



Analysing White Supremacy Ideology and Strategies for Its Prevention

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Abstract

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Purpose: Mass shootings in America have increased significantly in recent decades. Half of all incidents have occurred since 2000, with one-third since 2010. Victim numbers have also risen, from an average of 8 deaths per year in the 1970s to 51 per year in the 2010s. Data reveal that most perpetrators are white males, and that a culture of violence and easy access to firearms are key drivers. This study investigates why many white men commit mass shootings, using the Buffalo shooting as a case study.

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Study Design/Methodology/Approach: This research adopts a qualitative design, using a case study approach to examine events and individual action in detail.

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Findings: Mass shootings are rooted in social pathologies within American society, exacerbated by the ideology of white supremacy. This ideology, born from frustration with progress in racial and gender equality, channels anger towards individuals perceived as foreign.

Originality/Value: The study underscores the need for risk management in firearm ownership to prevent misuse. By providing an in-depth analysis of a specific case, it enriches existing literature on supremacist ideology and offers insights into its prevention.

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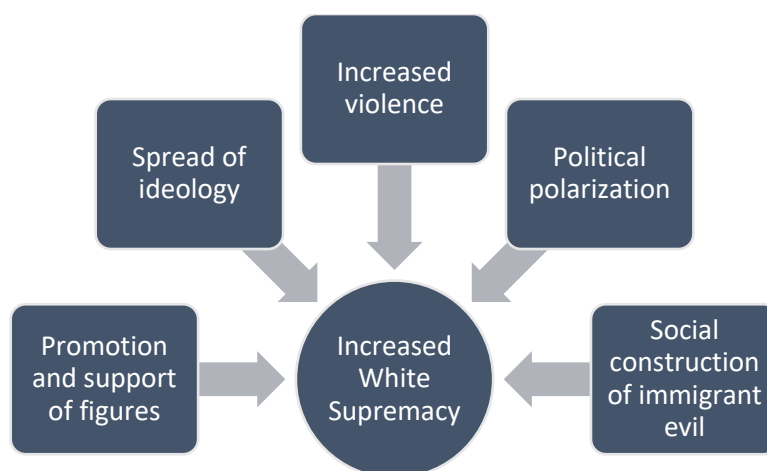


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INTRODUCTION

According to white supremacy literature, there are five interrelated themes of denial that maintain the perpetuation of violence, privilege, historical evasion, spatial inequality, and exploitative capitalism as ways to sustain white supremacy (Gibbons, 2018). During the period from 2017 to 2019, there was an increase in white supremacist violence targeting people of colour in the United States. This increase was not limited to acts of violence and extended further to the spread of ideology and the recruitment of members into white nationalist groups. In the case of the increase in supremacist violence in the United States, speech acts were employed to amplify the dissemination of ideology and the expansion of white nationalist movements. This surge was largely driven by political polarisation during the election of President Donald Trump, which provided white nationalists with opportunities to pursue their vision of an ethnically homogeneous white state. Promotion and support from politicians and influential figures in the United States bolstered the white supremacy movement, emboldening white extremists in their efforts to realise this vision. Furthermore, the language used by white nationalist leaders to express their views on immigration influenced United States policies on immigrants. The negative rhetoric employed to describe immigrants entering the United States fostered a social construction in which immigrants were portrayed as harmful to American society, particularly to white communities. This, in turn, fuelled widespread rejection of immigrants across the United States (Hanifan, 2021). See Figure 1.



Source: Processed from Hanifan (2021)

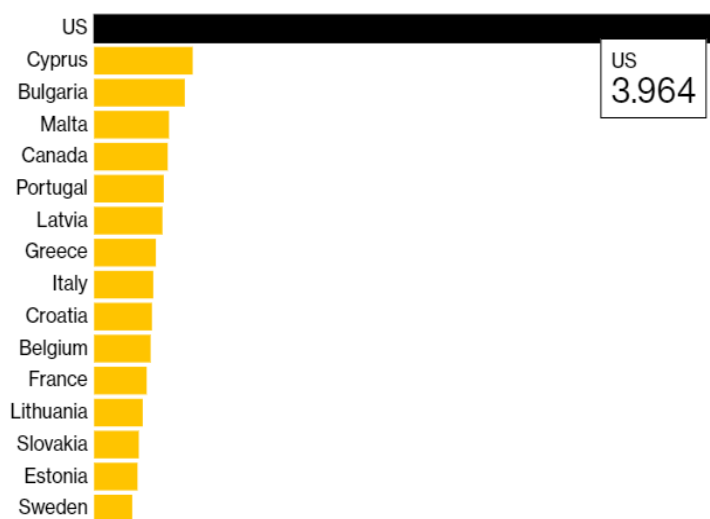
Figure 1. Factors Contributing to the Rise of White Supremacy

The America First policy by adopting selective isolationism is a step in the US Grand Strategy under the Donald Trump administration to address societal challenges. The America First doctrine ultimately acted as a counternarrative to the contributions of immigrants who have played a significant role in building the US economy. Furthermore, white supremacy is a narrative rooted in the colonial era, which continues to exacerbate the divide between white and black communities in the United States. Selective isolationism also impacts global economic uncertainty by imposing restrictions on cooperation which are considered to result in economic losses (Taufik and Pratiwi, 2021).

On 14 May 2022, in Buffalo, New York, a heavily armed white man entered a supermarket and killed ten innocent individuals. Just ten days later, a similar tragedy occurred at an elementary school in Uvalde, Texas, where 21 elementary school children lost their lives. The Buffalo attack was the deadliest mass shooting of the year, while the attack in Uvalde was the worst attack on a school since the Sandy Hook tragedy (Ahmed, 2022).

Bloomberg reported that there have been 214 mass shootings in the United States in 2022. While similar shooting tragedies also occur in other countries, particularly those affected by gang violence and drug trafficking, the frequency of armed mass attacks in the United States far exceeds that of other developed nations. However, when compared to other developed countries, the number of armed mass attacks in America is too high (Bloomberg, 2022). For every 100,000 people, four deaths are recorded due to gun violence.

This statistic is significantly higher than even the worst-affected European nations. Sweden, the European country with the highest rate of gun violence, records four deaths per one million people annually. By comparison, the average European country experiences 1.6 deaths per one million people. This stark difference indicates that the United States is ten times worse than Sweden. See figure 2.



Source: Thomas (2022)

Figure 2. Average Deaths Due to Armed Violence in Developed Countries

Mass shootings in the United States have increased over the past few decades. Half of all mass shootings in the United States occurred since 2000, with one-third of these incidents taking place since 2010. The number of victims has also risen. In the 1970s, mass shootings claimed eight lives per year. This figure increased to 15 per year in the 1980s, reached 21 per year in the 1990s, and rose again to 24 per year in the 2000s. The 2010s were particularly devastating, with the annual death toll from mass shootings reaching an average of 51 (Peterson and Densley, 2021). Data from Peterson and Densley further reveal that the majority of mass shooters are white. Fifty-two percent were white, 20 percent were black, and 8 percent were of Latin American descent (Duxbury et al., 2018). These statistics suggest a particularly distinctive issue within the white male

demographic. prompting the question: "Why do so many white men commit mass shootings?" This study aims to explain address this issue, using the Buffalo mass shooting as a case study.

Literature Review

Theoretical Studies

White supremacy is a racist ideology founded on the belief that white people are inherently superior to individuals of other races (Saad, 2020). This racist ideology originated long ago in the Western world and has fostered acute polarisation within societies. Such polarisation manifests across various aspects of identity and discourse, including politics, religion, race, ethnicity, and even the legal system. In the United States, for example, this issue dates back to the colonial period and has left a legacy of violence. Immigrants with darker skin tones are often relegated to the status of second-class citizens and are frequently subjected to both verbal and physical violence (Mas'odi, 2022).

Drawing from the literature on the nature of white supremacy, there are five interrelated and intractable themes. These themes involve a refusal to understand the violence inflicted on the body, mind and spirit; a defence of privilege arising from racial hierarchy; an avoidance of the burden of history; a denial of responsibility for the spatial consequences of white supremacy; and an unwillingness to recognise the structure and exploitative nature of capitalist development dominated by racial logics. All of these denials are used to support white supremacy, and are internalised in various facets of life (Gibbons, 2018).

There has been recent research on white supremacy and racial hierarchies. Danewid (2017) focused on dynamics of empathy and hospitality in the saving of migrants in the Mediterranean, arguing that these dynamics erase structural questions of responsibility and allow for the reproduction of Europe as 'ethical' and 'good' and the maintenance of what Wekker (2016) calls 'white innocence'. Turner (2020) argued that increasingly neoliberal attempts to foster entrepreneurship among particular, marked, refugee groups are racializing moves producing racial hierarchies between humanitarian subjects and ultimately upholding white supremacy. Pascucci (2019) showed how labour precarity in the humanitarian sector intersects with racial hierarchies. While Benton (2016) has shown how white supremacy and racial hierarchies shape everyday aspects of humanitarian practice from staff recruitment to professional expectations. Pallister-Wilkins (2021) argued that humanitarianism as it has developed over time allows white supremacy to go unchallenged but also to thrive, and Christian et al. (2019) argued that Critical Race Theory (CRT) better explains the long-standing continuity of racial inequality than theories grounded in the "progress paradigm," as CRT shows how racism and white supremacy are reproduced through multiple changing mechanisms.

Sociological Context of the United States

Historically, America is a country characterised by a high tolerance for violence (Monkkonen, 2006). As Hofstadter and Wallace noted, American history has been a history of violence (1970). Documented forms of violence include atrocities against Native Americans, the enslavement of black people, the Civil War, the era of organised crime, violence against women and children, violence against immigrants, and police

brutality. Throughout America's violent history, the most dominant and privileged group in the social hierarchy has been white men.

This social hierarchy has been increasingly challenged by socio-political dynamics within society. Various modern social movements have emerged to contest this structure. In the modern era, this challenge has been shaped by the gender equality movement of feminist groups and the racial equality movement of social justice groups. Empirical data also shows a decline in the white population. In 1980, 80 percent of the US population were white. In contrast, recent data shows that the white population in the United States is approximately 60 percent. Against this backdrop, a group of white men dissatisfied with these changes has emerged. Michael Kimmel calls them "*Angry White Men*" (Kimmel, 2013).

This group tends to embrace far-right ideologies to address their grievances. Far-right is an ideological spectrum with four characteristics: exclusive and dehumanising beliefs; anti-government and anti-democratic tendencies; existential threats and conspiracy theories; and apocalyptic fantasies (Miller-Idriss, 2020). Among the various ideologies within the far-right spectrum, white supremacy is both exclusive and central to understanding the far-right in the United States (Miller-Idriss, 2021). Furthermore, the history and character of white supremacy are explored in the next sub-chapter.

History of White Supremacy in United States

White supremacy is an ideology emerged born in the 1800s alongside the abolitionist movement (the black liberation movement from slavery across the world). This ideology arose as a reaction by the white community in the southern United States to efforts aimed at liberate the black community. Over time, it evolved into various forms. The Anti-Defamation League identifies four core beliefs that can be classified into this ideology: (i) white people must dominate those of other racial backgrounds; (ii) white people possess a distinct 'culture' that is superior to other cultures that are separate from other communities; (iii) white people have a more advanced "culture" than others; and (iv) white people are genetically "superior" to people of other races. In addition, the Anti-Semitism—hatred of Jews—plays a prominent role an important position in the ideology of white supremacy. For them, Jews are a parasitic and malevolent race (Anti-Defamation League, 2017).

After the American Civil War (in 1865), white racist groups were increasingly marginalised. However, these groups re-emerged during the political turmoil in America. In the contemporary era, this movement is influenced by events such as the rise of Nazi fascism in Germany and the September 11 attacks in 2001. White supremacists believe that they are not fighting to maintain dominance, but to fighting for survival. They portray white people as a group that is increasingly marginalised by other races. The election of Barack Obama as the first black president of the United States intensified these fears.

The core values of domination, fear, and the right to rule were popularised by white supremacists or radicals. David Eden Lane, a member of the 1980s white supremacist terror group "The Order" popularised the slogan for the white supremacist movement. This slogan is known as the "14 words" which indeed consists of 14 words: "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children." This phrase is featured in Lane's writings, which were then printed and distributed by his wife (Michael, 2009). The slogan was so popular among white supremacists that it inspired other violent

movements. Such as the bombings carried out in Oklahoma in 2004. This attack was orchestrated by Sean Michael Gillespie as the first of 14 violent acts that he intended to carry out. Gillespie was later sentenced to 39 years in prison.

The slogan "14 words" emerging from Lane's writings evolved, and influenced the development of the white radical movement. The idea of defending white lives was sharpened by the construction of the idea of white genocide. This idea was popularised by Bob Whitaker in an essay entitled *The Mantra*. This article was uploaded to his blog and received much attention from white racists (Lenz, 2017). In the essay, Whitaker tried to refute the accusations of racism often levelled at white extremist groups. For him, people who claim to be anti-racists conceal their true anti-white views. If white people live side by side, without clear segregation, with people of other races, then the white race will gradually disappear. Consequently, those who want multiculturalism are carrying out slow genocide, white genocide. Anti-white jargon has become very influential among white supremacists (Kendi, 2022). The jargon frames the white community as victims and marginalised and had to be saved immediately. Unfortunately, this message was very easy to misinterpret as a justification for committing violence. The narratives of 'anti-white,' 'white extinction,' cultivated hostility towards anyone deemed considered foreign. Black people, Asians, Latin Americans, Muslim Arabs, and Jewish communities.

The death of George Floyd at the hands of the American police in May 2020 is one example of a case where racial sentiment in America fomented suspicion and incited acts of violence. The incident sparked a mass movement to oppose discrimination against the black race in America under the slogan 'Black Lives Matter'. The Black Lives Matter movement is a decentralised political and social movement that seeks to highlight systemic racism, discrimination and inequality experienced by black people. This movement serves as a protest against racial bias and the doctrine of white privilege, which undermines the universal values that America claims to champion (Mas'odi, 2022).

METHODS

The research design adopted in this study is qualitative. It involves data collection in a natural setting to interpret events. The researcher serves as a key instrument, with data sources selected using snowball and purposive sampling methods. Data collection techniques incorporate triangulation a combination of methods, and data analysis is conducted inductively (Anggito and Setiawan, 2018). This study adopts a case study approach. Case studies are a qualitative strategy allowing researchers to examine events, activities, programmes, processes, or one or more individuals in greater depth. They involve specific activities and defined timeframes, enabling researchers to collect detailed data using a variety of methods over an extended period (Creswell, 2016).

This study examines the ideology of white supremacy and its prevention efforts by analysing the mass shooting in Buffalo, New York. The reason the author selected this case is that it represents part of an epidemic of mass shootings often perpetrated by young men radicalized online by an ideology of hate. The Buffalo shooter authored hundreds of written pages in which he outlined connections between those platforms and his own radicalisation and decision to commit a mass attack animated by racism, antisemitism, and other abhorrent bigotry. His writings reveal how these ideologies influenced his actions. Moreover, he intended to use these platforms to further disseminate his racist

ideology, inspire additional acts of violence, and preserve and share videos and images of his attack (James, 2022).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Post-2009 White Supremacy Movement

Since 2009, the right-wing extremist movement has experienced a resurgence. However, the white supremacist movement classified as far-right has not seen an increase in membership. Interestingly, the context in which this movement has revived in the modern era somewhat counterintuitive when closely examined.

In 2008, America faced a severe economic recession, worsening living conditions for many. Barack Obama, a black presidential candidate, won the American political battle. Curiously, Obama's victory was celebrated by white supremacist groups. Mark Potok (2008), in his article in the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) documented online discussions circulating in the Vanguard News Network web forum. Potok observed that Obama's victory heightened white supremacists' awareness of what they perceived as a threat to their dominance, believing they were no longer in power in their own country.

As mentioned, the far-right group has increased in number. However, it is important to understand that the far-right in America is not a monolithic entity (Cas Mudde, 2018). Broadly speaking, the far-right consists of two major groups: anti-government extremists and the white supremacist movement. Issues such as economic decline, immigration, and racial hatred have been exploited by anti-government extremists to attract new recruits. This dynamic does not apply to the white supremacist movement. Obama's rise only exacerbated their anger but did not result in an increase in their numbers. White supremacy, in fact, remained stagnant during Obama's first term.

Case Study of Mass Shooting in Buffalo, New York

NPR.com reported that the shooting in Buffalo, New York, on 14 May 2022 is the deadliest gun attack in America in 2022 (Ahmed, 2022). The perpetrator was a young man approximately 18 years old. While the motive remains under investigation. The semi-automatic rifle used in the attack had the number '14' engraved on it (Megli, 2022). Evidence collected from the scene suggests that the perpetrator was radicalised and affiliated with the white supremacist movement, inspired by various racist and discriminatory slogans.

Authorities confirmed that the crime would be prosecuted under the hate crime law (Ahmed, 2022). The majority of the victims were black. The shooting began at 2:30 p.m. local time at Tops Friendly Markets. The location was in a residential area predominantly populated by black people. The attack was broadcast live by the perpetrator on the Twitch platform. In response to this tragedy, the Governor of New York allocated 2.8 million US dollars to help the victims' families, covering funeral costs and counselling services. Before carrying out the attack, the perpetrator published a document, referred to as a 'screed', on the anonymous forum 4chan. In this document, the perpetrator attributed his radicalisation to 'extreme boredom' during the pandemic. In the writing, the perpetrator also outlined his justification for targeting and killing African-Americans. The numbers

engraved on the weapon and the contents of the document provide clear evidence of a racial motive behind the attack.

Case Analysis: Grief, Hate, Violence and Digital Platform Engagement

A study highlight how the Buffalo shooter was first indoctrinated and radicalised through online platforms, and how he utilised these and other platforms to plan, execute, and promote acts of terror. The report assesses the strengths and weaknesses of the response of various online platforms in the wake of the Buffalo shooting. Early reports indicated that online platforms were running advertisements next to footage of the shooting. Facebook eventually disabled advertising banners for searches related to the Buffalo shooting, consistent with their public-facing policy. However, other platforms performed even worse. For example, weeks after the attack, Twitter was auto-suggesting to users a search for “buffalo live stream video” after a user entered only the partial query “buffal” [sic], both on a desktop browser and on its mobile app. Additionally, TikTok continued for weeks to auto-suggest the shooting video as well, although without the advertising (James, 2022).

Michael Kimmell, in his book *Angry White Man*, states that white supremacists are a group that holds anachronistic ideas —outdated beliefs relevant only to a specific period. The class that initially occupied a hierarchical position was gradually stripped of its position. Kimmel (2013) refers to this phenomenon as “aggrieved entitlement”. White men in America feel that the *privileges they* should have received have been taken away by various demands. They can no longer understand how they got caught up in the chaos of life that no longer provides a path to success. This frustration often finds refuge in extreme right-wing ideology.

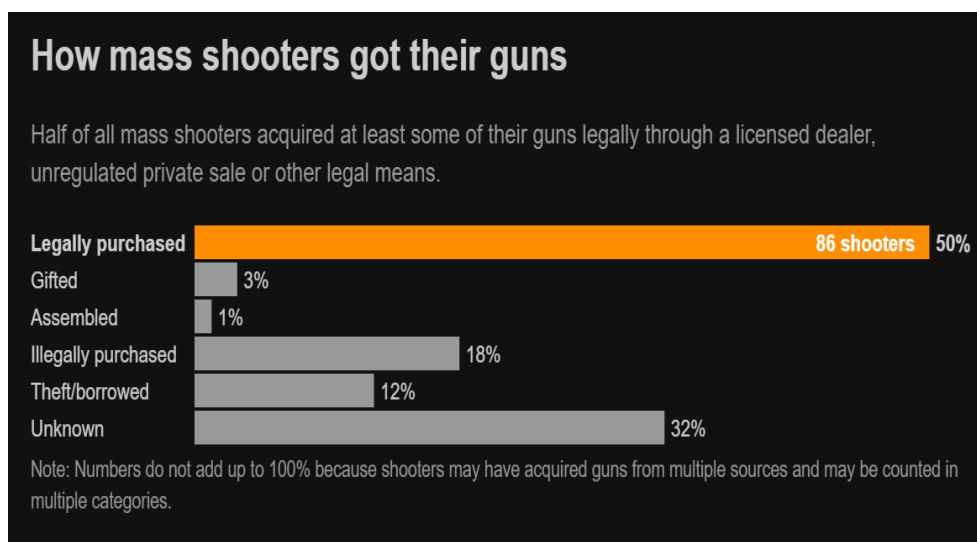
The path to violence follows a narrowing staircase, as argued by Moghaddam (2005). Anger and frustration from an “us-versus-them” mentality drive individual to reject diversity and long for a homogeneous order in values and ways of life. This mindset dehumanises others, portraying them as less human. The sharper the racist view, the easier it is for someone to commit violence.

Peterson and Densley's analysis of ideology offers valuable insight. For this radical racist group, ideology plays a role in justifying the violence they commit. Ideology acts to silence the moral voice that exists within humans; that harming others is wrong (Peterson and Densley, 2021). In addition to racist views of groups from different backgrounds, several experts agree that this group is united by a narrative of an existential threat to whites. This fear is justified by conspiracy theories such as “*white genocide*.” Conspiracy theories are an integral aspect of the racist ideology underpinning white supremacy. White supremacists decry demographic change, increasing ethnic diversity, and the rise in refugees and asylum seekers as reasons for their declining standard of living. As a result, their hatred extends beyond other races. For them, existence is a *zero-sum game*; they do not want other races in the areas in areas they believe should be exclusively theirs.

Case Analysis: Prevention Efforts

Mass shootings appear to be a distinctly American phenomenon. The frequency of such incidents to have normalised them as part of everyday life. The prevalence of these cases is partly due to gun ownership being a constitutionally protected right. Making it relatively easy for individuals to acquire firearms. A 2018 survey by the Small Arms Survey revealed that the number of guns in circulation exceeds the population. There are 120 guns for every 100 civilians (Karp, 2018).

A report by VOA outlines how mass shooters obtain their weapons. More than 160 mass shootings have been collected in the Violence Project database. Of these incidents, 50% of the perpetrators obtained their weapons through legal and licensed means (Shahid and Duzor, 2021).see figure 3.



Source: Shahid and Duzor (2021)

Figure 3. Sources of Obtaining Weapons

Various efforts have been proposed to address this issue. The Rockefeller Institute of Government conducted a study to find the relationship between stricter gun ownership policies, the frequency of mass shooting incidents and the number of victims when mass shootings occur (Rocque et al., 2021). This study produced two strategic findings for formulating gun ownership policies. First, redefining gun ownership as a privilege rather than a constitutional right. Something that is a constitutional right differs fundamentally from a privilege that requires authorisation. Someone who wants to own a gun must first permission from the authorities. If this mechanism is implemented, a screening process will be carried out to reduce the risk of weapons falling into the wrong hands. Second, the study advocated for banning the sale of large-capacity magazines (LCMs). Weapons such as semi-automatic rifles have claimed many victims in most attack that has occurred. In this study, it was found that states that banned the sale of LCMs experienced a 38% decrease in fatal injuries, and a 77% decrease in minor injuries.

Another strategic recommendation for preventing mass shootings is the adoption of a strategic intelligence framework. This approach has been applied to various problems, such as protection in cyberspace (Samad and Persadha, 2022b), relocation of the nation's capital (Salya, 2022), and handling illegal practices related to migrant workers (Samad et

al., 2023). Strategic intelligence operates across a broad spectrum, incorporating multidisciplinary considerations in policy formulation and it sees the importance of integrating social, political, economic, defence, and other variables, including specific variables such as geography, logistics, communication, government, and diplomacy. In the context of this research, the ideology of white supremacy can be prevented by maximising the involvement and ensuring active stakeholder engagement, including both government and private institutions.

CONCLUSION

The increase in mass shootings in the United States reflects deep-seated social pathologies within the structure of American society. One ideology that significantly exacerbates these incidents is white supremacy. This ideology, rooted in dissatisfaction with advancements in racial and gender equality, channels its anger towards those perceived as foreign. Socio-political dynamics that have gradually eroded the privileges historically held by white men have led to feelings of profound anger and frustration among certain groups. Immigrants, Latinos, African-Americans, Asians, and Jews are often scapegoated for their perceived misfortunes. The prevalence of exclusive ideologies dulls the ethical sensitivities inherent in individuals. Moreover, a culture of violence, coupled with easy access to firearms, fuels the proliferation of armed shootings. Proposed solutions include reforming gun ownership policies, transitioning the right to own firearms into a permit-based system, and banning high-capacity weapons. A study conducted by the Rockefeller Institute demonstrates that such measures have successfully reduced both the frequency and severity of firearm-related incidents. Further preventative measures involve revising discriminatory legislation and adopting a strategic intelligence approach to empower private and governmental institutions to counter ideological and cyber-based threats.

This study contributes to the existing body of literature on supremacist ideology by providing an in-depth examination of a specific case study. However, its primary limitation lies in its focus on a single case, which constrains its ability to generalise findings. Future research should expand upon this by comparing cases of white supremacy across different regions to yield a more comprehensive understanding of the patterns of ideological dissemination and the escalation of violence by white nationalist groups. Policymakers are advised to strengthen firearm regulations, prohibit high-capacity weapons, and revisit laws that perpetuate racial disparities. Additionally, the government must bolster the role of intelligence agencies to counter digital extremism effectively. For the wider community, raising awareness through education on the dangers of exclusive ideologies and promoting inclusivity and tolerance is critical. Collaborative efforts among government bodies, private institutions, and civil society will be pivotal in mitigating the threats posed by supremacist ideologies and gun violence in the future.

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