, " We believe in White Supremacy. The Klan believes that America is a White Man's country, and should be governed by White Men." The New Knights- Oregon Realm, "Beliefs" 1999:2).

Changing language, however, is not the only component in frame transformation. Frame transformation also incorporates changing goals. The Knights of the Ku Klux

Klan transformed their group from one of a "name calling" Klan to one striving for political power. The Knights totally restructured their organization towards the achievement of this goal. The New Knights however, have no obvious plans for directed action. The New Knights are characterized by a lack of "frame transformation".

It is implied, that frame transformation is enacted to recruit supports to the groups cause. The Knights (Thom Robb's Group) transformed its organization to appear more mainstream. Their goal was to reach the "average American", not the radical. It is not known if the New Knights show a lack of frame transformation due to its immaturity in organizational formation, or that they prefer to recruit the radical. Perhaps these issues will come to light as future studies into this group are conducted.

The next section will discuss the final component of the "frame alignment process" -- frame bridging.

Frame Bridging

Frame bridging refers to an instance in which a social movement attempts to link or attach itself to one or more other movements. A movement "bridges" with another in an attempt to bring itself more credence, recognition, or support from the greater public.

As previously expressed, in bridging, it is implied that two movements attach themselves in a "reciprocal" manner. A reciprocal relationship among movements implies a sharing of ideas and a networking of personnel (Snow et al. 1986). In the New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan this "reciprocal" element is nonexistent. The New

Knights have however, attempted to attach themselves to movements promoting education and political reform. On the case of education, the New Knights express a desire for higher educational standards, but they suggest that this is to be accomplished by keeping education "white". For example, the New Knights are a strong proponent of California's Proposition 227. The New Knights state, "The [New] Knights of the Ku Klux Klan endorse California's 'English Only Classroom' ballot measure... English is the ONLY language for the true Americans. Speak it or get out!" (The New Knights- National Headquarters, "White Civil Rights Now" 1999:4).

Issues of political reform were "bridged" upon when the New Knights gave their support to a political interest group. This group titled A.C.T.I.O.N. (Activate Congress To Improve Our Nation) was latter identified as a affiliate of the John Birch Society. The John Birch Society was named after, "an obscure army captain killed by Chinese communists near the end of World War II..." (Zellner 1995:33). Further, The John Birch Society "believes that communist conspirators are at the root of most of America's problems." (Zellner 1995:33).

With the exception of the verbal support given to Proposition 227, all of the groups, organizations, or movements identified by the New Knights share, in some sense, a belief in white superiority. (This includes A.C.T.I.O.N.)

Conclusion

The New Knights main ideological concern has been the promotion of white superiority. The researcher has expressed throughout this section that the New Knights are characterized as "name callers". The bulk of the New Knight's energies

center on verbal attacks aimed at minorities. In fact, so much of the New Knights focus has been on verbal attacks that this research has characterized the "type" of stereotypical attack. Verbal attacks against blacks have resulted in the following classification of belief systems: Beliefs on Social Differences; Beliefs of Mental and Physical Inferiority; Beliefs of Violent Tendencies.

When the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Thom Robb's group) were examined, it was expressed that their organization started out in this "name calling stage". The Knights however, extended and transformed their ideological focus to include issues of religion and politics. The New Knights have not transformed their organization, but they have extended their belief system to include a form of the Christian Identity Theology. The Christian Identity Theology is used to further justify the New Knights beliefs in white superiority. It was also noted that the New Knights express a religiously based "fear" of the coming millennium. It is argued that the adoption of the Identity Theology is used to counter the fear expressed by the New Knights that "the end times are near".

The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan appear to be a young organization. It has been suggested that the Knights (Thom Robb's group) started out very similar to the New Knights. The Knights however, "mainstreamed" their appearance and approach in order to remain active. It is suggested here that the "name calling" stage only appeals to a certain number of the population. Further it is suggested that the organization that relies exclusively on this tactic will fade from existence. The New Knights will either remain in this stage (and perhaps perish), or they will transform

their belief systems to match the interests of a broader group of people. Time will tell which direction the New Knights take. The following segment examines the ideology of the New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

The New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

The history of the New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is not known. It appears however, that they are a recent manifestation of the Klan. The Anti-Defamation League has no published record of the group prior to 1996. Periodically the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) publishes a collection, noting the various right wing movements in America. As of this writing, the 1996 edition was the most current ADL collection, and it contained no mention of the New Order Knights. I suggest that the New Order Knights are too large to have been "left out" by the ADL. This makes the assumption, then, that the New Order Knights are a recently created organization.

In the previous section, the New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were examined. The New Knights are also considered to be a fairly recent Klan creation. (Based on the defection time line presented in their introduction). If the assumption is accepted that both Klan organizations are of recent creation, than two distinct organizational styles emerge. The New Knights were described as a "name calling" Klan, focusing specifically on stereotypical attacks aimed at minorities. This mode of presentation was very similar to the initial phases of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (The first organization examined).

When the New Order Knights are examined, their presentation is most similar to the latter phases of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The New Order Knights do not spend the bulk of their time verbally attacking minority groups. Their efforts, instead, seem to lie in self promotion or self inspiration. (e.g., promotional statement reading, "Its all right to be White"). When examining the New Knights, it was suggested that they began just as the Knights began, as a "name calling" Klan. Further, it was suggested that the organizations developed through stages, moving from a name calling stage to one incorporating broader issues. The New Order Knights, on the other hand, seem to have bypassed the initial name calling stage and co-opted the strategies and tactics of latter existing groups, such as in the Knights.

The following sections will present the framing of ideology within the New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Ideological belief systems will be sought out in the New Order Knights Internet web pages.

The Frame Alignment Process-

Belief Amplification

Belief amplification refers to the expression of ideational statements which voice the core convictions of the group. This research focused specifically on beliefs that are (1)- expected to be helpful in influencing potential participants to the movement (Directed inwardly at the movement's participants) and, (2)- beliefs that are expected to be harmful toward antagonists.

In the previous case studies, an examination of Belief Amplification has resulted

solely in the study of "beliefs that are expected to be harmful toward antagonists." The New Order Knights are somewhat different, in that, the bulk of belief statements are inwardly directed. The New Order Knights do however, present "standard" Klan verbal attacks on Blacks and Jews. These belief statements will be identified, but first the "inwardly" directed beliefs will be examined.

The New Order Knights begin with a presentation of self that offers a vehicle of support and protection. The New Order Knights State:

[The New Order Knights] seek to defend our white people from the destructive influence that pelage us today... Today it is the Drug dealers, Ungodly practices, Flagrant disregard for Morals, Unprecedented Uncontrolled Immigration and Your hard earned Tax dollars squandered on unnecessary and unneeded laws to protect you from Yourself and the Securing of Foreign Interest other than Our Own. (The New Order Knights-International Web Site," Guest Forum" 1999:2).

Further, The New Order Knights direct emphasis toward the youth. They imply that they can offer guidance against an "immoral world". They state:

All to often the White People are left with an Identity by Society and their Media or Peers [of one of] Indifference, Hate and Sloth. We wish to offer the Youth a Noble and Time Honored Example of the True Aryan WHITE Brotherhood of the Ku Klux Klan!" (The New Order Knights- International Web Site, " New Order Knights" 1999:2).

Throughout the New Order Knight's web sites, they present themselves as an organization dedicated to "watching out" for their fellow whites. An example of this "watching out" comes in the form of public warnings. A recent public warning centers on alerting the public to instances in which persons are placing HIV positive needles in public areas (e.g., Movie theater seats, coin return slots of pay phones and coke machines). The New Order Knights state that the above information was sent from the

Dallas police department. They note, "[The person who initially posted this information] have no Klan Affiliations! We Just post for YOUR Benefit!" (The New Order Knights- International Web Site, "Help" 1999:1-2).

Initially, the New Order Knights present an almost "playful" image. Distributed throughout the New Order Knight's web pages are images of cartoon like figures depicting Klan approval. One such character is molded after a popular, adolescent oriented, cartoon called *South Park*. The displayed image has one of the youth figures, from the cartoon, dressed in a Klan robe (See Illustration 7, page 92). In similar fashion to displaying the cartoon like images, the New Order Knights also display promotional slogans throughout their sites. Several of the slogans are as follows: "STAND TALL...BE PROUD... NEW ORDER KNIGHTS" (The New Order Knights- International Web Page, "New Order Knights" 1999:6); TODAY... TOMORROW... FOREVER... KU KLUX KLAN... STAND UP... BE PROUD YOU'RE WHITE (The New Order Knights- Oklahoma Grand Dragons Page, "Photo Gallery" 1999:13).

The New Order Knights argue that the aforementioned interests make their name sake -- A new order. The organization stresses that they bring the original goals of the Ku Klux Klan into the modern area. The New Order Knights present themselves as a type of "white civic organization" created to meet the needs of the white population. This image fades however, as the beliefs about non-whites are explored.

Next, the beliefs that are expected to be harmful toward antagonists are examined. When the New Order Knights present verbally attacking statements, they are most

often aimed at Jews and Blacks. The following passage is taken from the New Order Knights, wherein they discuss their "struggle". The New Order Knights state:

OUR STRUGGLE is against the Zionist Occupied Government (Z.O.G.) who has manipulated our lives and our nation's wealth. OUR STRUGGLE is against the non-whites who have defiled our race, sold our children drugs and raped and killed them in our streets, and have ruined our great cities. OUR STRUGGLE is against the white traitors in the government who have sold us to the filthy Jews and have let non-whites get the better deal in life. (The New Order Knights- Oklahoma Grand Dragon's Page, "Our struggle" 1999:2-3).

Again, as with the two previous Klan organizations, the New Order Knights promote two enduring belief systems. These belief systems include (1)- The emphasis that non-whites are "murderous, vile" people, and (2)- that Jews plot the destruction of the white race. Various stories exist within the New Order Knights web-pages which stress their belief that non-whites (with particular emphasis on Blacks) are violent, murderous persons. The New Order Knights print:

It has come to OUR attention... that WHITE PEOPLE are being murdered by Blacks at an alarming rate! A WHITE couple pulled into a convenience store in Rudsvill NC. and were shot in the Face and Neck for nothing more than being WHITE! A white Youth in Virginia Beach, VA. was stabbed to death for no apparent reason other than being WHITE in front of his house! (The New Order Knights- International Web Page, "Help" 1999:2)

The New Order Knights include numerous stories like this throughout their web sites to support their claim that, "Blacks are Savages." (The New Order Knights- International Web Page, "Newsletters" 1999:2). When it comes to discussing beliefs about Jewish persons, The New Order Knights imply that the Jews are behind all of the "White people's ills". For example, it is suggested that the Jews create the racial tensions between whites and non-whites. The New Order Knights further suggest that

the Jews have a plan for "Aryan Extinction". The plan reads in such a manner, as to suggest it was instructional material given from a Jew, to a nonwhite participant. The

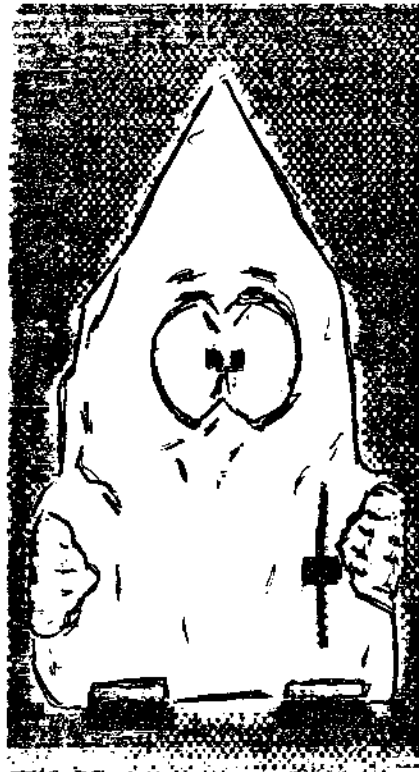
Plan reads:

1. Find a White Woman. 2. Charm this woman... into racial treason. 3. Breed with this traitor. 4. Thin out the White race. It is that simple... When a Non-Aryan man & a White woman have a child it will be Alien. This gives one more non-Aryan & one less White in the world. This gradual process will take a very serious toll on the white population, while increasing the non-Aryan population. (The New Order Knights- Realm of Texas, "Aryan Extinction Plan" 1999:4).

Another "enduring" facet in many Klan organizations is the belief in the International Jewish Conspiracy. The Conspiracy, as previously explained, stresses that the Jews are out to take over the world. While the belief in the "Conspiracy" is never openly stated, it is suggested at within various passages in the New Order Knights literature. For instance, when the New Order Knights use the term Z.O.G. (Zionist Occupied Government), they imply a government "infiltrated" with Jewish conspirators.

Finally, in terms of appearance, the New Order Knights undergo a distinct change when discussing subjects such as those mentioned above. The "playful mood" disappears and the cartoon like images are replaced with skull and cross bone images and flaming swastikas. Also the intermittent promotional statements change to those of a more aggressive style. several of these statements read: RACIAL PURITY IS AMERICAS SECURITY (The New Order Knights- International Web Page, "A message for the International Director" 1999:1); SAVE OUR LAND...JOIN THE KLAN (The New Order Knights-International Web Page, " Guest Forum" 1999:5).

Illustration 7: "Klan Cartman" from the New Order Knight's Spoof on the
Cartoon *South Park*



Source: The New Order Knights- International Web Page, "News Letter"
(1999:6)

Frame Extension

Frame extension refers to movements ability to "extend" their ideological concerns. Frame extension is undertaken in order to influence support from persons who might not initially give it.

The main objective of the New Order Knights is one that stresses the preservation of the white family, the white way of life, and overall white heritage. The New Order Knights argue that the government (under the influence of the Jews) is out to destroy their "white heritage". They claim that the government lacks concern for persons of Aryan decent. Further, the New Order Knights state that the needs of non-whites are given priority over the needs of whites. In general the New Order Knights feel as though their government has abandoned them, allowing injustice to befall them.

With this in mind, the New Order Knights extend the original frame of "white pride and preservation" to one which stresses fear and resentment of the government. The following passage is a support letter, expressing hate for the police. The New Order Knights print:

There once was a time when the Klan and the police got along as one big happy family. With the new breed of police they are forced to take racial classes, to love niggers, to take study lessons and literature from the Jewish A.D.L. (Anti-Defamation League) at the police academy... The new breed of police are sadistic and delight in cruelty against our White brothers and sisters and will violate the law when dealing with our people. The police will try to break us any way they can, and will- IF YOU LET THEM! We have a job to do, and they have no right to get in our way, and when they do - THEY become our enemy... (The New Order Knights- International Web Page, "News Letter" 1999:4)

Further they offer ways to deal with the government and their "police forces". The New Order Knights state:

1). Never trust the FBI, the police or any member of the so-called 'law enforcement'... 2). If detained unwillingly, ask if you are under arrest and what the charge is 3). If arrested, refuse to answer any questions and demand to see your lawyer. However, never trust your lawyer if he advises you to break any of these basic legal self-defense principles. 4). Keep quiet, suppress the urge to tell your side of the story. 5). Never plead guilty and never waive any of your rights. Do Not make any "deals". 6). Never allow them inside your home or your car without a search warrant. always demand to see the warrant. (The New Order Knights- International Web Page, "New Letter" 1999:4).

The New Order Knights offer yet more solutions to dealing with the police. They

write:

TRY AND DRESS IN CLOTHES THAT WILL NOT EXPOSE YOU AS A WHITE ACTIVIST OR CALL ATTENTION TO YOU!... try wearing street clothes or the very best clothes that you have. Example: White shirt and tie, or suit and tie. I remember a few years ago, I was... gluing White Pride flyers to stop signs, telephone poles... I looked just in time to see a police car... coming right toward me. I was wearing a suit and carried a clip board with an ink pen to write names of any new contacts.... To my surprise the police just slowed down and waved to me. They must have thought I was working for the city... I just waved back... and left. (The New Order Knights- International Web Page, "News Letter" 1999:4).

The New Order Knights further argue that "Z.O.G." (Zionist Occupied

Government) is out to get them by attacking their main method of informational

outreach -- their Internet sites. The New Order Knights argue that this attack is due to

several notions. First, they claim that the Jewish "conspirators" are using their power

to "pull" the white pride web sites off the Internet out of hate for whites. The new

Order Knights frequently use the following example to support the claim that Jews are

out to "get them". They state:

DON'T USE AOL SERVER FOR INTERNET. These dirty cowards pulled all of their White Pride web sites because of the requests of the Jewish A.D.L. (Anti-Defamation League) They still have all of their porn sites and other dirt and trash. Of course the Jewish A.D.L. had no opposition to that... (New Order Knights- International Web Page, " News Letter" 1999:6).

Second, the New Order Knights claim the Jews are simply filled with greed. They argue that the greedy Jewish conspirators "want part of the action" when it comes to Internet sites. They state sarcastically:

Our Government Hard at work for Your Benefit !!! Their greed continually amazes US... Congress is considering an "Internet Tax". The plan is that every time you log on to the internet through your internet service provider, the phone company would charge you the equivalent of a long distance call and remit that amount to the government. (The New Order Knights-International Web Page, "New Order Knights" 1999:3).

The New Order Knights believe that their government cares nothing for them. In continuance with this line of thinking it is implied that, as non-whites are shown "favor" from the government, the nation experiences a decline in morals and values. This falls in line with the new Order Knights basic belief that non-whites are inherently violent. It is argued that, as non-whites are given more "freedoms", they use this freedom to commit acts of rape and murder.

The New Order Knight's solution to this moral decline, it to leave it all behind. The New Order Knights urge people to move to the "New White City" They write:

[Vision a] New White City. Yes a City for White People to live in the environment they are Deserving without the influences, disturbances and Lunacy of the Depraved World of the Mongoloid, Negroid and ZOG controls imposed by their incompetent Rule. We are in the process of Organizing WHITE People of all abilities to help us build our Glorious White City. All will be welcome to live and work for the betterment of OUR Race and the Future of OUR Children ! (The New Order Knights- International Web Page, "New White City" 1999:1).

Further, while the city is in progress of being built, the New Order Knights write:

There is more and more interest every passing day from people in our WHITE CITY. We should be working on the city itself in about 2 and one half years. Until then we don't have to be targets for the black savages. Move to Overland, MO today. You can volunteer to help us get our work done and help us plan for our WHITE future. Jobs are easy here to find here and we

can keep the niggers out if we all come together until we make our move... Please come to Overland, MO. bring your wife and children, if you are a single White man or woman come and meet other single White men and women. We will protect you from harm with our own White men and women. (The New Order Knights- International Web Page, "News Letter" 1999:6).

The above passages show the extent of the distrust and disgust of the government on the part of the New Order Knights. It is reasonable to suggest that the New Order Knights hope that most white people agree with them. If so this makes the New Order Knights "transformation" goals worthwhile.

It is suggested that frame extension is enacted by the group to further influence potential supports. (Snow et al. 1986). Additionally, is suggested that a particular group extends its base after initial points of interest fail to draw movement support. This "extension" was witnessed when the initial group, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, were explored. The Knights were seen to move from a "name calling Klan" to one focusing on issues of religion and politics. There is some evidence to would seem to suggest that the extension brought more notoriety to the organization (Exhibited by the number of works published about the Knights, Zellner 1995; ADL 1996; Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997).

An examination of this current group, the New Order Knights, finds a base of support that is already large (e.g., issues of collective morality; government overbearing). This would seem to suggest that the New Order Knights have initiated several co-optation tactics when creating their organizational outreach programs. The next section, on Frame Transformation, will attempt to diagram several of these co-optation strategies.

Frame Transformation

Frame transformation refers to the redefining of activities and events. This includes the replacement of old values with new ones (Snow et al. 1986).

As explored in the previous case studies, a common transformation is in the use of language. The first group, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, transformed their use of language on several fronts. First, the Knights adopted the use of the term "nonwhite" to identify minority persons. Previous identifiers were quite verbally expressive (e.g., nigger, queer -From *The Torch* 1977 Vol.9/no.3). Second, the Knights transformed their "racial outlook" when they replaced the use of the term segregation with the term separation. In this light, separation refers to independence from other races, while segregation refers to dominance over the races. It was suggested that the Knights adopted these linguistic changes in order to appeal to a broader range of potential supporters. (Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1996; 1997).

When the New Knights were examined, this research showed an organization that was characterized by a lack of transformation. This research suggested that the New Knights exist as a reaction against the Knights. It was reported (see the section on the New Knights), that many persons who left the Knights, did so because they were dissatisfied with the group's "less radical" stance. Many of these disaffected persons went on to form their own organization. The New Knights is one such group. With this in mind, many of the "mainstreaming" tactics implemented by the Knights would be rejected.

The New Order Knights, on the other hand, exhibit no such hostility toward the Knights, or any Klan organization for that matter. The New Order Knights, in fact, seem to have co-opted several of the transformation tactics used by the Knights. For example, when identifying members of a minority group, the New Order Knights simply don't (They spend the time focusing on themselves), or they use the term "nonwhite". There are however, instances when the New Order Knights use more explicit terms (e.g., when referring to blacks as niggers- From The New Order Knights-International Web Page, "Newsletter" 1999:4). The Knights also prefer the use of the term separation, "[We believe] in racial separation." (The New Order Knights- Oklahoma Grand Dragons Page, "Principles" 1999:10).

While these instances seem to be minor examples of co-optation tactics, the following provide further evidence. The Knights write, " ... the Klan is based on LOVE not hate... The Klan... is not a hate group, but we are a LOVE group, we are a love group because we love America and we love our people." (This is the Klan- special issue of the White Patriot, no date. p.2). The New Order Knights write, "[The New Order Knights] is a LOVE organization, Love of our RACE." (The New Order Knights- International Web Page, "Guest Forum" 1999:4). These two groups are the only known Klan organizations that identify themselves as a love organization.

Moving now to a discussion of the organizations core statements, the two groups appear quite similar. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan state:

The Knights include women in its main organizational structure, rather than as a separate auxiliary unit... For public events, members of the Knights usually wear a security uniform consisting of a white shirt and black slacks.

Robes are usually reserved for ritual functions... The Klan does not condone violence. we do ,however, encourage self defense..." (kkk.com, "FAQ" 1998:1-3).

The New Order Knights follow:

We as other Klans do, do not wear our Robes in public but rather a Official Uniform. We wear the robes for ceremonies only... We also allow and encourage Women into our ranks and allow them the Respect and Responsibilities all our members have as Klanswomen and officers... We DO NOT Allow Violence in any shape, manor, means, or form from our members! We do allow self defense as everyone is allowed to protect them selves and repel attack." (The New Order Knights- International Web Page, "Guest Forum" 1999:4)

Table 3 also suggests additional similarities:

Table 3: Similarities in excerpts from the Knight's and the New Order Knight's "Mission Statements"

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
* Goal of Political Power	* Goal for White Civil Rights
* Appreciation and love of White Culture	* Racial Love
* Abolish Affirmative Action	* End Affirmative Action
* Stop the Flood of Illegal Immigration	* Controlled Immigration
Source: The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan- Home Page, "The Program" 1998:1-6	Source: The New Order Knights- International Web Page," Topics" 1999:1-2

Throughout this section I have emphasized the belief that the New Order Knights have co-opted strategies from the Knights to further their organizational development. As a final example of this belief I Note the following. The New Order Knights state:

Why are the New Order Knights different? We as the original Ku Klux Klan focus on White Civil Rights and do not require the study nor incorporate all of the Second era Klan's incorporation. (The New Order Knights- International Web Page, "Guest Forum" 1999:4). (underlined portion added).

This is a reaction against the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, in that the Knights require the study of Klan history in all its eras. The Knights are the only Klan

organization, as of this writing, that require persons to study Klan history in order to become a full member. (The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan- Home Page, "How to get Involved" 1988:1-3).

Following this "reactionary statement", there are other unique qualities that belong solely to the New Order Knights. As previously expressed, frame transformation, incorporates the adoption of new goals and strategies. This "adoption" of new goals is enacted to bring about additional support to the movements cause. The New Order Knights approach this transformation strategy with one encompassing goal: Total White Unity. The New Order Knights stress that there is too much dissension among "white pride" organizations. They urge the coming together of such groups in order to preserve "white heritage and culture".

On the subject of unity, the New Order Knights state, "We STRIVE for TOTAL ARYAN UNITY... We allow ALL Pro-White Groups to attend our Rallies for total White Unity... (The New Order Knights- International Web Page, "A message from the International Director" 1999:5). Further, The New Order Knights make their plea for unity world wide in scope. They write, " We STRIVE For TOTAL ARYAN UNITY throughout the WORLD! Not limited to the United States alone. We Invite and WELCOME ALL! " (The New Order Knights- Realm of Missouri, "New Order Knights MO." 1999:2) ... "We have members in Europe's, England, France, Spain etc... unlike some Klans who are only in the U.S. or even their state." (The New Order Knights- International Web Site, " A Message From The International Director 1999:3).

This world wide unification is approached in a very unique manner. It is implied, by the New Order Knights, that the key to unity is found in religious acceptance. The New Order Knights state, "Ours is not a religious order focusing on the subject as some Klans do, being so we allow all GOD Granted religions into our ranks and not only the Christian norm thus expanding our membership base to all countries of the White World." (The New Order Knights- International Web Page, "A Message From The International Director" 1999:2-3).

This acceptance of all religions is very contradictory to Klan ideology (particularly with the Klan groups of this study). Often Klan organizations promote a "Christian way is the only way" philosophy. The previous case studies give evidence to this notion, particularly in the organizations expression of "faith" in the Christian Identity Theology. The New Order Knights provide a oxymoron laden statement of beliefs. They strive for white unity through the separation of other races. Further, they state that religious differences are tolerated, while cultural differences are rejected. In other words the New Order Knights imply, "unity through separation" and an "acceptance of God with a rejection of people".

The next section, frame bridging, will briefly identify some of the New Order Knights "successes" in the drive for Klan unity.

Frame Bridging

Frame bridging refers to an instance in which a social movement attempts to link or attach itself to one or more movements. A movement "bridges" with another in an attempt to bring itself more credence, recognition, or support from the greater public.

In bridging it is implied that the two or more movements attach themselves in a "reciprocal" manner. A reciprocal manner among movements implies a sharing of ideas, and a networking of personnel (Snow et al. 1986). The New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan do share this reciprocal relationship. This cooperation however, exists with other Klan groups.

Often, Klan organizations will attempt to attach themselves to other movements that promote similar issues, but do not have the stigma associated with it, as the Klan does. The New Order Knights show no concern for being marked as a "stigmatized" organization. From an examination of their ideology, the New Order Knights feel as though their quest for white unity is proper and justified. Further it appears as though the New Order Knights have no problem in promoting other Klan groups which strive for the same goal. In fact, the New Order Knights appear to have a healthy relationship with the Knights of the White Kamellia, the final organization examined in this study. The New Order Knights write:

Five of our NEW ORDER KNIGHTS traveled to the Klan rally in Jasper, Texas to lend their support to the KNIGHTS OF THE WHITE KAMELLIA at their 4th annual HomeKoming of the Klans... Our members worked security for the rally and prevented any jew/communists from breaking though the thin line of policemen. (The New Order Knights- International Web Page, "New Letter" 1999:1).

The Knights of the white Kamellia, in an appreciation letter, write:

Dear [New Order Knights], I wanted to write to both thank and command [the] members that supported us at our 4th Annual HomeKoming of Klans... Your members were highly professional and brought great credit upon themselves, their organization, and the Klan as a whole. It was truly an honor to have them be a part of our rally... Your members truly practice Klan unity and brotherhood. This is the way things should be. The entire weekend was a weekend of Klannishness and brotherhood. I would like to personally

invite... your organization to next years HomeKoming... your members are always welcome. Please contact us if you ever need our support in any way, once again many thanks! (The New Order Knights- International Web Page, "News Letter" 1999:2).

As a final example of the New Order Knights dedication to white unity they offer a "links" section to other white pride organizations. The "links" section offers, in twelve pages, 69 web connections to other white pride sites (this excludes the sites belonging to the New Order Knights).

Conclusion

The New Order Knight's main ideological goal is the preservation of "white culture". It is implied by the New Order Knights, that white culture incorporates all the values, ethics, and morals that are recognized as being desirable. The New Order Knights contend that the American government has chosen to abandon the white race in favor of nonwhite cultures. The "abandonment" of whites and their needs and concerns, argues the New Order Knights, contributes to the decline in the moral fabric of society.

The New Order Knights attempt to counter this moral displacement with several methods. First, the New Order Knights suggest that the preservation of "the white way of life" will come with white unity. The New Order Knights make it their goal to reach out to other "white pride" organizations in an attempt to accomplish white unity. Second, and more radical, the New Order Knights make the creation of "White City" their future strategy in escaping the moral decline in society. Not much information exists on the subject of the "White City". It is however, spoken of as a type of "last

resort" in the New Order Knights literature. This radical style of thinking (in relation to the construction of a White City) is somewhat contrary to the presentation of self in the New Order Knights. The New Order Knights prefer to distance themselves from more radical modes of presentation (e.g., verbally attacking language). The New Order Knights, instead prefer to focus on tactics that promote their organization and their members (e.g., self-inspiration slogan reading, "Its all Right to be White").

This research suggests that the New Order Knights, in an attempt to "reach out" to a broader number of people, adopted a "less radical" mode of presentation. Further, this research suggests that the New Order Knights co-opted many of the more successful "transformation" strategies of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The final segment in this chapter will focus on the Knights of the White Kamelia. The Knights of the White Kamellia are the last Klan organization under examination in this study.

The Knights of the White Kamellia

The history of the Knights of the White Kamillia is one of a unique nature. The Knights of the White Kamellia appear to be a recent reincarnation of the original Knights of the White Camellia (The Knights of the White Kamellia- Michigan Realm, "History" 1999:1-3). The history of this particular Klan is surprising, in that, the Knights of the White Camellia were a Catholic Klan. David Duke reported, "... in the early days of the Klan there was a Ku Klux Klan organization in areas of the South with a heavy Catholic population, that was lead by Catholics: The Knights of the White Camellia." (The Torch 1975, Issue 7:4).

The name Camellia, itself, suggests some Catholic influence. The camellia is a flower plant named after, G. J. Kamel, a Jesuit traveler. (Webster's New World Dictionary 1990:87). Further, the camellia, is implied to be a symbol dedicated to the Virgin Mary, incorporating the notions of beauty and purity. (The Knights of the White Kamellia- Michigan Realm, "History" 1999:1).

The present day Knights of the White Kamellia mark their history as such:

The Knights of the White Camellia were originally founded in Franklin Louisiana, St. Mary Parish, on May 22, 1867... After the cannon fell silent and peace descended upon the battlefields of the War Between the States, the infamous, hideous chapter in American History Began- THE RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION... the Republican Congress plotted to put the White South under the heel of the newly freed Black South. To achieve this, it passed laws insuring ignorant Negroes and Carpetbagger Republicans the right to vote as well as hold political office, while Confederate heroes could not. Greedy Carpetbaggers swarmed out of the North to become the new "masters" of the newly freed slaves. The Knights of the White Camellia, pioneered the resistance to atrocious Reconstruction Acts... The Knights original purpose... was as follows: It's Principle objective is to protect neighborhoods and villages in case of an outbreak, created by Radicals among the Negroes. Another objective was to suppress any difficulty which might be brewing, to preserve order, and to act for the general interest of the neighborhood and country. (The Knights of the White Kamellia- National Headquarters, "History of the KWK" 1999:1).

Further the Knights of the White Kamellia report:

On December 14, 1993, near the city of Jennings Louisiana, approximately 40 patriots gathered on Bayou Nezpique. Their purpose, a glorious, honorable one, to recall the 126 year old, Knights of the White Camellia from it's slumber. These new founders, each having been members of various other Klan organizations, decided among themselves, that since their philosophy mirrored that of the original Knights of the White Camellia, this new revived organization would be Klan in nature, thus the name Kamellia spelled with a "K". (The Knights of the White Kamellia- National Headquarters, "History of the KWK" 1999:2).

It is not known if this current Klan is of a Catholic presence. It is suggested however, that with the revival of the name "Kamellia", the group had a religious intent behind their creation. The Knights of the White Kamellia do in fact make their image one of a religious organization. They stress that their existence is directed by God, and their mission of "white revival" is divinely inspired.

The following sections will present the framing of ideology within the Knights of the White Kamellia. Ideological beliefs will be sought out in the Knights of the White Kamellia Internet web pages.

The Frame Alignment Process-

Belief Amplification

Belief amplification refers to the expression of ideational statements which voice the core convictions of the group. This research focused specifically on beliefs that are expected to be "harmful toward antagonists". (Snow et al. 1986).

The beliefs of the Knights of the White Kamellia (KWK) resemble a "meshing" of the three previous groups: The Knights; The New Knights, and The New Order Knights. Much like the New Knights, the KWK focus on verbally attacking statements directed at minorities. The KWK, also like the New Knights, root many of their arguments in the Christian Identity Theology. The KWK appear like the New Order Knights in the way they express the belief in governmental abandonment. The KWK state, "... minority rights are placed high above white persons." (KWK-National Headquarters, "KWKHQ" 1999:3). Finally, the KWK appear to resemble the

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, in that their political goals appear to focus (if not co-opted) on the same issues. (This will be explored in the Frame Transformation section).

The belief systems of the KWK will be identified in the following manner: Beliefs about Minorities; Beliefs on following the "Christian Way"; Beliefs of Governmental Abandonment. First, the KWK's beliefs about minorities are explored.

Beliefs about Minorities

The KWK, much like the previous Klan organizations, make Blacks and Jews the center of their "debates". Within this section, the research will focus primarily on beliefs about Blacks. The KWK's beliefs about Jews will come to light in the sections on "Government Abandonment" and "Following the Christian Way". The Knights of the White Kamellia make their intentions clear when issues two through five of their "Platform and Ideologies" are read. The KWK write:

(2). Maintain and defend the superiority of the White race upon the continent. (3). At all times observe and maintain a marked difference between the White and Negro Race. (4). Use all LEGAL means necessary to prevent the political affairs of this country, in whole or in part, from falling into the hands of the Negro and or the ungodly. (5). To educate against the miscegenation of the races. (KWK- Headquarters, "Platform and Ideologies" 1999:5-6).

These "ideologies" serve as the base of the KWK's verbal attacks against Blacks. As with ideology number two, "the maintenance of white superiority", the KWK maintain that superiority derives from an inherent nature. Whites are suggested to be "chosen people", whereas Blacks are liken to animals. The KWK write:

Many people today are under the spell of the false doctrine of equality. This false doctrine of equality... is the bread and butter of the liberal doctrine. That all men are equal. All men are not equal. The liberals have done a great disservice to the Negro by teaching him this false equality concept. For example, I like to quote George Lincoln Rockwell in his Book WHITE POWER. He makes an analogy of the race horse versus the draft horse. If you take a draft horse, such as a Clydesdale. You give him the finest race horse food, stalls, blankets, etc. You pay for the finest trainers, the best race track to practice on. You do the best you can to make him feel like a true racing champion. Then, you enter him in a race. Down deep, the horse knows, he is a draft horse, the other horses know, he is not a race horse, but you have told him he is a race horse. He may accidentally win a race, but, he is really just a draft horse. This is exactly what the liberal do-gooders have done to the Negro. They have told him often enough that he is just like the Adamic Aryan Man, that he is a man as well, but, down deep, the Negro knows this is not true either. This is what makes the Negro so physically violent. He can't change what he is, a Negro, therefore he takes out his anger in physical violence... (The KWK- Head Quarters, "Equality" 1999:1).

Further, the KWK express:

During WWI, the Negroes in the US Army were responsible for more rapes than all the rest of the army in its entirety. This poses the question, Why are Negroes more prone to rape? The answer is a simple one and is answered by physiology. The Negro brain is approximately 22% smaller in size than the White Adamic Man's brain. The areas that are lacking in Negro's brain contain sections that exercise abstract thought processes, such as logic and reasoning, which include being able to think in future tense. This is precisely what happens when Negroes rape. They do not have the capacity to think about the consequences of their actions, in other words, they want sex now, and they will have sex now... the Negro cannot comprehend at that moment, what can be the results of these actions. (The KWK- National Headquarters, "Equality" 1999:1-2).

Much like the New Knights, The KWK imply that the White race is inherently superior, and the Black race inherently "different". In fact, many of the arguments against Blacks are identical to those expressed by the New Knights. When the New Knight's beliefs concerning Blacks were identified, three separate classification systems emerged. These systems were: Beliefs on Social Differences; Beliefs on Mental and Physical Inferiority; Beliefs of Violent Tendencies.

This research could easily create the same classification systems within the Knights of the White Kamellia (KWK). The KWK's verbal attacks against Blacks are so similar to those of the New Knights, that this research has chosen not to identify them here with a second printing. It is important to stress however, that the core of these belief systems lie in the notion that whites are believed to be superior in all physical and mental aspects. The next section will identify the KWK's beliefs of Governmental Abandonment.

Beliefs of Governmental Abandonment

The KWK, in similar fashion to the New Order Knights, express the belief that their government has abandoned them. They write, "Legislation... places minorities rights far ahead and beyond white persons." (The KWK- Headquarters, "KWKHQ" 1999:3). The KWK however, further this notion, by stressing that the government is "out to get them". In an editorial titled "Toward the Police State", the leader of the KWK writes:

Let us take the issue of a free society. We think here in America that we are free correct? Yet we allow our state, local, and federal governments to intrude and freely control almost every aspect of our lives, all in the interest of protecting us... Each and every day another law is passed that blatantly violates our civil rights and chips away at the very fabric of our Constitution, yet, not one person objects or dares speak out, God forbid someone criticize our government, or he will be branded by the Orwellian "Thought Police". What do we hear on the opinion control device known as a television? More laws, we need more and more laws and less freedom. The sad thing is most Americans sit idly by and allow this tragedy to occur... (The KWK Headquarters, "KWKHQ" 1999:1).

The author of the above passage concludes with the following:

When they came for my neighbor two doors down, I said nothing. When they came for my neighbor across the street, I did nothing. When they came

for my friend, I remained silent. When They came for me, I cried out help, I have rights, however, there was no one left to hear. (The KWK-Headquarters, "KWKHQ" 1999:1).

The KWK's fear of government oppression is quite strong in their literature. The KWK maintain that, an America filled with white oppression, is not the "real America". The real America, according to the KWK, is as follows:

You remember the Real America if you can remember... When riots were unthinkable; When you left your door open; When ghettos were neighborhoods... When you weren't afraid to go out at night... When a boy was a boy, and dressed like one; When a girl was a girl, and dressed like one... When the clergy actually talked about religion; When clerks and repairmen tried to please you... When songs had a tune, and the words made sense... When our government stood up for Americans anywhere in the world... When America was a land filled with brave, proud, confident, hardworking people. (The KWK- Realm of Michigan, "KKK Realm of Michigan" 1999:1-2).

The above passage continues for quite awhile, but essentially the KWK are expressing a fear of the destruction of a "white way of life". Further, the KWK equate the white way of life with the often heard phrase, "the good old days". The KWK stress that the government destroyed the "good old days" by showing favor to minority groups. The KWK express the belief that minorities, have inherent in them, vile and destructive characteristics. Minority groups, then, are argued to have changed the face of America because they contain none of the collective culture of the white race. The question follows next, Why did this occur? The answer according to the KWK lies in the Jews. The KWK express, "Our government and Media are controlled by Jews..." (KWK- Realm of Virginia, "Reality in Perspective" 1999:1).

It is implied that the Jews have worked their way into the top levels of government and media outlets. The KWK then suggest that the Jews are using these positions to give minorities "favored status". The reason behind "favored status" is to force the white and nonwhite races into competition . This competition then, leads to racial conflict. The KWK imply that racial conflict is the goal of the Jews, in order for them to gain total control of America.

The KWK write, "... there's an underlying current in our country and government that is trying to destroy our race... the Jews. (The KWK- Realm of Virginia, "Reality in Perspective" 1999:1). Further, the KWK state, "The Jews are destroying the [Black Race], yet they suck up to them like the mindless beasts they are... the Jews are destroying both races as fast as they can." (The KWK- Realm of Virginia, " Blacks More Violent" 199:2). The belief that the Jews pit the races against one another is common in Klan belief systems. Similar views were expressed, when the New Knights and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were examined.

Now, this research will turn to the final belief system identified here -- the belief in "Following the Christian Way".

"Following the Christian Way"

In the introduction to this particular group, it was stated that the KWK feel as though their creation was divinely inspired. The Knights of the White Kamellia continually speak as though God gave them instructions and it was their duty to carry them out. Speaking of their formation the KWK state:

The end of the War Between the States in April of 1865 marked the beginning of a terrible time of trouble for the citizens of the southern states. This infamous period of American history is known as the Reconstruction Period... It was out of these dismal conditions that just and decent men of honor came together forming the Ku Klux Klan... Today we are seeing history repeating itself. Our land is once again being destroyed by the same treason only this time it is affecting the nation as a whole. Now, even as it was then, when the original Klansmen rode over the hills of the south, we will begin again, with a few courageous souls who are willing to stand up against the real enemy. We *will* be able to make a difference. The word of God tells us. You are the light of the world. A city set on a hill cannot be hid. Nor do men light a lamp and put under a bushel, but on a stand, and it gives light to all in the house. It is therefore our greatest desire... that others... join us... toward the final victory through White Christian Revival. (The KWK-realm of Texas, "KKK, Realm of Texas" 1999:1-2). (Underline added).

Further, the KWK write:

Therefore, the great calling of our movement is to secure the preservation, protection and advancement of the White race... The Knights of the White Kamellia... is preparing for the coming disorder that will test the very survival of the White race and White Christian ideals. We are now committed to the service of our race, our culture, our Christian faith, and our children, We are the new Elite- of promised ancient blood; the men and women of Race and Honor! (The KWK- Realm of Texas, "KKK. Realm of Texas-KWK" 1999:3) (Underline added),

Throughout the KWK's web sites a similar approach is taken. It is implied that God has chosen the KWK to return his people to him. God's people in this case, are the White Aryan race. It is with this, then, that the beliefs of the Christian Identity Theology are reintroduced. Christian Identity, in brief, is a religious movement claiming Anglo-Saxons as God's chosen people (Zellner 1995). Within the Christian Identity framework, nonwhite races are considered to be "mud people and are believed to be on the same level as animals" (Zellner 1995:49).

The belief in the Christian Identity Theology appears to be quite strong within the KWK. For example, when speaking of the bible, the KWK write, " The Bible. This

holy book, of divine origin, is the inspired Word of God. It chronicles the history, discusses the present condition, and details the glorious future reign with Him, of his chosen people, the White Aryan Race. "The KWK -Realm of Texas, "Klan Traditions" 1999:1).

The KWK take a very fundamental and aggressive approach in the "preaching" of their religious beliefs. The KWK write:

THE BAD NEWS: You are a sinner... You have God's Word on it... You will die and be cast into the lake of Fire because of your sin... You have God's Word on it... THE GOOD NEWS: God does not want you to perish... You have His Word on it... God saves you forever when you believe on Jesus Christ... You have His word on it... IT IS YOUR DECISION: You must turn from 'Your Way' and turn to Jesus Christ to save you... You have God's Word on it. (The KWK- Realm of Michigan, "Door to the Invisible Empire" 1999:1-2).

Further, this "acceptance of God" later equates to an acceptance of the "word of God". By this, the KWK mean that we have to strictly obey God's commandments. God's commandment, then, mean being faithful to your race. The KWK state:

There are many... scriptures that speak out against mixing of the races, however there are none that condone or support it. Unfortunately, an ever growing number of people would rather follow society, than the word of God... Our society is in turmoil. Our children learn from societies example. This example tells our children that it's all right to mix. IT'S NOT!... Society is on a downhill spiral. A majority of people have lost their moral values. We are told it's acceptable to mix the races. Not only is this morally wrong, naturally wrong and sickening, it's also against God's will. God made us separate for a reason. Who are we to change his creation? Mixing alters Gods creation and destroys society. If God had intended us to be one mud race, he would have made us that way. Gods word is clear. (The KWK- Realm of Virginia, "Ku Klux Klan" 1999"2).

The KWK also infuse religious items into their presentation. It seems more proper to say however, that they infused religion into the items they present. The KWK

present seven religious symbols: The Bible; The Cross; The Flag; The Sword; The Water; The Robe; The Hood. It is not known if the number of symbols, those being seven, are "religiously" modeled (e.g., In Christian theology the number seven is supposed to be the number of days God took to create the world). It is reasonable to suggest however, that this is the case. The KWK write:

The Bible. In the Bible the Klan finds a perfect system of government and practical guides for everyday living... The Cross... It is the Klan's symbol of perfect sacrifice and unlimited service to our race... The Flag. The flag of the United States of America.. It represents the greatest system of government that man has ever devised and it is the banner under which our constitutional guarantees our God given rights... The Sword... represents justice and the enforcement of law... the laws of God... There may be looming on the horizon a time when the sword is all that will prevent the extinction of the White Race... The Water. The Water is the most precious substance on earth and without it the planet would be desolate and lifeless... The water is representative of the White Race... The Robe... is an earthly representation of the robe of righteousness that all Klansmen will one day wear in eternity as "priests and kings unto our God"... The Hood... We wear the mask out of obedience to [God's] command to remain anonymous while doing good works. (The KWK- Realm of Texas, "Klan Traditions" 1999:1-3).

As a final example of the KWK's intent to identify themselves as a religious organization, this research prints their creed (The creed is also the KWK's number one political goal and Ideological goal), The KWK write:

We, the Knights of the White Kamellia, Ku Klux Klan, reverently acknowledge the Majesty and Supremacy of Jesus Christ, and recognize His goodness and Divine providence. Furthermore, we recognize our relationship to Him as the sons and daughters of the living God. We recognize, America as the re-gathering place of His people and before Him we humbly bow and give thanks. We stand upright, and lift our faces to God our father, recognizing that this nation was founded a White nation upon His purpose recorded in Holy Writ, and to these principles we submit ourselves. (The KWK- Realm of Texas, "KKK, Realm of Texas-KWK" 1999:2).

Frame Extension

Frame Extension refers to the movements ability to "extend" their ideological concerns. Frame extension is undertaken in order to influence support from persons who might not initially give it.

In the minds of the Knights of the White Kamellia (KWK) their main objective is the service of God. The KWK argue that this service is carried out within the "... service to our race, our Christian faith, and our children." (The KWK- Realm of Texas, "KKK- Realm of Texas KWK" 1999:3). Further, the KWK state, "The Knights of the White Kamellia... is preparing for the coming disorder that will test the very survival of the white race and white Christian ideals" (The KWK- Realm of Texas, "KKK- Realm of Texas KWK" 1999:3).

What is this "coming disorder" that the KWK speak of? It appears that the KWK fear the coming of the next millennium, or the year 2000 (Y2K for short). More specifically, the KWK fear the computer crashes associated with Y2K. First, I will let the Knights of the White Kamellia explain the computer problems associated with Y2K. The KWK print:

Here is the problem. Over three decades ago, computer programmers who wrote main frame computer software saved disk space -- in those days, very valuable space -- by designating year codes as two-digit entries: 67 instead of 1967, 78 instead of 1978, etc. Back then, saving this seemingly minuscule amount of disk space seemed like an economically wise decision. This may prove to be the most expensive forecasting error since Noah's flood. What the programmers ignored for three decades is this: in the year 2000, the two digits will be 00. The computer will sit there, looking for a year. At midnight, January 1, 2000, every mainframe computer using unrevised software dies. If old acquaintances are in the computer, they will indeed be forgot. (The KWK- Realm of Michigan, "Blind Man" 1999:2).

With the world's reliance on computers, the fear is that if the computers do fail, bank records will be lost, power grids will shut down, nuclear missiles will fire, etc. The more "hyper" fearful suggest that these instances will in fact be the case. The KWK express:

... Americans could wake up January 1, 2000 to find the military's weapons dead, the nations airliners grounded, and government assistance check a thing of the past... Banks will fail, supermarket computer cash registers will not function, gas-station computer cash registers will not work, no pension checks, no [Social Security] checks, no transportation delivers of all goods... by air, rail, or truck will not move. Nothing!!... U.S. Banks are dependent on doomed foreign banks. There will be a global liquidity lock-up. The oncoming Y2K meltdown will make the 1929 crash look like a picnic. MAKE PREPARATION TO SURVIVE NOW... FOOD AND PROTECTION / AND TO AWAKEN AS MANY OTHERS AS YOU CAN!! TIME IS VERY SHORT!! (The KWK- Realm of Michigan, "y2K" 1999:2-3).

The KWK are very serious about this issue. With their web sites, the KWK provide four separate collections of Y2K related material. One such collection is a 17 page Y2K survival guide. (The KWK- Realm of Michigan, Individual preparation for Y2K" 1999:1-17),

Finally, within these Y2K information packets, the KWK express a great concern for "getting the word out". They write, "E-mail this report to anyone you care about." (The KWK- Realm of Michigan, "Blind Man" 1999:8). "Please e-mail this information to anyone and everyone on your e-mail address systems or separate, or download, or copy, print and/or pass out to anyone who will take the to read this most important information for their own safety and for the safety of their loved ones." (The KWK- Realm of Michigan, "y2K" 1999:1). Much like the New Knights, the KWK express a great "concern" about the approaching millennium. The New Knights

discuss the matter as if they were letting their fear be known -- as a type of psychological release. The KWK, on the other hand, seem to be using this fear to scare people into accepting their religious beliefs.

The KWK take this fear and use it as a type of evangelical device. They seem to be trying to take "their word" to the people, and this "word" is stated in simple terms. The KWK imply, "Believe as we believe, and you will go to heaven; Choose to ignore us and you will go to hell" (The KWK- Realm of Michigan, "Door to the Invisible Empire" 1999:1-2). With this in mind, the KWK's doctrinal statements within the Christian Identity Theology are examined. The KWK state:

WE BELIEVE the entire bible, both Old and New Testaments, as originally inspired, to be the inerrant... Word of God. The history, covenants, and prophecy of this Holy Book were written for and about a specific elect family of the people who are children of YHVH God (Luke 3:38; Psalm 82:6) through the seed line of Adam... WE BELIEVE that the Man ADAM (a Hebrew word meaning: ruddy, to show Blood, flush, turn rosy) is father of the White Race only... WE BELIEVE the White, Anglo-Saxon, Germanic and kindred people to be God's true, literal Children of Israel. Only this race fulfills every detail of Biblical Prophecy and Word History concerning Israel and continues in these latter days to be the heirs and processors of the Covenants, Prophecies, Promises and Blessings YHVH God made to Israel. This chosen seedline making up the "Christian Nations" (Gen. 35:11; Isa. 62:2; Acts 11:26) of the earth stands far superior to all other peoples in their call as God's servant race (Isa.41:8,, 44:21; Luke 1:54)... (The KWK- Realm of Michigan, "Christian" 1999:1-4).

Further the KWK write:

WE BELIEVE that the United States of America fulfills the prophesied (II Sam. 7:10; Isa. 11:12; Ezek. 36:24) place where Christians from all the tribes of Israel would be re-gathered. It is here in this blessed land (Duct. 15.6, 28:11, 33:13-17) that God made a small one a strong nation (Isa. 60:22)... to which God brought the dispersed seed of Israel, the land between two seas (Zech. 9:10), surveyed and divided by rivers (Isa. 18:1-2, 7), where springs of water and streams break out and the desert blossoms as the rose (Isa. 35:1, 6-7)... WE BELIEVE in an existing being known as the Devil or Satan and a

being called the Serpent (Gen. 3:1; Rev. 12:9), who has a literal "seed" or posterity in the earth (Gen. 3:15) commonly called Jews today (Rev. 2:9, 3:9; Isa. 65:15)... (The KWK- Realm of Michigan, "Christian" 1999:1-4).

Throughout the Knights of the White Kamellia's web sites, they preach as if the end times are near. They imply that the only way to be saved from the "coming disaster" is to join them in their cause. The Knights of the White Kamellia have extended their original objective of "being faithful to God" by incorporating notions of "preaching to the people". The KWK have attempted to further the acceptance of the Christian Identity Theology, by playing on the fear associated with Y2K and the Millennium. The following section will examine frame transformation strategies within the Knights of the White Kamellia.

Frame Transformation

Frame transformation refers to the redefining of activities and events. This includes the replacement of old values with new ones (Snow et al. 1986). It is implied that transformation tactics are undertaken when an organization fails to draw support based its original statement of beliefs (Snow et al. 1986).

Successful transformation tactics often give the particular organization a larger base of support to pull from. An example of a "somewhat" successful transformation lay in the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. It was suggested that the Knights were able to influence interest in their case by toning down their verbal attacks (Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1996,1997). The Knights were able to change, from an organization that used its energies verbally attacking opponents, to one striving for political power.

Within the KWK, they show no concern for "toning down" their rhetoric. The KWK are quite verbally explicit in their beliefs about non-whites and other "enemies".

In this instance then, the KWK are characterized by a lack of transformation.

Transformation however, also incorporates changing goals. Since the recent history of the KWK is not well known, it is difficult to determine if the KWK have changed any of their stated goals. It is interesting nonetheless, that the KWK have a printed political platform. It is suggested here that the KWK have adopted a political platform, in a attempt to appear like something more than a "name calling Klan". It is further suggested that these political goals are co-opted creations of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. (see Table 4)

Table 4: Similarities between the excerpts of the Knight's and the Knights of the White Kamellia's Political Platforms.

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	Knights of the White Kamellia
* The Recognition that America was founded as a White Nation	* The Recognition the America was founded as a Christian Nation
* Repeal the NAFTA and GATT treaties	* Repeal The NAFTA and GATT treaties given to us the Democrats and Republicans...
* Put America FIRST in all foreign matters	* Put America FIRST in all foreign matters
* Put American troops on our boarders to STOP the flood of illegal aliens	* Put American troops on our boarders to STOP the flood of illegal aliens
* Balance the Budget. Just as any family must balance their budget so must the Federal Reserve	* The Congress should be required to balance the budget just as any family must do to run a house hold efficiently
Source: The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan- National Headquarters, "The Program" 1999:1-6.	Source: The KWK- Realm of Texas, "Political Goals of the White Supremacist" 1999:1-4.

From what few excerpts are listed, the similarity is striking. (Please note that the similarities continue on as the passages are read throughout). It is also interesting to note that Thom Robb, current leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, copyrighted his political platform in 1991. (The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan- National Headquarters, "The Program" 1999:6). The Knights of the White Kamellia, on the other hand, did not exist until 1993. (The KWK- National Headquarters, "History" 1999:1).

Frame Bridging

Frame bridging refers to an instance in which a social movement attempts to link or attach itself to one or more movements. A movement "bridges" with another in an attempt to bring itself more credence, recognition, or support from the greater public.

In bridging it is implied that two or more movements attach themselves in a "reciprocal" manner. A reciprocal manner among movements implies a sharing of ideas and a networking of personnel. (Snow et al. 1986). In the Knights of the White Kamellia, this reciprocal element appears to be nonexistent, except with other Klan organizations (Please see the Frame Bridging section in the segment on the New Order Knights).

Often, Klan organizations will attach themselves to other movements that promote similar issues, but do not have the stigma associated with it, as the Klan does. As of this writing, the KWK do not appear to be "attaching" themselves to any non-Klan related organizations. The KWK do however, seem to be promoting notions of Klan

unity. The KWK write, " ... we are all looking forward to our annual pilgrimage... hosted by the North Georgia White Knights and the Southern Cross Militant Knights and the Knights of the White Kamellia. We encourage all white patriots to try and attend our rally... All Legitimate Klan Organizations and Patriots are welcome! (The KWK- Headquarters, "Wizard's Page" 1999:1-2).

The "practice" of Klan unity was also the emphasis of the New Order Knights. In a gesture of such unity the New Order Knights offered 69 different web links to other "white pride" related organizations -- which included a link to the Knights of the White Kamellia. The Knights of the White Kamellia, however, did not return the gesture, nor did they offer links to any other "white pride" organization.

Conclusion

Within the Knights of the White Kamellia (KWK) they stress that their organization is that of a religious order. The KWK approach their organization's creation as though it were divinely inspired. Further, they state that their purpose in creation is to serve the following of God's commandments: The preservation of the White Race.

The KWK contend that preservation efforts are in order, because the white race is in danger of becoming extinct. This extinction argument carries several notions. First, the KWK claim that whites are being abandoned by their government. It is stressed that the government no longer cares for the needs of whites. The reason behind this, argue the KWK, lay in the Jews. Within Christian Identity (the KWK's adopted

religious philosophy), Jews are argued to be "spawned of the Devil", bent on world domination. The KWK claim that the Jews have worked their way into positions of power in the government and media. The Jews then, use these power positions to "pit" the races against one another, so that they may stealthily take control.

Second, the KWK argue that this increased "governmental abandonment", combined with Y2K and other millennial fears create a climate in which "something grave" is going to happen. In continuance with the KWK's religious presentation, they state that this "grave" time frame will be a period in which "white culture" will come under its greatest attack. The KWK stress that white people must come together to fight the "evils" that are about to confront them.

The White Kamellia do in fact present themselves as a religious organization, however, this research argues that many of the issues mentioned here are enacted to gain recruits. It appears that the KWK are "playing" on the fears of people, in relation to these millennial issues, in order to get people to join them. It should be interesting to see if, and or how, such "recruitment tactics" change after the year 2000 arrives.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY & CONCLUSION

This research has explored the ideology of the Modern Ku Klux Klan Movement in American society. Research focused on four existing Ku Klux Klan organizations. These organizations are: The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; The New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; The Knights of the White Kamellia.

Based on these examinations, this research will now identify the broad, overarching ideological themes found within. As stated in the beginning of this study, the modern Klan denotes a movement directed at informational outreach. Such an outreach takes various forms. This research has identified four major themes of informational production within the modern Klan movement. These themes are identified as: Governmental Abandonment; Hatred for Minorities; Jewish Control; Adoption of the Christian Identity Theology. These themes will be identified separately, then reflections on organizational style and leadership will be noted. Following the aforementioned, the limitations of this study will be addressed, and avenues for future research will be explored. First, the governmental abandonment theme is discussed.

Governmental abandonment, in general, refers to the belief that the American government has abandoned the needs and concerns of persons of the white race.

Within the modern Klan movement, these abandonment beliefs appear to be the core issue of importance and the primary reason for movement participation. All other ideological beliefs (e.g., Hatred of minorities, Jewish control) serve as a reaction against governmental abandonment. These other beliefs, are enacted, in order to make sense of the abandonment issue. Previous studies have suggested that poor economic conditions, and the resulting decline of economic opportunities are the key factors in producing Klan movement participation (Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1991; 1997).

This study, having identified the abandonment issue, offers a counter to such notions. This study has presented evidence to suggest that America, in its current state, is in strong economic shape (see chapter 1). Likewise, this research has supplied evidence to suggest that movement participation is a direct result of culturally constructed fears -with the main fear being- governmental abandonment. Within the abandonment theme, the Klan presents the following argument:

- America was founded as a white nation
- America has had a white majority for over 200 years
- As a result of the first two notions, America has developed a common "white culture"
- This white culture, then, incorporates all the values, morals, ethics that are considered desirable
- This white culture is under attack
- The result of recent generation social changes concerning minorities (e.g., civil rights movement) has left the government fearful of social disturbances (e.g., riots, protests) that resulted, in part, to these social changes
- As such, the government is overly concerned with meeting the needs of non-whites, resulting in the abandonment of the needs of whites
- Since the majority of Americans are white, the abandonment they feel, results in broad apathy. This apathy, combined with the acceptance of nonwhite culture, results in the decline in the practice of the "common" culture. Further, the abandonment of a common culture results in the decline in the practice of "old fashioned" morals, values, ethics.
- Great fear is expressed as to where this "decline" will lead

It is important to note that the above passage is a "rough sketch" of the beliefs expressed within all the examined Klan organizations. The above is not a word for word statement, it is simply an implied generalization.

The various groups offered varied solutions to the abandonment issue. Within all groups, the initial, and most readily available solution is informational outreach. Common, within most of these web sites, is the urging for white people to "wake up" and realize the aforementioned situation. The hope, apparently, is to motivate white people into some kind of collective action. Other solutions however, are expressed. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan offer "hope" in political aspirations. They state that they are the political party for the overlooked white population. The Knight's entire organization is structured in such a method as to further this political cause; their rallying cry being, "Rights for Whites". The New Order Knights on the other hand, seek a solution in withdraw. In their literature they speak of the creation of a "White City" in which they can live away from "the nonwhite, immoral world". The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and Knights of the White Kamellia express no directed planning, other than within informational outreach. The belief has been expressed, by these particular organizations, that their government cares nothing for them. The next section examines the factors from which governmental abandonment is believed to have arisen -- minority preferential treatment.

Hatred for Minorities

Within the modern Klan movement verbal attacks on minorities exist because, (1)- the needs of non-whites are believed to get priority over the needs of Whites, and

(2)- minorities are believed to interfere in a common "white culture". In terms of "minority priority", the Klan argues that the government "shows" minorities favor, in part, out of a fear of violent backlash. (The other part of this argument is discussed in the "Jewish Control" section). The Klan argues that minority groups, particularly Blacks, have a violent history in America. The Klan uses examples of race rioting and violent protest to support this claim. Such arguments tie into the second component -- the belief that minorities "interfere" in white culture.

First and foremost, minorities are viewed as being inferior to whites. Speaking again of Blacks, the Klan argues that they are animalistic in nature (e.g., aggressive, violent, overtly sexual). Further, the Klan argue that these characteristics are part of "Black culture". White culture on the other hand is represented by the practice of all cherished American values, morals, and ethics. It is stressed, that since the government shows priority to minorities, the same favor is granted to their culture. Thus, as the Klan claims, America has incorporated an "animalistic culture" into her being, resulting in the moral decline in American society.

The solutions offered to combat this "moral decline" are the same mentioned in the previous section. All four groups promote informational outreach in the hopes of gathering support for a "white" collective action. The Knights continue to promote their political goals, while the New Order Knights further their "White City" dreams. The New Knights and the Knights of the White Kamellia have no directed action other than in their verbal attacks on minorities.

Jewish Control

It was expressed in the previous section that the Klan, in part, believes minorities are granted "favor" from a fearful American government. The second "part" to this belief arises in the notion that the Jews are the ones orchestrating the riots, protests, etc. This notion is known as the International Jewish Conspiracy. In this belief, Jews are seen as a manipulative controlling race bent on world domination. It is common belief, within the Klan, that Jews have infiltrated major power positions within the government and the media. Jews, then, use these power positions to put the races at odds with one another.

The Klan claims that Jews initially "brainwashed" the Blacks into thinking they were oppressed. Now, the Klan stresses that the Jews are using these same brainwashing tactics (most often accomplished through "Jewish controlled media"), to influence the white population into "self destruction". The Klan argues that white self destruction is accomplished through race mixing, and the adoption of "black culture". They claim that the Jews have developed these self destruction strategies in order to promote racial conflict. Racial conflict, then, distracts the whites and blacks from realizing the Jewish plot of total domination, "until it's too late".

The solutions offered by the Klan are really none, other than the hope in waking America up to this "fact". The media industry is seen as being too large to take on. The Klan however find hope in God, and Christian identity. These beliefs are explored in the following section -- the adoption of the Christian Identity Theology.

The Adoption of The Christian Identity Theology

The Christian Identity Theology, as interpreted here, argues three notions. First, White Aryan people (e.g., European, Germanic, Scandinavian, Celtic, etc.) are perceived to be the "true" Israelites spoken of in the Bible. Second, America is regarded as the "promised land" offered from God to his chosen people, the White Aryans. Third, the Jews are considered to be "spawned" of the Devil, whose intent is the destruction of White Aryan race.

This research argues, that the prevalence in the adoption of the Christian Identity Theology is a type of a "last line of defense". In other words, the Klan, and more specifically it's members, feel as though they have no options left. It has been expressed that the Klan feels as though their government cares nothing for them. They fear the destruction of their way of life. Further, in an attempt to make sense of what they see as a moral decline in America, they turn to God for an answer. Christian Identity gives a sense a power to those who had none before; it gives them God on their side.

Three out of the four Klan organizations examined here openly mention belief and practice in the Christian Identity Theology. The only group that did not express belief in Christian Identity was the New Order Knights. The New Order Knights, in fact, present a very unique take on religion. They state that all "God granted" religions are welcome into the New Order Knights. This includes all Christian and non-Christian religions. It is highly doubtful, however, that members of a Jewish faith would be allowed in to their organization. This assumption is based of the notion that the New

Order Knights express belief in the International Jewish Conspiracy.

The two groups that were most vehement in the practice of Christian Identity are the New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the Knights of the White Kamellia. These two groups were also the most "radical" in terms of verbal attacks on their opponents. The third group that expresses Christian Identity beliefs, are the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The current leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is a Christian Identity promoter, and he was most vocal on the subject early in his "career". Now, however, this rhetoric appears to be downplayed in order to promote political goals. This, then, leads into a discussion of the presentational styles offered by the various groups.

Presentation of Self

In an examination of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, this research identified an organization that appears to have had a "hand" in the creation of all the other organizations studied here. The Knights have proven to be quite a durable organization. This research has examined the organization from its initial period of notoriety to the present day. Within this time period, the Knights have survived numerous defections, and still appear to be the leading Klan organization in terms of size and appearance. The Knights initial status began, as what this research has labeled, a "name calling Klan". By this, it is meant that the bulk of the organizations energies were focused on verbally attacking perceived enemies (e.g., Blacks, Jews).

However, as time progressed and as new leaders emerged, new goals and strategies were adopted. The Knights moved from a "name calling" Klan to one focusing on

broader issues (e.g., politics, economics). Under its current leadership the Knights have "mainstreamed" its presentation in order to appeal to the general public. With this evolution of sorts (moving from a "name calling" Klan to a "mainstreaming" Klan), this research has identified a possible model for Klan organizational development. The second organization, the New Knights, appear to fit into this model under the name calling stage.

The New Knights are a reaction against the "mainstreamed" version of the Knights. As previously mentioned, the Knights experienced several defections. The New Knights appear to be an organization created out of these defections. The New Knights are dissatisfied with the Knights "less radical" presentation. As such, the New Knights come across as a very verbally attacking organization, or a "name calling" Klan. This research has argued that the New Knights are struggling within this mode of presentation. Further, it is argued that, unless the New Knights adopt some "less radical" issues, the organization will cease to exist.

The third group, the New Order Knights, like the New Knights are recently created Klan organizations (The Knights have existed since the 1950s while the two aforementioned groups are creations of the latter half of the 1990s). With the New Knights being a recent manifestation of the Klan, it was reasonable to suggest that the organization would fall into the "name calling" bracket. The New Order Knights, being even a younger group, were expected to be characterized in the same manner. This however, was not the case. The New Order Knights were near the same level of presentation as the current day Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The New Order Knights

are a very "mainstream" organization.

This research argued that the New Order Knights co-opted several of the "mainstreaming strategies" enacted by the Knights. This research gave multiple pieces of evidence, in attempt to support this argument. This then, is were the Knights had a hand in the New Order Knights creation. The Knights, unknowingly, supplied guidance to the New Order Knights in their organization creation.

The final organization, the Knights of the White Kamellia, appear to be "two-thirds" a name calling Klan, and "one-third" a co-opted hybrid of the Knights. The Knights of the White Kamellia spend the majority of their time verbally attacking opponents. However, the Knights of the White Kamellia have adopted a few non-attacking notions. These examples are found within their political platform presentations. These political statements, incidentally are nearly identical to the earlier created political platform of the Knights. This research suggests that the Knights of the White Kamellia are a name calling Klan, who have adopted (co-opted) a few strategies in order not to look like a "name calling" Klan.

Within this study, it appears that the organizations that focus more on attacking issues (e.g., stereotypical slander) are less successful in garnishing public support. The organizations that focus more on broader issues that affect the greatest number (e.g., political issues), appear to be more successful in gathering support. The logic is, that verbally attacking issues reach the "radical", while more relevant issues find support in the broader, general community. This research will now review the impact of the leadership position on the organizations examined within this study.

Leadership

This research has examined the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; The New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; The New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and The Knights of the White Kamellia. It is argued that the organizations examined here, are products of their leaders. This research has attempted to show that the leaders concerns, goals, desires are the concerns, goals and desires of the group. In other words, the groups presentation of self, is the leaders presentation of self.

In the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, three major leadership periods were examined. These periods occurred under the rule of David Duke, Don Black, and Thomas Robb. Under Duke's rule, the Knights were a verbally attacking organization, which matched Dukes personality at the time. Duke did however, incorporate notions which brought notoriety to the group (e.g., allowing Catholics to join, letting women hold leadership positions). These tactics are said to be suggestive of his flamboyant style.

Under Don Black's rule, the Knights focused more on countering "unfavorable" governmental programs (e.g., gun control, affirmative action). The Knights attack on these issues, seem to be products of Don Black's own anger toward the government. Don Black, after all, was arrested for plotting to invade the island of Dominica and establish his own government.

Thom Robb, the current leader of the Knights, is a Southern Baptist minister, and a noted Christian Identity promoter. With this in mind, the Knights adopted the label of a "Christian organization" and began to tackle religiously oriented issues (e.g., abortion, school prayer).

Turning now to the New Knights, this research finds its founding members to be those dissatisfied with the Knights "less radical" approach. As such, the New Knights offer the "most radical" presentation of self, in term of verbal attacks. The Knights of the White Kamellia too present themes present in its leader. Their leader, like Thom Robb, is also a minister (of some religious order), and his organization is presented as a type of religious organization. Not much information is known about the leader of the New Order Knights, however, based on the above examples, it is reasonable to suggest that his organization reflects his personality.

These examples serve to illustrate that the leaders of these particular organizations are vastly important in the groups overall makeup. It is suggested that most of "these type" of organizations are put together very loosely. The members who belong to these group do so in a secondary existence. In other words, members belong to the group as they would in a civic organization, or a club. Group membership is of a voluntary status, and as such it is dependent upon the leader to keep the group together and active. Further, it is suggested that if one wishes to "know" the group, one might first get to know its leader. The limitations of this study are addressed next.

Limitations to this Study and Avenues for Future Research

This research's main concern was the identification of ideological beliefs within the modern Ku Klux Klan movement. This was accomplished by analyzing selected Ku Klux Klan Internet web sites, and publications. This study was modeled in such a way as to examine the presentation of ideology from "afar". This distance method helped to characterize the style of presentation offered to the general public. This however, is

where the study's main limitation comes into play. The presentation of the group, as portrayed on the Internet, may be quite different from the presentation offered in "real life".

Future studies may help alleviate this problem. A study which offers a first hand account of the "goings on" within this Klan culture may prove insightful. Such a study would serve to support or negate the conclusions offered here.

APPENDIX
SAMPLE CODING KEY

Sample Coding Key

Using Lofland and Lofland (1995) and Snow et al. (1986) as a guide, the following are "coding" used to identify basic themes within the Ku Klux Klan's Internet sites and publications.

Belief Amplification - (The identification of important issues)

- White Pride talk / Love talk- issues expressing favor for the white race
- Hate Talk -Issues that are derogatory in nature, directed toward non-whites, homosexuals, etc.
- Grievance Issues- Issues that are prevalent in the literature that deal with the white race, not political, economic, or religious in nature
- Instances of Native Language, as described by Spradley (1980)

Frame Extension - (Issues beyond beliefs of white superiority, or nonwhite inferiority)

- Issues of a Political, Economic, or Religious matter

Frame Transformation - (Changes in belief statements and/or changes in extension tactics)

- Changes in the use of language
- Changes in missions statements; goals; directives, etc.

Frame Bridging- (Attachment to other movements, groups, or organizations)

- Attachment to "non-Klan" movements (e.g., National Rifle Association, Republican Party)
- Attachment to "Klan-like" movements (e.g., The John Birch Society)

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