

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

*Form Approved
OMB No. 0704-0188*

The public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing the burden, to Department of Defense, Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports (0704-0188), 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to any penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number.
PLEASE DO NOT RETURN YOUR FORM TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.

1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 08-04-2021	2. REPORT TYPE Master of Military Studies (MMS) thesis	3. DATES COVERED (From - To) AY 2020-2021
--	--	---

4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Violent Extremist Organizations in the United States: Appeal, Recruitment, and Mobilization	5a. CONTRACT NUMBER N/A
	5b. GRANT NUMBER N/A
	5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER N/A

6. AUTHOR(S) Johnston, Ian M (Major, USMC)	5d. PROJECT NUMBER N/A
	5e. TASK NUMBER N/A
	5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER N/A

7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) USMC Command and Staff College Marine Corps University 2076 South Street Quantico, VA 22134-5068	8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER N/A
--	--

9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) N/A	10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)
	11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S) N/A

12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT
Approved for public release, distribution unlimited.

13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

14. ABSTRACT
VEOs utilize framing processes to appeal to individuals through shared grievances, present a common adversary, drawing a link between identities of recruits and the recruiting VEO, and mobilize recruits and members against the adversary. An examination of the nuances of these processes may be helpful in addressing such violent organizations.

15. SUBJECT TERMS
Violent Extremist Organizations, Framing Processes, Identity, Mobilization

16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON	
a. REPORT	b. ABSTRACT	c. THIS PAGE			USMC Command and Staff College	
Unclass	Unclass	Unclass	UU	32	19b. TELEPHONE NUMBER (Include area code) (703) 784-3330 (Admin Office)	

United States Marine Corps
Command and Staff College
Marine Corps University
2076 South Street
Marine Corps Combat Development Command
Quantico, Virginia 22134-5068

MASTER OF MILITARY STUDIES

Violent Extremist Organizations in the United States:

Appeal, Recruitment, and Mobilization

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF MILITARY STUDIES

AUTHOR:

Major Ian M. Johnston

AY 2020-21

MMS Mentor Team and Oral Defense Committee Member:

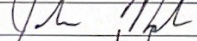
Dr Claire Metelits, PhD

Approved: 

Date: 4/6/21

MMS Mentor Team and Oral Defense Committee Member:

LtCol John Nash VII, USMC

Approved: 

Date: 4/6/21

*United States Marine Corps
Command and Staff College
Marine Corps University
2076 South Street
Marine Corps Combat Development Command
Quantico, Virginia 22134-5068*

MASTER OF MILITARY STUDIES

Violent Extremist Organizations in the United States:
Appeal, Recruitment, and Mobilization

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF MILITARY STUDIES

AUTHOR:
Major Ian M. Johnston

AY 2020-21

MMS Mentor Team and Oral Defense Committee Member:

Approved: _____
Date: _____

MMS Mentor Team and Oral Defense Committee Member:

Approved: _____
Date: _____

DISCLAIMER

THE OPINIONS AND CONCLUSIONS EXPRESSED HEREIN ARE THOSE OF THE INDIVIDUAL STUDENT AUTHOR AND DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT THE VIEWS OF EITHER THE MARINE CORPS COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE OR ANY OTHER GOVERNMENTAL AGENCY. REFERENCES TO THIS STUDY SHOULD INCLUDE THE FOREGOING STATEMENT.

QUOTATION FROM, ABSTRACTION FROM, OR REPRODUCTION OF ALL OR ANY PART OF THIS DOCUMENT IS PERMITTED PROVIDED PROPER ACKNOWLEDGEMENT IS MADE.

Executive Summary

Title: Violent Extremist Organizations in the United States: Appeal, Recruitment, Messaging, and Identity.

Author: Maj Ian M. Johnston

Thesis: VEOs utilize framing processes to appeal to individuals through shared grievances, present a common adversary, draw a link between identities of recruits and the recruiting VEO, and mobilize recruits and members against the adversary. An examination of the nuances of these processes may be helpful in addressing such violent organizations.

Discussion: VEOs construct narratives, exploit opportunities, establish objectives that attract followers, and subsequently mobilize the followers under a common ideology that advances their interests. Understanding how VEOs appeal to and recruit people with shared ideologies, or are otherwise inclined to align with their ideas, is key in understanding what violent extremism and the associated organizations are. Viewing VEOs as social movements that leverage framing processes and as mobilizing structures while assessing the mediums and means by which VEOs message their narratives, determines how VEOs exploit opportunities to maximize the effectiveness of their messaging. It is possible, through understanding the nuance of these processes, to intervene in the recruitment and mobilization by VEOs in their extremist pursuits.

Conclusion: VEOs are ideological social movements that appeal to individuals through framing processes and connect their individual identity to the collective identity, enabling them to act as mobilizing structures. They also organize against their perceived adversaries to achieve the collective's objectives and restore their desired status.

Table of Contents

Page

DISCLAIMER.....i

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY.....ii

LIST OF FIGURES.....iii

PREFACE.....iv

INTRODUCTION.....1

VIOLENT EXTREMIST ORGANIZATIONS.....2

FRAMING PROCESSES.....6

IDENTITY.....9

MOBILIZING STRUCTURES.....12

CASE STUDY: CAPITOL RAID.....14

CONCLUSION.....20

ENDNOTES.....23

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....25

Table of Figures

Page

Figure 1: Tweet from the Twitter Account of President Trump.....16

Figure 2: Tweet from the Twitter Account of President Trump.....17

Figure 3: Parler Message from Enrique Tarrío.....18

Figure 4: Graphic Depicting Staging Areas Around Capitol Building.....19

Preface/Acknowledgments

This process began as a vague concern I held regarding the proliferation of violent extremism in the United States, and I am thankful for the guidance and direction given to me by Dr. Claire Metelits. She helped me focus on the core issues and exposed me to new ways of thinking that helped me become a better professional in this process. All the while, LtCol John Nash provided a judgment free sounding board that supported my professional and personal efforts while minimizing friction encountered throughout the process and for that I am grateful. Finally, my wife, Megan, and our son's, Owen, love and support created the best environment to focus on research and development of this endeavor – I love you.

Introduction

The United States plays host to many groups and social movements with specific ideologies, most of which are law abiding and exercise ideas within their rights. Domestic violent extremist organizations (VEOs) seek to spread extremist ideologies and, “...target individuals or institutions that represent symbols of their grievances...” through the application of violence to achieve their ends.¹ VEOs are ideological social movements that strive to gain attention for their goals by appealing to like-minded individuals to draw them in and mobilize them against a commonly perceived threat to maintain and build resilience as a movement.¹ When a group of individuals that believes the best means to advocate and progress a counter-mainstream perspective is violence, comes together to amass efforts with dangerous intentions, it becomes a threat to the domestic security of a nation.² The Department of Homeland Security identifies domestic violent extremists as, “the most persistent and lethal threat to the homeland.”³ As such, understanding how VEOs recruit and mobilize can provide the relevant context to enable intervention.

This paper argues that VEOs leverage framing processes to recruit and mobilize people by tying their individual identity with the group’s collective identity and objectives. After defining framing processes and demonstrating how it is used by VEOs, I address how, through such processes, they are able to connect an individual’s identity to the collective one. I submit that once the connection between the individual and the collective identity is made, the VEO offers mobilizing structures to followers, translating the ideology into action by organizing and empowering people against the presented opposition. That is, VEOs utilize framing processes to

¹ For the purposes of this paper and in line with McAdam et al’s *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements* (2008) relation of social movements and violent extremist organizations, the terms VEO and social movement will be used interchangeably, and when social movement is used in this context it does not remove the violent qualifier.

appeal to individuals through shared grievances. They then present common adversaries, drawing links between identities of recruits and themselves to mobilize individuals against the adversary. Specifically, this paper claims that US-based VEOs (like those around the world) construct narratives, exploit opportunities, establish objectives that attract followers, and subsequently mobilize them under a common ideology that advances the VEO's interests. An examination of the nuances of these processes is helpful in addressing such violent organizations.

Violent Extremist Organizations

VEO causes range from white nationalist² goals of reemploying a pre-civil rights era status quo that benefits whites on a far-right conservative end of the political spectrum, to the left end of the spectrum, seen in anti-fascists (ANTIFA). What makes VEOs extreme is their location on either side of the political spectrum. Such placement also means these organizations typically exist outside ordinary or mainstream perspectives and interests and are ultimately in contention with existing social mechanisms and government order.⁴ Since VEOs exist outside the mainstream, they are more inclined to violent acts because, as a minority, they have little connection or access to traditional mechanisms of advocacy existing in social networks and government systems. Their weaknesses as a minority lead to their dependence on extreme and violent actions to advocate for and draw attention to VEOs' minority and counter-culture beliefs.

Several United States Government (USG) agencies, not-for-profit organizations, and research groups have contributed to the literature on US-based VEO recruitment and mobilization. According to the Department of Homeland Security, "There has been a concerning rise in attacks by individuals motivated by a variety of domestic terrorist ideologies, such as

² This section only addresses white nationalist VEOs and movements generally while it addresses a far left extremist movement ANTIFA specifically. The case study goes in-depth on the right-wing, white nationalist group, the Proud Boys,.

racially- and ethnically-motivated violent extremism, including white supremacist violent extremism.”⁵ This depicts DHS and State, Local, Tribal, and Territorial partners’ acknowledgment of extremists’ actions and call for proactive countermeasures to reduce costly effects.

Organizations that study VEOs include the Terrorism Research and Analysis Consortium (TRAC), Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), and the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) also plays a notable role as a government agency that studies VEOs. TRAC submits that right wing extremism, largely depicted by white nationalist movements such as the National Socialist Movement/National Front and the American Identity Movement, are status quo organizations that intend to adhere to their desired ethno-nationalism and religion in light of their grievance of the increasing, perceived, or actual authority of other races and religions that threaten their own.⁶ Their desire, generally, is to return to the “way things were” before civil rights movements when there was little or no contest against white authority since they view that contest as threatening to the ability of white people to maintain an advantage or control over others. The SPLC furthers the examination of white nationalist movements’ legal and illegal means against their grievances while reinforcing the return to the “status-quo” preceding the civil rights movement when they contend the power shifted in favor of minorities.⁷ The ADL references the Alt Right movement under the white nationalist movement as a “rebranding,” since although they are centered on advancing the white identity, they attempt to distance themselves from being coined as racist, but instead as Identitarians – a movement to preserve ethnicity and culture through protection.⁸ Overall, white supremacist and nationalist movements range from formal organizations (denoting membership, structure, and means of recruiting, messaging, and mobilizing) to informal ones that believe in a hard line

drawn between white people and “everyone else.” They believe there is an existential crisis at hand for the white race and submit to their members and potential followers that extreme means are necessary to protect themselves against the threats against their survival.⁹ The existential predicament perceived by far-right white nationalist organizations is contested by movements like ANTIFA, which holds a divergent and at times violently conflicting perspective.

ANTIFA resides on the opposite extreme of the political spectrum as an anti-government movement that refuses to cooperate with law enforcement and other agents of the government to the point where it disregards government authority to impede its strategic messaging and tactical actions.¹⁰ The FBI characterized ANTIFA as anarchist extremists and subsequently initiated counterterrorism investigations regarding any affiliated individuals and organizations.¹¹ The focus on affiliates is due to the unique aspect of ANTIFA as a violent social movement that lacks a central, organizational construct that is in direct contrast with the far right VEOs and is largely promoted and driven through social media networks.¹² ANTIFA’s lack of structure and dependence on social media messaging demonstrates a technologically current approach to framing processes and communication strategy in a manner that leverages cyberspace to influence the greatest audience. The ADL’s focus on ANTIFA acknowledges its, “...vicious, self-defeating cycle of attacks, counter-attacks, and blame. Therefore, most established civil rights organizations criticize antifa tactics as dangerous and counterproductive.”¹³ ANTIFA has undoubtedly applied violence in pursuit of its vision and conducts significant messaging campaigns as a movement, but without a specific organization it does not have a common goal with which individual members can align themselves. This separates them from the typical VEO seen in the US.

There is also a notable struggle between far right and far left VEOs that generates violence from each group upon the other in a perpetuating fashion.¹⁴ VEOs maintain attention and prompt violent acts in relation to counter movements as well as government or mainstream perspectives. For example, a white nationalist organization's objective may be to destabilize a government system or process to gain a degree of advantage in a systemic process that previously denied its access to power. Such an organization will concurrently face opposing perspectives from far-left movements that are attempting to regain power in similar fashion. From another perspective, Bjelopera and Sacco claim that ANTIFA gained its initial prominence through violent clashes with white supremacist movements in 2017 in Charlottesville and not through opposing mainstream institutions to further its cause.¹⁵ When right-wing extremists gain momentum or gather sufficiently to demonstrate, ANTIFA (and other like-minded collectives) work off the fear generated from right-wing activities to seize opportunity to recruit ANTIFA friendly people into active participation.¹⁶ This occurs in all forums from town halls, colleges, and protests, to social media and cyberspace at large.¹⁷ Each group strives to validate and legitimize its grievances and solutions above the others', which generates competition for audience and conflict amongst each other. Generally, the conflict will create opportunity for recruiting in favor of the best-case outcome for a particular group.

Elements of political extremism, not to include violence, must be considered, and are an integral part of VEOs in the spectrum of actions to fundamentally change existing mainstream political institutions.¹⁸ This means while VEOs preponderantly rely on violence as the most significant means to resolve their grievances, it does not exclude non-violent measures within existing institutions from a VEO's repertoire. VEOs may, and do, attempt to use traditional power mechanisms to influence political change, but as a minority ideology and population

outside the mainstream, their efforts in this realm will likely be received with less imperative than traditional participants within the institutions.

The consensus is that VEOs, as social movements, must conduct deliberate framing processes to enable a narrative that reinforces the legitimacy of their organizations while appealing to the greatest number of individuals to further each VEO's respective causes.

Framing Processes

Framing processes are how social movements, in this case VEOs, design messages and narratives to “mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists.”¹⁹ VEOs tailor their messaging to specific audiences in a manner that appeals to their interests and attracts them to the movement. Snow and Benford consider and expand on Klandermans' social psychology approach to framing through the concept of motivational framing.²⁰ This means of influence is key in a VEO's method of garnering support by inciting underlying emotions in inclined individuals that drive them to associate with a VEO instead of harboring their budding extremist view privately or amongst a small social circle. Snow and Benford express motivation framing as, “...a ‘call to arms,’ or rationale for engaging in ameliorative collective action, including the construction of appropriate vocabularies of motive.”²¹ They explore how providing aggrieved people with an adversary and thus a tangible “target,” can result in increased support and participation in these groups. Consequently, once a VEO frames a message that attracts individuals and then appeals to them through motivational narratives, they can assimilate and indoctrinate people into the organization to achieve its overarching objective.

It is essential for VEOs to appeal to an individual's grievance as it is shared with the organization and to subsequently provide them a solution, however feasible. Framing processes

are how VEOs appeal to or reinforce an individual's issues and beliefs about the adversarial institutions they oppose or whose influences they want to curtail.²² The extremist organizations themselves, be they centralized (like most white nationalist movements) or decentralized (like ANTIFA), will always demonstrate a common adversary (idea, institution, or individual) and claim that anyone who stands in their way is an enemy in the same right. Specifically, white nationalists apply violence in fear of minorities "usurping power". Their actions compete and generate emotional responses that trigger greater conflict and spur their perceived necessity to justify their message over the other and compete for greater power and influence.

McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald support Snow and Benford by attesting that people require a, "...need to feel both aggrieved about some aspect of their lives and optimistic that, acting collectively, they can redress the problem..." and that if they go without understanding a problem or solution to it, mobilization is unlikely to occur.²³ Specific conditions must be present to recruit individuals into VEOs. An individual must have a grievance against something to incite emotional frustration. At this point, the person can be opened to participating in collective action. For example, a white person struggling to find work may be exposed to the rhetoric of a white nationalist organization stressing that white workers are losing employment opportunities to immigrating minorities. In such a case an individual, who is experiencing frustration with the conditions of their environment, now has a conceptual cause (in the form of a specific group of people) to which s/he can apply frustration through collective effort using a mobilizing structure (the white nationalist organization), which promises that the united action will render desirable results (more jobs for struggling white people). McAdam, et al appreciate such scenarios of agents framing adversaries and presenting courses of action with solutions as a constructivist attribution of problems in line with Snow and Benford's framing processes.²⁴ Their submission

indicates that it is a matter of perspective between the VEO (believing it is an aggrieved party) and the instigating institution, as the very issue that the VEO presents as the problem may be the same thing for which the opposition blames them.

These perspectives provide a comprehensive evaluation of how VEOs generate specific narratives that target individuals to feel motivated to participate with them. Framing processes set the conditions to mobilize individuals and groups and demonstrate the value of effective strategic messaging. Such findings support popular social movements and can be applied across any organization attempting to spread a message or increase recruitment. The contribution of framing processes to mobilization will be addressed later, but it is notable that appealing to the audience via the specific narrative is the hook that will connect individuals to the collective ideology to put them into action.

If VEOs intend to effectively recruit, spread ideology, and take tangible action against a grievance or threat, they must, "...define the issues, invent metaphors, attribute blame, and define tactics," through strategic framing.²⁵ In regard to white nationalism on the far right and the necessity for VEOs to appeal to potential recruits, Youngblood submits that their messaging strives to bring about an, "idealized future favoring a [their] particular group [and] little evidence that radicalization is primarily driven by psychopathology... [but rather]...exposed to extremist ideology, and subsequently reinforced by members of their community."²⁶ Essentially, people may be naturally inclined to be more likely to align to something, but it is the specific exposure to ideology and the reinforcing frame that drives home a movement's narrative to the point where a person is willing to deliberately join and commit to an ideological organization beyond concurrence with shared principles.

Prognostic framing and collective action frames present opportunities to translate the issues into actionable solutions. Prognostic framing is employed by VEOs to appeal to individuals and mobilize them under the organization's cognizance. Prognostic framing seeks to provide the means, or plan, of how a solution can be brought to a grievance.²⁷ It demonstrates that a VEO can, at least, feasibly act on the rhetoric and grievances that it promotes, which increases its legitimacy in the perception of already inclined audiences while also reinforcing it within its own organization. The ability to present an issue with a potential solution is essential in garnering meaningful attention since presenting an idea or problem set by itself may incite feelings with someone, it does not provoke desire to participate in the related cause. Collective action frames are sets of action focused ideas that provide legitimacy and motivation to operations within a VEO whose primary purpose is to actually mobilize the collective while prompting a movement to action, garnering attention of non-participant observers, and directly countering adversaries.²⁸ The messages of the actions by existing organizations and movements during demonstrations, rallies, riots, online social media campaigns, and conventional social networks appeal to those who may have not been previously willing to openly commit to or support an organization, which is the first step to collective organization through mobilizing structures.

Identity

When a group appeals to an individual's personal injustices, relates to his/her struggles, and provides a potential course of action to remediate the cause of those issues as well as a subsequent solution, it has utilized framing processes appropriately. This means the group has correlated its issues with an individual's issues and created a connection between the individual

and the collective. Framing processes appeal to the individual's identity at its core by showing that the collective identity bears the same interests.

The ability for a VEO to reinforce and spread the ideas associated with its collective identity is critical in the maintenance of the movement's existence and subsequent ability to mobilize individuals into cooperative action.²⁹ If there is not a link between the collective and individual identity, then framing processes will not have the intended effect, essentially rendering recruitment efforts ineffective, collective organization weak, and the ability to take action generally unnoticeable. Concerning the individual, if a potential recruit or member does not subscribe to the collective identity and beliefs, his/her likelihood of participating in the VEOs extremist acts or exposing him/herself to harm in the name of the movement is significantly less than a person who is committed to and possesses the movement's beliefs.³⁰

The importance of identity is in the internal and external representation of the individual and ultimately the collective movement that enables a VEO to ensure a, "...shared sense of purpose and reciprocal identification and mutual recognition among movement participants."³¹ An individual's identity and the collective identity of the VEO are separate in that they are specific to each, but mutually supporting and interconnected in the actions and messages each takes and shares, respectively. Polletta and Jasper define the connection of individual and collective identity as, "...an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution. It is a shared status or relation...and it is distinct from personal identities, although it may form part of a personal identity."³² The individual inclination toward a belief is reinforced by the recognition that there is an existing structure with shared conception with other like-minded individuals and the resulting feedback is a reinforcing growth of the shared ideology by the collective. The collective identity fosters and

foments the aligned individual interest to supersede other interests that individual may hold, resulting in the collective identity assuming a greater role in the individual's identity at the cost of some of their previously existing interests.

While the collective identity will cultivate the individual's identity, the collective identity will falter if individuals fail to adhere to it.³³ This makes it vital for VEOs to routinely encourage and promote the symbols, values, and objectives of the collective identity to reinforce them to the individual. Once the VEO draws the individual into it, it must reiterate and reinforce its rhetoric while even going so far as to forsake or condemn any beliefs or ideas that counter or simply do not support it. A VEO will also solicit and demand reaffirmation from the individual to the collective, typically though externally expressive means such as participation in violent actions or demonstrations.³⁴ If an individual fails to participate in collective action, the VEO questions the strength of the individual's connection to the collective identity and may subsequently push the person from the organization while potentially identifying him/her as a hazard to the VEO. This also demonstrates to other members that any individual not willing to participate in actions rooted in the collective identity are a threat to the organization itself.

When VEOs deliberately link an individual's identity to the collective identity, they create their claims through framing processes, conduct organizational and targeted recruiting, identify threats and grievances, and act.³⁵ VEOs target individuals based on an individual's outward proclamation that aligns to the VEO, but they also typically recognize an existing pre-disposition (i.e., nature and nurture influences) regarding individuals based on the general composition of the existing organization's demographic makeup.

Mobilizing Structures

VEOs are mobilizing structures that organize and empower their ideas into actions taken openly against their perceived and prescribed prominent opposition. Essentially, mobilizing structures translate the extremist ideology into action. Mobilizing structures are also a means by which people become engaged in collective action.³⁶ These structures are the actual organizations that are formed under the umbrella of a shared idea that brings people together. Mobilizing structures prompt, enable, and coordinate the extreme measures that qualify them as VEOs in opposition to the external power holders of the institutions that the VEOs work against.³⁷ In this context, mobilizing structures can be interest and advocacy groups and the VEOs themselves when formally or informally organized with the intent to focus on and progress a shared idea. Mobilizing structures can be formed through the grouping of people with a shared perspective or through the organization itself and its pursuit to attract and recruit those that are inclined toward the shared ideology. Framing processes, motivational framing, and mobilization are largely dependent on the agents of the organization to identify the problems, and likely solutions, and strategically message them to individuals in a style that creates, “...shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action.”³⁸ By legitimizing the “call to action” people are more likely to follow through with a subsequent application of violence under the overarching justified collective ideology. If a VEO desires to achieve collective strength to spread an ideology and act, they must create the circumstances and conditions that appeal to individuals who may not see an enticing solution to an issue. Once a perceived genuine solution is provided, previously inclined individuals will become committed members. The commitment of an individual to become a participant in a VEO is a substantial step that removes that person from typical social structures or networks.

VEOs as mobilizing structures are normally outside of traditional social structures or are otherwise not a part of the majority of any given population's daily interaction. Futrell, Simi, and Tan state that, "Social movements typically originate outside established institutions and seek recognition in ways that challenge existing codes, practices, power relations, and authorities."³⁹ Since the VEO ideology exists outside contemporary or popular norms, while most often working to counter the same popular norms, the formation of a mobilizing structure is critical for a VEO to establish a foothold in existing culture. By implementing a hierarchy, a means of distributing information and direction, and active recruitment efforts, the VEOs establish the ability to challenge more prominent mainstream institutions or ideologies by gaining legitimacy as an organization, even as a minority population group. Once a VEO ideology deliberately evolves into an actual mobilizing structure instead of an interest group, it can translate ideology into coordinated action against the larger institution to which it is opposed.

Mobilizing structures cannot only focus on bringing a collective to action in specific instances but must also focus on achieving sustained efforts that perpetuate the ideology. The organizations must enable interpersonal engagement among its members to internally reinforce the value of the collective culture and belief system, which will encourage further action with enduring characteristics.⁴⁰ VEOs will foster the link between individual and collective identities to facilitate the interpersonal communication that reinforces individual connection to the organization, creating the opportunity to act together in public demonstrations of their values, alone, or counter to an organization actively advocating an opposing belief.

When considering VEOs as mobilizing structures in the application of violence against a normative ideology by means of rioting, such activities may lack obvious cultural or symbolic content and require a target that demands an active physical performance that creates opportunity

and generates momentum against the organization's perceived threat.⁴¹ The requirement for a target upon which to project ideology indicates how a group will conduct strategic communication to spread a specific ideology, and how it will then apply action to demonstrate its relevance as a solution to grievances. When like-minded or inclined individuals observe active behaviors, the observation increases their willingness to connect with organizations exhibiting apparent justified action against a shared injustice. Furthermore, VEOs expose their strength to adversaries and peers by conducting demonstrations that strive to validate their authority as a genuine collective. By showing they can support their narrative through action, regardless of actual effects, VEOs increase the likelihood of attracting more members. A crucial component of a mobilizing structure's ability to translate ideas into action is by tying an individual's identity to the collective identity.

Case Study: The U.S. Capitol Raid⁴²

Then President Donald Trump's rally and associated demonstrations by the far right VEO, Proud Boys, on January 6, 2021 demonstrates the preparatory actions to mobilize a VEO to assemble from all over the US. The preliminary efforts set conditions to increase the group's actions from a demonstration to an insurrection culminating in its raid of the U.S. Capitol Building. This case presents examples of framing processes, connecting individual identities to groups, and mobilization, and presents how a trigger event like an authority figure in a significant legitimate position of power provides opportunity and legitimacy to an extremist movement.

Summary: January 6, 2021

On January 6, 2021, crowds amassed in Washington D.C. in demonstration against the opening of certified election results among the House of Representatives and the Senate at

1:00pm in the U.S. Capitol Building. Shortly before that, then-President Donald Trump commenced a speech near the White House attended in significant numbers by White Nationalist VEOs including the Proud Boys.⁴³ Participants at the rally, and later at the Capitol building raid, were in Washington D.C. and the vicinity of the White House and Capitol building as early as January 5th in preparation for the events on the 6th. The largest grouping of the Proud Boys was assembled at the Capitol lawn as early as 10am on the 6th, demonstrating their deliberate planning and preparation. Throughout his speech, President Trump made several comments that instigated the attendees such as, “After this, we’re going to walk down, and I’ll be there with you.”⁴⁴ During the speech, a large crowd began moving from the rally toward the Capitol and, before the speech ended at 1:00pm, the crowd broke through the outer barricades. By 2:11pm, members of the Proud Boys along with other rioters breached the Capitol building itself. At 2:24pm, President Trump tweeted, “Mike Pence didn’t have the courage to do what should have been done to protect our Country and our Constitution,” further exacerbating an already volatile situation.⁴⁵ By 2:47pm, rioters were in the Senate Chamber and one individual, Ashli Babbitt, was fatally shot. At 4:17pm and again at 6:01pm, President Trump tweeted, trying to appeal to the rioters to leave the Capitol. However, he did not change his stance on the fraudulent election. Between 5:34pm and 6:14pm, the Capitol Police along with D.C. National Guard secured the Capitol and arrested rioters. The aftermath resulted in several dead including a Capitol Police officer, as well as significant property damage. Considering the summary of events that day, a closer look at a participant in the raid demonstrates that the underlying conditions and causes were triggered by the motivation of the President.

Proud Boys

The Proud Boys were founded in 2016 by Gavin McInnes (also co-founder of Vice media and no stranger to appealing to mass audiences). The group was later led by Enrique Tarrio.⁴⁶ The Proud Boys' ideology is largely defined as white nationalist, anti-Muslim, "anti-white guilt," and pro-Trump while its introduction to world media attention was largely garnered through planning and participation in the 2017 "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville, Virginia alongside the KKK, anti-Semites, Southern Racists, and a myriad of militia-type extremists.⁴⁷ Since then, the Proud Boys have advocated two perspectives: that the dilution of the of white culture must be put to an end, and that everyone in the US must, "...assimilate to a Western, white, English-speaking way of life..."⁴⁸ The group claims it is not a racist organization.⁴⁹

The Proud Boys' framing processes presented the idea that the white race was at risk and the only way to maintain its integrity was to dominate culture with white, English-speaking leaders in power. This grievance was against the perceived rise of non-whites in conventional power by means of the Democratic President-Elect Joe Biden and associated supporters, proposed cabinet members, and key leaders. The Proud Boys saw an opportunity to intervene in the perceived usurpation of power in which President Trump claimed President-Elect Biden was fraudulently elected. President Trump's speeches and tweets over social media further spurred the group's members into action. Figure 1 demonstrates how the President placed blame by identifying a specific adversary, submitting to his collaborators that a failure in the system occurred, and then calling the group to action in his demand for truth. Figure 2 shows how the President's tweets validate the actions by maintaining the grievance of a fraudulent election and categorizing participants in the raid as "great patriots."



Figure 1

Source: @realDonaldTrump / Twitter. Tweet from the Twitter account of President Donald Trump posted on the afternoon of Jan. 6, 2021



Figure 2

Source: @realDonaldTrump / Twitter. Tweet from the Twitter account of President Donald Trump posted on the afternoon of Jan. 6, 2021

By presenting the white race as at risk by the rising power for an opposing political party, the Proud Boys cast a wide net to far-right, white males who warned that the rise of Democratic Party members to formal positions of power would further exacerbate the already challenging conditions of 2020 (largely presented by the COVID-19 pandemic). The Proud Boys' objective in its petition to those individuals was to present a solution to its grievance by means of active resistance on January 6th. By providing the context, grievance, adversary, and a proposed solution, the Proud Boys' call to arms concurrently connected the individuals to the greater

collective identity of the movement. The call to action brought people from all over the country to collective action.

As a mobilizing structure, the Proud Boys employed social media platforms like Parler, as a mechanism to advertise and solicit participation in the January 6th rally in support of restoring power to President Trump, which was further publicized on January 3rd by mainstream media, including Business Insider.⁵⁰ Parler is a social media blog and messaging service utilized largely by far-right extremists, including the Proud Boys, which broadcasted calls to action for weeks before January 6, 2021 in Figure 3. The sentiment of such messages was adversarial and proposing that upcoming action on January 6, 2021 would resolve the group's grievances and assist maintaining President Trump in office. It is noteworthy that at the time of this study organizations like TRAC, the U.S. Secret Service, and the FBI monitored messages across internet forums ranging from websites, to twitter, and messaging platforms including Parler by various agitators including the Proud Boys, QAnon, ANTIFA, and BLM regarding plans for the demonstrations and activities that led to the raid of the U.S. Capitol..⁵¹ Along with the Proud Boys leader, Enrique Tarrio's calls to actions as seen in Figure 3, the group also utilized the internet fora to advertise the rally and pull supporters in from across the country while organizing subsequent actions on January 6th as seen in figure 4. The use of social media by key actors enabled them to reach an audience that could remain anonymous, making them more comfortable in accepting the actor's beliefs from a position of security in their own environment.⁵² It is social media that enables independent, organized, and event decentralized VEOs and movements to reach out and appeal to individuals over global networks. This medium in framing is loosely monitored by authorities and largely consulted by informed and uninformed potential actors alike.⁵³

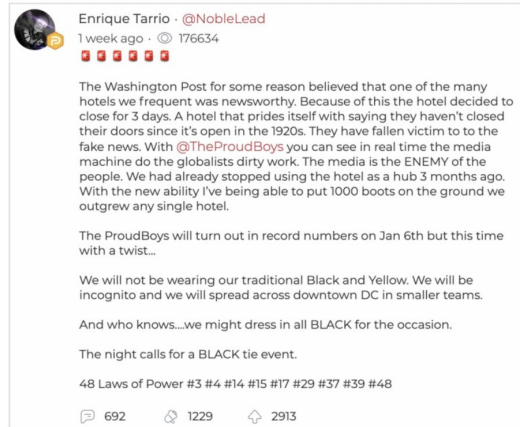


Figure 3

Source: @NobleLead / Parler. Message from Enrique Tarrío, leader of Proud Boys (December 29, 2020)

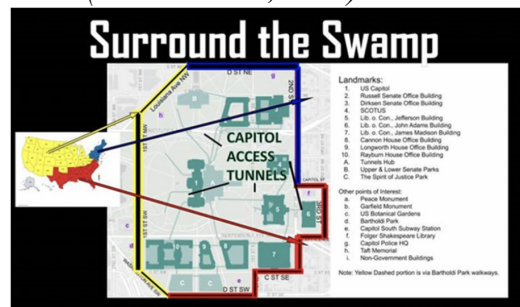


Figure 4

Source: www.TheDonald.Win (original deleted). www.JusticeSecurity.org. (January 2021)

Finally, for the Proud Boys, President Trump’s speech and tweets served to legitimize its violent actions. While it had already internally motivated, organized, and executed a demonstration that turned into a raid, the President provided an external influence that outlined its actions, as necessary. President Trump reinforced the grievances that the Proud Boys presented and delivered a call to action for the group to take back the power wrongfully seized by the opposing political party. This was not the first time the Proud Boys were acknowledged by the President as he stated in the September 2020 debate, “Proud Boys, stand back and stand by,” which resulted in direct reaction from the Proud Boy leader, Enrique Tarrío, “Proud Boys standing by.”⁵⁴ The very head of the governing body that the Proud Boys supported practically

gave them recognition and pushed an opportunity to take violent and extreme action in pursuit of its cause.

Conclusion

The fulcrum in a VEO's ability to recruit and mobilize individuals in extremist violence is its success in appealing to and appreciating individual's complaints while presenting seemingly feasible courses of action that circumvent conventional power mechanisms under the insistence that such mechanisms are ineffective. VEOs believe that they are victims of the mainstream culture and government and genuinely believe that violence is an appropriate means to gain restitution for the grievances. Their own application of violence further separates them from the mainstream, which increases the degree of removal from the very conventional mechanisms that can provide a realistic source of relief to the grieved individuals and organizations. VEOs, regardless of group goals, share a common characteristic in that they are typically outside of the non-extremist political views. They establish grievances and their appropriate adversaries and also provide solutions (that may or may not be realistic or feasible) that attempt to garner attention of potential members and the mainstream majority through obvious and violent actions.

Framing processes are strategic messaging campaigns that are directed at inclined individuals to move them "from the balcony to the barricades" by appealing to their emotional and logical interests and grievances. Prognostic framing, motivational framing, and collective action frames are the link between framing and mobilizing structures that connects the recruitment and indoctrination of individuals into action on behalf of the collective social movement. Mobilizing structures legitimize and provoke a call to action through the creation of circumstances that are appealing to the individuals and collectives expressing grievances.

Mobilizing structures exist on the periphery of mainstream culture and society and VEOs resort to violence due to their restricted access to power.

Individual and collective identities are connected but remain separate entities. It is more likely that an individual's identity will be shaped and influenced by the collective identity because VEOs seek indoctrination and continued reinforcement of individuals to support "the cause" so that when the time comes to mobilize to action, the individual is ready to or has sacrificed some of his/her identity on behalf of the collective and is prepared to resort to violence.

The case study of the Proud Boys' raid on the U.S. Capitol building demonstrates how VEOs utilize framing processes to appeal to groups, connect their identities to the collective, and then mobilize them to action in attempts to further the objectives of the organization. In this case, the VEO failed to achieve its objectives, largely due its foundation in delusion and misinterpretation. While demonstrating its ability to build a narrative and cause a temporary disruption to the electoral process, the Proud Boys did not achieve the critical requirement of effectively changing the institutional capacity.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the VEO's internal appeal and organization were exacerbated by the President's external legitimization and call to action, resulting in the violent raid on January 6, 2021.

Social media and the internet provide an environment for all social movements regardless of size, scope, or ideology to proliferate in strategic messaging, membership, calls for action, and control of action in real time. The wide net an individual agent within a VEO can cast is global and only needs to seek out or be found by a small number of people to continue that growth. The internet provides geographically distant and smaller VEOs the ability to spread by providing

manuals and instruction on how individuals can start local cells where they did not already exist, which can have a replicating effect.

VEOs are social movements that employ strategic communication across mediums that validate their organizations in a manner that recruits like-minded individuals to further their influence. It is essential for VEOs to establish a relevant grievance, appeal to an individual's perspective and frustrations as it is shared with the organization, and then provide a solution, however feasible. The extremist organizations themselves, be they centralized or decentralized, will always demonstrate an adversary (idea, institution, or individual) and claim that anyone who stands in their way is an enemy in the same right. Specifically, white nationalists apply violence in fear of minorities' usurpation of power. In reality, minorities are attempting to establish equality. Their actions compete and generate emotional responses that trigger greater conflict and spur their perceived necessity to justify their messages over others, competing for greater power and influence. VEOs leverage technology and internet fora to cast wider nets of influence and messaging in hopes to gain an advantage over the other, simply because the technology inherently reaches more people than traditional protest, rally, or publication. There is a link amongst framing processes, connecting identities, and the activity of mobilizing structures in VEO's pursuit of recruiting and putting individuals together to perform collective acts.

-
- ¹ Department of Homeland Security. Homeland Threat Assessment October 2020. Washington DC, 2020. 17.
- ² Joseph R. Biden. Interim National Security Strategic Guidance. Washington DC: The White House, 2021. 8, 19.
- ³ Lisa N. Sacco. Sifting Domestic Terrorism from Hate Crime and Homegrown Violent Extremism. Washington DC: CRS, 2021. 2
- ⁴ Futrell et al, Political Extremism and Social Movements, 619
- ⁵ Department of Homeland Security. Department of Homeland Security Strategic Framework for Countering Terrorism and Targeted Violence. Washington DC, 2019.
- ⁶ "Terrorism Research & Analysis Consortium." <https://www-trackingterrorism-org.proxyau.wrlc.org>.
- ⁷ "Southern Poverty Law Center." <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology>.
- ⁸ "Anti-Defamation League, Center on Extremism." <https://www.adl.org/who-we-are/our-organization/advocacy-centers/center-on-extremism>.
- ⁹ Jerome P. Bjelopera. The Domestic Terrorist Threat: Background and Issues for Congress. Washington DC: CRS, 2013. 16
- ¹⁰ Jerome P. Bjelopera and Lisa N. Sacco. ANTIFA - Background. Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, 2018.
- ¹¹ Bjelopera and Sacco. ANTIFA. 2018
- ¹² Bjelopera and Sacco. ANTIFA. 2018
- ¹³ "Who are ANTIFA?" . <https://www.adl.org/antifa>.
- ¹⁴ Klein, Adam. "From Twitter to Charlottesville: Analyzing the Fighting Words between the Alt-Right and Antifa." International Journal of Communication no. 13 (2019), 297.
- ¹⁵ Bjelopera and Sacco. ANTIFA. 2018
- ¹⁶ Bjelopera, Jerome P. and Lisa N. Sacco. ANTIFA - Background. Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, 2018.
- ¹⁷ Adam Klein. "From Twitter to Charlottesville: Analyzing the Fighting Words between the Alt-Right and Antifa." International Journal of Communication no. 13 (2019): 297–318.
- ¹⁸ Sam Jackson. "Non-Normative Political Extremism: Reclaiming a Concept's Analytical Utility." Terrorism and Political Violence 31, no. 2 (Mar 4, 2019): 244.
- ¹⁹ David A. Snow, and Benford, Robert D. " "Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilization." International Social Movement Research." International Social Movement Research 1, no. No 1 (1988): 197-217.
- ²⁰ Klandermans, Bert. "Mobilization and Participation: Social Psychology Expansions of Resource Mobilization Theory." American Sociological Review no. 49 (1984): 583-600.
- ²¹ Robert D Benford and David A. Snow. "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment." Annual Review of Sociology 26, no. 1 (2000), 623
- ²² Benford and Snow, Framing Processes and Social Movements, 617.
- ²³ McAdam, Doug, John McCarthy, and Zald, Mayer. Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, (1996), 5
- ²⁴ McAdam et al, Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements, 5
- ²⁵ Zald, Culture, Ideology, and Strategic Framing, 269
- ²⁶ Mason Youngblood. "Extremist Ideology as a Complex Contagion: The Spread of Far-Right Radicalization in the United States between 2005 and 2017." Palgrave Communications 7, no. 1 (2020): 2
- ²⁷ Benford and Snow, Framing Processes and Social Movements, 616
- ²⁸ David A Snow, Rens Vliegthart, and Pauline Ketelaars. "The Framing Perspectives on Social Movements: Its Conceptual Roots and Architecture." In The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements, 544-567. Newark: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2018, 546
- ²⁹ Fominaya, Cristina Flesher. Collective Identity in Social Movements. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2018, 430.
- ³⁰ Jackson. "Non-Normative Political Extremism: Reclaiming a Concept's Analytical Utility." (Mar 4, 2019): 246.
- ³¹ Fominaya, Collective Identity in Social Movements, 430.
- ³² Francesca Polletta and James M. Jasper. "Collective Identity and Social Movements." Annual Review of Sociology 27, no. 1 (2001): 285.
- ³³ Fominaya, Collective Identity in Social Movements, 431.
- ³⁴ Fominaya, Collective Identity in Social Movements, 432.
- ³⁵ Polletta and Jasper. "Collective Identity and Social Movements." 285.
- ³⁶ McAdam et al, Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements, 3

-
- ³⁷ Futrell, Robert, Pete Simi, and Anna E. Tan. *Political Extremism and Social Movements*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2018, 618³⁸ McAdam et al, *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, 6
- ³⁹ Futrell et al, *Political Extremism and Social Movements*, 618
- ⁴⁰ Futrell et al, *Political Extremism and Social Movements*, 620
- ⁴¹ Mayer Zald, *Culture, Ideology, and Strategic Framing, Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*. New York, NY; Cambridge University Press, (1996): 263
- ⁴² Lauren Leatherby and Anjali Singhvi. "Critical Moments in the Capitol Siege." *The New York Times*, Jan 15, 2021, Digital. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/01/15/us/trump-capitol-riot-timeline.html>.
- ⁴³ Sacco, Lisa N. *Domestic Terrorism and the Attack on the U.S. Capitol*. Washington DC: CRS, 2021. 2
- ⁴⁴ Leatherby and Singhvi. "Critical Moments in the Capitol Siege."
- ⁴⁵ Leatherby and Singhvi. "Critical Moments in the Capitol Siege."
- ⁴⁶ "Southern Poverty Law Center." <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/proud-boys>.
- ⁴⁷ "Southern Poverty Law Center." <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/proud-boys>.
- ⁴⁸ "Anti-Defamation League, Center on Extremism." <https://www.adl.org/proudboys>
- ⁴⁹ Anti-Defamation League.
- ⁵⁰ Joshua Zitser,. "Far-Right Group Proud Boys Claim They Will Attend January 6 DC rally "incognito" and Wear-All Black to Blend in with ANTIFA protesters." *Business Insider*, Jan 2, 2021, Digital. <https://www.businessinsider.com/proud-boys-attend-january-6-dc-rally-incognito-all-black-2021-1>
- ⁵¹ "Terrorism Research & Analysis Consortium." <https://www-trackingterrorism-org.proxyau.wrlc.org/>.
- ⁵² Department of Homeland Security. *Department of Homeland Security Strategic Framework for Countering Terrorism and Targeted Violence*. Washington DC, 2019.
- ⁵³ Department of Homeland Security. *Homeland Threat Assessment October 2020*. Washington DC, 2020. 17
- ⁵⁴ Neil MacFarquhar, Alan Feuer, Mike Baker, and Sheera Frenkel. "The Proud Boys, Who Trade in Political Violence, Get a Boost from Trump." *New York Times*, Sep 30, 2020.
- ⁵⁵ Zeynep Tufekci,. *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017. 192-193.

Bibliography

- "Anti-Defamation League, Center on Extremism." . <https://www.adl.org/who-we-are/our-organization/advocacy-centers/center-on-extremism>.
- "Southern Poverty Law Center." . <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/>.
- "Terrorism Research & Analysis Consortium." . Accessed Jan 18, 2021. <https://www-trackingterrorism-org.proxyau.wrlc.org/>.
- "Who are ANTIFA?" . <https://www.adl.org/antifa>.
- Benford, Robert D. and David A. Snow. "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26, no. 1 (2000): 611-639. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.611.
- Biden, Joseph R. Interim National Security Strategic Guidance. Washington DC: The White House, 2021.
- Bjelopera, Jerome P. and Lisa N. Sacco. ANTIFA - Background. Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, 2018.
- Bjelopera, Jerome P. The Domestic Terrorist Threat: Background and Issues for Congress. Washington DC: CRS, 2013.
- Department of Homeland Security. Homeland Threat Assessment. Washington DC: DHS, 2020.
- Department of Homeland Security. Strategic Framework for Countering Terrorism and Targeted Violence. Washington DC: DHS, 2019.
- Fominaya, Cristina Flesher. *Collective Identity in Social Movements*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2018. Ch24.
- Futrell, Robert, Pete Simi, and Anna E. Tan. *Political Extremism and Social Movements*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2018. Ch35.
- Jackson, Sam. "Non-Normative Political Extremism: Reclaiming a Concept's Analytical Utility." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 31, no. 2 (Mar 4, 2019): 244-259.
- Klandermans, Bert. "Mobilization and Participation: Social Psychology Expansions of Resource Mobilization Theory." *American Sociological Review* no. 49 (1984): 583-600.
- Klein, Adam. "From Twitter to Charlottesville: Analyzing the Fighting Words between the Alt Right and Antifa." *International Journal of Communication* no. 13 (2019): 297-318.
- MacFarquhar, Neil, Alan Feuer, Mike Baker, and Sheera Frenkel. "The Proud Boys, Who Trade in Political Violence, Get a Boost from Trump." *New York Times*, Sep 30, 2020.
- Mason, Youngblood. "Extremist Ideology as a Complex Contagion: The Spread of Far-Right Radicalization in the United States between 2005 and 2017." *Palgrave Communications* 7, no. 1 (2020).

- Leatherby, Lauren and Anjali Singhvi. "Critical Moments in the Capitol Siege." The New York Times, Jan 15, 2021, Digital. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/01/15/us/trump-capitol-riot-timeline.html>.
- Polletta, Francesca and James M. Jasper. "Collective Identity and Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 27, no. 1 (2001): 283-305.
- Sacco, Lisa N. *Sifting Domestic Terrorism from Hate Crime and Homegrown Violent Extremism*. Washington DC: CRS, 2021.
- Snow, David A., and Robert D. Benford. "Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilization." *International Social Movement Research*. *International Social Movement Research* 1, no. No 1 (1988): 197-217.
- Snow, David A., Rens Vliegthart, and Pauline Ketelaars. "The Framing Perspectives on Social Movements: Its Conceptual Roots and Architecture." In *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, 544-567. Newark: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2018.
- Tufekci, Zeynep. *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017.
- Young, McAdam, Doug, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald "Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements" (Book Review). Vol. 26. Washington, D.C: HELDREF Publications, 1997.
- "Who are ANTIFA?" <https://www.adl.org/antifa>.