Understanding the Psychology of Hate Groups Can Help Society Stop Their Growth

Linda M. Woolf and Michael R. Hulsizer

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ate does not exist in a vacuum. Rather, hate is learned, often from one's family, but also through the groups that one joins. Throughout the history of the United States the public has primarily associated hate groups with acts of hate and violence against individuals such as Matthew Shepard [a gay man murdered in Wyoming in 1998], and James Byrd [a black man killed in Texas in 1999]. However, hate groups have also been increasingly associated with a large number of domestic terrorist attacks ranging from church burnings to the bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma. Consequently, given the persistence of hate-related crime, violence, as well as terrorism, an exploration of the psychosocial functioning of hate groups is imperative.

There are several key aspects necessary for the successful creation of a hate group. It is important to recognize that hate itself is often more of a "means" than an "end" for these organizations and particularly their leaders. In other words, while hate may be the glue that binds and subsequently drives the organization, the motivations behind individual membership are typically grounded in psychological needs such as belong-

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ingness, status, recognition, and power. As such, it is possible to create enmity where none previously existed simply by utilizing a variety of psychosocial mechanisms and pairing these with historically inaccurate perspectives of specific minority groups. Therefore, we must understand the variables that allow for the creation of a hate group before devising strategies to reduce the effectiveness of such organizations....

How to Create a Hate Group

If we want to combat hate, it is imperative that we examine the psychological reasons that bring individuals to a hate group's doorstep, the mechanisms involved in getting them through the door, and the processes involved in organizing these individuals into a group committed to enmity. It is important to note that this discussion is not designed to be a "how to" book for the creation of a hate group. Rather, through an identification of the various factors designed to promote hate, we can work to counter such hate and endeavor to build communities that value diversity and the promotion of peaceful coexistence.

In a sense, the hate group leader becomes a coach making members feel needed, valued, and efficacious as well as building a high level of loyalty to both the leader and the group.

Leadership Dynamics

At the core of any hate group exists a leader or leadership group. Without such leaders, it might be argued that a hate group would cease to exist. In other words, if one removes the head of the snake, the body will naturally die. Unfortunately, while leaders are necessary for the coordinated expression of hate, the survival of a hate group may depend less on the specific, idiosyncratic leader than on the presence of simply someone in a leadership position who has learned basic group dynamics....

effectively manipulate the needs and wants of the group as abilities of their group. With this knowledge, they can most of the leader to influence group member's behaviors as their abilities. Effective image management will increase the ability work to build their credibility within the group and reinforce following behaviors. First, any leader of a hate group must and loyalty that skinhead followers have killed minority group nally as the leader of WAR. Through WAR he hosts a cable to a House of Representatives' Democratic nomination and fitics can be applied to White Aryan Resistance (WAR) leader viduals and members of the group. Each of these characteris maximum effort towards organizational success out of indichange, the most effective leaders can shift gears to get the group leader should be adaptive. As situations and contexts of loyalty to both the leader and the group. Finally, a hate needed, valued, and efficacious as well as building a high leve hate group leader becomes a coach making members feel well as best utilize the abilities of the group. In a sense, the Second, hate group leaders need to understand the needs and followers will view the leader as trustworthy and competent the confidence of their followers regarding their leadership members based allegedly on his coaching.... web site. His leadership efforts have resulted in such influence TV show, publishes a newsletter, and maintains an Interne-California's Grand Dragon of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Tom Metzger. Metzger's leadership has taken him from The most effective hate group leaders will engage in the

Exceptional Recruits

Hate groups not only need leaders but they need recruits. . . .

Methods of recruitment are often aimed at psychological needs. Thus, a lonely individual may be invited simply to a picnic drawing on their need for affiliation or a teen may be introduced to racist music or video games drawing on typical adolescent needs for entertainment and excitement. According

to [researcher K.M.] Blee, most of the women in her research began to identify with a racist agenda only upon developing a social connection to members of the group. Thus, the development of a racist ideology was a consequence and not a cause of membership in a hate group. [Researchers Jack] Levin and [Jack] McDevitt discuss the "power of a tune to persuade" as well as the excitatory lure of the hate group for adolescents. Resistance Records offers a variety of racist rock music compact disks as well the video game, "Ethnic Cleansing: The Game". The description for the video available on the web site states that: "The Race War has begun... Not one of their numbers shall be spared." The goal of the game is to kill as many "subhumans" as possible, including Jews, Latinos, and Blacks.

Us and Them

While personality factors may play a role in prejudice and more importantly provide reasons for joining a hate group, it is important to remember that other psychological factors play a major contributory role in the success of a hate group. In other words, while an individual may be predisposed to the draw of extreme prejudice due to personality or individual vulnerability, it is other social psychological mechanisms that lead an individual to not only join but also become a contributing member of a hate group....

Researchers have also found that we tend to divide the world into us and them—ingroups and outgroups. However, this distinction between us and them is far from trivial.... It is advantageous for us to belong to groups that are held in high esteem so that we are seen in a positive light. Consequently, people try to sustain their positive social identity by assuring themselves that their ingroup is highly valued and distinct from other groups—a phenomenon referred to as the ingroup bias. For example, mythologies created by white supremacist organizations such as Aryan Identity or Christian

Patriots are designed to glorify those "chosen" as distinct from the "other" parasitic and degenerate "races". The ingroup bias, coupled with the outgroup homogeneity effect, the tendency to view outgroup members as similar and one's ingroup as diverse, add to the chasm that separates us and them....

Individuals and/or groups may also go so far as to seek out information that confirms the superiority of their group over a specific outgroup—a phenomenon referred to as the confirmation bias. Blee discusses at length the ability of organized hate groups to teach individuals to filter their life experiences through the lens of racist principles.... Once these beliefs are formed, group members are extremely reluctant to modify them. This phenomenon, referred to as belief perseverance, can account for the tenacity with which hate groups hold on to their beliefs—regardless how illogical their beliefs. The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, a forged anti-Semitic document, continues to resurface and be used as evidence of a Jewish world dominance conspiracy thus "confirming" some of the base tenets of anti-Semitism.

Internal Causes of Hate

Another bias that we use when processing information is the fundamental attribution error—the tendency for individuals to attribute behavior to internal, dispositional causes, ignoring situational explanations. Thus, individuals are more likely to believe that African-Americans make up a disproportionate number of individuals in prison because they are inherently "bad", "inferior", or "evil" as opposed to examining situational causes such as poverty, institutionalized racism, etc. The tendency for individuals to make the fundamental attribution error, coupled with their desire to believe in a just world, leads people to blame the victim for whatever unfortunate event has befallen them. For example, there are those that argue that the Jews brought the Holocaust upon themselves and others

who attribute the 9/11 tragedy and the explosion of the space shuttle Columbia to God's anger at the state of America for its tolerance of homosexuality....

Pressure to Conform in Hate Groups

The nature of group dynamics within a hate group can further entrench individual hatred and greatly increase the likelihood of violence. For example, the organizational structure of a hate group, which can often be quasi-military, necessitates conformity to the group ideal. In addition, there are often very severe penalties for not conforming, ranging from ostracism and verbal aggression to physical violence. Thus, group members may initially feel pressure to engage in hatred and violence, knowing only too well the ramifications of not connance—the internal pressure to achieve consistency between our thoughts and actions—necessitates that members either internalize a rationale for their hatred of the outgroup or leave the hate group. The former option is much easier and thus much more likely to occur....

Hate groups will often have new members engage in relatively innocuous activities such as simply setting up a literature table at a group event before moving on to greater levels of commitment. Such activities are met with acceptance, approval, and reward. Eventually, the adage of "in for a penny, in for a pound" applies as recruits are subjected to increasing levels of commitment, a push for conformity, and are driven to obey the leaders. In an attempt to avoid cognitive dissonance, recruits become increasingly committed to the hate group's ideology and activities, increasingly identified solely as a group member, and increasingly loyal to those in positions of authority. Blee identifies three levels of commitment that develop over time to racist groups: contact with the group, identification as a racist, and finally commitment to a racist activism

Hate Groups Strip People of Their Identities

Hate groups, not unlike other groups, tend to foster a sense of anonymity or deindividuation among members. Unfortunately, by stripping individuals of their identities through increased anonymity, deindividuation causes people to become less self-aware, feel less responsible for their actions, and be more likely to engage in violence if placed in a provocative situation. Consequently, tendencies towards hatred and violence are enhanced within hate groups that foster a sense of deindividuation.

As previously mentioned, hate groups often adopt a quasimilitary structure that not only fosters deindividuation, but also compartmentalization of function and diffusion of responsibility among its members. Uniforms and clearly identifiable proscribed rules for behavior facilitate the processes of deindividuation, conformity, diffusion of responsibility, and ultimately violence if such behavior was dictated by those in positions of power. Whereas a local businessperson might never dream of killing someone as part of their daily life, they might easily engage in a lynching while wearing a robe and participating as a member of the group.

The majority of hate crimes are committed by pairs or groups as opposed to lone attackers due to the increased anonymity, groupthink, diffusion of responsibility, and group justification.

Groupthink Fosters Group Harmony

Another factor that can increase the degree of enmity among hate group members is group polarization. Research has demonstrated that group discussion tends to enhance the initial leanings of groups that are composed of like-minded individuals. The same can be said of prejudiced individuals, who adopt much more negative views regarding outgroup mem-

bers following group discussions. In addition, very cohesive groups tend to suppress realistic appraisals of the situation in order to maintain group harmony. The result is groupthink in which groups tend to agree with the leader and ignore possible alternative viewpoints. Thus, the potential exists within a very cohesive group for a leader to advocate a policy of extreme hate and even violence without being met by significant resistance from group members. In fact, group polarization may occur, resulting in even increasingly extreme viewpoints....

The majority of hate crimes are committed by pairs or groups as opposed to lone attackers due to the increased anonymity, groupthink, diffusion of responsibility, and group justification... These attacks are often more "thrill" motivated than grounded in well entrenched antipathy and if perpetrators are caught early they may be deterred from further destructiveness. Such a distinction highlights the impact of social psychological influences on hate-directed behavior. Unfortunately, individuals enmeshed within a hate group are unlikely to be discouraged from further violent actions against target groups and are in fact likely to be rewarded for such efforts....

Hate Groups Scapegoat Enemies

One of the means by which we assess our status in society is comparing ourselves to others. However, in comparing ourselves to those around us we may find that we are not achieving the same degree of success as our chosen comparison group. Consequently we may experience relative deprivation. Given that relative deprivation tends to lead to frustration, hate group members may elect to vent this frustration via displaced aggression or scapegoating. For example, the number of southern African-Americans lynched in the late 19th and early 20th centuries varied as a function of the price of cotton. When cotton prices were good, lynchings were down,

whereas the opposite pattern held true when cotton prices were low. The researchers cited displaced aggression as the main culprit in this analysis. Groups that have a limited ability to defend themselves, such as women, children, and ethnic and religious minorities are often attractive targets. According to [researcher A.L.] Ferber, young white males are likely to join white supremacist groups because of the perceived futility of the American Dream. For example, Benjamin Smith, Matthew Williams, and James Tyler Williams all had ties to the white supremacist group, the World Church of the Creator. Smith went on a three-day shooting spree aimed at Blacks, Jews, and Asians and killing two, and the Williams brothers killed a gay couple and fire-bombed three synagogues in California....

Hate Groups Dehumanize Victims

engulfed in a culture of hate propaganda ranging from members down a path towards violence that includes increas tain images of Blacks, Jews, Hispanics, and others portrayed as outgroup may be presented as being in partnership with the nent threat to the well-being or existence of the ingroup. The negatively toward other human beings. Propaganda is a vital els of dehumanization. The process of dehumanization begins organized hate groups. Even the children in these groups are According to Blee such a culture of violence is normative for ing levels of devaluation and dehumanization of the "other." demons, predatory animals, and vermin. These messages lead insects. For example, white supremacist web sites often condevil, as a seductive evil seeking to steal one's children, or as the outgroup, as well as to present the outgroup as an immitool used by the ingroup elite to stigmatize and dehumanize cognitive dissonance that may occur when individuals behave of the outgroup. This is often a necessary tool to reduce the with increased promotion of stereotypes and negative images potential violence, hate group leaders promote increasing lev-To facilitate movement along a path of escalating enmity and

refrigerator-posted pictures of lynchings and comic book depictions of Jews and Blacks as vermin to evenings of fun topped off by cross burnings.

blood represented a threat to the body and survival of such disengagement and exclusion on the grounds that Jewish many non-Jews began to disengage morally from Jews. Jews to concentration and death camps in unknown locations, been carried to the extreme with genocide. For example, durample, it is unfortunate but acceptable to kill an enemy durgroup do not pertain to those outside of the group. For excertain moral principles that may be applied to one's own the normal moral realm. In fact, Nazi propaganda argued for began to be perceived as not only "other" but excluded from ing the Holocaust, as Jews were forced into ghettos and sent threatening outgroup. Historically in relation to hate, this has mal moral boundaries and disengage morally. In other words gin to view the outgroup as excluded from the ingroup's nordisengagement and moral exclusion. Over time, ingroups becould not be taken without the underlying processes of moral ing war when the soldier is identified as a member of the The process of dehumanization and the path of violence

Communities Can Combat Hate Groups

Hate groups are unlikely to disappear from the landscape either in the United States or abroad in the near future. This does not mean, however, that individuals should simply ignore hate groups and hope that they go away. Historically, turning away from the face of hate has served as tacit approval for the existence of hate. Thus, it is imperative that intervention and prevention be discussed....

There are several steps that communities can take to combat enmity in the form of hate groups. First, as discussed previously, groups can be focused around either destructive or constructive agendas. Thus, groups aimed at the development

of positive values and goals can be designed to meet some of the same psychological needs for belonging, value, status, etc. as hate groups. Often such options are not available or are not promoted in a way that makes these groups attractive to those who otherwise may feel disenfranchised. These groups and efforts are particularly important for youth, young adults, and during times of social, political, or economic crisis.

Political Lobbying

agendas. In other words, one needs to get that "foot in the on high school and university campuses as well as through the directed towards connecting these organizations to and move down a path of benevolence. Special effort needs to be search has demonstrated that individuals can just as easily and move down a path of hate, violence, and destruction, redoor" with initial new members. Just as individuals can begin and involvement with organizations designed with productive gram recruitment. Unless individuals make it through the staffing. Monies need to be especially allocated towards profor the programs and community activities discussed above to organized. This is imperative for three primary reasons. First, Political lobbying in relation to hate groups also needs to be more constructive values including those emphasizing diverthrough the Internet. As noted previously, hate groups recruir front door, they are unlikely to develop long-term associations happen, resources need to be committed for funding and Internet, and thus, so should organizations designed towards

Greater Focus on Education

Greater focus on education is also imperative both in our schools and our communities. Ten percent of all hate crimes in the United States occur in schools and universities. Additionally, as noted previously, children who develop prejudicial attitudes and biases are more likely to become adults with

these same belief systems. Thus, schools and universities are natural environments for education about hate, tolerance, and diversity. Programs such as "A World of Difference" are a good place to begin for schools unfamiliar with diversity education. Additionally, as part of education, our youth need to be "inoculated" against potential recruitment. For example, researchers have successfully inoculated children against peer pressure to smoke and engage in drug use. Finally, it is important that not just positive self-esteem be developed in children and youth but self-esteem grounded in actual accomplishments and demonstrated abilities.... When threatened, false self-esteem is a source of potential violence as often evidenced in gangs and other destructive groups.

Individuals who feel they have [been] left behind in the pursuit of the American Dream or feel otherwise disenfranchised are ripe recruits for hate-based organizations.

Pressure Government Officials

ever, communities can put political pressure on these indiexempt from holding belief systems grounded in hate. Howtige, they fade from the community landscape. Finally, conidentified as a source of shame as opposed to power and presance and acceptance of diversity. As hate groups become viduals to hold them to broader community values of tolertal officials have turned a blind eye to hate group activities. the United States with relative impunity as some governmen-Furthermore, hate groups have operated in many areas around hate group activity to assess risk for violence. caught unprepared for the risk and reality of violence. Thus, zations and their leaders. Unfortunately, this lack of awareness unaware of the interrelationships between hate group organicern for hate group activity is often diminished as officials are Local elected officials and law enforcement officials are not local and national need to be lobbied for increased tracking of has led to instances in which law enforcement officials were

Additionally, we must address some of the underlying problems in society that lead many individuals to groups grounded in enmity. Issues such as poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, housing, etc. may all seem tangential to the issue of hate. However, individuals who feel they have [been] left behind in the pursuit of the American Dream or feel otherwise disenfranchised are ripe recruits for hate-based organizations. During the farm crisis of the late 1970s, many farmers and others in farm regions of the United States joined the Posse Comitatus and other hate groups as they felt no others were concerned or provided solutions to their life difficulties.

Finally, it is important to bear in mind that modern prejudice and racism is prevalent in everyday society and does not simply exist within the hate group. The cabbie that refuses to stop to pick up a young Latino, the police officer who polls over a vehicle simply because the occupants are Black, or the employer who promotes the male applicant over the more qualified female applicant are all examples of the effects of modern day prejudice and discrimination in everyday life. If hate is to be truly tackled in the United States as well as around the globe, the issue of everyday prejudice and hate as well as organized enmity must be addressed.

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Hate Crimes

Paul Connors, Book Editor

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Are Increasing

Michael Stoops

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Hate crimes against the homeless are increasing at an

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