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HATE SPEECH SYMBOLS ON THE INTERNET: AN ETHNOLOGY IN
SEMIOTICS

A Thesis

Presented to the

Department of Communication

and the

Faculty of the Graduate College

University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

University of Nebraska at Omaha

By

LaTosha Zenee' Dale

May, 2001

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HATE SPEECH SYMBOLS ON THE INTERNET: AN ETHNOLOGY IN
SEMIOTICS

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University of Nebraska, 2001

Advisor: Dr. Michael Sherer

This study investigated whether the definitions of symbols on the Internet are consistent with the historical definitions. Six web sites were viewed: (skinheads.net, k-k-k.com, resist.com, stormfront.org, creator.org, and whitepride.com) Ten symbols found within these sites were used for this study: arrow, blood, cross, dragon, eagle, fire, lightning, skull, swastika, and wolf. Definitions of the symbols were taken from three texts: Dictionary of symbols: An Illustrated Guide to Traditional Images, Icons, and Emblems, by Jack Tressider; Dictionary of symbolism, by Hans Biedermann; and The continuum encyclopedia of symbols by Udo Becker.

Out of the ten symbols studied, only the cross and the swastika did not follow their historical meaning. This was not because the symbols were altered in any way. Their definitions were changed because of what accompanied them.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The term hate speech, "the unequal treatment that results from the maintenance and reinforcement of racist values and traditions via speech," (Calvert, p.6) has been considered a crime for only about 100 years, but its wrath has affected many for centuries. Whether it is through biases, stereotypes, prejudices, discrimination, racism, homophobia, hate literature, or hate crimes, no one is exempt. Hate speech is no longer a taboo topic in which an elite class of citizens partake behind closed doors. Hate speech can be found in one of the most popular forms of mass communication in the world...the Internet.

Hate speech is rampant on the Internet. The web sites are growing larger and larger every day. "You used to have to make an effort to get hate. Now it comes into your home unsuspected." (Mendels, unknown) The members of the various hate groups that house these web sites (Ku Klux Klan, Skinheads, World Church of the Creators, etc.) have created their own world. The existence of their world is maintained and communicated through different symbols that represent each group.

...reality is brought into existence, is produced, by communication -- by, in short, the construction, apprehension, and utilization of symbolic forms. (Calvert, p.9)

Internet web sites communicate their views in three ways: written statements, MP3's, and symbols. Written statements may come from the creators of the sites or their supporters. MP3's allow viewers to listen to political speeches or music by various underground hate supporters and bands. Symbols are used to take the place of, or enhance written statements and MP3's.

This type of communication through symbols "produces a silent language that transmits messages based on codes from which meaning is interpreted and derived." (Cruz, p.24) The types of symbols that are frequently used to communicate the groups' beliefs include skulls, eagles, the swastika (a specific type of cross), fire, and blood. The Celtic cross and Confederate Battle Flag are also widely used. There are others, but these are just a few of the more familiar symbols.

Three examples of web sites that often use symbols to illustrate their beliefs are kkk.com, kukluxklan.com, and creator.org. The Ku Klux Klan, an organization that has been in existence since the late 1800s, "one of the oldest, one of the best, the MOST hated", white

supremacist group in America. (<http://www.kkk.com.html>)

Two of the symbols that the Klan is known for are the pointed hood and robe, and the fiery cross. For over a century, the KKK has used these symbols to display its "invisible empire".

KKK.com had a page on its web site that specifically spoke about the purpose of wearing the hood and robes. Pastor Robert Miles states that wearing it "enabled the Klan to terrify the foe and divide him up into easily digestible morsels." (<http://kkk.com.html>) This all could be done without ever giving members true identities. "Secrecy is what enables the few to confuse, confound and to conquer the many." (<http://kkk.com.html>) The site's author then adds that they (Ku Klux Klan) are as successful as they are because they are the fog (First of God).

Kukluxklan.com had a page on its web site that gave an explanation to why it has "cross lighting ceremonies." They first gave a distinction between lighting a cross, which they claim they do, and burning the cross, a desecration. Next the site discusses how the fiery cross is a positive symbol that represents Christ, the light of the world. Finally, it is said that the "lighted cross

[is] the symbol of freedom-freedom from sin -- freedom from tyranny."

A third web site is by the World Church of the Creator, led by the Rev. Matt Hale. The main symbol used in this site is the crown. The crown, which is topped with a gold halo, symbolizes a white racial religion: "the beacon of hope and salvation for the white people." (<http://creator.org.html>)

As demonstrated by the three hate web sites, symbols define meaning. Meaning provides understanding. Symbols also enhance the perspective of the groups represented in each site.

"...meanings cling to a symbol like iron filings to a magnet, and the culture must contend with the symbol as it changes. While various patinas of signification may collect upon any symbol, there is an original one that can be declared as the symbol's 'true' meaning."
(Hitt, 1997)

One may assume that a symbol's "true" meaning is its historical meaning. It is common to see the meaning of a symbol change throughout time within cultures. This thesis will observe how symbols are being used on web sites of the Ku Klux Klan, Skinheads, etc., and will compare that use with the symbol's historical meaning. A better understanding can then be gained regarding whether

these Web sites are giving new meaning to selected symbols.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

HATE GROUPS

Research conducted by Marquand showed that in 1997, the number of hate groups within the United States had grown 20 percent since the first count one year earlier. (Marquand, 1998) One main reason for this growth is accessibility. Hate groups are becoming more and more visible. Whether it is through the Internet, leaflets, graffiti, parades, or pre-recorded telephone messages, the word is getting out about the various hate groups worldwide. In 1998, "one hundred sixty four web sites in the United States featured causes like racial superiority and apocalyptic religious conflict." (Marquand, 1998) Research also shows that less than three years ago, in 1997, there was only one or two Web sites from hate groups that existed. (Marquand, 1998)

As of now, there are approximately seven major active white hate groups: Aryan Nations, Ku Klux Klan, Christian Patriots, Skinheads, Phineas Priests, World Church of the Creator and Christian National Identity. There are also two nationally known African American hate groups in the United States: the Nation of Islam and the

[New] Black Panthers. Each of these groups has web sites. Hate groups representing other races, genders, and sexual orientations exist, but have not received national recognition.

Each and every one of these groups has claimed at some point that it was doing the work of God. The Ku Klux Klan, for example, has claimed to be a 'Christian Fraternity'. The Ku Klux Klan has also claimed that 'God has ordained them to do so' when it comes to their actions. (<http://www.kkk.com.html>)

Some hate groups are re-framing hate speech through actions. Benjamin Nathaniel Smith, a member of the World Church of the Creator (WCOTC), went on a shooting spree, killing two and injuring nine people in July of 1999. He was known to circulate hate literature with "RAHOWA" printed on it. "RAHOWA" is a word that is formed by taking the first two letters from the word racial holy war. (Lobe, 1999) Smith is just one example of a member of a hate group that participates in the growing number of hate crimes.

HATE CRIMES

The hate crimes that were committed by members of pro-choice groups were studied by Scott (1998). Scott told the story of how Barnett A. Slepian, a doctor who

was known to perform abortions, was murdered by a sniper in Amherst, New York. The author also referred to the murders of two other doctors John Bayard Britton and James Barrett. Scott strongly believes that these deaths are a "link between hate speech and hate crime...along with the concept that anti-abortion violence is nothing less than domestic terrorism". (Scott, p. 8). Hate crimes such as these, where it is not against a specific group but is targeted at specific individuals who perform legal acts, took a long time to be recognized. "It has taken more than twenty years for this terrorism to gain mainstream recognition." (Scott, p. 9)

The Federal Bureau of Investigation, in 1998, counted 9,759 hate crimes, which included burned churches, murders, and painting hateful symbols..." (Marquand, 1998) In July, 1999, Benjamin Smith, a student at Northwestern, was a member of the World Church of the Creator (WCOTC), went on a shooting spree that killed the school's coach, Ricky Byrdsong, simply because of his race. Ricky Birdsong was an African American male.

Steiker (1998) discussed just how popular hate crimes have become. He examined three important questions: Are hate crime laws different from the rest of

the substantive criminal law; Why do hate crime laws seem different; Should we care?" (Steiker, pp. 1861-1873)

Steiker found that hate crime laws differ from the substantive criminal law because there is an overwhelming issue of expression of ideas. In hate crime laws, the term "fighting words" was often used because the action by the abuser incites anger, frustration, fear, etc. During cases that involve hate crime laws, the judge not only takes into consideration the motives of the accused, but also whether or not the accused actions were motivated by bigotry and/or hate based on race, sexual orientation, or gender. This type of motivation is not always looked at in standard criminal law cases.

Steiker also believes that in order to show that the law cares about anyone, it needs to start including more categories of people when addressing hate crimes. By expanding the categories of what should and should not be included in the hate speech phenomenon, a person's view may change. For example, if crimes of hate against women were included in the categories of hate crime, Steiker feels that legislation would view "hate crime" differently. By considering crimes against women as hate crimes, one is acknowledging that rape, sexual harassment, and assault against women in businesses and

college campuses is more than just an act of rage, but an act of hate. (Steiker, 1999)

SCHOOL CODES

There has been a recent "rising tide of racial intolerance and harassment on campus(s)" (Lee, 1997). The college campus is supposed to be the place where people begin to learn about and practice tolerance of people different from themselves. Instead, it is as if the university system is breeding a generation of students who enjoy abusing, harassing, insulting, and intimidating others, based solely on their race, gender, sexual orientation, and religion. "Students of color found that on some campuses they had to worry as much about top administrators as about anonymous bigots." (Walker, p. 130)

KKK insignia, black-face Harlem parties, jungle parties, Confederate flags, and white history week parties are just a few of the particulars that causes emotional and physical harm to the victimized group, individual victim, campus community and society as a whole. (Kaplin 1992) Several theorists have proven that such actions give the victims feelings of outrage, anger, frustration, and humiliation, "both at the time the hate

speech is inflicted and for long after the incident".

(Kaplan, p. 518)

"Suppressing hate speech does not effectively promote equality or prevent discrimination." (Strossen, 1997) Klepper and Bakken focused on five out of many court cases in their review to support this statement. (Cox v. New Hampshire 312 US 569 (1941); Chaplinsky v New Hampshire 315 US 568 (1942); Wisconsin v Mitchell 508 US 47; R.A.V. v City of St. Paul 505 us 377 (1992); Rosenberger v University of Virginia 515 US 819 (1995). No matter how the speech codes were written, most of them had been proven to be too broad in a court of law or that they violated the First Amendment rights of the students on campus. A sample of a conduct code is as follows:

Any physical, verbal, or nonverbal behavior that subjects an individual to an intimidating, hostile, or offensive educational environment or living environment by demeaning, slurring, or victimizing individuals... (Neiger, 1998)

This code may seem specific, but like most others, it is not specific enough. Klepper believes that colleges are thus allowed to regulate only student behavior. (1997)

Klepper's (1997) literature looked at how the student body of Trenton State College felt "when Khallid Abdul Muhammad came" to campus. This was considered different from most cases because Khallid Abdul Muhammad

is an African-American Muslim. This literature confirms that it does not matter who the individual(s) practicing hate is. According to the decision by Judge Decker, Khallid Abdul Muhammad was in his rights to voice his opinion.

Klepper also studied how familiar the senior student affairs officers (SSAOs) were with the *R.A.V. v St. Paul* and *Wisconsin v Mitchell* cases. Both of these cases dealt with hate speech. Results showed that they all were somewhat familiar with each case. This was important because these students made decisions about hate speech that affected the entire student body on campus. Since these cases dealt with hate speech on school grounds, this made SSAO's decision-making a little easier.

...Everything we say impinges on the world in ways indistinguishable from the effects of physical action, we must take responsibility for our verbal performances and not assume that they are being taken care of by a clause in the Constitution. (Cox, p. 127)

HARMFUL SPEECH

Some research breaks down the processes and effects of certain communication. (Carter, 1990; Cruz, 1991; Hitt, 1997; Lee, 1997; Leets, 1997) Calvert (1997)

discusses two types of models that he uses to explain communication: Transmission Model and Ritual Model. The Transmission Model of Communication "focuses on persuasion; attitude change; and behavior modification caused by speech." (Calvert, 10) An example Leets and Giles (1997) use is the *Chaplinsky v New Hampshire* case in 1942 that discusses the term fighting words. The Ritual Model of Communication is the "ritualistic use of racist epithets facilitates and promotes disparate, unequal treatment of particular groups." Examples of this would be using words such as "nigger," "cracker," "spic," "chink," etc. to describe a person or a group of people. Leets and Giles (1997) believe that if this kind of communication, by members of hate groups, is an "intentional infliction of emotional distress", it is wrong and the guilty should be punished. (Leets and Giles, p. 263)

Leets and Giles (1997) conducted an experiment about the harm racist speech does to its victims. This study focused on Asian-Americans and Anglo-Americans. The following is a comment from one of the Anglo-American students participating in the study:

Asian-Americans have probably been faced with this ridicule more often and as a result they are accustomed to it. So they just blow it

off. Anglo-Americans on the other hand, have never had to deal with this kind of ridicule and find it very damaging, especially with the heightened awareness on a university campus. (Leets and Giles, p. 279)

An Asian-American student had the opportunity to voice his opinion of the reactions of the Anglo-Americans. He simply believed that they were "completely ignorant." (Leets and Giles, p. 279)

INTERNET HATE SPEECH

"ABORTIONISTS: the baby butchers
 CLINIC OWNERS & WORKERS: their weapons
 providers and bearers
 JUDGES: their shysters
 POLITICIANS: their mouthpieces
 LAW ENFORCEMENT: their bloodhounds
 MISCELLANEOUS SPOUSES & OTHER BLOOD FLUNKIES"
 (Scott, p. 12)

Above is an example of what was placed on a web page titled "hit list" in 1998. Advocates of pro-choice created this web page. Included in this list were the names of doctors, nurses, et al. who were going to be murdered because they worked in abortion clinics.

Other examples of hate speech on the Internet can be found on the web pages by the white-pride groups:

<http://www.kukluxklan.com.html>,

<http://www.whitepride.com.html>,

<http://www.bloodandhonour.com.html>,

<http://www.stormfront.org.html>,

<http://www.resist.com.html>, and

<http://www.creator.org.html>. These web sites and a host of others are easily accessible by anyone who has access to the Internet. "Many are shocked by what's online, but others say it's nothing new: try your local bookstore."

(Sussman, 1995)

Each web site uses various symbols to represent what its group/organization stands for, to represent its beliefs, and to represent their heritage. Each symbol has its own special meaning. Some have a universal meaning that goes throughout each hate group, while others change according to a particular group.

SIGNS AND SYMBOLS

Semiotics is the attempt to understand these seemingly disparate signs, from the shapes of coffeepots to the underlying messages in the waif-like emaciation of some high fashion models. (Wolkomir, 1993)

Adrian Frutiger analyzes every aspect of a sign, from the elements of signs to the manipulation of letterforms. As seen in various art forms, television, newspapers, magazine ads, billboards, etc. different types of signs used with variations of colors and letters. "For a wide variety of reasons, whether for practical or ornamental purposes, the basic letterform is

often deliberately altered and manipulated." (Frutiger, p. 175)

MacCannell and MacCannell give the definitions and differences between a sign and a symbol.

- A symbol is a sign that lacks a syntactic component so its meaning seems constant.
- A sign is a sign that lacks semantic component so its meaning seems restricted to the situation in which it occurs.
(MacCannell, P. 57)

Signs may have different meanings based simply on one's culture. In a more social meaning, signs are a "bond between an 'image' and a 'concept.'" (MacCannell, pp. 61-63) An example of this would be money being synonymous with "\$". "To study the sign is to uncover semiosis." (Deely, p. 115) As earlier mentioned, symbols are important to a group/organization. It helps give meaning, whether it is on the television, the Internet, newspapers, magazine ads, billboards, etc.

In the American culture for example, a television ad may have a completely different meaning than if it was aired in Japan or Mexico. It all has to do with how the symbols are interpreted, which will be discussed in the *Signs and Communication* section.

Symbols generally have the same meaning across the various borders. (Gillan, 1982) Once again, it is the

signs that change for each culture. The example that Solomon uses in his text is from the children's storybook, *The Looking Glass Mirror*. In that story, the character Humpty Dumpty said that the words (signs) that he used meant what he wanted them to mean.

And it is the insistence of the letter in the structure of the sign which grounds the politics of the text. (Gillan, p. 117)

The ways in which humans use these signs can be complex. Not only that, different cultures have different uses for and meanings of signs.

Language is a system of signs that expresses ideas, and is therefore comparable to a system of writing, the alphabet of deaf-mutes, symbolic rites, polite formulas, military signals, etc. (Innis, 1985)

The structured type of sign is called a text. (Gillan, 1982) "...Texts are not only literary. They can be any physical structure at all made objectively to embody ideas in the semiotic sense." (Deely, p.56) Deely uses the same model that Johansen uses to describe how humans communicate with one another (in text, verbal, signs, symbols, etc.) "The purpose of a sign is to supplement the ideas..." (Deely, p. 81)

SEMIOTICS AND COMMUNICATION

In communication, the word "meaning" appears often. The study of semiotics, a communication technique, is the

study of the meaning of signs and symbols. In Sless's text, he gives a definition of meaning: "Meaning is the product or result of communication, so you will doubtless come across it frequently." (Sless, p.89) This can be tied to the interpretation section in some of the other texts. (Frutiger, 1997; Gillan, 1992; Leeds-Hurwitz, 1993) Meaning comes from the person creating it. It does not reside in anything. It can be very difficult to follow, especially if the creator is from a different culture.

Our basic communication mode is language, but how it began will probably never be known; the conditions that enabled animal cries to develop into meaningful speech have left no traces for us to follow. (Breckon, et al, p. 151)

"While various patinas of signification may collect upon any symbol, there is an original one that can be declared as the symbol's "true" meaning." (Hitt, 1997) Saying a symbol has a "true" meaning denotes the idea that symbols can be changed. The symbol that Hitt's article is referring to is the Confederate flag. To many people, the Confederate flag symbolizes slavery, hate, unequal separation and murder. To others, this flag is a symbol of honor and pride. It is believed to be a symbol

that represents "heritage not hate." The battle over this flag has been going on for decades.

The confederate flag is a perfect example of how ambiguous symbols and signs can be in communication. On one hand, there are people whose forefathers died for the flag, while there are others whose forefathers, fathers, and children died because of the flag. There are times when symbols are supposed to take the place of words. In terms of the confederate flag, what words did it replace?

"Meaning and purpose are not defined by law. Because of this, any group can give the symbol any meaning it chooses." (Hitt, 1997) Humans use signs to categorize objects. Hitt gives an example of how symbols and their meaning can be ambiguous. If someone was to draw a box with two doors and writes the word SHELTER underneath, Hitt says that there are three things that this box can represent, a refrigerator, a closet, and a garage. "A particular sign is associated with a particular meaning or meanings within a single culture or subculture." (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1993)

In order to keep food safe from dirt and germs, humans use some form of shelter or refrigerators. The same concept can go for clothing. In order for humans to keep their clothes neat, clean, and free from tearing,

they make some form of shelter or closet. Finally, people want to keep their automobiles looking presentable, free of bumps and scrapes, and protected from the weather. To accomplish this, there is a need to make some form of shelter or garage to maintain the car.

Johansen's research gives a clearer definition of semiotics through essays. He uses a dialogue style of writing to get his message across. He calls this technique "dialogic semiosis." His book is separated into four sections. The first gives the scientific explanation of how people communicate with one another. He uses Saussure's "natural order" explanation of how we tend to communicate in a system.

The essential function of a sign is to render inefficient relations efficient...Knowledge in some way renders them efficient; and a sign is something by knowing which we know something more. (Johansen, p. 55)

In the second section, Johansen discusses how signs go one step beyond mere language. Signs explain what words cannot. Johansen then goes in-depth in defining the different types of signs. Signs can be iconic, indexical, or symbolic. Iconic signs are very difficult to define primarily because there are thirteen different characteristics that pertain to them. Indexical signs: "have no significant resemblance to their objects; refer

to individuals, single units, collections of units; direct the attention to their objects by blind compulsion." (Johansen, pp.107-109) Symbolic signs resemble the object they are representing.

Finally, Johansen deals with the interpretation of the concept of human communication and actions.

Communicative actions...take place when social interactions are co-ordinated not through the egocentric calculations of success of every individual but through cooperative achievements of understanding among participants. (Johansen, p.293)

Signs can be very ambiguous. They can usually mean different things to different people. That is why it is extremely important to use signs that work with others' interpretations. Signs that have an agreed upon definition by a majority of the people using them.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Semiotics is an important method of interpretation in communication. Semiotics is defined as being the study of the meaning of symbols and signs. It is a concept that is often studied in general psychology but can also be applied in any communication genre that involves symbols.

Research on hate speech, its effects and increased popularity on university campuses and on the Internet provides evidence that it is a form of communication that is directed towards many people in a conscious and deliberate manner. Studies also conclude that the growing and evolving number of hate sites on the Internet is larger now (2000) than three years ago (1997). Hate Watch, a not for-profit web based organization, defines a hate site as being:

An organization or individual that advocates violence against or unreasonable hostility toward those persons or organizations identified by their race, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, gender or disability. Also including organizations or individuals that disseminate historically inaccurate information with regards to these persons or organizations for the purpose of vilification. (hatewatch.org)

One thing that the hate sites have in common is their use of symbols on their web pages. Their symbols

tie together visual and verbal manifestations of a world so varied and multi-layered that it is necessary to study how these images are expressed and how their meanings have been extended.

The purpose of this study is to compare the meaning of the symbols on the hate sites with the symbols' historical meaning. This analysis will be guided by the following research question: How consistent are the white supremacist groups' use of symbols on their web pages, with the traditional meaning of the symbols as defined in Jack Tresidder's, Dictionary of symbols: an illustrated guide to traditional images, icons, and emblems, Hans Biedermann's, Dictionary of symbolism, and Udo Becker's, The Continuum encyclopedia of symbols?

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

In order to answer the research question, an ethnological analogy of six Internet sites: (skinheads.net, kkk.com, resist.com, stormfront.org, creator.org, and whitepride.com) will be used to compare the symbols of the site with the historical definitions of the symbol found in three resource texts. Each site has an affiliation with a white supremacist group and can be accessed on the worldwide web. The symbols within those Internet sites represent the beliefs of the host. Ten symbols will be used for this study: arrow, blood, cross, dragon, eagle, fire, lightning, skull, swastika, and wolf.

Definitions

Definitions of the symbols will be taken from three texts: "Dictionary of symbols: an illustrated guide to traditional images, icons, and emblems", by Jack Tressider; "Dictionary of symbolism", by Hans Biedermann; and "The continuum encyclopedia of symbols" by Udo Becker. All three text are non-circulating, university library publications. The authors also cite some of the same references in their bibliographies.

Jack Tressider describes many symbols that are often seen in literature, myth, and art. He focuses on visual symbols and symbolic actions because it "demonstrates both the universality of many symbols and the cultural variety of others." Hans Biederman and Udo Becker are both translations of encyclopedias of symbols that touch on mythological and Christian symbols.

Procedure

"History is the study of, the explanation of, the particular as it really happened in the past." (Aunger, p. 97) The study of history is a historiography. "Historiography then takes shape and form articulated through the world view and ideas of the historian's intersubjective analysis". (Conyers, p. 268) The method to be used is ethnology. Ethnology is a qualitative research method that originated in the late sixties (Brunt, 500). Ethnology fulfills the need of understanding by interpretation. This type of analysis is almost synonymous with ethnography. "Ethnography deals with the unique [and] the particular. Ethnology, by contrast, is about the general and the regularities of human conduct." (Brunt, p. 500)

Like an ethnography, an ethnology is a philosophical paradigm.

Analysis of data that involves explicit interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions, the product of which mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations. (Atkinson and Hammersley, p 248)

An ethnological methodology used to define the symbol found on the site. The characteristics of a symbol contribute to the definition of that symbol. When viewing the symbols on the web sites, three characteristics will be taken into consideration: design, use, and location.

*Design -accompanied by others symbols.

-moving or stationary

*Use -reinforce written text

-creates meaning on its own

*Location -position of the symbols on the site

Once the symbols on the web sites have been defined, that definition will be compared to the historical definitions in the texts. If the definitions match, this would show that the symbols used on the Internet and the text are synonymous.

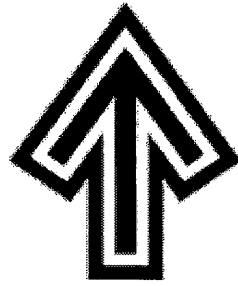
CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The observer viewed all six web sites and their use of symbols on the Internet. The interpreted use of the symbols was then compared to the historical definitions derived from the three texts: in Jack Tresidder's, Dictionary of symbols: an illustrated guide to traditional images, icons, and emblems, Hans Biedermann's, Dictionary of symbolism, and Udo Becker's, The Continuum Encyclopedia of symbols? The results of the study are as follows:

ARROWS

The arrow is a weapon of penetration that represents energy, directional accuracy, and the annihilation of distance. (Tressider, p. 16) It is often associated with speed, impulse, determination, and menace. (Biedermann, p. 18) It is a symbol of light, celerity, and of knowledge. (Becker, p. 23) It is also a symbol of phallic sadism (impulse, speed, menace, and determination).



<http://www.stormfront.org/gns.nu>

Four out of the six sites used arrows as a symbol of direction. The arrow would be pointing towards text and/or other symbols. For example, resist.com has a Racist Cartoons Guide on their web site. This section has racist cartoons that are directed towards members of the various races, religions, and sexual orientations.

One cartoon called, 'Niggers Are Smart', asks the question; "Ever hear blacks refer to their 'rich African heritage'?" In the picture, there is an extremely malnourished African American male sitting on the ground wearing no more than a loin-clothe. There were six arrows in the cartoon. The first arrow pointed to a grass hut with the phrase, "African Architecture". The second arrow pointed at a millipede with the phrase, "African Cuisine." The third arrow pointed towards a spear with the phrase, "African Invention." The fourth arrow pointed towards an African carving on a block of wood with the phrase, "African Art." The fifth arrow pointed at the ground while the African man drew lines on

the ground. The phrase that accompanied this arrow was "African Literature." The final arrow pointed towards the African man's nose that had a long bone pierced through it. The text that accompanied this arrow was "African Fashion." The manner in which this site used arrows is consistent with the historical definition. It was used as a symbol of direction.

On the skinheads.net site, personal photographs were often used as a method of expression. The photos consisted of people that had tattoos with arrows that often pointed towards other symbols or parts of the body. This site has a section featuring the tattoos of people that wanted to send in pictures of their 'ink'. For example, the tattoos on the 'arm of Ise', was designed by Mike Nichols in the form of a dagger. The dagger pierced a heart with blood of fire surrounding it. Most of the tattoos shown were of elaborate designs. This particular tattoo was an example of an arrow being a weapon of penetration. This site's use of the arrow is consistent with the historical definition because it used the arrow as a weapon of penetration and as a symbol of menace.

Resist.com used the arrow as a symbol of direction that reinforces words of hate. On the 'Racist Cartoons' section of the site, the focus is on Mexican Americans.

A cartoon titled, "Beans, Beans, Beans", by A.W. Mann, shows an outline of a naked and pregnant Mexican American woman. The woman has a tattoo of a heart with the name Chico on the inside. There is also an arrow piercing the heart pointing downward. There is another arrow that points towards the belly of the pregnant woman.

Inside the belly is a Mexican female fetus that is also pregnant. A third arrow is pointing beneath the fetus with the words "Placenta (bean burrito)." Finally, at the bottom of the cartoon are the words: "Research has now revealed that their female offspring are actually born pregnant." This site is consistent with the historical definition because the arrow had phallic significance and directional accuracy.

Stormfront.org used the arrow as a symbol of direction on their graphics page and the section The arrow was used as a National Socialist graphic. The National Socialists were established in 1974 as a part of the American Nazi party. In the section of the site dedicated to them, there are leaflets with pictures on them with Nazi symbols and an arrow that points towards phrases like, "White Pride Worldwide" that are supposed to be copied and distributed.

One of the leaflets is from the Nazi party in Lincoln, Nebraska. The leaflet shows two African-American men with skin painted black with over-exaggerated features (large lips, long arms, big nose, and big white eyes) with a young White girl standing in-between them. One of the African American males is carrying a large arrow with a jagged edge in his hand. The young White girl has a look of terror on her face. The two African American males have a mischievous glare. This site is consistent with the historic definition because it uses the arrow as a weapon of penetration.

Creator.org has a section of their site that focuses on women. The two groups for women members of the World Church of the Creator are The Sisterhood and Women's Frontier. Both groups are proud members of the United Aryan Women of the Web. A majority of the arrows used on this site are as daggers. All of the women in the pictures on the site have a slim build with long blonde hair and blue eyes. The women are also holding a dagger that either points upwards or is held in a fighting position. Next to the women posing are the words, 'Creator Pride', and 'Aryan Woman'. This site is consistent with its historical definition because it is a weapon of penetration and a symbol of knowledge.

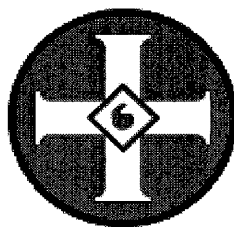
The arrow, as defined by the three texts, is a weapon of penetration. It is also a symbol of knowledge and direction. It was common for the arrow to be accompanied by written text to reinforce the message the web site was expressing. Other symbols also accompanied the arrow as a form of reinforcement. The main use by these web sites is a weapon of penetration (dagger) and a symbol of directional accuracy. All of the sites were consistent with one the text definitions of the symbol. The arrow was used as a symbol of direction. The arrow pointed towards text and objects so that the viewer had knowledge of what it reinforced, like the example of the cartoons. Arrows were also used as weapons of penetration. The daggers that were on the tattoos on the sites were representing weapons. K-k-k.com and whitepride.com were the only sites that did not include any form of an arrow on their web page.

BLOOD

Blood is a ritual symbol of the life force, believed in many cultures to contain a share of divine energy or, more commonly, the spirit of an individual creature. (Tressider, p. 27) Blood also may be identified with the life force: FIRE, SUN and the SOUL. It has fertilizing power. (Biedermann, p. 43) Blood symbolizes the

continuation of life and its effects. Blood may be associated with a variety of non-rational notions such as brotherhood, blood vengeance, and blood baptism. (Becker, p, 43)

The use of blood on the six Internet sites showed that there was a large focus on blood being a non-rational notion. Blood, as a symbol was never used by itself. Blood, whether in droplets or pools, was always accompanied by other symbols and written text. An example of this can be taken from stormfront.org. On the page designated for graphics, there is a swastika with blood droplets encircling it like a wreath. It is a symbol of brotherhood amongst the members of the Ku Klux Klan.



<http://www.stormfront.org/gns.nu>

Skinheads.net has a section for its members. In this section, the members have the opportunity to show their tattoos. There were many tattoos that had daggers pointing downward with other elaborate art. At the tip of the daggers was blood. This is consistent with the

historical definition because it is an example of blood vengeance.

K-k-k.com used the symbol of blood throughout its site. Drops of blood were placed in the middle of the cross. That represented the bloodshed that went on for the uplifting of the White race. K-k-k.com also allows the various chapters of their fraternity throughout the United States to post pictures and comments. The Imperial Klans of America's (Arkansas Chapter) symbol is a Klansman in a white hood and robe holding a rope with a noose. The Klansman has blood spewing from his eyes. He is also wearing, on his left shoulder, a cross with blood drop in the middle. This site is consistent with the historical definition because blood is used as a ritual symbol, a defiling life force of fire, and for vengeance.

Resist.com has a picture on their homepage of a wolf with blood dripping from its fangs. The wolf looks as if he just attacked someone and was about to strike again. There is hate in the eyes of the wolf. The eyes of the wolf are blood red with a white swastika in the middle. This example is consistent with the historical definition because it deals with the spirit of an individual creature.

Stormfront.org uses only a blood in the center of a cross. It is the same as what k-k-k.com uses. It is consistent with the text definition because it is a symbol of brotherhood amongst the members of the Ku Klux Klan.

Creator.org uses blood as a part of their flag. "The blood red color of our flag symbolizes our struggle for the survival, expansion, and advancement of the white race". (<http://creator.org/about.html>) Creator.org has a link on their site called Creator Activism Pictures. This link has pencil sketches that represent the racial future of the White race.



<http://creator.org>

One of the sketches is of a shirtless, bald-headed white man wearing a black jacket and large boots. He's holding the creator flag in one hand and a rope with a nose in the other. The letters COTC is engraved on the knuckles of his right hand and SKIN on the knuckles of his left hand. He is in a forest with silhouettes of bodies hanging from trees behind him. The bottom of the picture shows him standing on the head of a Jewish man

with blood streaming down his face. This use of blood is consistent with the historic definition because it is used as a ritual of vengeance.

Whitepride.com mostly uses blood as a symbol on its CD covers. There is a large market of Skrewdriver White Power CD's. Whitepride.com uses Mousetrap Distribution to sell the various artists' music. One of the CD's is titled, "Warlord". The cover has a pile of skulls on a black hill with blood pouring out of them. Another CD cover is titled, "Decade of Defiance". The cover has a wolf bearing his fangs with blood on the inside of its mouth. This site's use of blood is consistent with its historical meaning because it shows vengeance and the spirit of the wolf.

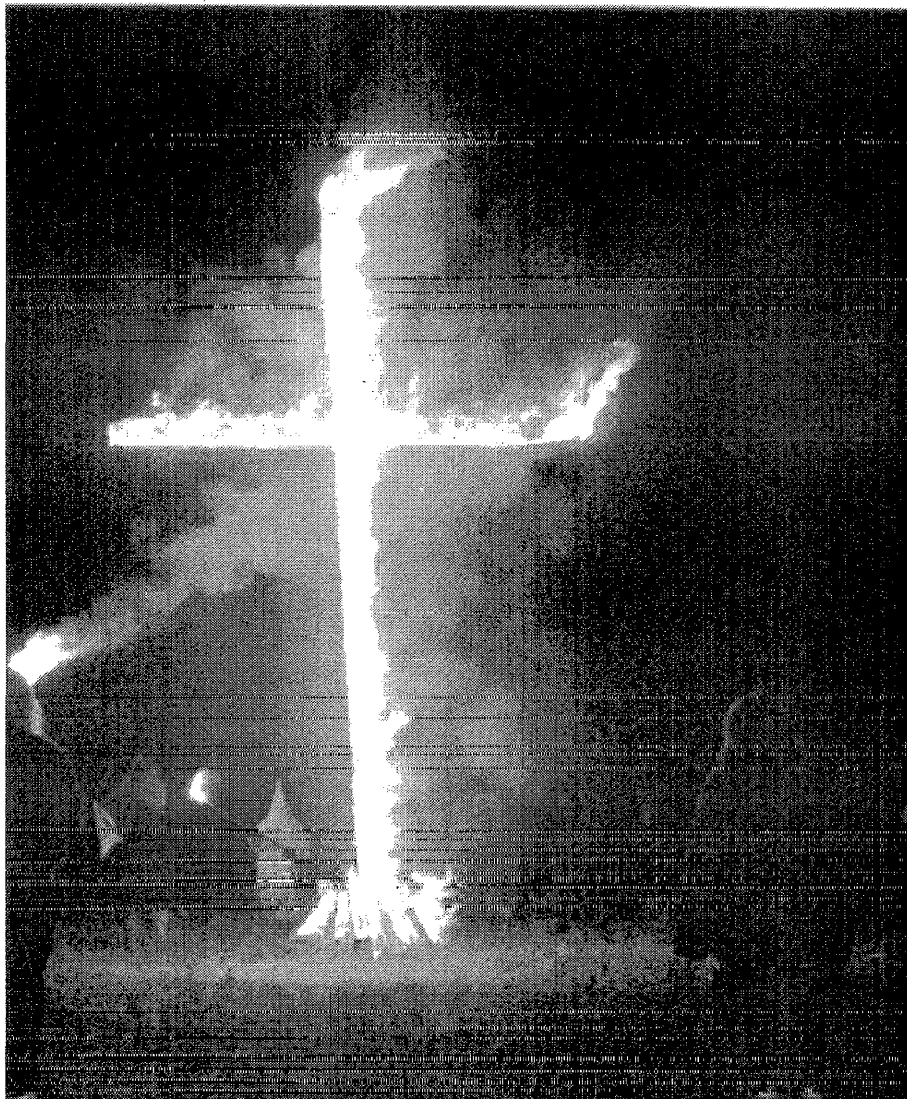
Blood, as defined by the text as the spirit of an individual creature, and is a defiling life force, FIRE, SUN, and SOUL. All six of the Internet sites used blood in a manner that fit one if not all of the definitions. They are all consistent with the historical definition of blood.

CROSS

The cross has been labeled the richest and most enduring of geometric symbols. It is the summary of the Tree of Life, a symbol of indoctrination in the Christian

crucifixion iconography, signifying protection, unity, destiny (in a circle), and sovereignty. The cross also is associated with duality and union. (Tressider, pp. 56-57) It is seen as a symbol of the midpoint, of the balance of activity and passivity, and of the perfect human. (Becker, pp. 71, 73)

The interpretation of the use of the cross in the six web sites showed that there is no consistency with the text definition. The cross was usually accompanied by other symbols and/or written text that went against the historical definition. For example, in the history section of k-k-k.com, there is an explanation/history of the 'Fiery Cross'. "The fiery cross is a Klan symbol representing the ideals of Christian civilization. It was utilized as a sign of opposition to tyranny from big government and obedience to God". In the general history of its organization the cross was also used for the "extortion of the carpetbaggers, the treason of the scalawags, and the hatred of the numerous renegade Negroes". That definition goes against the historical use of the cross.



<http://www.k-k-k.com/croslite>

Also, each site used the form of the cross with a circle around it, known as the Celtic cross. Resist.com used this form of a cross to support the White Aryan Resistance (WAR). White Aryan Resistance Regalia is a section of their site where merchandise is sold that uses the Celtic cross along with other symbols and the words 'White Pride World Wide'. This site also is not

consistent with the historic definition of the cross. The cross is defined as a symbol of unity. The text along with the symbol reiterates segregation between whites and nonwhites. This is an example of how the symbol reinforces the written.



<http://www.stormfront.org/gns.nu>

On the skinheads.net site, the cross was used mainly as a decoration for tattoos. This site consisted of personal photographs from the members of the Skinhead culture. The members would post their pictures of different parties, parades, and conventions held by the Skinheads throughout the country, under different categories on the site.

The tattoos were often accompanied by other symbols (eagles, blood, crowns, and the swastika). For example, during the Beer Olympics, there were pictures of males and females with tattoos of the Celtic cross on the inside of a design. What took place at the Beer Olympics was not explained on this site. Also, there were tattoos of eagles with the Celtic cross at the eagle's feet with

'Celtic Pride' written underneath. There was nothing that accompanied the cross that followed the historic definition of the symbol.

K-K-K.com used the cross in the circle, known as the Celtic cross. The Celtic cross, a form of destiny, was accompanied by other symbols. It was used to promote the words, "white pride". The Celtic cross sent a message of hate, not of unity of all people, just the unity of white people. The cross was also used in the "Christian cross lighting ceremonies". In their definition of the cross, it is said that the cross is a "sign of opposition". (k-k-k.com) They (Ku Klux Klan) speak of purifying and cleansing, but by destroying their "vices" or enemies. That does not follow the historic definition of the use of, meaning of the cross.

Resist.com used the Celtic cross. As stated, the Celtic cross was often surrounded by the words, White Aryan Resistance (WAR). They sold flags, T-shirts, rings, and weapons with Celtic crosses on them, all of which exemplified the hate the group had for members of other races, religions, and sexual orientations. The iron cross, a cross out of the Nazi era was also used on merchandise sold and accompanied by the phrase, WAR (White Aryan Resistance).

Resist.com does not give a definition of the cross per se. The cross is used to reinforce written text. The White Aryan Resistance defines their position in society. They are White Separatists. They see America as a "bastard nation with almost no roots". (resist.com) Resist.com does not use the cross in its historical form, but rather to support/reinforce their beliefs.. "WAR deals with evidence and not faith". (resist.com)

Stormfront.org used the Celtic cross throughout its site. The site also have a graphics library that gives detailed pictures of the various symbols used in the white power movement. The cross, regardless of the form, was used to reinforce the written text that accompanied it. There were times when it accompanied the swastika or was attached to the feet of an eagle highlighting the words "white heritage".

The members of the World Church of the Creator (creator.org) used comments such as, "the Bible is Jewish", as their reasoning for not following the Christian doctrine. That is why the use of the cross on creator.org is not consistent with the text definition. Another example of the cross not being consistent with it's historical definition is on the section featuring the role of the woman. A Celtic cross is displayed, and

underneath it are the words "a racial religion dedicated to the SURVIVAL, EXPANSION and ADVANCEMENT of the White race". Once again, there is a separation between races, which is something the cross does not represent. Also, the cross is used as a part of the official logo of the World Church of the Creator. The cross is located between the crown and the halo often seen with the words, "HATRED FOR MY ENEMIES LOVE FOR MY RACE" in red letters surrounded by a black background. The traditional definition of the cross does not include any form of hate. Even if it shows a union of the White race, their use of the cross separates them from members of other races.

Whitepride.com used the Celtic cross the most out of all of the other forms of the cross. It was a design on CD covers, jewelry, Nazi weaponry, flags, and Nazi soldier uniforms. Also, the Celtic cross placed the words, "Aryan Pride, Strength, and Purity" at the north, west, and east points of the cross, inside the circle. If the cross just had the words "pride," "strength," and "purity" placed on the three points of the cross, it would have followed the historic definition of what the cross symbolized. Because 'Aryan' was added to it, the meaning of the symbol changed. Aryan refers to the Indo-

European. Whitepride.com defines it as "the pure race". The cross represents duality and union. By placing Aryan with pride, strength, and purity, the cross represent separation, disunion, which is not consistent with the historical definition.

Whitepride.com calls a section of their site called Regalia. That section includes styles of crosses (Celtic cross, Nazi Naval Jacks; Iron crosses, and Life Rune) as collectibles, flags, patches and pins. Whitepride.com calls the items products of "pure hate". (whitepride.com) Hate goes against the historical definition of the cross.

The cross has been labeled the richest and most enduring of geometric symbols. It represents duality and union. Several web sites used the cross on their sites, and would have the following phrases accompanying it: White Pride World Wide; White Aryan Resistance; Rahowa; Whiter and Brighter World; and The Beacon of Hope and Salvation for the White People. If there wasn't a definition of the cross by the web host, these and other phrases are what defined the cross on the web site. The web sites were not consistent with the cross's historical definition because all of the sites focused on separation. Any sense of unity was within the white race, not amongst all races.

DRAGON

The dragon is the reptilian embodiment of primordial power, appearing as guardians linked with the underworld and with oracular knowledge. The dragon is an unflattering image of a powerful ruler whose possessions have been seized by force. (Tressider, pp. 67-68) The dragon is a symbol regarded as a powerful spiritual being that can produce the potion of immortality. It is an embodiment of the continued agency of the chaos that existed before the world. (Becker, p. 87)

K-K-K.com, resist.com, stormfront.org, creator.org, and whitepride.com did not use the dragon in their web sites. Skinheads.net is the only site that utilized the dragon as a symbol.



<http://www.skinheads.net>

On the skinheads.net web site, like most of the other symbols, the dragon was used as a design on a tattoo. The tattoo is on the forearm of a male. The dragon coils from the wrist to the elbow. The dragon is blue with red prickly scales, green hair underneath the chin and on the eyebrows, and fiery red eyes. The mouth

of the dragon is positioned like it is ready to attack. This is consistent with the definition because it is a very powerful, unflattering reptilian embodiment of primal bestiality.

EAGLE ...

The eagle is the supreme all-seeing emblem of the sky and the sun. It is a symbol of majesty, domination, victory, inspiration and spiritual aspiration. The eagle is known as the most unambiguous and universal of all symbols. (Tressider, pp. 70-71) It is an image of strength, power, and pride, the king of all birds. (Biedermann, pp. 108-110) Finally, the eagle symbolizes contemplation and spiritual knowledge. (Becker, p. 91) The eagle was the most popular symbol out of all of the symbols studied. It was included in all six of the web sites. The use of the eagle ranged from tattoos to jewelry; from flags to T-shirt designs; and from cartoons to CD covers.

It was also common for the eagle to be accompanied by other symbols. For example, on skinheads.net a white male has a tattoo that covered the back of his entire calf with an eagle. The eagle had its wings expanded.

The wings and chest of the eagle looked like the skin of a snake. There was a crown on the eagle's head and his eyes were blood red. His talons were pierced through a gold rimmed heart with a piece of the United States flag in the center. There were red and black stars above the eagle and red, white, and blue letters that spelled USA at the bottom. This is an example of the eagle being a supreme symbol of majesty. The tattoo gave an image of power, strength, and pride.



<http://www.stormfront.org/gns.nu>

On the skinheads.net site, there was a transcript of an interview with Eddie Oakes, and Gordon King of Patriot. Patriot is the name of a skinhead music group. Eddie Oakes is a vocalist and Gordon King is a guitarist. The eagle is the main symbol for the group. The name of the group PATRIOT is written in blue letters with red and white stripes. The eagle has its wings spread behind the groups' name. In the eagle's mouth is a ribbon with 'American Crew' printed on it. In one claw are four arrows, the other claw is carrying a green wreath. This

example follows the eagle's historical meaning because it shows pride, strength, and power.

K-k-k.com has a new section on its site called, "Christian Identity." This site has different Bible studies to help people with their Christian identity. There are Bible studies that describe; Racial and National Identity, Am I My Brother's Keeper?, and Heirs of the Promise. The eagle is consistent with its historical definition on this site because it represents honor, pride, strength, and power. The eagle has a shield with the Celtic cross in the middle of it. The letters YHVH and Country are on white ribbons underneath the eagle. Honor is on a blue ribbon and Duty is on a red ribbon beneath the white ribbons. Green leaves are on the left wing of the eagle while spears are on the right wing. The whole ardor of the eagle on this site represents what it was intended to represent according to its historical definition.

The resist.com site includes a section designated to merchandise that can be sold. This section is called, "White Aryan Resistance Regalia." In particular, there is a ring made out of silver that has a swastika attached to its feet. There is also a golden pendant available with an eagle that has a swastika attached to its feet.

Once again, the eagle is utilized as a symbol of pride, strength, and power. Not only that, it reinforces the pride of the White race when it is attached the swastika to the feet of the eagle. This site's use of the eagle is consistent with the eagle's historical definition because it maintains the image of pride.

Stormfront.org has a graphics section listing the symbols that are commonly associated with White Nationalists and National Socialists. There were eight ways that these groups displayed eagles. Two types of shields, four types of eagles with their wings spread to its fullest extent and two with their wings pointed downward. All of the eagles had a swastika attached to its feet. The eagles in this site are consistent with its text definition because it represented pride, strength, power, and spiritual knowledge. This site uses eagles on flags, pendants, T-shirts, rings, and other public items to publicly demonstrate their pride.

Creator.org used the eagle to reinforce the phrase "white pride." The eagle was also used along with the organization's national flag. The eagle, like the other five sites, had a swastika at its feet. Creator.org use of the eagle is consistent with its historical definition because of its placement with the national flag. By

placing the eagle next to the national flag and adding the phrase 'RAHOWA', it reinforces the pride of the organization.

Micetrap Distribution is the company that produces pro-White products and music on whitepride.com and other racist web sites. The eagle is often used throughout the site because it gives the product power. Like the other five sites, the eagle has the swastika at its feet with the wings turned downward. One of the most popular products sold is a flag. One flag is three by five feet. On the front is the United States flag. In the middle of the flag is an eagle flying through it. The wings of the eagle are spread full. The description of the flag says, "Finally, an excellent flag that PROUD Americans can fly". (<http://www.whitepride.com>) Just by the description of the product alone shows that the eagle is a symbol of pride on this site.

The eagle is a supreme all-seeing symbol that was represented in all six of the web sites. It represented a sense of pride, strength, and power. It is apparent that all of the sites used the eagle to reinforce their text because of its universality and victorious unambiguous nature.

FIRE

Fire is a symbol of divine energy, purification, revelation, transformation, regeneration, spiritual ardour, trial ambition, inspiration, and sexual passion. (Tressider, pp. 80-81) It is a living element, which consumes, warms, and illuminates. (Biedermann, pp. 139-140) It is also a power of destruction often interpreted as a means to rebirth on a higher level. (Becker, p.112)

Three of the six sites used fire in the form of a flame. The flame was coming out of a torch, or it was coming out of the letters in phrases such as, "white pride", and "Rahowa". Whitepride.com has a site where they sell their regalia. This section of the site allows viewers to order collectibles, flags, patches, and pins with symbols that represent their organization. One of the patches is called, "the original boys in the hood". It is a picture of seven members of the Ku Klux Klan all with white robes and hoods on. In the background are two crosses, both of which have flames coming out of the top of them. This use of fire is consistent with its historical definition because it represents pain, death, and destruction.

K-k-k.com has a traditional cross lighting on its site. According to the members of this site, a cross

lighting is a Christian ceremony that they partake in, not because they are burning the cross, but lighting the cross. This site blames the media for the negative publicity it has received and the accusations of desecrating the cross by burning it.

The cross lighting includes a cross that is between twelve and fifteen feet high. There are members of the Ku Klux Klan that are wearing the traditional white robes and hood. Many are carrying lit torches while others stand around and chant or sing. The cross is then doused in gasoline and set aflame. This site's use of fire is consistent with its historical definition because it represents the power of destruction and the ultimate test of purity and faith.

Creator.org uses flames to reinforce the written text. On its site, there is a picture of the official symbol (the letter 'W' with a crown above it and a halo above the crown) with a picture of planet earth behind it. At the top of the page are the words, "World Church of the Creator". Beneath it is the word "RAHOWA", which stands for racial holy war. Coming out the top of each letter is a flame. The way this site uses fire is consistent with its historical definition because it represents revelation, ambition, and creation.

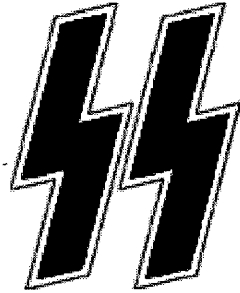
Micetrap Distribution is responsible for the sales of a lot of Hatecore (music that promotes hate against members of other races, religions, and sexual orientations) both in the United States and in Germany. One of the CD's that they are selling is called, "Der Angriff". This is a German CD that is a compilation of Hatecore music. The cover of the CD shows a White man with a shaved head and large muscles setting the group's lyrics on fire. This use of fire is consistent with its historical definition because it is an example of destruction.

The symbol of fire is defined as a symbol of destruction, creation, divine energy, pain and death. Fire was often used as a flame on a torch, or as a reinforcement of text. All of the web sites that used fire as a symbol utilized it according to the text definition. Skinheads.net, resist.com and stormfront.org did not include any use of fire on their web sites at the time of the study.

LIGHTNING

Lightning is universally a manifestation of divine wrath, power, or fertilizing potency. Lightning is a rare example of a phenomenon symbolically linked with both fire and water because it often preceded rain.

(Tressider, p. 122) It is a symbol of expression, supernatural power, masculine vitality, and extraterrestrial illumination portrayed as a snake cast down from heaven. (Biedermann, pp. 206-207)



<http://www.stormfront.org/gns.nu>

There were only two web sites that used lightning as a symbol, k-k-k.com and creator.org. Both of the web sites used lightning as an expression of illumination. K-k-k.com and creator.org used lightning when discussing "White pride" and "revolution". Skinheads.net, resist.com, stormfront.org, and whitepride.com did not use the symbol of lightning in their site during the study.

K-k-k.com used lightning as a form of background on their site. The lightning helped promote Nordic Fest 2001. This is a festival that will take place in Powderly, Kentucky. The festival is scheduled for Memorial Day weekend. As the lightning flashes in the background, the words, "If you're not White, don't even think about it" stand out in red letters. This use of

lightning is consistent with its historical meaning because of its illumination.

Creator.org use of lightning is identical to that of k-k-k.com. Rev. Matt Hale, Pontifex Maximus (leader) had a personal photo of himself greeting a perspective member. The gentleman had attended one of the meetings of the organization near a wooded area. The picture was taken of the gentleman and Rev. Hale shaking hands. The background of the picture was full of lightning bolts that illuminated the entire photograph. Like k-k-k.com, creator.org use of lightning is consistent with its historical meaning because it is a symbol of illumination.

SKULL

The skull is a seat of intelligence, a spirit, vital energy, and the part of the body most resistant to decay. A skull filled with blood is a symbol of the renunciation of life. (Tressider, p. 183) A skull is the symbol of mortality and impermanence. It is death's head. (Becker, p. 272)



<http://www.stormfront.org/gns.nu>

The interpreted use of the skull on the Internet sites showed that there was a large focus on death. Death was commonly used to get rid of or prevent members of the different races, religions, and sexual orientations from existing. For example, resist.com has a section on their site called a Racist Cartoon Guide. On this guide there was a drawing of a Jewish man drawn with abnormally large features such as a large pointed nose, dark bushy eyebrows, and thick curly black hair. The Jewish man had large features but he was very short. Hovering above the Jewish man was a White man. The white man had a mean scowl on his face. In the White man's hand was a large aerosol can. On the front of the can was a skull and crossbones. Underneath the skull and crossbones were the words, "Jew Spray". This use of the skull is consistent with its historical meaning because it was used as a symbol of death.

Skinheads.net has a section that allows its members to submit pictures of their tattoos. Ise, who

was discussed earlier, has a tattoo called, "DE@TH" that was drawn by Julian Kates. This tattoo has a heart in the middle with crossbones. A skull is on top of the heart with fire coming out of the top and its mouth. Underneath the heart is a ribbon with the word 'death'. The "A" in death is a skull. This site's use of the skull is consistent with its historical definition because it focuses on mortality.

Resist.com uses their racist cartoons to express their views on different races, religions, and sexual orientations. Mexican-Americans, for example, were shown on the top of the drawing with the words, "The only way to stop a flood..." Underneath those words is a picture of a field. There is a line of white men in military uniforms shooting machine guns, flying helicopters, and driving tanks. In front of them are Mexican-American men, women, and children trying to walk towards them. Some of the women are pregnant. They are all being shot down by the white men in military uniforms. Behind the Mexican Americans are piles of skulls and bones. The area is fenced off with a sign that said, "US/Mexican Border DO NOT ENTER". At the bottom of the picture is a continuation of what was said at the top of the picture, "...is to cut off the flow". This use of the skull is

consistent with its historical meaning because it focuses on mortality and decay.

The graphics library on stormfront.org has a shield with W.A.R. on the top with the skull and crossbones on the bottom. The skull has a black patch over its right eye. There is also a picture of a skull that was painted in black. Both types of skulls are consistent with the historical definition because they are examples of the part of the body most resistant to decay.

Creator.org used the skull as a part of its background on different sections of their site. The background was gray with white outlines of skulls. Creator.org use of the skull is consistent with its historical definition because of the written text that accompanied it. It reinforced the World Church of the Creator's want of permanence and stability. This is an example of impermanence.

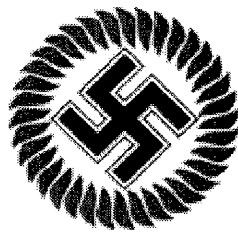
Whitepride.com used the skull throughout its site. The skull was used on CD covers, flags, pendants, rings, and T-shirts. One of the CD's from Skrewdriver featured a song called, "Warlord". On the cover of the CD is a pile of skulls on top of a black hill with blood coming out of the skulls. "Their Kingdom Will Fall" is a song on the CD that renounces the existence of other races.

This is consistent with the historical definition because it represents a renunciation of life.

The skull is defined as the part of the body that is most resistant to decay. The skull, if accompanied by blood, is a renunciation of life. The skull also represents mortality. All of the web sites that used the skull were consistent with the historical definition. K-k-k.com did not use the skull in their web site during the time the study was conducted.

SWASTIKA

The swastika is the most ancient and widespread of all-linear symbols. The swastika is an ideogram representing cosmic dynamism and creative energy. The swastika is a sign of Christ moving in the world. It symbolizes a life force, solar power and cyclic regeneration. (Tressider, pp.196-197) The bending of the ends of the four arms in a single direction suggests a circular or dynamic movement. (Biedermann, p. 334) It is a symbol of good luck, healing, fortune, and happiness, found on ceramics dating from the third century BC. (Becker, p. 129, 289-290)



<http://www.stormfront.org/gns.nu>

When one defines the swastika it is likely that the definition used is the one created by Hitler in the 1930s. The swastika was in existence centuries before Hitler's reign. All of the web sites that used the swastika were inconsistent with its historical meaning. For example, resist.com used the swastika as a symbol inside the eyes of a wolf. The wolf's mouth opens wide. There is blood dripping off of the wolf's teeth. The wolf's eyes are blood red. Inside of each eye is a white swastika. The swastika is inconsistent with its historical meaning because there is no happiness or good luck associated with its use.

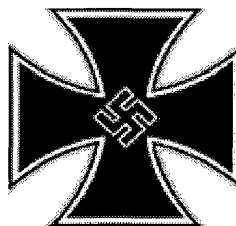
K-k-k.com uses the swastika throughout its site. The swastika is mainly used on flags. The flag contains the swastika by itself, or is accompanied by other symbols and text. The swastika is a form of a cross. K-k-k.com even used it in one of their Christian Cross Lighting ceremonies. They set the original cross on fire, then lit the swastika. The two burned next to each

other while the members of the Ku Klux Klan, wearing their white robes and hoods, marched in a circle around the fiery crosses. Underneath the picture are the words, Imperial Klans of America. The swastika used in this site is inconsistent with its historical definition because it is not used as a symbol of happiness. It is used as a symbol of fortune, but not for everyone. This site is concerned with "securing the existence of our race and a future for White children". (<http://k-k-k.com>)

Stormfront.org uses the swastika in the way Hitler intended it to be used. The graphics page of this site uses swastikas on flags, pendants, T-shirts and other regalia. One of the most common displays of the swastika is at the feet of the eagle. The eagle, as earlier discussed, is a powerful animal. The swastika is attached to it as an ideogram representing power. The swastika used is inconsistent with its historical definition because it does not represent an inclusive power for all. It is meant to represent and empower members in the White Racialist Movement.

Whitepride.com is commemorating Hitler and WWII on their site. Their use of the swastika is like the one created by Adolf Hitler. Like the other web sites, the swastika was attached to the feet of the eagle. That was

a representation of power and strength. Whitepride.com also used the swastika on the merchandise they sold. There were German WWII Nazi keychains, Nazi eagle keychains, and flags with a swastika inside a white circle, iron crosses on a red and black background with a German eagle. Whitepride.com associated the swastika with Hitler and the Nazi era. Because of this association, the swastika does not follow the historical definition.



<http://www.stormfront.org/gns.nu>

The swastika stands for good, fortune, healing and happiness. The web sites that used the swastika did not use them in that way. They were defined by Hitler's definition. Hitler adopted the swastika as a symbol in August 1920. As the historical definition states, it is an ideogram representing dynamism and creative energy. Hitler took that energy and made the symbol what it is today. "The effect was as if we had dropped a bomb". (Adolf Hitler in Tressider, pg. 197) Skinheads.net and

creator.org did not use the swastika on the web site during the time the study was conducted.

WOLF

The wolf is an animal that represents ferocity, cunning, greed, cruelty, courage, victory, devouring, and sexually predatory. It is a triumphal symbol of intelligence through experience. (Tressider, p. 229) It is also a predatory animal considered dangerous to people and animals with an image of "the enemy" in animal form. The wolf is an utterly diabolical creature that is uncompromising, intelligent and treacherous. (Biedermann, pp. 387-389) It is an ambivalent symbolic animal that symbolizes light, and gluttony, as well as covetousness. (Becker, pp. 331-332)

The wolf has always been a symbol that struck fear in the hearts of many. Such fear is the intention of the web hosts of resist.com. On the homepage of resist.com is a wolf with red eyes and blood dripping from its teeth. If you move your mouse to place the arrow on the face of the wolf, these words appear: "Lone wolves are everywhere. We're in your neighborhoods, financial institutions, police departments, military, and social clubs." (<http://resist.com>) The wolf is used to reinforce the

text. K-k-k.com portrays the wolf as an enemy in human form. Resist.com portrays the wolf as a cruel, devouring, cunning, predator. Together, k-k-k.com and resist.com are consistent with the historical definition of the wolf.



<http://www.resist.com>

K-k-k.com uses the wolf in one of its links labeled, "November Criminals". This site is consistent with the historic definition because it shows the wolf as a cunning, ravenous, greedy and covetous animal. This site portrays the wolf as an uncompromising diabolical creature.

In k-k-k.com, the wolf is on the inside of a sheep's skin. Hence, the phrase, a wolf in sheep's clothing. It is a series of stationary pencil sketches that starts off with the sheep unzipping its skin and revealing the wolf's head. The second picture is of the sheep with a Christian cross around its neck. The third picture is of the wolf coming out of the sheep's clothing with the Star of David pinned to its left leg. On the page, the theme music to the movie "The Godfather" plays. In the center

of the sketch is a moving photograph that starts off with a picture of Bill Clinton then transforms into a picture of Jesse Jackson. This is another method of symbolizing a wolf in sheep's clothing.

The wolf has been defined as an ambivalent creature. It is negative, wild, gluttonous, and dangerous all at the same time. Both sites proved that in their use of the wolf. Both sites were able to be examples of all aspects of the wolf. K-k-k.com and Resist.com both use the wolf in a way that is consistent with the historical meaning. Skinheads.net, stormfront.org, creator.org, and whitpride.com did not use the wolf in its web site during the time the study was conducted.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The results of this study indicate that symbols on the Internet are used in two ways: to reinforce written text and to help create meaning with the help of other symbols.

As a whole, the symbols that were used along with written text were used to reinforce the text's meaning.

According to the study, phrases such as "white pride," "white pride worldwide," "white Aryan resistance," "Celtic pride," "white heritage," and "RAHOWA" often accompanied the symbols. What these phrases represent is a separation of the races. A symbol's use along with these phrases was important because the symbol gave strength to the words it accompanies.

When words did not accompany the symbols, the symbols were then grouped with other symbols. Often one would find a cross on the chest of an eagle with a swastika on its feet. The combined definition of the symbol would then be: a symbol of unity, power, and hope signifying protection and healing. It was also common for the sites to use a cross with a drop of blood in the middle and fire surrounding it. The combined definition

of the symbol would then be: a symbol of divine energy, inspiration, unity, and brotherhood. Using symbols as a group created meaning. The symbols by themselves did not change meaning, but the compilation of the symbols worked together to create a combined meaning.

Out of the ten symbols studied, only the cross and the swastika did not follow their traditional meanings. This is not because the symbols were altered in any way. Their definitions were changed because of what accompanied them. The cross was often accompanied by fire, the swastika, blood, arrows, the eagle, the skull, and phrases like, white pride worldwide Aryan pride, strength, and purity; and RAHOWA on each site. By itself, the cross was consistent with the traditional definition. These phrases and the use of other symbols are what changed the meaning of the cross.

The swastika was used in a similar fashion. There were times when the swastika was a symbol that stood alone. Mostly, the swastika was seen with other symbols. On the web sites, the eagle, blood, the wolf, and phrases like National Socialists and white power often accompanied the swastika.

The swastika did not follow its definition is because it followed Hitler's definition. As discussed,

Hitler redefined the swastika centuries after it was created. Because of the hate that came out of Hitler's era, the traditional definition of the swastika has been forgotten. Even though the cross and the swastika did not follow their traditional definition, all of the sites that used the two symbols used them to create a meaning, and that was hate. The message of hate was conveyed throughout all of the sites.

Collectively, the sites have been faithful in their use of the symbols. Whether the traditional definitions of the symbols were used, or new definitions were created, those definitions were shared amongst all of the sites

The web sites used the symbols that accentuated their views and beliefs. If the group wanted to instill fear into those that viewed their site, they used symbols that represent fear. The wolf is a symbol that represents fear. If the group wanted to show pride, it was appropriate for the site to use a symbol that represents pride. The eagle is a symbol of pride. The pattern goes on and on. These symbols were not chosen by mistake. Their selection was a conscious effort to empower the words and beliefs of the group. Whether they

combined the symbols, or allowed them to stand on their own, symbols were used to reinforce the sites' views.

The symbols were able to say what words could not. A picture of a burning cross did not need words to explain what the symbol meant. A swastika on a flag does not need words to define it because the definition created by Hitler is known across the world.

Understanding how the symbols were used on the Internet sites is important because these symbols affect more than just people of color, people of a Jewish faith, and people with a nontraditional sexual orientation. These symbols also affect people of European ancestry. More specifically, these symbols affect the members of European ancestry that do not have the same views as those of the web site host.

It has been implied by the web sites that the first ones to be killed in a race war are the whites that betray their own race by befriending blacks, marry outside of their own race, and raise children that are not pure white. Members of the hate groups who believe a race war is coming are forming militias. There is no guarantee that a race war will not happen. By learning about these groups and the symbols they use to

communicate their beliefs, any harm targeted towards people may be prevented.

The symbols are used to identify the groups and members of the groups that are represented on these sites. These symbols can be found on the sites and in society as well. The tattoos, flags, keychains, T-shirts, and fliers can be found in any community.

The groups represented on the web sites studied practice discretion. The members of the site know that if their identities were known, they would be scrutinized or physically harmed by members of other races, religions, and sexual orientations. Imagine knowing that the Mayor, CEO of a major company, police chief, or pastor of a highly respected congregation is affiliated with one of these same groups and the only way their identity was known was by their use of the same symbols studied.

"In a world in which more than ever before everyone depends on everyone else, true partnership is a necessity of the hour and of reason". (Jahn, pgs. 234-235)

Everyone, regardless of their race, religion, and sexual orientation needs to come together and learn how these symbols are being used. Having knowledge of how symbols are being used may decrease the number of hate crimes

here in the United States. Being aware of the danger before lives are lost is what is important.

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