

**Unpacking Right-wing Extremism in “Multicultural” Canada: The Case of the
Canadian Nationalist Front**

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ABSTRACT

There has been a rise in Right-wing extremism (RWE) mobilizing within what is known as the settler-colonial state of Canada, with some groups espousing values and narratives grounded in White nationalist ideology which have led to instances of violence and harm against community members. These incidents of harm and violence occur in the context of the Canadian state's claims to inclusive multiculturalism, civility and benevolence. While there are many looking into the presence of RWE groups to document their existence, mobilizing patterns and tactics, very little analysis exists that offers a deep analysis into these groups and situates their political ideology within the broader context of the Canadian state's governance logics. Therefore, to push the discussion on this topic further, this project looks at the specific case of the Canadian Nationalist Front's (CNF), a White nationalist group in Canada, and unpacks the discourse shared on their blog. Through dissecting the CNF's blogpost with a theoretical framework of analysis that moves beyond understanding this group as merely a fringe group which holds fundamentally different values than the Canadian state, I make links to the existing literature that demonstrates the parallels between the two. I argue that the racialized governance logics of White nationalist groups, like the CNF, are also shared in the settler-colonial logics of the Canadian state's border governance strategies. Further, I highlight the ways in which groups like the CNF ground their movements in the superiority of Whiteness, while using the state's claims of inclusivity and multiculturalism to justify their entitlement to hold these exclusionary ideologies while presenting themselves as victims of those that they "Other". Finally, I contextualize their discourse within the context of neoliberalism, which has intensified the harms of racial capitalism in a way that has also impacted the White working class and allowed groups like the CNF to use economic grievances to mobilize their movements.

INTRODUCTION

The settler-colonial state of Canada is often presented as the exemplary model of inclusive multiculturalism on the world stage, accompanied by superficial narratives of benevolent inclusivity as pillars of the Canadian identity (Razack, 2007; Thobani, 2007). At the same time, there has been an increase in right-wing extremist (RWE¹) mobilizing in Canada, with recent incidents of brutal violence such as the Quebec City mosque shooting (Woods & Gillis, 2017), multiple attacks on Muslim women wearing hijabs in Edmonton (Drinkwater, 2021), as well a vehicular attack on a Muslim family in London, Ontario (Coletta, 2021; Germano, 2022). As a response to these horrific events rooted in exclusionary ideology², the responses from political leaders comprise of attempts to offer the public reassurance by condemning such behaviour and promises to respond to RWE mobilization and designate these groups as terrorists (Scherer, 2021, para. 9; CBC Radio, 2021). This is often followed by narratives that once again prop up Canada as a “beautiful country” with high values that makes such behaviour incomprehensible (Boynton, 2021, para. 3). Some of the political leaders that rely on state enforcement as a response to RWE mobilizing are simultaneously highlighting that those very institutions, amongst others, are entrenched with systemic racism and practices that “have not always treated people of racialized backgrounds, of indigenous backgrounds fairly” (Tunney, 2020, para.3). While others refuse to admit that structural racism is even a reality within Canadian institutions (Lamirande, 2020).

¹ For this project I treat Right-wing Extremism (RWE) as an amorphous spectrum and use the “RWE” abbreviation when writing about the traits labels and ideologies associated with this phenomenon more generally. In situating this project within the Canadian context, I use RWE and White nationalism together or interchangeably, as this is the unifying ideological trait of the political Right in Canada.

² Adorno et al. (1950) define ideology as the following “an organization of opinions, attitudes, and values – a way of thinking about man and society. [this could include] an individual’s total ideology or of his ideology with respect to different areas of social life; politics, economics, religion, minority groups, and so forth” (p. 2). For this project I apply the concept of “ideology”, as defined by Adorno et al. (1950), to unpack the Canadian Nationalist Fronts blog posts.

Perry & Scrivens (2019) highlight that research about RWE have been largely lacking within the Canadian context, despite the threat their organizing poses and their propensity for

violent action. Nevertheless, there are efforts within the literature to document and unpack the phenomenon of RWE in a Canadian context (Parent & Ellis, 2014; Perry & Scrivens, 2019; Crosby, 2021b), with some researcher seeking to evaluate and improve the settler-colonial state enforcement solutions as a response to RWE mobilizing and what is typically referred to by the state as ‘hate crimes’ (Perry & Samuels-Wortley, 2021). Others have approached their understandings of RWE and White nationalism in Canada by situating their analyses in critical debates about Canada’s settler-colonial governance structures that scrutinize taken-for-granted narratives of benevolence, tolerance, and multicultural inclusivity. However, as Perry & Scrivens (2019) highlight, a methodical and systematic analysis of the ideologies and activities of RWE organization in Canada is missing within social science scholarship. Further, Perry & Scrivens (2019) note that a large portion of available RWE scholarship and assessments lack a strong theoretical framework that would allow for “a deeper understand of how or why the identified patterns emerge” (p. 7).

Recently, researchers have begun engaging in more in-depth dialogues that work to unpack the role that settler-colonial institutions, like law enforcement, play in upholding RWE mobilizing and movements (Monaghan, 2022), and offer more critical insight into Canada’s settler colonial institutions of White supremacy that factor in the proliferation of RWE activity (Crosby, 2021b). This research project finds its place within these discussions by adding a qualitative analysis to unpacking RWE ideologies within the “multicultural” context of settlercolonial Canada. I focus on unpacking the blog posts of a RWE group called the Canadian Nationalist Front (CNF) and apply a theoretical lens that allows for analysis of the discourse of the self-proclaimed White nationalist group using conceptual tools that ground this work in critical debates around White settler-colonial nations and their role in RWE mobilization.

Through an examination of a White nationalist group, the CNF, this project seeks to obtain a deeper understanding of the ideological logics and beliefs of RWE groups in Canada, , and placing their narratives in the broader logics of settler colonial state building and neoliberal governance structures.

In Chapter 1, I provide a general overview of the literature on RWE. I begin with tracing the ideological underpinnings of RWE to various branches of Conservatism, followed by the various mediums and avenues through which their knowledge and ideologies are disseminated. I then discuss the various mobilization strategies that RWE organizers use to gain traction and support for their movement. At the end of this section, I highlight a disconnect within existing RWE literature in Canada, and the limited discussions that expose the relational similarities between RWE mobilizing and logics and settler-colonial governance logics of “multicultural” Canada. This leads to the second section of this chapter that focuses on remedying the above disconnect by highlighting scholarship that unpacks the processes of race-making and White supremacy in settler-colonial Canada. Lastly, I provide an overview of existing theoretical frameworks within the literature that have been used to analyse the exclusionary, racist, and bordered logics that underly governance strategies in settler-colonial nations like Canada.

In Chapter 2, I ground my analytical tools within a Critical Race Theory framework and begin the first section of this chapter with a breakdown of Ghassan Hage’s (2000) *White nation fantasy* that allows for an analysis of White nationalism in “multicultural” nations. In this breakdown, I unpack the concept of Whiteness and the power dynamics it upholds, along with the tensions that White nationalists who are committed to achieving a White ethno-racial state experience in the context of “multicultural” nations. I then bring in the concept of *White fragility* (Diangelo, 2018) as a tool to highlight the feelings and narratives of disempowerment and victimization that White nationalists claim based on the aforementioned tensions. In the second section, I introduce Henry Giroux’s (2019) concept of *neoliberal fascism* as an analytical tool for situating the current era of RWE mobilization within the broader structures and strains that come from neoliberal governance structures and the collapse of the social welfare state. I include discussions by other scholars that offer more critical outlooks in the connection between the social welfare states and Whiteness, and how the current collapse of social supports has also led to a destabilization of Whiteness. These additions to the theoretical framework reveal that limiting an analysis of RWE mobilizing to solely a product of economic strain fails to include the state racism that is foundational to White settler-colonialism, as well as the tendency for RWE and White nationalist organizers to weaponize these anxieties to further their own movements.

Chapter 3 explains the methodological approach used to carry out this research project. I begin by describing my data collection process, and the various considerations I worked through when selecting the case of the Canadian Nationalist Front's blog as empirical material. I apply a set of criteria to my empirical documents, to ensure the soundness of my data in allowing me to answer the research questions for this project. I then describe the coding and analysis process, the evolution of my theoretical framework, as well as the limitations of my research. Lastly, I offer a discussion about the ethical considerations, challenges, and reflexive thoughts I worked through in undertaking this research topic.

In Chapter 4, I present my analysis of the CNF's blog posts. In this chapter I unpack the logics behind how the CNF envisions their own White nation fantasy in Canada, their exclusionary political objectives, and how their White nationalist identity informs their understanding of the Canadian nation space and their belonging within it. Further, I offer an analysis about the justification they provide for their objectives and the discursive strategies they use to mobilize their movements. Throughout this chapter, I implicate the relevant literature to situating my findings within the broader discussions on White settler-colonial governance structures.

Finally, I conclude my research project with a brief overview of the current events that pertain to RWE in Canada and offer my thoughts on where future research and inquiries on this topic could turn to.

CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this literature review is to illustrate how the existing discussions on RWE in the Global North primarily focus on understanding these groups as “exceptional” or “fringe” groups that operate under foundational values which are somehow different to ‘multicultural’ settler-colonial nations such as Canada. By including literature on Whiteness, race-making, and settler-colonialism, I offer the groundwork for an analysis that unpacks the underlying logics of RWE and White nationalism while implicating the settler-colonial logics simultaneously present in these discourses.

The first section offers a synopsis of literature on the motivating ideologies, practices, and groups under this label to demonstrate that RWE is amorphous and exists on a spectrum of common traits and identifiers. It outlines discussions that identify the ideological roots of RWE, their means of knowledge dissemination, as well as their mobilizing efforts and strategies. Following this, the second section includes current discussions on the constructions of race, specifically ‘Whiteness’, and the debates on multiculturalism in the Canadian context to set the stage for understanding the complex nature of RWE groups. I draw from critical scholarship to unpack Whiteness³, race-making regimes, and governance strategies in the Canadian settler-colonial state to challenge the claims of Canada as a ‘multicultural’ nation. This involves describing the dynamics, processes and structures that enable RWE groups to be so overtly forthright about protecting White hegemony in so-called “multicultural” Canada.

³ I use the term White throughout this project not to elevate this racial identity, but to name and disrupt the tendency to treat Whiteness as a normative racial category and identity to which everyone else is compared to. As I will discuss later in this chapter, the socially created racial identities, specifically that of Whiteness is used to rationalize atrocities and oppressive practices, especially that of White nationalists. Therefore, I believe it important to name and unpack the constructions around Whiteness to dismantle these ideas and supremacist ideologies.

1.2 RWE in the Literature

This section identifies the main traits, labels and various ideologies contributing to the spectrum of RWE. It also unpacks the role these ideological constructions have in forming social

realities and lived experiences of people, as well as the strategies through which RWE ideologies are mobilized and disseminated.

Throughout RWE literature, a variety of terms are used to describe similar phenomena (Harrison & Bruter, 2011), including 'the New Right' (Berlet & Lyons, 2000), the extreme-right (Bjorgo, 1995a; Ignazi, 2003; Mudde, 2002), the far-right (Davies & Lynch, 2002) or more recently, the alternative-right (Alt-right) (Hawley, 2017; Baum, 2017; Main, 2018). Alt-right has become an all-encompassing term that captures the threat to democracy posed by the ideology underpinning typical RWE points and policy positions (Main, 2018). It highlights the increasingly reactionary tendencies of RWE that differ from other mainstream conservative and is thus described as "the first new political competitor in the West to democratic liberalism" (Main, 2018, p. 8).

A brief glimpse into RWE literature shows that there is a heavy focus on documenting the presence and rise of this phenomenon in the Global North (Jekel, Lehner & Vogler, 2017; Dean, Bell & Vakhitova, 2016; Babilunga, 2013; Atkins, 2011). Various scholars focus on highlighting the increasing presence of RWE in the mainstream political realm, of which is evident in recent policies and electoral support for right-wing parties (Merkl & Weinburg, 1997; Arzheimer & Carter, 2006; Likhachev, 2013). For example, Sitman (2017) highlights how the cultural climate in the United States has allowed certain groups, namely White Evangelical Christians, to push for a resurgence of religion in the political realm. Religion-based policies based on Christian values have become a theme within the 'New Right' extremist groups, as they strive to influence political systems (Berlet & Lyons, 2000) while mobilizing around a culture of fear that demonizes Muslim immigrants through anti-Islam movements (Mattes, 2018). Many scholars contend that these "new" groups upholding said values are merely a covert form of modern-day racism stemming from the colonial history of Western states, and that these oppressive structures and ideologies never went away and continue to reality today (Tenold, 2018; Mulloy, 2018; Dossa, 2019; Palmater, 2020). The only difference is that newer ideological formations of the Right are less

willing to compromise on their policy positions in respect of civil liberties, due process, and constitutional rights (Main, 2018). While there is no consensus about a universal definition or label for these groups, there is consensus on the various ideological values and talking points that fall on the spectrum of the political Right (Eatwell as cited in Ignazi, 2003).

1.2.1 RWE: Ideological Roots and the Current Context

There are many overlapping traits of RWE within the literature, yet there is no consensus about an exact ideology or philosophy that guides these groups (Mudde, 2017; Guiora, 2014). Certain doctrines overlap amongst these groups, but not every group places emphasis on the same values (Mudde, 2002, 2017; Baum, 2017). Prominent ideological features of RWE groups and movements are centred around nationalism, racism, xenophobia, anti-democratic and anti-strong state values (Mudde, 2002; Perry & Scrivens, 2018). They use conspiracy logics to support their claims which are often rooted in a masculinist, anti-Semitic, dualistic, and homophobic views of the world (Berlet & Vysotsky, 2006).

The literature presents common themes and narratives amongst the far-right's values that have roots in Conservatism (Ignazi, 2003) and a Christian religious orientation (Barkun, 1996). Marietta (2012) puts forth three mutually reinforcing features of Classical Conservatism that demonstrate the foundational rationality of the political Right. Conservatism views human nature as inherently bad, self-seeking, and aggressive (Marietta, 2012). Conservative ideology sees democratic society as fragile, as there will always be foreign and internal forces trying to dismantle it, and usually have an anti-utopian perception emphasizing the fallacy of a perfectly harmonized world and contend that those who seek to achieve such a state lead society to more misery (Marietta, 2012). There are four dominant branches of Conservatism that reflect the ideological roots found in RWE logics, which are as follows: National Defence, Social Conservatism, Cultural Conservatism and Economic/Fiscal Conservatism and (Marietta, 2012). Depending on the branch, there is a difference regarding where the emphasis is placed concerning what they see as a threat to preserving the status quo (Marietta, 2012).

The first branch is that of National Defence (Marietta, 2012), also referred to as patriotism (Mudde, 2002), which is primarily about security and the protection of the nation's own interests from external forces and threats. Typically, racist and nativist ideologies that espouse "habits of entitlement and habits of antipathy to the strange" (MacMullan, 2010, p. 100) fall in line with this

branch as they reinforce similar values about the organization of society. MacMullan (2010) explains this as “negative and antagonistic reaction against people and cultures deemed as [an] Other by a self-determined White mainstream” (p. 100), and they do so while framing it as a way of protection the nation.

The National Defence narrative argues on the principle of protecting and defending both the abstract and physical boundaries of a nation (Perry & Blazack, 2010). Within countries in the Global North, the people who view themselves as having the right to govern the nation’s space are often White European Americans or settlers (MacMullan, 2010, Razack, 2002). They determine who counts as a legitimate member of society, and thereby give themselves permission to govern the bodies of the non-White “Others” (Razack, 2002 ; Hage, 2000). They give themselves the “permission to hate” (Perry & Scrivens, 2018, p. 172) those that are “Othered” and determined inferior within certain spaces. At the most extreme manifestation of this branch of Conservatism is where White supremacy, in the form of White nationalism, and fascist ideologies manifest (Hage, 2000; Giroux, 2017, 2018; Bhatt, 2021).

The White nationalist desire for an exclusionary White ethno-state is rooted in a “desire to protect and preserve White identity and culture, which they argue is threatened by diversity and multiculturalism” (Hartzell, 2020, p. 131). As an example, the Ku Klux Klan, a White supremacist group, organizes in pursuit of the “denigration of African- Americans, Jews and immigrants [in attempts to] bolster the privilege of the White, native-born Protestants [and justify doing so as a means] to promote and defend pro-American values” (Barrett-Fox, 2012, p. 222). These beliefs are further justified and reinforced by amplifying anxieties and fears about perceived threats to the nation (Giroux, 2019; Hage, 2000). These perceived threats include unemployment, violence, loss of values and traditions, the fear of White people decreasing in population and the loss of their heritage (Mudde, 2002; Potok, 2003; Hage, 2000). The National Defence branch of thinking associates these threats as being “related to foreign invasion as well as a consequence of immigration and multicultural orthodoxy” (Potok, 2003, p. 52).

Fascist ideology⁴ is also prevalent amongst National Defence conservatism, as the generic Fascist ideology focuses on a set of mythic ideas about the organization of society and community around protecting a particular perception of the nation (Griffin, 1993). For Griffin (1993), Fascism is grounded in the concept of “palingenetic ultranationalism”, that is, the idea of ridding society of the pre-existing political ideologies known to be degenerate and resulting in a state of crisis in society. Fascist activists see violence as a legitimate, necessary, and healthy means of purifying

what they view as the ills of society to reveal a more “vitalistic nationalism” (Griffin, 1993, p. 44). Calls by certain RWE group regarding ethnic purification and homogeneity is identified as another indication of Fascism amongst RWE ideologies (Rydgren, 2007). Further, some groups have gone as far as advocating for violent means to do this, if it is in the interest of betterment of the nation (Bjørge, 1995b).

The second branch is Cultural Conservatism. This branch aligns with the branch of National Defence as it stresses the maintenance of the traditional cultural tendencies that typically stem from religious institutions (Kirk, 2001; Marietta, 2012). This branch strongly believes in the sustenance of traditions and protecting the cultural entity of the nation, such as the conventional roles of women and children (Van Hiel & Mervielde as cited in Crowson, 2009), as they believe introducing new traditions as the norm would invoke “man’s anarchic impulse” (Kirk, 2001, p. 9).

The third branch, and similar to Cultural Conservatism, is Social Conservatism, centred on values derived from religion and typically associated with a Christian Identity (Barkun, 1997, Weed, 2017). This branch strongly believes in the power of the divine, in helping society maintain decent morals and provide some “cultural and political unity” (Marietta, 2012, p. 33). Socially Conservative individuals also believe that political issues are at their base related to issues of bad morality and religion (Kirk, 2001), and advocate for more authority and tradition (Farney & Rayside 2013). Some manifestations of this branch of conservatism are groups advocating for the outlawing of abortion, altering tax legislation to promote married women to stay home, as well as teaching their religious codes and morals within the schooling system (Berlet & Lyons, 2000).

⁴ Fascism in this instance refers to the generic definition as defined by Roger Griffin (1993), I acknowledge the fluidity of this term.

Social Conservatism differs from Cultural Conservatism in what it emphasizes as a threat to the status quo. Marietta (2012) suggests that these two branches may overlap frequently, but their core concerns are different, with the former rooted in religion and the latter is rooted in tradition.

Lastly, the branch of Economical or Fiscal Conservatism (Zelizer, 2012; Crownson, 2009) places a heavy emphasis on individualism, limiting the scope of state authority in terms of a freemarket economy, property ownership, competition in society and a good work ethic as the ideal traits to maintain a functional society (Farney & Rayside, 2013; Marietta, 2012). This branch emphasizes the idea that property ownership and private possession are intrinsically linked to one's liberty and freedom (Kirk, 2001). RWE groups will use the economic anxieties experienced by those adhering to this branch of conservatism to push their rhetoric and agenda further (Stockemer & Barisione, 2017; Walia, 2021).

While acknowledging the diverse ideological underpinnings of the far-right, Bhatt (2021) offers more nuance to the literature stating that RWE's rejection of "equality, abstract knowledge, and universal humanism [is a] potent "biocultural" form of racism [that is] linked to a fascist metaphysics of nature" (p. 28). Further, Bhatt (2021) explains how the driving logic for the political project of contemporary RWE is that of White supremacy and a "fear of White extinction [that is] not simply predicated on 'biology' but on a complex metaphysics of 'cultural' and 'civilizational' decline and displacement" (p. 32). Therefore, Bhatt (2021) highlights that RWE "seek[s] to extinguish the entire ground of universal humanism, equality and liberal modernity" (p. 29), and reveals that to be a central objective of contemporary White nationalist mobilization. The three mutually reinforcing ideological features that Marietta (2012) presents to be associated with Classical Conservatism and the various branches related to it, are similar to what (Bhatt, 2021) identifies as the uniting political project of RWE. While the literature that covers the ideological roots of RWE can offer an understanding of the pillars of thought and values that underly this phenomenon, the means by which these ideas are dispersed into broader society are also a significant part of the literature and will be discussed next.

1.2.2 RWE: Means of Knowledge and Ideological Dissemination

Some of the means in which RWE ideology and knowledge is disseminated is through music, written documents and corporate support. These means include both the use of online

mediums such as messaging boards (Hartzell, 2020) memes (Woods & Hahner, 2019), blogs (Chau & Xu, 2007) and social media sites, like Twitter (Graham, 2016), but also offline tools, such as printed propaganda like posters and flyers (Berger, Aryaeinejad & Looney, 2020).

The use of music is prevalent amongst racist, neo-nazi skinheads⁵, which began to rise again in the mid-1970s in America with a political agenda targeting minorities and threatening the nation's civil rights (Moore, 1993; Brown, 2004). For example, in Hungary, far-right political actors have used rock band performers as a way to bring neo-nationalist ideas into the music scene and appeal to larger populations, specifically youth (Feischmidt & Pulay, 2017). While most of the

music related to RWE is linked to the punk and rock genres (Moore, 1993; Cotter, 1999; Brown, 2004), hateful Country music that dehumanizes African-Americans are also a factor in the White racial extremists methods of creating solidarity (Messner, Jipson, Becker & Byers, 2007). Music is seen as a propaganda tool (Cotter, 1999) and an organizational tool throughout the White power movement, as the music scene offers a multi-dimensional emotional experience of collective identity for those involved (Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 2006; Eyerman, 2002).

The literature has identified other aspects of how the “digital right-wing” is able to use online spaces such as YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, discussion forums on websites, and applications like TikTok and Telegram to share RWE content and White nationalist narratives (Harwood, 2019; Scrivens et al., 2021). Woods & Hahner (2019) highlight the use of memes as tool to spread exclusionary White nationalism ideologies within online networks. Publishing online manifestos are another way in which RWE and White supremacy ideologies have manifested (Blackbourn, McGarrity & Roach, 2019).

In combination with online tools and platforms, individuals will often use tactics that offer people “free downloads of music with hate-filled messages [to entice the listeners to engage in violent and criminal activity toward those they see as causing] serious social and economic problems” (Baumrin, 2011, p. 225). Some of the most concerning findings in the literature document the existence of libraries online that are offering guides on “militaristic tactics for ethnic

⁵ The author (Moore, 1993) made a note that non-racist skinheads also exist.

cleaning, manuals for making homemade weapons, and instruction on how to dispose of a body (Scriven et al., 2021, p. 4).

When it comes to understanding how RWE ideologies are disseminated, the literature continues to focus on the medium, such as online forums as playing a crucial role in the underlying processes of RWE and the sharing of these messages (Koehler, 2014 ; Caiani & Kröll, 2015; Perry & Scrivens, 2016). The Internet can offer individuals a communication venue that is anonymous but also provides access to an extensive network to propagate their radical and violent ideologies (Koehler, 2014; Macovei, 2013). Videos on the Internet have been noted to be particularly powerful tools to mobilize recruits for drastic violent action (Holt et al., 2015). Adams & Roscigno (2005) describe how White supremacist websites have utilized the Internet as a cheap and efficient tool for communication and a potential recruitment tool for their cause.

The Internet offers a sense of “virtual” community, which functions as a supportive social space for people to interact with one another and give encouragement and knowledge for their mobilizing (Bowman-Grieve, 2009). Chau & Xu (2007) focus specifically on the use of blogs by online hate groups. They highlight how the format of the ‘blogosphere’ allows for the formation of virtual communities through the back and forth interactions that users can have on the open forum blogs, through commenting functions (Chau & Xu, 2007). In this way, the digital realm is used as a tool by White supremacist groups to form a White identity, both at an individual level as well as collective level through an interactive process (Perry & Scrivens, 2016). Often these identities are shaped “in ways that stress the dangers that [the “Other”] represents with respect to the preservation of White identity and security” (Perry & Scrivens, 2016, p. 70). The Internet can provides individuals with certain levels of anonymity while allowing the spread of hateful messages without the fear of being held accountable for the ideas that they are sharing (Baumrin, 2011). The messages are typically targeting groups based on their “religion, race, gender, national origin, sexual orientation or ethnic background” (Baumrin, 2011, p. 225) by giving false information to convince the audience to engage in violent activity against the groups that are framed as their adversaries.

The literature outlines the various mediums, in particular the Internet and digital tools, with regards to understanding the means with which RWE messages are disseminated (Back, 2002). Conway (2017) suggests further investigation into this topic to get a better understanding of the

role and impact the Internet has on violent radicalization. By using tools such as blogs, RWE supporters and political actors can create a sense of unity and connectedness with their readers and ease the conveying of hostile messages against immigrants and ethnic minorities (Sakki & Pettersson, 2016).

Aside from the aforementioned mediums of knowledge sharing and dissemination, business owners and wealthy individuals also play a role in how conservative interests and the ‘New Right’ take up space and disseminate their ideologies within the political realm. Writing in the context of 1970s USA, Mulloy (2018) highlights the role that ‘corporate activism’ plays in the expansions of the ‘New Right’. There were widespread efforts from corporate leaders to pour millions of dollars “into the political system through direct lobbying, the creation of new political action committees (PACs), and the funding of conservative think tanks, as well as New Right political - and religious – groups” (Mulloy, 2018, p. 90).

Other strategies alt-right groups use to legitimate and disseminate their White nationalist discourse are by finding spaces in academia to publish their papers and coordinate their movements (Panofsky et al., 2021). Panofsky et al. (2021) found that groups who were having difficulty getting their White nationalist rhetoric centred around racial hereditary theory published in peer-reviewed outlets, have gone as far as creating their own “research network that has on one hand, energized hereditarian thinking with both genomic concepts and alt-right concerns and, on the other, gained toeholds within academic institutions.” (p. 388). In this way, they were able yield and “alter the broader intellectual climate” to better serve business and conservative interest (Mulloy, 2018). These means of ideological dissemination, provides various medium to convey these hostile messages in a concealed way and persuade their audience to support their values (Futrell & Simi, 2017), and support RWE organizers with making their mobilization strategies more palatable, which will be further discussed in the next section.

1.2.3 RWE Mobilization Strategies : Making the Movement Palatable

Stockemer & Barisione (2017) call attention to how the right-wing Populist Party in France, the National Front, experienced a political revival measured by public opinion polls and an increase in membership numbers as their party rhetoric became more palatable to the public. The party still presents their “anti-immigrant, anti-establishment and nationalist sentiments [but make it appear

as though these sentiments are addressing issues of] unemployment, public insecurity, and welfare chauvinism” (Stockemer & Barisione, 2017, p. 103). There are communication tactics that normalize the ideological positions of the far-right among public discourses and allow them to be more palatable and gain more acceptance (Marcks, 2016; Wodak & Krzyzanowski, 2017; Gotsbachner, 2003). Hartzell (2020) highlights how the White nationalist forum, Stormfront, altered their messaging around White supremacy by “(re)constructing White nationalism as a formation of White racial consciousness articulated with communal belonging, common sense, and pride” (p. 131) to appeal to a broader White audience.

Futrell & Simi (2017) note some of the strategies that RWE groups have deployed in the past, which included altering and silencing their values due to a shifting political culture that would view explicit extremist values centred around race as unacceptable. Bhatt (2021) highlights how “the terms ‘alt-right’ and ‘alt-lite’ function as deceptions that work to sanitize neo-Nazi and racial fascists movements that thrive on dishonesty, deception and euphemism” (p. 31). Some attribute the re-emergence of RWE discourses to the presence of new opportunities to grow within mainstream political institutions, as they are “not common in the political stream” (Bhatt, 2021, p. 32). To understand the resurgence, growth and success of these groups, it is essential to place them in “the wider context of [the] socio-political dynamics that have provided fertile ground for many key aspects of their ideology/ideologies” (Wodak & Krzyzanowski, 2017, p. 472).

Therefore, there is value in unpacking the discourse to better decipher the central ideologies, political cultures, and behaviours of extremist groups and movements (Bjørge, 1995b; Campion, 2019).

The rhetoric RWE groups use to justify violence against those they label as the foreigners and their political opponents reveals a lot about these groups (Bjørge, 1995b). If the presentation of these messages is too virulent, there is less potential for these groups to attract supporters (Bjørge, 1995b). Most recently, Panofsky et al. (2021) have highlighted how White nationalist groups appropriate ideas about genetics to mobilize their movements online. By aligning genetic ancestry tests and the White identity with ideas about racial purity and racial realism⁶, these

⁶ Here, the term racial realism is used to describe the pseudoscientific claims that racial distinctions are backed by empirical data.

discursive tactics aim to legitimize racial hierarchies central to White nationalism and the alt-right (Panofsky et al., 2021).

In many European countries, the discourses of the political realm have also shifted in a more authoritarian direction, with a particular focus on issues of immigration and integration, leading to stricter policies (Mudde, 2013). There has been a discursive shift within the media and public discourse with regard to right-wing populist parties and their presentation of key themes (Wodak & Krzyzanowski, 2017; Akbaba, 2018; Stocker & Barisione, 2017).

Writing on recruitment strategies, Cooter (2006) identifies ‘normalization’ as the new tactic for recruitment within Neo-Nazi Movements. Cooter (2006) defines normalization as “the process whereby members of the Skinheads are changing the manner in which they present themselves to mainstream society” (p. 152). Specifically, change is seen in the self-presentation of Skinhead Movement members where they “have now begun to aim toward the look of “normal” or “average” citizens [and] have started letting their hair grow out, have stopped dressing in the traditional uniform—Doc Martens or combat boots, jeans, ‘White power’ T-shirts and red suspenders—and have instead opted for a more clean-cut, professional look” (Cooter, 2006, p. 154). Beyond their

physical appearance, they have altered the imagery they use in their movements and encourage members to engage in pro-social behaviour and avoid conflicts based on their ideological beliefs, even if it requires taking acting classes to be convincing (Cooter, 2006).

The trajectories of the success of RWE groups depend on “the availability of political opportunities and communication resources” (Ellinas, 2010, p. 199). During these opportunities, these groups conflate the subjects of nationalism, religion and what it may mean to be a “responsible citizen” with the concept of race as means to reinforce that sense of a particular racial collective identity (Adams & Roscigno, 2005). Furthermore, individuals from White power movements may use stigma management strategies in their everyday settings, such as choosing to conceal some aspects of their activism while disclosing others (Simi & Futrell, 2009). When the mainstream political culture outwardly vilified racists and racism, these groups, namely White supremacists, began “masking their real beliefs and intentions” (Futrell & Simi, 2017, p. 76). Right-wing political leaders have also harnessed nativist resentment and dissatisfaction in a way that has increased public support, but also strategically they engage in impression management and

rid themselves of “the representatives who hurt their political aspirations with explicit hate speech or the displace of neo-Nazi inclinations” (Weidinger, 2016, p. 44).

Leaders of Right-wing populist groups are able to engage grievances in society as a means to justify their issues of inclusion and do so in a charismatic and empathetic way so the public feels an emotional attachment to these leaders based on the perception that they are suffering from the same troubles (Akbaba, 2018). RWE mobilization has been explained through collective identity theories (Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 2006; Eyerman, 2002), as well as more individualistic inclinations to “invoke ideological claims to superiority and power” (Perry & Scrivens, 2018, p. 172), that stem from broader social and political conditions. Others, like Blazak (2001) have brought in Criminological theories to offer more macro-level explanations that bring in Strain Theory to explain the ways in which RWE groups are doing targeted recruitment to grow their movements.

Blazak’s (2001) explanations around the susceptibility of youth who may be experiencing normlessness to join these movements, compliments other literature that situates fascist mobilizing in the context of current neoliberal systems that have resulted in a decay of the crucial social bonds essential to giving humans a life with meaning (Hedges, 2018). Hedges (2018) further notes that a decline in status and power, an inability to advance, a lack of education and healthcare, and a loss of hope are crippling forms of humiliation [and results in a type of climate described as a] diseased society [that is] beset by economic collapse, hopelessness and violence.” (p. 41). Moreover, in these settings, there is an open platform for those who can express and represent the desires, prejudices and anxieties of the society, even if their arguments, actions and perceived solutions are not rational (Hedges, 2018).

The literature on RWE shows that these groups can mobilize and join the political discourse and debates during times where the mainstream political parties are rocky and under scrutiny (Stockemer & Barisione, 2017). To exemplify, the new leader of the French National Front, Marine Le Pen, pitched herself as someone working outside of the mainstream political system as a crisis manager for the middle- or lower class and used simple and strong language in her programme (Stockemer & Barisione, 2017). Furthermore, while there is no actual shift within the xenophobic and anti-immigration values and principles of the party’s past, Marine Le Pen strategically intertwined those values with pressing anxieties about wages, purchasing power and social and

public security that the French public had and made those same extremist values more palatable within mainstream political spaces (Stockemer & Barisione, 2017). Most recently, Sengul (2021) highlights the tactics of reactionaries like far-right populist politician, Pauline Hanason, and how her ‘It’s OK to be White motion’ was used discursively to construct the narratives around *White victimhood* and ‘reverse racism’. Sengul (2021) argues that these narratives often function as a tool for White nationalist and the radical right to use “the discursive strategy of calculated ambivalence [...] to appear more moderate in their presentation without alienating their more extreme supporters (p. 10).

More recently, the focus of the RWE literature still seeks to frame these violent ideologies, values, worldviews, and mobilization tactics as only describing a fringe group in society and explores the increase in palatability of the acceptance of “far-right, populist, and extreme nationalist values” (Hoffman et al., 2021, p. 2). There is often a focus on highlighting the various ways in which these ideas are gaining popularity, as well as trying to present these groups as a “new” threat in need of attention (Hoffman et al., 2021), rather than situating RWE incidents and emboldened movements as manifestations of values inherent to settler-colonial structures.

In Canada, many are examining RWE in an effort to help the state and intelligence agencies in identifying RWE threats (Scrivens et al., 2021) or offering recommendations to enhance police responses to ‘hate crimes’ (Perry & Samuels-Wortley, 2021), which reinforces a narrative that the ideologies and values of RWE groups are external to and in opposition of the settler-colonial state. However, many have highlighted those institutions, like policing, are also rooted in White supremacy and work to uphold racialized settler-colonial logics (Crosby, 2021a).

1.3 RWE in the Canadian Context

1.3.1 The (Un)intentional Dissimulation of RWE Amongst the Literature

Since the 1920s, the existence of RWE groups in Canada has been documented, beginning with different streams of the infamous Ku Klux Klan organization (Barrett, 1989; Kinsella, 1994). The literature has documented the existence of racial supremacy groups throughout the 1970s and 1980s in Canada, with some highlighting trends that show how difficult economic times tend to give rise to RWE, xenophobia, and a spike in racism as peoples seek to empty their anxieties by

scapegoating others (Li, 1995; Berube, 2016). Between the years of 1977 and 2010, Berube (2016) found 241 instances of RWE violence in Canada. Right-wing activity and organizing is also taking place on Canadian university campuses including McMaster, York, Ryerson, and the University of Toronto (Zhou, 2017). More recently Perry & Scrivens (2019) provide an extensive overview of RWE in Canada that traces the history, group dynamics, key organizers and groups, ideological traits, and notable events associated with these movements, as well as discussion on counterradicalization strategies.

RWE groups have also been identified as a growing threat in Canada by security agencies and the literature continues to document these groups and follow their mobilization in Canada as they continue to “stag[e] rallies against antiracists, disseminat[e] xenophobic fliers, and engag[e] in an array of violent and deadly activities” (Perry & Scrivens, 2016, p. 820). As Perry & Scrivens (2016) highlight, the information available on RWE groups is dated, except for a few works including that of Parent & Ellis (2014). While the ideological underpinnings of RWE in Canada is similar to the previously discussed literature that describe RWE ideological traits in other places within the Global North, Perry & Scrivens (2019) offer a loose definition of RWE in Canada as a movement that is:

characterized by a racially, ethnically and sexually defined nationalism [that is] often framed in terms of white power and is grounded in xenophobic and exclusionary understandings of the perceived threats posed by such groups as non-Whites, Jews, immigrants, homosexuals and feminists. As a pawn of the Jews, the state is perceived to be an illegitimate power serving the interests of all but the White man. To this end, extremists are willing to assume both an offensive and defensive stance in the interests of ‘preserving’ their heritage and their ‘homeland’” (p. 5).

Despite these recent additions with regards to RWE that takes place in Canada (Perry & Scrivens, 2018; Perry & Scrivens, 2019; Perry, 2018; Parent & Ellis, 2014), there are many gaps within the literature that call for a deeper systematic understanding and contextualization of RWE in Canada.

The presence of coverage on RWE groups in Canada has seemingly increased and become more prevalent since Donald Trump’s 2016 presidential victory (Perry, 2018; Perry & Scrivens, 2019). When situating RWE in the Canadian context, it is important to note that some scholars continue to describe Canada as the exemplary model for multiculturalism on the world stage, but state that even so, it is not immune to the threats of RWE within its borders (Scrivens & Perry,

2017; Barrett, 1987). These scholars observe RWE groups as distinct objects of study and criminological inquiry (Chermak & Gruenewald, 2015) or frame their analysis from a social movement theory perspective (Guadette et al., 2020; Perry & Scrivens, 2016). These types of approaches to understanding RWE, are limited in their ability to implicate the foundational ideals and ‘core values’ of the settler-state of Canada in their understanding of RWE. These approaches often leave out the other established discussions within the literature that provide scrutiny about the claims of tolerance and multiculturalism (Hage, 2000; Walia, 2021), and expose these claims as a mythic façade use to disguise the deeply rooted racism and exclusionary practices in Canadian society (Li, 1995; Barrett, 1987, Razack, 2007; Palmater, 2020).

The literature that contests the claims of Canada as a multicultural, welcoming, and benevolent nation, does so on the basis that since its inception Canada has perpetuated violence and exploited groups who have been labelled and subjugated as an “Other” ⁷ (Thobani, 2007; Razack, 2004; Salter, 2013; Maynard 2017; Dossa, 2019). In this way, contextualizing RWE in Canada must include discussion from scholars that reveal how their ideological underpinnings are rooted in, and a product of, the foundations and structures of the Canadian nation and its

institutions (Dossa, 2019; Palmater, 2020; Crosby, 2021b). It is also only recently that scholars (Bhatt, 2021; Walia, 2021; Crosby, 2021b, Monaghan, 2022) are situating these groups within larger state structures and contexts of settler colonialism, Western imperialism, and situating the role that race and racial supremacy play in these contexts. In efforts to situate the conceptual tools I employ in my analysis of RWE and White nationalism in the settler-colonial context of Canada, it is imperative to include literature that unpacks the conceptualization of Whiteness, as well as the governance structures and strategies (Walia, 2021) that work to uphold White supremacy in ‘multicultural’ societies.

The ‘boundaries of inclusion’ that is used by RWE to justify their entitlement to govern spaces stems from “broader cultural and political arrangements which ‘allocate rights, privilege,

⁷ I also use the term “Other” throughout this project, in particular in my analysis, to highlight how the categorization of people and use of language, particularly in relation to White nationalists, contributes to a process of dehumanization, subjugation and positioning them as inferior to then justify and reinforce oppressive systems of power and governance.

and prestige according to biological and social characteristics” (Sheffield as cited in Perry & Scrivens, 2018, p. 172). Central to these cultural and political arrangements is the preservation of the White identity that plays a key part amongst RWE and White nationalist mobilization (Perry & Scrivens, 2016; Bhatt, 2021), therefore, it is important to unpack what that consists of. Following the same premise as literature on Whiteness studies from a Critical Race Theory (CRT) perspective, this research will also be starting with the premise that Whiteness is a socially constructed racial category that is central to explaining the way in which colonial societies are structured, as well as the function of their institutions (Mills, 1997). The following sections will review how various scholars have unpacked the idea of Whiteness and race-making strategies in settler-colonial Canada to highlight the analytical frameworks that others have used to understand the various phenomena, including White nationalism, that take place in settler-colonial societies like Canada.

1.3.2 White Supremacy & Race-making in Settler-colonial Canada

This section discusses race and White supremacy from a Critical Race theoretical framework, as well as the debates around “multiculturalism” in settler-colonial nations that are a crucial part of setting the context to situating and understanding RWE groups and White supremacy in so-called Canada.

The premise of CRT brings with it an understanding that race is not “real, objective, fixed, and immutable, [nor does the idea of race] demarcate genetic categories. (Delgado & Stefancic, 1998, p. 476). Rather the ideas and indicators of different “races” have been chosen, and therefore socially constructed, for there to be differences and meaning ascribed to certain features and characteristic between groups (Delgado & Stefancic, 1998). Further, the creation of these distinctions, results in different groups being treated according to those constructions. In White settler-colonial states, the constructions around race, in particular, Whiteness, had typically been presented “as ‘normal’ and racially ‘unmarked’ (Garner, 2007, p. 5). In this way, the category of Whiteness becomes a category and “normative space against which difference is measured” (Dyer as cited in Garner, 2007, p. 34). In other words:

Because of the dominance of Western European thought and military and technological power over the last five centuries in its global projects of colonialism and neo-colonialism, Whiteness

has come to be represented as humanness, normality, and universality: Whites are not of a certain race, they are just the human race. (Dyer as cited in Garner, 2007, p. 34)

The ideal of Whiteness and the racial hierarchy it perpetuates is also intrinsically related to the political economy of global capitalism (Evans, 2021). The West European values and power over space were intrinsically tied to race and had “everything to do with who could be included within the nation, and who had legitimate access to land and how much” (Razack, 2002, p. 50). Whiteness and the White identity were created to deny indigenous peoples their sovereignty while asserting settler dominance (Salter, 2013; Dossa, 2019; Thobani, 2007; Walia, 2021).

Whiteness is relational, in that it was created as a distinct identity in relation to “Other” racialized identities (Garner, 2007; Salter, 2013). The idea of Whiteness moves beyond skin colour to include a variety of intersectional identities and positions that determine one’s eligibility in this category, to determine a status of inferiority or superiority (Garner, 2007, Salter, 2013; Arat-koç, 2010). When Whiteness is presented as the unmarked category for what it means to be human, “then all else requires qualification: everything else is deviant” (Garner, 2007, p. 34). Whiteness is presented as the unmarked, normal and default category for humanity and all other categories are always created as comparisons or an “Other” (Salter, 2013; Garner, 2007).

Whiteness is a socially constructed racial category that has been foundational to creating entire systems of governance and knowledge production that prioritize and centre the White worldview (Salter, 2013), and for some, in particular those concerned with the preservation of Whiteness, it functions as a social fact (Bhatt, 2021). McLaren and Torres (1998) describe Whiteness:

[as] a type of articulatory practice that can be located in the convergence of colonialism, capitalism, and subject formation. It both fixes and sustains discursive regimes that represent self and ‘other’; that is, whiteness represents a regime of differences that produces and racializes an abject other. (p. 62)

These socially constructed categories reinforce ideas about dominance, entitlement over governing people and space, and has existed since the inception of colonial states (Sa’di, 2012). It is difficult to pinpoint what traits the literature on Whiteness is referring to, as it is consistently reformulating and reinventing itself in a way to maintain its power, however there are some traits that have been associated with Whiteness which are important to highlight.

Hage (2000) conceptualizes Whiteness in terms of various traits and ideals associated with this concept that allows for those who fit into these categories to garner certain 'capital' in the nation space and field of Whiteness (p. 62). Hage (2000) highlights the categories ascribed to Whiteness that apply to Australia's 'multicultural' context such as:

Being 'male', 'European'. 'of British descent', 'of Irish decent', 'Protestant', 'Catholic', 'rich in economic capital', or a 'a good sportsperson', or having 'a white skin', ' and Aussie accent', or 'blond hair', all these operate as national capitals in the sense that their possession allowed the person who owns them to claim certain forms of dominant national belonging. (p. 56)

These categories demonstrate the fluidity of Whiteness in that it moves beyond skin colour to include other defining traits. Razack (2002) highlights the mythologies about the settlercolonial nation of Canada which carve the racial character of the nation space as one "populated by white men of grit, a robust Norther race pitting themselves against the harshness of the climate (p. 3). Understanding the basis of 'othering' in White nationalist discourse requires an understanding of what constitutes 'Whiteness' and what does not as "Whiteness is inextricably connected to the constitution of the Other" (Razack, Smith & Thobani, 2010, p. 10). The conflation of Whiteness and White identities with the idea of *civility* is also central to notions of Whiteness in settler-colonial culture (Coleman, 2006). In the context of English

Canada, Whiteness "has been modelled upon a specific form of British civility [that is] a uniquely settler-colonial project" (Coleman, 2006, p. 222). Coleman (2006) further talks about allegorical figures of "the Loyalist brother, The Scottish orphan, the Muscular Christian and the maturing colonial son" (p. 222) that are present in last nineteenth century and early-twentieth century Canadian literature that embody this model of Whiteness. As Coleman (2006) highlights "for many Canadians, multiculturalism represents Canadian progressiveness, not only in comparison to the monocultural nationalisms of other countries but also in comparison to earlier eras of monocultural nationalism in Canada" (p. 7). Further the idea of "White civility" is connected to a British model of civility that has also been linked to a specific Whiteness "naturalized as the norm for English Canadian cultural identity" (Coleman, 2006, p. 5).

In the foundational moment of Canadian nationhood, the British and French were cast as the true subjects of the colony [and] constituted as 'preferred races'" (Thobani, 2007, p. 13). Canadian national identity is deeply rooted in the notion of Canada as a vast northern

wilderness, the possession of which makes Canadians unique and ‘pure’ of character (Bonita Lawrence as cited in Thobani, 2007, p. 59; Razack, 2002). This characterization, along with their adoption of “multiculturalism” as state policy, works to hide the “histories of racial capitalism and [its] continuities of violence” (Walia, 2021, p. 159). Arat-koç (2005) highlights the reaffirmation of the White nationalist Canadian identity following September 11, which used narratives “of civilizational differences and civilizations conflict [that worked to reaffirm] a civilizational superiority via references to a “Western” identity (p. 33). What these discourses reveal is the racial tensions of “liberal Canadian multiculturalism from its inception [and works as a] confirmation, crystallization, and rigidification of the pre-existing implicit boundaries of a *White* national identity and belonging” (Arat-koç, 2010, p. 33).

The literature often demonstrates how the language of tolerance and benevolent multiculturalism are mobilized to demonstrate ideas about civility (Hage, 2000), and are what Dossa (2019) refers to as “colonizing credo[s]” (p. 38). Dossa (2019) further notes that this trope of innocence, used as a “signifier for Canada”, allows for the continuation of its White settler legacy (p. 30). Hage (2000) also reinforces that the language of tolerance places those deemed ‘tolerant’ within a position of authority and dominance that determines whom, or what, they will or will not withstand. Therefore, the rhetoric of innocence, tolerance and discourse around civility that is associated with Whiteness, is rooted in supremacy and the entitlement to govern people, spaces, and resources, as well who has power over determining what governance around these issues would look like (Hage, 2000; Dossa, 2019).

Thobani (2007) breaks apart the notions about benevolent “multiculturalism” and highlights that:

Multiculturalism as socio-political racial ideology has [...] come to attest to the enduring superiority of whiteness of its ability to transform and accommodate itself to changing times and new opportunities. It became a framework that assumed a certain rigidity in the cultured of racial others, of their enduring inferiority, immaturity, and the need for their reformulation under the tutelage of progressive- always modernizing- western superiority. (p. 155)

Thus, state multiculturalism policy works to impede the transformational change that is asked of movements that are pushing back on the racial hierarchies of power (Thobani, 2007). The idea of “multiculturalism” is functional for the White racial state as it allows White multicultural nationalists to scapegoat the more blatant racists as the sole perpetrators of harm

and “enable[s] the suturing of the post-colonial crises by enabling a different kind of project: that of the anxieties of an intolerant and racist Whiteness onto immigrants (Thobani, 2007, p. 155).

Canada’s multicultural Whiteness claims to “be tolerant of difference, even when besieged by a bewildering global array of diversity, it [is able to] recast itself as uniquely committed to pluralism and thereby exalt its basic goodness” (Thobani, 2007, p. 154), while it simultaneously continues its “perfected Canadian technologies of racial settler state formation, imperial expansion, and labor precarity” (Walia, 2021, p.158). The relation of Whiteness as the national identity of a settler nation like Canada is linked to the “related but distinct goals of the alienation of Indigenous land [and] the production of surplus-value through the discipline of a hyper-exploitable, and territorially precarious, racialized workforce” (Evans, 2021, p. 521). Thus, in an era of global capitalism where the welfare state is beginning to collapse (Giroux, 2019), Whiteness is beginning to shift as well (Arat-Koç, 2010).

Adding further analysis to discussions on Whiteness and race-making in the context of global capitalism, many are highlighting the implications of growing insecurities stemming from the decline of the welfare state (Arat-Koc, 2010; Giroux, 2019). The outcome of global capitalism is resulting in more of the population facing politics of disposability that creates room for ultranationalism (Giroux, 2019). In the face of this, there are simultaneous “successful attempts to incorporate all Whites into Whiteness through anti-immigrant, anti-refugee, anti-Arab and anti-Muslim sentiments, movements and ideologies as well as policies on immigration and the “War on Terror” (Arat-Koç, 2010, p. 164). Whiteness for the working-class is intrinsically tied to the building and prosperity of the welfare state, thus, when it is deteriorating, it also works to destabilize Whiteness (Arat-Koç, 2010). Walia (2021) adds to this by highlighting welfare nationalism, the tendency of “linking social security to nationalist idea” (p. 202), as another forms of White supremacy that works to “Other” and excludes the threats to Whiteness and the systems it upholds.

1.3.3 Canada’s “Multicultural” Governance Strategies

In the context of settler colonies like Canada, Whiteness is intrinsically linked to the colonial project and Canadian nationalism has always worked to eliminate Indigenous sovereignty

(Thobani, 2007; Razack, 2007; Walia, 2021). In the United States, Whiteness was first named in colonial law in the late 1600s (DiAngelo, 2018). Similarly, in Canada, colonization efforts required for colonizers to divide people into governable categories and sub-groups of people were predominantly centred around ‘racial types’ (Sa’di, 2012, p. 152). The constitution of the so-called Euro-Canadian state as White was due to intentional efforts “by the state and nation(alists) against those whom they sought to eliminate and exclude” (Thobani, 2007, p. 22). Goldberg (as cited in Thobani, 2007, p. 24) also argues that this process of racialization is intrinsically linked to the formation of modern state powers. Walia (2021) adds to the discussion on race-making and settlerstate formation by highlighting the role that borders have played as a “central modality for [White racial] state formation, hierarchical social ordering, and population control through exclusions and expulsions” (p. 32). The differences that are reflected and pinpointed in the formation of colonial laws and legislation by the state demonstrate the legal construction of racial categories and how racial distinctions are created (Delgado & Stefancic, 1998). These legal constructions play a role in informing the broader cultures, values, and sentiments about various groups of people implicated in racialization (Delgado & Stefancic, 1998).

Walia (2021) further highlights that borders and bordering governance regimes are informed by Whiteness, and are central to White state-formation, functioning to reproduce “racialized social relations [based on identities that are] further imbued by gender, sexuality, class, ability, and nationality” (p. 78). Walia’s (2013) discussion on *border imperialism* provides a framework of understanding for how Western states, like Canada, situate themselves as “arbiters in determining if and under what conditions people migrate” (p. 39) and move through spaces. Through the practices of “imperial subjugation, criminalization of migration, racialized hierarchy of citizenship, and state mediated exploitation of labour” (Walia, 2021, p. 2), these violent structures maintain their power. Walia (2021) speaks to the idea of racial citizenship and how citizenship itself is a tool for race-making regimes and logics that centre White supremacy while either subordinating or excluding the “Other”. As Walia (2021) explains:

[...] the construct of citizenship itself, as an institution of governance reifying *how* one is minoritized, must be interrogated. State citizenship is less about collective participation in governance of life and more about an authoritarian system of governance *over* life. State citizenship thus becomes the legal basis of asserting state sovereignty through ‘define and rule’ to ‘hierarchize and manage difference. (p. 194)

More recently, Walia (2021) looks at concepts surrounding borders and border governance strategies⁸ to understand how these function as a “spatial and material power structure” (p. 2). For imperialist states, “border governance is at the nexus of working and warring, exclusion and extraction, and thus produces bodies ‘deemed available for injury’ and perpetual debilitation as a form of racial class control” (Walia, 2021, p. 78). The four border governance strategies presented offer a framework of analysis to the literature that allows for an interrogation of the statesanctioned mechanisms that maintain power structures and racial hierarchies.

The first border governance strategy is *exclusion*, referring to mechanisms used by the state to “contain and expel [people] using walls, detention centers, and deportations” (Walia, 2021, p. 79). Walia (2021) details a variety of ways in which the state enacts exclusionary strategies as a means to “fortify territorial control, solidify a racialized nationalist identity, and criminalize migrants and refugees as ‘undesirables’, and ‘trespassers’” (p. 79). The second border governance strategy is *territorial diffusion*, referring to the internal and external border enforcement practices that rely on “biometric surveillance and disciplinary practices within the state, as well as imperial outsourcing beyond the state’s borders” (Walia, 2021, p. 84). Walia’s (2021) presents borders as flexible regimes that are not limited to a specific physical or geographical location, and this is further explained in the various ways in which welfare states restrict access to social welfare and supports to those who are undocumented and “Othered”. The third border governance strategy is

commodified inclusion, signifying the ways in which the state, with its capitalist interests in mind, commodifies the “inclusion of migrants and refugees as undocumented or temporary workers with deliberately deflated labor power to guarantee capital accumulation” (Walia, 2021, p. 85).

⁸ For this research, these border governance strategies, are used to situate the analysis of the similarities between the goals and practices of the self-proclaimed benevolent, multicultural settler-state of Canada, to the discourse of blatantly racist white nationalists, such as groups like the CNF. While I’m not looking at any empirical data related to the state discourse, these strategies are used in my analysis to situate CNF’s ideological logic within the critical discussion about settler-colonial state logics.

Lastly, the governance strategy of *discursive control* highlights the role that language and discourse play in allowing “international institutions governing migrants and refugees [to create] a slew of legally distinct categories and a hierarchy of rights in order to manage, divide, and control people on the move.” (Walia, 2021, p. 87). These governance strategies are analytical tools that exist within the literature and work to signify how the state’s “status-quo liberalism [that upholds] neoliberal capitalism [is] interwoven with right-wing nationalism” (Walia, 2013, p.14). This analytical lens differs from existing literature in RWE shared in the first section of this chapter, specifically in how others view the role of the state in understanding this phenomenon. This connection contributes analytically in observing a group like the CNF, not as an outlier of the Canadian nation and modes of governance, but one that is merely reinforcing values and logics that are central to the function of the settler-colonial state.

The critiques found amongst literature concerned with analyzing White settler societies, and their claims on benevolent inclusion and civility, reveal that both “multiculturalist and [explicitly] racist national both shared the basic assumption that racial communities were the bearers of difference, and both imagined the national space as essentially White” (Thobani, 2007, p. 154). Thus, the tendency for RWE literature and researchers to focus on this issue as an isolated risk or new threat to the settler-colonial state, works to absolve other nationalists functioning under the same logics from being associated with explicit racism (Thobani, 2007). As Walia (2013) raises, racialized hierarchies play a role in this justification as the “anxieties about tainting the nation-state’s normative heteropatriarchal whiteness are linked to the racist’s justification for the violence of economic and military imperialism” (p. 65). Walia’s (2021) work on border governance strategies allows this project to situate the CNF’s discourse in a broader framework that accounts for the context of Canadian governance structures and the various forces it accompanies, and the White “multicultural” systems they protect.

Conclusion:

The current literature on RWE predominantly covers European countries (Andersson, 2013; Arzheimer & Carter, 2006 ; Harrison & Bruter, 2011; Mudde, 2007), Australia (Campion, 2019), or the United States of America (Berlet & Lyons, 2000 ; Weed, 2017; Tenold, 2018; Hedges,

2006). The increased focus on naming and understanding these groups within the Canadian context is fairly recent (Perry & Scrivens, 2016/2018; Davies & Dawson, 2015; Hoffman et al., 2021).

The focus within the Canadian context has been identifying and documenting the existence and growth of RWE groups and ideologies, as well as the debates around the level of threat they may pose, with little focus on situating RWE in Canada's broader colonial structures (see Palmater, 2020). For example, Main (2018) focuses on the growing threat of RWE groups to democratic liberalism, which assumes that the foundations and principles of Western democratic liberalism are vastly exceptional from the values of RWE and reactionaries so much that they threaten them. Positioning RWE as anathema to an otherwise working system of governance is disconnected from the work of Critical Race literature, which demonstrates how the foundations of West European middle-class norms and standards of capitalist modernity across the Global north are what is central to creating the racial logics of Whiteness and White supremacy (Arat-koç, 2010, p. 149). This is problematic because the narrative that these groups and their White supremacist logic are exceptionally abhorrent in an otherwise "civil" culture (Coleman, 2006) has often been a tactic used by the Canadian state to quell and diminish decolonization and anti-racist resistance efforts (Thobani, 2007).

The disconnect between literature on RWE and literature focused on understanding this phenomenon by situating RWE in broader context of settler colonialism, is not specific to the literature covering the Canadian context. For example, Campion's (2019) contributions highlight the narratives of Australian RWE ideology and speaks to the narrative around the imagined identity constructs centred on the White identity. Campion (2019) prefaces this work by highlighting that there is little understanding about RWE in Australia, with no mention of Hage's (2000) work from over two decades ago that offered a discussion and theoretical framework to analyzing this phenomenon and situating it in the broader settler-colonial and multicultural context.

There is a tendency within RWE literature to limit understandings of RWE as a phenomena that is distant and separate from the broader systems that they exist in. This positions RWE groups as outliers without situating these groups in discussions happening concurrently about the validity to Canada's "multicultural", inclusive, and civil nature (Razack, 2002; Thobani, 2007; Coleman, 2006) and misses the context that is crucial to understanding and addressing RWE. As the discussion in the literature around the historical and contemporary ideological roots of RWE

demonstrate, even the most nuanced understandings of contemporary fascism and White nationalism situate the threat as an attack on “the ideals of Enlightenment” (Chomsky as cited in James, 2013) or as “critiques of liberal modernity” (Bhatt, 2021). However, as James (2013) highlights, they do not go far enough to highlight that the same ideals that the literature shows are being attacked by RWE groups, are the ones that birth and reproduce their logics. James (2013) notes how “the Western liberal individual as the standard for civilized humanity concurred with its reconstructing those enslaved or colonized by Europeans with an essentialist inferiority” (p. 299). In other words, literature on RWE that “demystifies fascism as a distant evil [and] does not acknowledge that the Enlightenment ideals [are also] premised on racism” (James, 2013, p. 299) are misrecognition of the issues that allow for the maintenance of White hegemony (Salter, 2013 ; Coleman, 2006; Dossa, 2019).

While most of the existing literature on RWE groups views these groups as a distinct and fringe social movement, the aim of this research is to identify and dismantle the underlying logics that guide their mobilization, with the goal of bridging the gap within the literature by situating White nationalist discourse within the existing settler- colonial nations and neoliberal state structures. The goal of this research project is unpacking RWE logics in Canada through an analysis of blog posts from an openly White nationalist group, the CNF, and situate their ideologies within Canada’s multicultural project.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

I use the concepts in this chapter to unpack the discourse of the CNF's White nationalism, while also adhering to an understanding that the current context of what many refer to as the neoliberal era is directly connected to settler-colonialism and racial capitalism⁹. Prior to introducing the conceptual tools for this project in further detail, it is important to lay out a brief historical context in order to accurately situate these analytical tools. By tracing the different stages, such as neoliberalism, industrial capitalism (also known as Fordism), and settlercolonialism back to their European origins, it is clear how race and racialism that have been central to the creation of European civilization, are essential in understanding these various eras, as well as White nationalism. Robinson (2020) highlights, racialism, "as the legitimation and corroboration of social organization as natural by reference to the 'racial' components of its elements [and a material force, that] would inevitably permeate the social structures emergent from capitalism" (p.2). Therefore, to understand the current neoliberal era that exists today, it is crucial to trace it back to the social and historical context of European civilization, which from the beginning, contained "racial, tribal, linguistic, and regional particularities, [that were] constructed on antagonistic differences" (p. 10). It was this tendency for European civilization to "differentiate [and] exaggerate regional, subcultural, and dialectical differences in to 'racial' ones" [that functioned to create a] racially inferior stock for domination and exploitation. (Robinson, 2020, p. 25).

This type of thinking was reproduced within Europe, where domination of some Europeans by other Europeans was also normalized (Robinson, 2020). Louis Snyder (as cited in Robinson, 2020) states:

⁹ Cedric J. Robinson (2020) employed the term racial capitalism to highlight how "the development, organization, and expansion of capitalist society pursued essentially racial direction" (p. 2). Further, Robinson (2020) explains the emergence of capitalism as something that moves beyond viewing it as a mere "matter of the displacement of feudal modes and relations of production by capital ones "[but argues that the] "historical development of world capitalism was influenced in a most fundamental way by the particularistic forces of racism and nationalism (p. 9-10).

Racialists, not satisfied with merely proclaiming the superiority of the white over the coloured race, also felt necessary to erect a hierarchy within the white race itself. To meet this need they developed the myth of the Aryan, or Nordic, superiority. The Aryan myth in turn became the source of the secondary myths such Teutonism (Germany), Anglo-Saxonism (England and the United States), and Celticism (France). (p. 27)

This makes clear the relevancy of the historical context of European civilization, with the White nationalism in Canada today as this rationale persists in how groups like the CNF reinforce their superiority over the governance of the Canadian nation space. Further, these racial dynamics are (re)produced in the process of settler-colonialism in what is known as Canada as well, with more of an emphasis on “the removal of land and land resources from its Indigenous population to make this land a permanent home for [White] settlers (Hoogeveen, as cited in Gloss, 2021, p. 22). And more recently, the settler-colonial dispossession has been focused on “an expansion of industrial endeavors” (Gloss, 2021, p. 22).

With this brief historical overview of racialism, I build on the discussion on Whiteness and race-making outlined in the literature review with further discussion on how Whiteness serves as an important conceptual tool to understanding the dynamics of White nationalists, their identities, their perception of the settler-colonial nation space, and the underlying logics of the goal of a *White nation fantasy* (Hage, 2000). Following this, I look at the structures of feelings that shape the values and ideology of the CNF behind their White nationalism mobilization. For this I use the concept of *White Fragility* (DiAngelo, 2018), the White nationalist’s discourse around feelings of victimization, powerlessness and ‘*White decline*’, as theorized by Hage (2000) and others. Lastly, I apply the concept of *neoliberal fascism* (Giroux, 2019) to allow for an understanding of how the socio-political outcomes of economic neoliberalism and the destabilization of the White welfare state enables the mobilization of White nationalism.

2.2 The ‘Canadian’ White Nation Fantasy in Decline

As previously outlined in the literature review, and central to the framework of Critical Race Theory, the various categories of race are socially constructed ideas rather than ones rooted in biological differences between groups of people. The point of departure for this research is

understanding race and racism as phenomena that moves beyond skin colour and uses the conceptualization of race as “historic repertoires and cultural, spatial, and signifying systems that stigmatize and depreciate one form of humanity for the purpose of another’s health, development, safety, profit and pleasure (Singh, as cited in Arat-koç, 2010, p. 162). Central to these systems is the concept and the racial category of Whiteness, which requires further unpacking.

2.2.1 Unpacking Whiteness

The racial category of Whiteness is a fluid and ever-changing identity central to colonization and the creation of racial hierarchies of power. In creating ideas and traits around a concept of Whiteness, those who deem themselves in proximity to these categories of existence perceive themselves in a position of superiority. Using this logic, they justify their politics and logics of dominance and control of people and space based on who they situate as being further away from the proximity of Whiteness. The purpose of using Whiteness as a conceptual tool for this research is to provide an overview of the traits ascribed to this identity, to provide insight on who and what are excluded from this category. Further, this analysis examines how the White identity functions as a key justification of the entitlement to govern spaces for White nationalists. This project understands Whiteness in the context of Canada as an identity that is socially constructed to push forward the goals of the colonial project and state formation. In the context of Canada, this means “balancing [the] two contending goals of maintaining the Whiteness of the nation while also ensuring supply of labour adequate to the ask of economic development” (Thobani, 2007, p. 83). Thus, Whiteness as a conceptual tool in this research serves to analyze two phenomena; the first is to unpack the identity that allows a White nationalist to situate themselves as superior or *exalted*, to justify the preservation of racial hierarchies and negotiate the conditions for the “Other” to be included or excluded within the nation space. The second is to understand how Whiteness works to perpetuate and maintain institutional state power based on the interests of the political economy. Equally important analytical tools for this research are Hage’s (2000) concepts that allow for the explanations of the *White nation fantasy* that offer a critical examination of social relations as they relate to constructions of race, management of space, and how they create and sustain systems and practices of oppression in “multicultural” societies like Canada. Applying the role of ‘Whiteness’ amongst the discourse of the Canadian Nationalist Front (CNF), it is crucial to recognize that for

societies dominated by White people, Whiteness serves as a tool to determine who adheres to the norms that uphold White supremacist systems of power (Garner, 2007). Central to these systems of power and colonial Whiteness are the key aspects of “the denial of First Peoples’ sovereignty [as well as] the construction of a good/bad dualism” (Salter, 2013, p. 53) that are fundamental to how White nationalists determine, even if just by means of discourse, who *belongs* in *their* perceived nation space.

2.2.2 *Fantasies of a White Nation, Fears of a White Decline*

Hage’s (2000) theory of the *White nation fantasy* describes the White nationalist aspirations to determine what space is supposed to look like in a seemingly multicultural society. Central to this fantasy that decides who is and is not an ideal member of the nation, is the conceptualization of the nation space. Hage (2000) argues that:

Classifications emphasizing ‘undesirability’ cannot be conceived independently of a national spatial background against which they acquire their meaning, it is equally true that they cannot be conceived without an idealised image of what this national spatial background ought to be like. (p. 39)

In other words, understanding the discourse of White nationalists around who belongs and who does not belong requires a cognizance of what they imagine their ideal nation to look like, who it is meant to serve, and who they believe impedes the realization of their ideal nation fantasy.

Hage’s (2000) concept of *national belonging* describes how nationalists rationalize their positions as entitled managers of space, which is further expanded in the following two categories of belonging. Hage’s (2000) idea of *governmental belonging* serves to describe how nationalists holds the belief that they are owed the ability to contribute “a *legitimate* opinion with regard to the internal and external politics of the nation” (Hage, 2000, p. 46). This form of belonging demonstrates how the White nationalist practices of exclusion are predicated on the belief that White nationalists are owed and entitled to the opportunity of managing spaces. There is an entitlement that allows these individuals to position others within the nation spaces, as well as comment on those external to those spaces when it comes to the governance structures of what they view as their home nation.

The second form of belonging is *passive belonging* which describes how nationalists expect to “have the right to benefit from the nation’s resources, [and] to ‘fit into it’ or ‘feel at home’ within it” (Hage, 2000, p. 45). Both forms of belonging serve to describe how White nationalists rationalize and describe what ought to happen as they aspire to achieve their *White nation fantasy*, however *passive belonging* demonstrates a more material aspect of the rationalization of their right to access resources and material goods within the nation space, as well as the feelings and ideas they have associated with the land and nation space. Hage (2000) further highlights the concepts of *home* and *familiarity* to bring attention to the structures of feelings that nationalists may associate with the nation space and their ideals about what this space needs to emulate.

The concept of *home*, as described by Hage (2000), “refers more to a structure of feelings than a physical, house-like construct, it is fragmentary images, rather than explicit formulations, of what the homely nation ought to be like” (p. 40). Applying this concept to a White nationalist discourse would mean looking at the ways in which the White nationalist brings up themes that imply the homely nation space is “something lost and in need of being recovered” (Hage, 2000, p. 40). These sentiments also underlie many of the exclusionary discourses that position the subjects of exclusion as the reason the nation space is no longer a *home*. Sarah Ahmed (as cited in Thobani, 2007) notes that “it is in the [nation’s] subject’s encounter with the stranger, in the experiences of the proximity of this alien who has come too close, that the subject’s sense of being ‘at home’ in the national space is reiterated” (p. 15). Those presented as strangers are also then placed as the “non-preferred races” (Thobani, 2007) that are excluded from the category of Whiteness, and their ability to exist and move through spaces becomes a topic up for negotiation and debate. Similar to the concept of *home* is the concept of *familiarity*. Hage (2000) explains that “familiarity is particularly associated with practical spatial and linguistic knowledge” (p. 40), meaning that a nationalist’s ability to feel the sense of community and feel connected the space relies on their ability to recognize the space. For example, recognizing and understanding the language that is spoken within the nation space can be an example of the familiarity White nationalists are seeking within the nation space. The concepts of *home* and *familiarity* are central in understanding a nationalist’s feelings about security that often “involves the possibility of satisfying one’s basic needs and an absence of threatening otherness” (Hage, 2000, p. 40).

Hage (2000) further emphasizes the significance of the concept of *tolerance* that plays a role in maintaining a divide between those who belong and those who are “Othered”. Hage (2000) outlines how tolerance as a practice is rooted in exploitation:

Indeed, often the history of tolerance as an actual practice is to be found in the history of exploitation even more so than in the history of grand statements about the toleration of other ‘religions’. It is slaves, domestic servants and other forms of exploited labourers – people who are seen as inferior, or in negative terms, by the dominant – who because of their value as objects of exploitation, are accepted and included within the dominant’s space, while, at the same time, the limits of their inclusion are carefully traced. (p. 94)

While the language of tolerance is often used with an intent to demonstrate the “civility” of multicultural nations, it also functions to reinforce harmful division of power. Tolerance implies that there is something that must be tolerated, and immediately situates those deemed the “Other” as a burden or inferior, and those who view themselves as tolerators as governors of space. In this way, those who are *tolerant* are positioning themselves as entitled managers of space in that they get to determine who is excepted and under what conditions, while also attaching a negative and inferior brand to the person/group/thing they are managing that is to *be tolerated*. For this reason, Dossa (2019) echoes how the language of tolerance is a ‘colonizing credo’ while citing Jacques Derrida, stating that:

Tolerance is a form of charity, a Christian Charity. Its first victims were Jews and Muslims and then the subject ‘races’ and ‘natives’. It is in essence bellicose, its sensibility is imperial: ‘always on the side of “reason of the strongest”, where “might is right”’. Furthermore, it is a ‘supplementary mark of sovereignty from an elevated position. In effect, tolerance is a colonizing credo. (p. 38)

The *White nation fantasy* as a theoretical tool explains dominance and superiority and how White nationalist groups, such as the CNF, perpetuate practices and discourses of exclusion. Hage (2000) and others have noted that when it comes to the imagined nation space, namely what that space is to look like, both White proponents of multiculturalism and more blatantly racist White nationalists share the same assumptions and goals around a nationalism that maintains White hegemony. They seek to produce a particular imagined nation that centres them as the ‘meaningful’ subjects of the nation, and this nationalist identity works to legitimate their sense of being and purpose. Furthermore, all “Others” are perceived as potentially problematic objects, that are

created to reify that nationalists have control over their social environment and space. When it comes to producing their imagined nation space, Hage (2000) highlights that this is *fantasy* is more about the empowered identity that it allows the nationalists to inhabit, rather than merely an “imagined ‘land of the good life’” (p. 70). It is an identity that allows themselves to understand their role as “a nation-builder, a person whose national life has meaning derived from the task of having to build his or her ideal homely nation, a national domesticator” (p. 71).

Walia (2021) also highlights how both “racist ethnonationalism and liberal multiculturalism [work to] uphold racial regimes through a social organization of difference” (p. 14). This is apparent in their discourse as they relate to groups and people who are “Others” as objects that are to be managed within the White nation space. The language of (in)tolerance, civility, and benevolent multiculturalism serve as the spectrum to how this management and negotiations should look like. Regardless of how these “entitled managers” of space feel about the “Other”, they are still positioning themselves as managers of space and entitled to dictate the parameters in which others can exist and move in these spaces. As discussed in the literature review, and the premise from which this research understands “multiculturalism”, is that state policy multiculturalism in Canada is an adaptation of settler-colonial dominance as a response to anti-racist and anti-colonial movements (Thobani, 2007; Dossa, 2019). The language used around multiculturalism, such as civility and benevolent *tolerance*, allow for distinctions to be made about good versus evil nationalists. Yet, both multiculturalists and White nationalists hold the same assumptions that position themselves as the entitled spatial managers of the nation who get to determine the boundaries of which people move through their space. It is important to note that both White multiculturalists and White nationalists are ontologically grounded in the same spatial logic that Whiteness is to be centred in how the nation space is governed. This distinction is crucial as it allows for an explanation as to what mobilizes a fascism that calls for ethnonationalism, and the role that fantasies of dominance and feelings of victimhood from an inability to achieve this fantasy play in these reactions.

Hage (2000) notes that White nationalist logic and their feelings of entitlement to manage how people can move through the nation space stem from the *fantasies* created by colonial structures that are also responsible for creating the idea of Whiteness as a pillar of civility, therefore, placing Whiteness as superior to everyone else who is “Othered”. The feelings of loss

and anxiety that come from that fantasy being destabilized or threatened is what Hage (2000) highlights as central to the discourse of *White decline* that underscores RWE. The ways in which White nationalists are experiencing and understanding the changes in their perceived space is crucial in analysing the mobilization and reactions of White nationalists and RWE in “multicultural” societies. Additionally, Robin DiAngelo’s (2018) concept of *White fragility* is helpful to frame the emotional responses of fear, hate and anger that mobilize White nationalists, such as the CNF. Both Hage (2000) and DiAngelo’s (2018) conceptual frameworks inform the *structures of feelings* that shape the White nationalist’s perception of the nation space and their ideology.

Raymond William’s (1977) concept of *structures of feelings* is a term aimed at moving beyond the idea of ideology and world-view to understand the beliefs of someone or a group that emphasizes their feelings and experiences. This concept focuses on “meaning and values that are actively lived and felt, and the relations between these and formal or systematic beliefs” (William, 1977, p. 132). This concept allows for an analysis that unpacks how a group like CNF’s discourse and ideological beliefs expressed in their blogs is informed by their feelings about how they navigate and relate to the nation space.

White fragility and feeling of perceived victimization can be viewed as an outcome of the spatial national logic that Hage (2000) presents as underlying the White nationalists’ discourse of *White decline*. Hage (2000) argues there are paradoxical positions of empowerment that White nationalist sentiments stem from. On one end, it comes from an entitled “subject who feels empowered to make [their] desired nation come true [but on the other end it also] emanate[s] from a position of disempowerment” (Hage, 2000, p. 69). The White nationalist *feels* as though the state is no longer working to preserve their interests. Hage (2000) highlights an important point with regards to the reactions that White nationalists have to the current context created by White cosmomulticulturalism, and states that:

This neurotic sense of disempowerment should not, however, lead us to dismiss the *actual* loss and disempowerment from which it has resulted [and how] whatever forms of inclusion and ‘democracy’ White cosmo-multiculturalism grants to ethnic people, it takes away from the more insular White working- and middle-class peoples, who are perceived as unable, by definition, to appreciate and value otherness, let alone govern it. (p. 205)

With this, Hage (2000) is explaining how the inclusion and attempts at *belonging* by the “Other” restricts or alters the ways in which the White nationalists can carry out their own belonging.

In tandem to the understanding of the *White nation fantasy* and the conceptual tools provided by Hage (2000) to explain the psychological processes, structures of feelings, and tensions behind White settler nationalism and multiculturalism, DiAngelo’s (2018) *White fragility* allows for an explanation about the narratives of victimhood and oppression that are common amongst White supremacist groups where many complain about “the abrogation of white rights and [bring up] the notion of white victimization” (Adams & Roscigno, 2005, p. 762). Despite their low sense of actual racial alienation¹⁰ (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996), they maintain a sense of being “oppressed victims that are deprived of exploring and celebrating their own identity” (Berbier, 2000, p. 179). As Hartzell (2020) highlights, DiAngelo’s work provides an understanding of “emotional reactions that signal white folks’ fragility, including denial, avoidance, anger and guilt” (p. 135). It is important to note that it is not the intention of this project to centre or provide a justification for the feelings of White nationalists and racists, but rather use this conceptual tool to uncover the emotional response and narratives of victimhood that mobilize White nationalists as they are confronted with the real or perceived harms and oppression of the systems they defend and benefit from.

While this concept is used by DiAngelo (2018) to flesh out the individual responses and scenarios of reactions from White people confronted with racism, it can also be useful to understanding the response by White nationalists when their fantasies of dominance, sense of entitlement, and control are perceived to be threatened, destabilized, or place under scrutiny. Furthermore, this concept is useful in analysing the ways in which the current literature and discussions around RWE and White nationalism also stem from a similar logic and theoretical basis that maintains that White supremacy is only reserved for the “bad racist” and “evil nationalists”, rather than a core function of settler-colonial governance. In this way, the narratives

¹⁰ Bobo and Hutchings (1996) describe racial alienation as members of a particular racial group feeling collectively oppressed and unfairly treated within their larger social context. These feelings of racial alienation have a collective dimension and emerge from historical experiences as well as the current social, political and economic conditions.

found amongst RWE discourse continue to perpetuate an identity of the settler-colonial Canadian state as an innocent party to this phenomenon.

In the context of Australia, Campion (2019) highlights that what is central to RWE ideologies is both discourses that work to identify and exclude the “Other”, and narratives about White victimhood that work as a tool to justify White supremacy. The victimhood narrative that underlies White fragility, and many of the narratives that White supremacists have recently been mobilizing around, are used to attribute blame to the “Other” and seek to “absolve the in-group

and reinforce ideas of victimhood and innocence” (Campion, 2019, p. 220). Hage (as cited in Walia, 2021) states how “colonial domination is necessarily shaped through imagined victimhood: ‘a feeling of being besieged by the very people whom one is actually colonising’” (p. 14). Thus, the victimhood narratives that derive from *White fragility* work to reaffirm power structures of White supremacy, as opposed to challenging them, and are an important tool of analysis amongst White nationalist discourse. *White fragility* and narratives around victimhood allow White nationalists to weaponize their feelings by positioning themselves as victims and mobilizing against anyone who threatens the White supremacist structures and their sense of entitlement. This ignites calls for action and mobilization to protect the White nation.

The concepts introduced thus far enable an understanding of *Whiteness* in settler-colonial Canada and a framework to understand the White nationalist’s relationships with the perceived nation space that underlie their *White nation fantasy*. Furthermore, a concept that explains how fear, anger, and sentiments of victimization and disempowerment around *White decline* is processed by *White nationalists* is important. It is equally important to situate those responses that are rooted in *White fragility* (DiAngelo, 2018) within broader systemic structures. As Hage (2000) highlights, both ‘White multiculturalists’ and ‘White nationalists’ operate on the same spectrum of controlling and negotiating the parameters of inclusion of the “Other”. However, there is a distinction to be made behind the interests of a neoliberal¹¹ state who allows the “Other” to exist

¹¹ I use the neoliberalism throughout this project as an all-encompassing term that describes the social, political and economic outcomes of the current manifestations of racial capitalism, as they are relate to White nationalist movements. The brief historical overview at the beginning of this chapter outlines the ways in which European

in the nation space so long as they can be subjugated and exploited for capitalist interests and goals, and the more blatant White nationalists who are seeking a “pure” ethnonationalist state. For this, I will use the concept of *neoliberal fascism* (Giroux, 2019) and the discussion around the destabilization of Whiteness as tools that allow for a more systemic analysis of the ways in which the current political economy breeds and ignites the mobilization and discourse of present-day fascism and White nationalist mobilizing.

2.3 Neoliberal Fascism & the Destabilization of Whiteness

As discussed in the literature review, Arat-Koç (2010) identifies how in the current neoliberal era, colonial structures and the social welfare system that were initially created to ensure the prosperity of Whiteness, specifically the White working-class, are also destabilizing (Arat-Koç, 2010). Thus, there is both a material crisis and an identity crisis that fuels RWE and White nationalist traction. In the context of a settler-colonial state that attempts to subdue anticolonial and anti-racism resistance and maintain governmental power by introducing performative policies and discourses, it threatens the White nationalists’ fantasies of dominance that they feel they are entitled to. This triggers reactions that are fuelled by narratives of victimhood and used to defend and uphold logics of White supremacy, as opposed to interrogating the power structures and economic systems that uphold oppression and inequality, that are now, to a certain degree, impacting the White working class as well.

2.3.1 Neoliberal Fascism

The concept of *neoliberal fascism*, coined by Henry Giroux (2019), helps describe the context conducive to the emergence of a new form of fascism as a reaction to the new manifestations of racial capitalism. As previously outlines in Walia (2021) also highlights RWE organizers often seize the opportunity to weaponize the crises of neoliberalism, like “debt, wage stagnation, rising

civilization is central to understanding nationalism at various points in history. I am not using the concept of neoliberalism to explain the creation of fascist and White nationalism ideology, but rather using this concept to describe the material outcomes of this era and how it has further exacerbated these movements.

costs of living, and downward mobility” (p. 199) to mobilize their movements. To further clarify, neoliberalism does not mean fascism; however, as a political rationality, neoliberalism creates the conditions and social organization in which a fascist politics are emboldened and flourish. It is crucial to provide a brief overview of the historical background of neoliberalism, and an understanding of what fascism in this context is referring to.

Neoliberalism.

For some, like Harvey (2007), neoliberalism refers to the resurgence of the classical laissez-faire economic system that claims that human dignity and individual freedom, which they view as central values in civilization, are achieved through neoliberal thought and social organization, and must be present in all influential institutions. Harvey (2007) states that the neoliberal rationality places the market at the centre of decision making and "values market exchange as an ethic in itself, capable of acting as a guide to all human actions and substituting for all previously held ethical beliefs" (p. 3). While this concept is useful in understanding how those who adhere to this type of thinking would inform their political values and ideology, this definition is void of the historical context that places this era as a manifestation of European civilization. The concept of neoliberalism is used by some, like Harvey (2007), to describe the current economic system and used by others to critically interrogate this political rationality and link it back to others systems of racial capitalism and settler-colonialism that continue to be relevant in analyzing the phenomena of RWE in the Canadian nation space.

Aho (2017) highlights how the analytical perspective that frames neoliberalism and its outcomes as a ‘break’ from the “assumed ideal and virtues of the North American version of the welfare state” (p. 169), undermines the oppressive characteristic of racial capitalism that are inherent to liberal democracies and the welfare state. However, a lot of the analysis on neoliberalism and its outcomes are useful in describing the socio-economic context of this era, and their link to understanding White nationalist movements and RWE. Melamed (as cited in Aho, 2017) points to this link by highlighting that:

...the recent turn towards neoliberalocentrist analytics has one major, albeit unintended, bonus: it makes manifest the violent processes of liberal democracy in racial capitalism that can only

function vis-à-vis exclusion, dispossession, and oppression because it has now become disturbing even for cent[red] white nationals. (p.3)

This is similar to what Arat-Koç (2010) describes as the outcomes of the destabilization of the welfare state in the current era, that has led to a loss of “privileges associated with the rights of citizenship that the White working class has come to take granted for almost a century” (p. 149). Therefore, it is important to note that my decision to include some of the explanations from authors, such as Harvey (2007) and Giroux (2019) who are presenting neoliberalism as a rupture to the welfare state, is not to reinforce these notions, but to use their explanations on how the outcomes of this specific point in history has intensified and influenced the proliferation of White nationalist mobilizing.

The intensification of the political rationale that centres economic well-being in all decision making, on both a personal and institutional level, is a key feature of neoliberalism (Giroux, 2019; Whyte, 2014). In addition to that, the neoliberal rationality exacerbates issues of greed, individualism, competition, austerity measures, as well as other adverse outcomes that stem from the practice of keeping market exchange and the economy central to the organization of society and the decision made regarding the allocation of resources (Harvey, 2007; Giroux & Evans, 2015). The lack of control and agency that communities have in their lives, leads to an environment that welcomes demagoguery, supports xenophobic practices, and welcomes fascist narratives of “Othering” from those leading and benefitting from the neoliberal systems.

Adding to the understanding of neoliberal structures, Wacquant (2009) moves beyond a focus on the economic aspects of neoliberalism and places a focus on the role of the expansion of the penal state as a response to “the wave of social insecurity that has flooded the lower tier of the class structure owing to the fragmentation of wage labor and the destabilization of ethnoracial and ethnonational hierarchies” (p. 287). Wacquant (2009) references Pierre Bourdieu’s metaphor of ‘the left and right hand of the State’¹² that highlights the destructive impacts of neoliberalism.

¹² This metaphor was originally used by Pierre Bourdieu in an interview with Roger Pol Droit and Thomas Ferenczi and published in French in *Le Monde* Newspaper on January 14, 1992. I accessed an English translation of this interview through the Variant website <https://www.variant.org.uk/32texts/bourdieu32.html>

Bourdieu's metaphor explains the failure of the state as the tensions between the left hand (associated with social welfare, provision of supports for society) and the right hand (associated with protecting the interests of financial institutions, corporations) grow. Wacquant (2009) finds this metaphor useful in underscoring tensions within the state, but also stresses the importance of centring the use and expansion of penal policies and carceral systems like police, courts, and prison as part of the 'right hand' of the state in his analysis. Wacquant (2010) contends that "restrictive 'workfare' and expansive 'prisonfare' are coupled into a single organizational contraption to discipline the precarious fractions of the post-industrial working class; and that a diligent carceral system is not a deviation from, but a constituent component of [neoliberalism]" (p. 197). While this project is not looking to the carceral system and penal policies as a site of analysis, the reliance on carceral state structures and logics by the CNF implies an inherent threat and danger of the "Other", and these structures have always been central is upholding racial capitalism.

Alfred Marshall's (1890/2013) analysis of modern industrial life features the numerous harms that arise from systems that may inhibit humans' ability to attain their basic needs. Marshall (1890/2013) warned that if humans are unable to achieve their material requisites for well-being and experience conditions of poverty, the result would be poor physical, mental, and moral health, along with the proliferation of various other "evils" (p.2). There would be few opportunities for people in these conditions to form bonds with friends, family, and communities. This type of climate results in what Hedges (2018) refers to as a "diseased society [that is] beset by economic collapse, hopelessness and violence." (p. 41). In this setting, there is an open platform for demagogues who can express and represent the desires, prejudices, and anxieties of the society - even if their arguments, actions, and perceived solutions are not rational- and makes fascist politics very enticing (Hedges, 2018; Giroux, 2019).

According to Giroux (2018), in the neoliberal induced conditions of rootlessness, people no longer seek freedom and social responsibility but turn to the foundations of totalitarianism to find meaning in their lives. In this way, fascism and fascist political organizing become desirable by individuals because of the grievances they feel about the "predatory political and economic formations [that also then] promote the disposability of entire populations" (Evans & Giroux, 2015, p. 20).

Fascism.

The term fascism does not only describe one specific phenomenon or concrete definition. A generic definition was created by political theorist Robert Griffin (1993) that describes Fascism as an ideology focused around a set of mythic ideas about the organization of society and community. Central to this definition is the concept of palingenetic ultranationalism, that is, the idea of ridding society of the pre-existing political ideologies known to be depraved and resulting in a state of crisis in society (Griffin, 1993). Griffin's (1993) definition of Fascism foregrounds the push for a "vitalistic nationalism" (p. 44) that legitimizes the use of any means necessary, including violence, to purify society's ills. While this broad definition exists, it is essential to note that fascism as a concept is fluid, in that it manifests itself in different ways at different moments in time.

To analyze the discourse, mobilization and calls to action of the CNF, I am choosing to employ Giroux's (2019) understanding of the term¹³. Giroux (2019) highlights that fascism begins with the language of dehumanization, humiliation, brutality, war, and anti-intellectualism. Giroux's (2019) understanding of fascism is informed by the historian Robert O. Paxton, who defines fascism as a set of 'mobilization passions' that include:

an open assault on democracy, the call for strong man, a contempt for human weakness, an obsession with hypermasculinity, an aggressive militarism, an appeal to national greatness, a disdain for the feminine, an investment in the language of cultural decline, the disparaging of human rights, the suppression of dissent, a propensity for violence, disdain for intellectuals, a hatred of reason, and fantasies of racial superiority and eliminationist policies aimed at social cleansing. (Paxton as cited in Giroux, 2019, p. 59)

At the centre of these aforementioned 'passions' is an authoritarian political ideology¹⁴.

¹³ The USA's time-frame and context where Giroux (2019) employs the term neoliberal fascism is relatively similar to the settler-colonial Canadian context.

¹⁴ Hannah Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1973) provides useful as a point of reference that describes the forces and elements of authoritarianism, tyranny, and totalitarian political organizations and how they often resemble the climates that entice them. Arendt (1973) notes that "totalitarian movements are [a] mass organization of atomized, isolated individuals" (p. 323). These movements and organizations require a substantial buy-in and "demand for total, unrestricted, unconditional and unalterable loyalty of the individual member"

Hedges (2018) explains that neoliberalism has created a climate where people feel "a decline in status and power, an inability to advance, a lack of education and healthcare, and a loss of hope [and] crippling forms of humiliation" (p. 41). Moreover, there is an open platform for demagogues in these settings who can express and speak to society's desires, prejudices, and anxieties, despite a lack of rational thought in their arguments, actions, and perceived solutions (Hedges, 2018; Giroux, 2019). For this research, Giroux's (2019) concept of *neoliberal fascism* is useful in offering an analytical framework for linking neoliberalism and the destabilization of the perceived welfare state to the current era as a pre-fascist context in which "white supremacy, ultra-

nationalism and rabid misogyny come together in a toxic mix of militarism, state violence, and a politics of disposability" (p. 45).

Giroux (2019) contextualizes these outcomes as stemming from an era where there is an increased disregard for democracy, the well-being of others, and the social contract among society members. He indicates that these are pre-existing conditions that have historically led to full-blown fascist authoritarianism. Giroux's (2019) concept of *neoliberal fascism* allows for a conceptual tool that explains how an impact to the material conditions and well-being of people, brought on by a new manifestation of a faulty economic systems that impede access to wealth, have been influential in the mobilization of ethnonationalists and their violence. However, building on the critiques offered by James (2013), as discussed briefly in the literature review, if the understanding of fascism is limited to a specific historical or present-day event (such as the collapse of the welfare state and austerity-based regimes), this framing often leaves out the role of state racism and its connection to fascism. Walia (2021) also highlights that these narratives that "believe white nationalism is primarily an impact of capitalist forces squeezing the White working class [and that] economic redistribution will automatically alleviate racial hostility" (p. 199) are void of a crucial racial analytical lens that reveal that neoliberal austerity, alone, cannot explain the growth in white

(Arendt, 1973, p. 323). This type of loyalty is only possible when individuals have little to no social ties left to "family, friends, comrades, or even mere acquaintances, [and derive] having a place in the world only from [...] belonging to a movement" (Arendt, 1973, p. 323)

supremacist movements. Therefore, bridging the concept of Whiteness and the systems it is predicated on is also important in understanding that the dismantling of the welfare state brought on by neoliberal globalization is destabilizing systems of White supremacy and restricting some of the privileges that the White working class previously had access to (Arat-Koç, 2010). This creates a context, where nationalist discourse feels empowering and may “prove irresistible to Whites otherwise facing socio-economic threats to their White privilege” (Arat-Koç, 2010, p. 149). A concept that only focuses on the uneven distributions of wealth and the collapse of certain economic systems to explain the “resurgence” of fascism, without accounting for the underlying White supremacist logic and violence that has been at the core of those systems since the beginning of European civilization (Robinson, 2020), is limited in analyzing the phenomena and mobilization of fascism, White nationalism, and RWE.

The aim of this research is to unpack neo-fascist and White nationalist discourse, moving beyond discussions that focus solely on viewing these issues as a result of unequal wealth distribution, to also account for “the racially uneven violence’s required to produce wealth in the first place” (Maynard, 2020, p. 75). Black liberation writers and scholars continue to reveal and warn that continuing discussions around the redistribution of wealth “in the context of uninterrupted imperialism [...] amounts to little more than a more equitable division of the spoils of war, barbarism, and violence that have defined Euro-North American “civilization” for half a millennium (Maynard, 2020, p. 76). It is important that this is highlighted, as the tools and scope used to understand a situation also play a role in maintaining hegemonic narratives, discourses, and cultures of oppression. This is also true in how White nationalists, and White people in general, often interpret and understand these systems when confronted with how they function, not as ones that they are benefitting from, but ones that they are victims of. This tendency is explained through Diangelo’s (2018) concept of *White Fragility* as well as the work Hage (2000) and others have done to highlight how White victimization narratives amongst White nationalist and RWE discourse are mobilized to uphold systems of power and oppression.

Much of the existing analyses within the literature tend to use theory that presents RWE or White nationalist groups as pathological or inherently different than the settler-colonial state. This diminishes the White supremacist logics central to both non-state nationalist groups as well as the settler-colonial state’s governance logic. Yet, it also works to validate the narratives that feed

White victimization discourse and sentiments that mobilize fascism and RWE. The theoretical framework and conceptual tools that have been laid out in this chapter seek to identify the White nationalist's spatial logic, fantasies that are central to settler-colonial governance and nation building, the impacts of the current neoliberal context on igniting fascist mobilization and RWE. These tools allow for an understanding of the victim narratives, discourses, and the weaponization of feelings that allow White nationalists to uphold systems of power and oppression. This framework allows for the analysis of a self-proclaimed White nationalist group, the CNF, and situating their discourse in the context of Canada's settler-colonial White "multicultural" project.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

3.1 Introduction

The existing literature on the issue of RWE and White nationalism presents these groups and their ideologies as inherently different and separate from the broader political systems. My research takes a qualitative approach with the primary focus on understanding the context and situation behind White nationalist discourse and unpacking their discourse and underlying logics that guide their mobilizing and situate their dissatisfied rationalization amongst the claims and debates of ‘multicultural’ Canada. My research goal, and what I ultimately accomplished, pursued a deeper understanding of the ideological logics and beliefs of RWE groups in Canada, by examining a White nationalist group, the CNF, and placing their narratives in the broader logics of settler colonial state building and neoliberal governance structures. The documentary sources I used came from the blog posts published by the Canadian Nationalist Front (formerly the White Nationalist Front) to a public Blogger website (Braun & Clarke, 2006) to answer the following questions related to White nationalist ideological beliefs and logic:

- (1) What does the ideal nation and nationalist identity look like according to the CNF?
- (2) What is the reason and justification for the creation and existence of the CNF?
- (3) How do the CNF view and understand social and governance structures, their functions and the problems associated with them?
- (4) What does the CNF believe is the solution and response to the issues they identify?

I approached this research from a critical theory paradigm and began my research with the premise that the phenomena of white nationalism and RWE exist within specific structures of oppression that have the potential to be transformed and changed. My goal with every step of this research project, was to answer my research questions, while uncovering and identifying the power relations that underly the CNF’s discourse. I did this by situating my analysis within the framework of various power structures rooted in the development of European civilization, in order to highlight the limitations in understanding RWE and White nationalism as an isolated phenomenon from state structures, and the gaps in the literature when it comes to providing a deeper analysis of the logics that underlie and sustain more extreme ideologies.

3.2 Data Collection Process and Case Selection:

At the preliminary stages of my research in July of 2018, I began looking for RWE groups with a specific focus on their online presence. My decision to look online was first informed by the literature, which shows that the internet and online forums were a significant medium for RWE organizing and how they disseminated their ideas. But it was also informed by my own level of comfort and safety as a woman of colour, in how I was going to understand groups that held ideological beliefs that would potentially perceive me as an adversarial person. I wanted to unpack the ideology and rationalizations of these groups within a proximity that I was comfortable with, while also ensuring I was only focusing my analysis on what they were publishing publicly.

In my first round of browsing, I looked to both the literature (Perry & Scrivens, 2018) as well as state enforcement website (like the RCMP's website) had listed and highlighted as the most prominent RWE groups. The literature had already documented over 300 groups in the "environmental landscape" of RWE in Canada (Petty & Scrivens, 2018). These groups included the Ku Klux Klan, Church of the Creator, Heritage Front, Blood and Honour, Combat 18, Golden Dawn, Hammerskins Nation, Aryan Guard, Skinhead Movement, La Meute, Stormalliance, The Three Percenters, Soldiers of Odin and Pegida Canada. By September of 2019, when I began to collect my data, almost all the websites had been taken down. Apart from La Meute and Pegida, all of the links I had collected were no longer revealing any information. The Pegida website did not have a substantial number of posts for me to analyze. And the La Meute Facebook group had two different groups, one for the public and the other for their vetted members. I used my personal account to join the group for the general public but was not comfortable with joining their vetted group using my personal account. After a few weeks looking at some of their posts, many of which were in French, I decided this was also not the best group for me to analyze, because I would be skeptical that the meanings behind their posts would get lost in translation and I was only comfortable doing my analysis in English.

I began to look again and found the CNF/WNF Blogger¹⁵. The CNF's blog account selfidentified as a White nationalist group in Canada and were very clear and explicit about their ideological stance. The description they provided about their blog account clearly stated the intentions and ideologies behind their blog and political motives. Their posts dated back to 2011, and they were still posting when I was collecting my data, so I found them to be the best choice of an applicable RWE group in Canada, that espoused White nationalist values and would help me answer my research questions. My goal was to interpret and contextualize the discourse of the Canadian Nationalist Front, within the broader governance structures of settler-colonial Canada, and this group would allow for a more in-depth analysis. As disclosed on the CNF's blog the group has other mediums of communication, including a Telegram channel¹⁶ which I did not feel comfortable joining. So, my focus was only on the posts located on their webpage.

Data Collection:

I began collecting my data on July 3rd, 2019 and stopped collecting data on September 28th 2019. I collected my data by going back to the very first post I had access to from the CNF's blog, which was uploaded on January 20th, 2011, up until September 11th, 2019, and copied everything from their blog into a Word document, which I saved on to an iCloud server as well as a USB stick. I also printed all the material and divided them in to four booklets, organized in a chronological order, which I used to carry-out my manual coding. In total I gathered all 87 posts that were available to me and had been published by the CNF's Blogger account from the year 2011, until September 28 of 2019 at 3:33 PM(EST). The total number of pages of my documents were around 150. I ended my data collection in September 2019, even though this group was still actively publishing, in order to begin my analysis. Not all of the posts that I included in my analysis were authored by the CNF, however they were all posts that the CNF shared through their account, which I took to be a form of endorsement. I have included those distinctions throughout the analysis. This was the case for the following posts that were used within my analysis:

¹⁵ Blogger is a free hosting site, where users can create and publish content to their blogs. Blood (as cited in Chau & Xu, 2007) describe a blog as "Web-based publication that allows users to add content periodically, normally in reverse chronological order" (p. 57).

¹⁶ Telegram is an instant messaging software application.

(1) Race is a Social Construct? Nope! – January 26, 2015

This post was authored by H. Millard, but shared as a post on the CNF's page.

(2) Toronto man denied subsidized housing for not being Muslims – August 29, 2015 *This post was an article written by Global News¹⁷, but had an introduction written by the CNF which contextualized their intent for sharing this article was to demonstrate an instance of discrimination.*

(3) Immigration Reformers Protesting Temporary Foreign Workers Programme Threatened by Anti-Racists – April 1, 2015

This post was authored by Paul Fromm and published by the CNF. The internet links Fromm to founding a group called Canadian Association for Free Expression (CAFE), Citizens for Foreign Aid Reform, the Edmund Burke Society and associates him with RWE and white nationalism. Perry & Scriven (2019) also highlight Fromm's presence as a 'guru' and core leader within RWE movements in Canada.

There were also some comments under the blog posts that I had gathered when collecting the information from the blog posts, however there was no way of verifying who the users that wrote these comments were, so I could not attribute them as being claims or endorsements coming directly from the CNF, therefore I omitted them from my analysis.

While I coded all 87 blog posts I did not include all of them within my analysis. This was due to some of the posts being repetitive in the themes or the posts revealing information that was not within the analytical scope of this project. For example, in a post called *The Rise Of Terrorist*

¹⁷ The article was written by Global News and shared by the CNF. This article can be found here:

O'Shea, S. (2015, August 25). Toronto man denied subsidized housing for not being Muslim. *Global News*.
<https://globalnews.ca/news/2185359/toronto-man-denied-subsidized-housing-for-not-being-muslim/>

Attacks And The Dangers of The Islamification of Canada (April 1, 2017), the CNF published around 109 verses of what they claimed came from *The Qur'an*¹⁸, and followed with 6 quotes cited

to be from the book *The River War*¹⁹ which were centred around critiquing ‘Mohammedanism’²⁰. I felt that unpacking the content of this post required a different skill set and framework that was beyond the scope of my research and not something I could take on in the time-frame of my research. This led me to exclude this post from my coding process and analysis. Therefore, for the purpose of expediency, my own comfort levels and the scope of my skill set I used convenience sampling²¹ in how I selected the CNF’s blog posts for coding and analysis. For my analysis, I chose to include all the posts that allowed me to answer my research questions, as well as the posts that I found would offer new insights within the broader discussion of the literature.

Case Selection: The Canadian Nationalist Front's Blogger

I chose the blog posts by the CNF as this case met the criteria to allow me to meet my research goals. Further, I applied Scott’s (1990) interdependent criteria of *authenticity*, *credibility*, *representativeness* and *meaning* to demonstrate the suitability and soundness of selecting the CNF as a case to answer my research questions.

The first criteria of *authenticity*, considers “the genuineness of a document [and] whether it is actually what it purports to be (Scott, 1990, p. 19). As discussed in the analysis chapter, The

¹⁸ The Qur’an, that holds the scripture of Islam was originally written in Arabic. The posts shared by the CNF, were all English translations of various verses. It was not within the scope of my project to unpack religious

¹⁹ The River War is a book that was originally published in 1899 by Winston Churchill. Reading and unpacking this book was not within the scope of my project but I did research its origins and context, to have more context for why the CNF shared these quotes to help me decide if they were going to be included in my analysis. The book is a historical account of the colonization efforts of Sudan by Britain and Egypt from the year 1896 until 1899.

²⁰ Mohammedanism is a term that was created and used by some Western writers, like H.A.R. Gibb when writing about the faith of Islam. However, this term is found to be derogatory for some Muslims as it implies the worship of Mohammed (Please see Kramer (2003) for further discussion on the etymology of this term)

²¹ Convenience sampling refers to “samples that are chosen simply because subjects are accessible to the researcher” (Lanier & Briggs, 2014, p. 221).

CNF's Blogger is very explicit about the framing of their Blog as a "true Nationalist Patriot organization" and their intended goals and calls for action preserve the rights and identities of Euro-Canadiens. Each Blogger account is linked to a profile about the author of the blog, and the CNF's is linked to a profile of the self-identified Chairman of this organization, Kevin R.

scripture or engage in the debates about the various interpretations and meaning making around religious texts.

So I decided to forego coding this post and excluded it from my analysis.

Goudreau. Goudreau identifies as a male, in the construction industry and is located in Peterborough, Ontario (Canada). Goudreau's introduction reads as following:

I am Chairman Kevin R. Goudreau of the Canadian Nationalist Front. I am a veteran activist of the Nationalist Movement for over 30 years. We are here to educate, inspire and organize activists who are awake and ethnically aware. We encourage letter writing campaigns, handing out literature, protesting, marching, networking on the internet, logistical support and above all working together with other Nationalist organizations. We must stand together and make a stand for Our Heritage! Our Homeland! Join the Canadian Nationalist Front today.

This description by the author allowed me to reach the conclusion that the posts on this Blog, both those written and signed off by Goudreau himself and the posts by other authors that were shared through this account, were done with the specific intention of White nationalist mobilizing. There are various images of Goudreau on the blog, and in my searches to learn more about his identity, there were news sources as well as the Anti-Hate Network which I used to verify that this groups, or at the very least the author, was in fact a real person and identified as a White nationalist. I downloaded the texts from the blog directly from their website, so the text was coming directly from what had been shared. With that in mind, some of the articles and posts shared from the blog had the names of other authors attached to their publication. I included these blogs within my analysis as empirical evidence; however, I did not interact with any of the authors in the articles shared or the Blog owner to authenticate their identities directly. While I cannot personally guarantee the authentication of the authorship for the Blog posts, all of the existing material surrounding the CNF and the author informed my decision in choosing this group and their Blog as an authentically sound case for analysing white nationalist logics and ideology.

The second criteria of *credibility* is concerned with “the extent to which an observer is sincere in the choice of a point of view and in the attempt to record an accurate account from that chosen standpoint” (Scott, 1990, p. 22). This criterion is particularly important for my research as my research orientation of ‘documenting constitutive practices’²² (Hammersley, 2013) is

concerned with understanding the construction of accounts of white nationalists, how they represent the world and what they hope the outcomes are/aimed to be. Throughout the CNF’s blog, they described their identities as white nationalists, as well as various justifications and narratives about how they constructed their identities and political rationalities. When entering their Blogger page, there is a big logo²³ under the group’s description that has a white Celtic Cross²⁴ on a black background, with the slogan “Our Heritage! Our Homeland!” written around it. Underneath the Celtic Cross is a coat of arm, which is also a feature on the Canadian Red Ensign²⁵.

Scott (1990) highlights the question of *sincerity* as one concerned with “whether the author of the document believed what [they] recorded, and involves an assessment of why the author chose to produce the document [and highlights that] one of the most important considerations in assessing sincerity is the material interest that the author has in the content of the document, the extent to which [they] seek some practical advantage which might involve deceiving [their] readers” (p. 22). In the case of the CNF, it was very clear that the author’s interests were to use the blog posts to push forward a very distinct agenda grounded in white ethnonationalism and share narratives that

²² Hammersley (2013) describes ‘Documenting constitutive practices’ as a research orientation amongst qualitative research that focuses on understanding social phenomena through the narratives and discourses that are constructed around them. This strategy is useful for researchers “interested in studying interactional, discursive, narrative, representational, or communicative strategies or processes” (Hammersley, 2013, p. 62).

²³ Please see Appendix A

²⁴ The Celtic Cross depicted on the CNF’s page is a square cross interlocked by a circle. This symbol has been adopted by white supremacist groups. While there are many versions and meaning behind the Celtic Cross, the Sun Cross (aka. Wheel Cross or Odin’s Cross) are the versions most linked to white supremacist organizing (AntiDefamation League, n.d.,)

²⁵ The Canadian Red Ensign was the unofficial flag of Canada prior to the year 1965. The version featured on the CNF’s website was created in 1922. More recently this flag has been adopted by white nationalist groups to signify “a time when Canada was a ‘white man’s country’ ” (Hamilton, 2017, para. 9).

would mobilize readers to act. My focus was not on determining the *accuracy* or factual validity of the claims being shared throughout the blogposts. I was focused on unpacking the rationale and intentions behind the claims they were making, and the premise(s) on which they grounded their claims, as a way to situate the CNF's discursive practices and logics within the broader context of the literature on RWE and 'multicultural' Canada. The CNF's discourse and blogposts were a sincere and credible representations of the perspective and accounts of a selfidentified white nationalist group in Canada. Their discourse shed light on how their narratives work to construct *their* social contexts and allowed me to place white nationalist narratives within the broader systems of settler-colonialism and neoliberal governance structures.

Another crucial consideration around the decision to focus on the CNF's blog for my research, was the question of *representativeness*. This criteria is concerned with "whether the documents consulted are representative of the totality of relevant documents [and to figure out] to what extent and in what respects those documents are unrepresentative (Scott, 1990, p. 24). When it comes to making generalized conclusion about RWE groups in Canada, I do not think the conclusions in my research can be ascribed to everyone on the political Right. It also was not my intention to place the CNF on the spectrum of RWE, or to determine the degree in which they are deemed a fringe group. My goal was to situate this group, their public discourses and ideologies in the structures that make claims about the benevolence and civility of settler-colonial Canada. Based on the public nature of the Blog, and the authors claims of being involved in other forms of organizing, I do not think that this Blog is the only relevant document to understand RWE and White nationalist rationality and organizing, but it was still a useful medium to unpack the logics that people have used. It was also not possible for me to quantify how many people are a part of the CNF or contributed to the authoring of their Blog posts.

Lastly, there is the criteria of *meaning* which refers to concerns surrounding both the literal and interpretive understanding that a researcher may have with analyzing their data (Scott, 1990). As previously mentioned, a decision factor that led me to choosing the CNF as the group to analyze, was that their posts were written in English. Other groups, such as La Meute, which had also been identified as a RWE group were also posting their platforms and discourses on the internet, however almost all of it was in French. I wanted to ensure that I was able to interpret the posts in the original language they were written in, to prevent any misinterpretations of the discourse. In

this way, I was confident in my ability to understand the literal meaning and connotations behind the posts from the CNF.

Scott (1990) refers to the matter of interpretative understanding as the “process in which the researcher relates the literal meaning to the contexts in which they were produced in order to assess the meaning of the text as a whole” (p. 30). This is where my review of the literature on RWE, fascist ideologies, political economy and the critical debates that challenged the very foundations of the settler-colonial logics supported by ability to make meaning of the CNF’s discourse. While the main case for my documentary analysis was only limited to the CNF’s blogposts, I found that engaging and reviewing the relevant literature and discussion throughout the duration of my research helped me with my interpretation and contextualization of findings within the broader discussions on RWE and White nationalism. On the use of documentary resources within the social sciences, Mogalakwe (2009) highlights that secondary source, like literature, “can be reconfigured and interpreted to yield new insights into a particular social phenomenon” (p. 47). For this research, my insights were grounded in a theoretical framework that I constructed by putting together various relevant concepts that I derived from the literature, which offered me an analytical lens that I found was scarce in the existing literature of RWE in Canada. In the theory chapter, I lay out the concepts I use while also explaining their relevance to the various aspects of understanding this phenomenon. In this way, I was able to deploy a process of interpretation that acknowledged the individual, social, political, and economic contexts that underly the CNF’s discourse and logic.

Coding and Analysis

Upon completing my data collection, I put together my first draft of a codebook (See APPENDIX B) with some preliminary themes and concepts I was expecting to find based on the literature and existing theory on this topic. In my codebook, I briefly defined the codes I had created to help work as a reference guide for me to ground my analysis in my theoretical framework. I found this useful and necessary, as I was using various conceptual tools for analysis and the codebook served as a great reminder to continuously immerse myself in that framework and reflect on the themes these tools would help me uncover. For example, from this framework I developed the code **WN_NATION_IDEAL** to understand when the discourse was about the ideal traits that the nation should aspire to have/be. At the beginning the purpose of the codes were to be

descriptive, in that I was trying to understand how the CNF would identify themselves and how I was going to describe and represent this group. This lens helped me understand how White nationalism evolves in ‘multicultural’ societies, and to see if the blogs posts from the CNF that I was analyzing had similarities or differences with what the literature had described RWE and White nationalism to resemble. Beyond the descriptive codes, I was also creating codes that would allow be to interpret the data as well. For example, the code **WN_NATIONALISM_HOME** helped me interpret the moods, feelings and attitudes nationalists ascribe to the concept of *home* and how discourse around the “Other” and their feelings of disempowerment, fear/ anxiety could be interpreted as a loss of those sentiments.

At this time, it was late in the year 2019, where there was news and conversation about the growing RWE movements in the USA, which were being discussed in the context of Donald Trump’s presidency. I came across a conversation with Henry Giroux, where he was introducing his concept of *neoliberal fascism* to describe what he was calling the resurgence of fascism and the far-right mobilizations and situating his analysis within the context of neoliberalism. I found this concept to be useful to help me interpret what I was reading in the blog posts and added more codes to reflect this concept and allow for that interpretive function. For example, **NF_NEO+**, **NF_NEO-** & **NF_NEO=** allowed me to interpret discourse where positive, negative or neutral references to neoliberal governance structures were made to justify the CNF’s values. These codes allowed me to take note of when the CNF were presenting market-based logics as a positive or negative thing, but also anything presenting the logic of neoliberal systems either implicitly or explicitly. This allowed me to differentiate when and how they CNF would critique the logic and function of existing governance systems, and when they would uphold them.

The first two rounds of coding revealed that a lot of ideologies and rationalizations of the CNF were supported by existing descriptions of RWE and White nationalism within the literature. I was also noticing a common pattern in the blogs where the posts were centred around feelings of victimization and perceived oppression on the part of the CNF, which were used a means for calling for action and mobilization. At that point, my codebook and theoretical framework were only allowing me to analyze their justifications as an outcome of neoliberal governance structures as well justifications behind how White nationalists felt entitled to govern spaces. I was missing conceptual tools that would allow me the ability to further interpret the reactions from the CNF

and contextualize all of my findings within the broader systems of governance. I noticed the tendency for the authors of the blog to make claims to victimhood as a means to justify their ideological stance, and again I was seeing similarities with material that I had heard about in my everyday conversation about the concept of *White fragility* (DiAngelo, 2018) and while the concept is specifically meant to describe the reaction that White people may have when they are confronted with conversation about racism, I found that the emotional response and tendency to position themselves as victims or the people being oppressed was also a theme I had noticed in my initial rounds of coding. So, I added this concept to my theoretical framework as well, to compliment the themes I already had for understanding the emotional attachment that white nationalists have to the nation space and their position to govern that space.

When I finished the third round of coding, I was still conducting a review of the literature and noticed that there were two different conversations happening that pertained to the phenomena I was trying to understand. Much of the literature on RWE and white nationalism in Canada was focused on identifying these ideologies and the existence of RWE groups as a distinct social phenomenon. However, there was also literature focused on critiquing the claims of benevolent ‘multiculturalism’ that was offering a different perspective that would situate these groups as a continuation of broader systems of governance, rather than a divergence from them.

I wanted to situate my analysis of the CNF’s discourse within a framework that bridged those two discussions together. At this point, I was also familiarizing myself with Harsha Walia’s (2021) work and the *border governance strategies* became the final addition to my codebook. Since the primary focus of my project was not to understand settler-colonial state structures, I did not include these conceptual tools as part of my theoretical framework. However, I still used

Walia’s (2021) governance strategies as a point of reference to help situate and inform analysis of RWE ideologies in the Canadian context. This allowed me to analyze the discourse of the CNF’s discourse while also offering me concepts to situate and critically analyze the broader contexts that these discourses exist in. For example, **COMMOD_INCLUSION** allowed me to situate the CNF’s discursive negotiations of the “Other” in relation to *their* economic usefulness, within the broader Canadian state structures that also determine the parameters of the inclusion of migrants within a nation’s borders, based on their *commodified* value. The addition of Walia’s (2021) concepts to my literature review and codebook allowed me a frame of reference to ground and

relate my findings to the broader settler-colonial logic, and the existing discussions within the literature that seek to critically interrogate how white supremacy manifests in ‘multicultural’ societies.

Reflecting on what I was finding in my analysis after each round of coding gave me opportunity to bring in theoretical concepts and tools that allowed for a more nuanced analysis of the discourses of the CNF. In the final draft of my codebook, I had codes pertaining to various themes and concepts that allowed for an analysis of Right-wing extremist discourse, the intersections of neoliberalism and fascism, as well as themes to allow for an understanding of Whiteness, White Nationalism and White fragility.

Transferring my notes and commentary during the various coding rounds on to a chart I made on Microsoft Word, allowed me to keep my data and analysis of the data organized and easily accessible. My chart had 6 columns, where I would input the text from the data, the booklet it was in and the page number and then the other columns were used to input the relevant codes, my analysis about the text, as well as a category for ‘other comments’ that I reserved to document the ideas that would come up in my mind when going through the coding process.

In conducting my analysis, I was inspired by what Fairclough (2003) highlights as ‘textually oriented discourse analysis’ that moves beyond a linguistic analysis of texts but also allows the researcher to:

- (1) Identify the main part of the world (including areas of social life) which are represented- the main ‘themes’ [and] (2) identify the perspective or angle or point of view from which they are represented. (p. 129)

This approach falls under the umbrella of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which Wodak (2016) highlights as useful for studies “interested in the way discourse (re)produces social domination, that, power abuse by one group over others, and how dominated groups may discursively resist such abuse” (p. 369). While I employed a thematic analysis²⁶ in how I made

²⁶ Braun and Clarke (2006) define thematic analysis as a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. Thematic analysis can be a multi-purpose tool for researcher as it can be useful to organize, describe and interpret the research topic.

meaning of the CNF's blog posts, I found these tenets of CDA useful in how I interpreted and analyzed the data.

Unpacking the discourse and texts shared on the CNF's blog, revealed the ways in which the CNF defined their own identities as White nationalists, how they constructed the narratives about the "Other" and how that reinforced certain power relations rooted in settler-colonial logic and white supremacy. This approach allowed me to identify the narratives that the CNF use in their mobilizing efforts. In this approach "texts are analyzed for the way in which the discourses within them construct people and situations, for arguments used to legitimate particular viewpoints, and for the way in which those viewpoints and arguments are expressed" (Bazeley, 2013, p. 218). I also applied this approach in my review of the literature, analyzing how different researchers were framing the topic of RWE and White nationalism in Canada within the literature

and this offered certain revelations on how settler-colonial logic is (re)produced in academia as well.

Limitations:

At the beginning of this project, I set out to gain further insight into RWE and White Nationalist logic and explore the connections between this discourse and the "multiculturalism" anchored in white settler-colonialism. The empirical material I chose limited the scope of my analysis to only focusing on the CNF's discourse. I would have liked to have brought in other documents that would allow for a more profound comparative analysis of RWE ideologies and the Canadian settler-colonial state's logics. So, while I was not about to demonstrate an explicit connection using my own empirical material, I was able to offer some discussion, albeit limited, on these connections throughout my analysis of the CNF's blog posts. I did this by relying on the existing and established literature that provides critical insight on settler-colonial governance strategies, Whiteness, and discussion that offered dissenting commentary on the claims of "multiculturalism" in the Canadian context.

As the project moved along, I had familiarized myself with the discussions that worked to critically examine the settler-colonial context of Canada and its governance structures. I came

across these discussions both in the context of my work on this specific research project, as well as through discussions and knowledge sharing amongst activist circles and movements seeking decolonization and equity for all communities. These discussions enticed me to seek understanding of where RWE and White nationalist logic was a continuation of White settler colonial governance strategies, and where there was a rupture in their governance logic. Because I was only looking at documents that would allow me to unpack one group that self-identified as a White nationalist group, and I had no documents that would allow for a more profound analysis of the Canadian state's governance structures, I relied on Walia's (2021) border governance strategies to allow me to start that conversation. With this, I was able to offer an analysis that applied the broader critiques and analysis of "multiculturalism" found within the literature, to situate the logic of a White nationalist group in Canada on the spectrum of settler-colonial logic, rather than an unexpected exception.

Given the nature of the topic, and my own comfort levels and identity, I was also limited in the type of data and documents I could have access to. It is well established within the literature that RWE groups and White nationalists use various avenues such as music and imagery to disseminate their ideology and mobilize their movements. Due to practical constraints, I was only able to look at one organization, the CNF, and one of their mediums, their Blogger posts, to gain insight on their ideology, knowledge production and dissemination. However, the focus on one group did allow me the ability to seek a deeper understanding of their discourse and ideology.

Lastly, one of the challenges that I ran in to while reviewing the CNF's blog posts, was that some of their texts and quotes had grammatical, syntax and spelling errors that occasionally made it hard to fully grasp the idea and required more effort to follow the point the author was making. The posts that have been included in the analysis chapter, have been copied directly from the blog source and are in their unedited and unaltered form. The errors that exist on some of these posts are not errors that were made during the transcribing of the documents.

Ethical considerations and reflexivity:

It was important to me that by taking on this research, I did not work to validate that often harmful and dehumanizing rhetoric that the of the Canadian Nationalist Front. As a racialized woman there were many times when the hostility and hateful rhetoric that this group

espoused for the “Other” would get to me. Many times, throughout the long duration of my analysis and during coding I would take breaks from the material to process the harmful assumptions that White nationalists hold as “truths” about other people and how they perceive the communities around them. I reflected on how sharing quotes about the claims being made, even as part of my own analysis in unpacking what they were saying, could have the potential consequence of amplifying these oppressive narratives further. I ultimately decided that ignoring the material, no matter how dreadful I thought it to be, was not going to make these ideological perceptions disappear, which further motivated me to keep going with this project.

I did this project to understand the reality of the circumstances around me, my loved ones and others who are impacted daily by systems of oppression, while also facing a growing threat of fascist violence. While reviewing the literature, I found that the researchers writing about RWE and White nationalism in the Canadian context, were situating their discussions in narratives that seek to increase state enforcement as a response to this issue, and many ignored the other discussions that already exist within the literature that contend with issues of settlercolonial state violence, inequities, and oppressions. It was important for me to contextualize my analysis of the CNF’s White nationalist discourse and language in a framework informed by critical theory.

I found inspiration by Kobayashi’s (2001) position of moving critical scholarship further towards an “*activist scholarship*, which attempts to resolve [...] contradictions, to bring about change” (p. 55). In highlighting the importance of situating analyses of social phenomena in a critical theoretical context, Mogalakwe (2009) highlights “language, whether written or spoken, subtly orders our perceptions of situations, and thus also constructs and creates social interaction” (p. 55). Therefore, it was crucial for me to unpack how a White nationalist group, like the CNF, used the language in their blogs to construct specific narratives about governance and social structures. This includes how they construct narratives about their social relationships, specifically in their construction of the “Other”, and the entitlement that underlies their discourse and narratives. It was important for me to unpack and understand these logics, to allow for more insight in how to push back against these logics as I notice them in my own daily life.

As Kobayashi (2001) highlights “an established assumption of good methodology conventionally requires that the research maintain a neutral position with respect to subjects so as not to “taint” the data obtained in the course of research” (p. 55). However, as Kobayashi also highlights with an approach grounded in activist research, there is a demand for an ethical positionality that is committed to social change, and “such scholarship makes no claim to neutrality” (p. 56). Therefore, for me, a big challenge was balancing my own instincts of resisting the narratives from the CNF’s blogs, with accurately portraying and unpacking their discourse in my analysis to ensure that I was accurately presenting their ideas. This required me to step back and approach the material from their perspective, and ensure that the claims I was making in my analysis were substantiated in their blog posts. This was difficult when reading disparaging and dehumanizing remarks by White nationalists, and knowing that these groups are actively mobilizing to push forward dangerous agendas. I found the coding and analysis of the blog posts, evoked a lot of emotion in me and a very draining process. While I had to sit with a lot of these posts by myself, I found a comforting outlet in having discussions about White nationalism more broadly, and fascists in Canada with others in my community. Those discussion allowed me the space to think about the best way to make meaning of the material I was analysing and write about it in a way that could allow me to add to the narratives that could reframe how these issues are understood in “multicultural” Canada.

In considering the ethical obligations I owed to my research project, I aimed to centre the people who face the most danger and harm that results from the proliferation of White nationalism and blatant White supremacist violence. However, I also understood the importance of being fair to research documents and I worked hard to ensure that I was not mirroring the discourse of dehumanization and “Othering”, but rather using this project as a challenge for myself to have a deeper understanding of ideology that I vehemently dislike. This required taking a break from the material when I felt myself get too heated.

Kobayashi’s (2001) reflection on activist research, highlights the crucial need to:

present the result of such work in such a way as to encourage deeper understanding of the more unpleasant aspects of human behaviour [as it is a] necessary component of understanding the larger picture in which racist (or other oppressive) relation are structured. (p. 66)

This is what I hope to achieve with my research goal of situating the phenomena of RWE and

White nationalism within the critical discussion that provided a critical analysis of Canada's settler-colonial structures and White multiculturalism. Further, this goal was the guide in how I chose the conceptual analytical tools when trying to put together my theoretical framework. I sought out tools that would allow me to make meaning of this phenomenon, without perpetuating narratives that would deem the people who ascribe to RWE and White nationalist ideologies as exceptionally abhorrent, but rather focus on understanding the context that allows their dangerous thinking to flourish.

This project was also a test of my own political praxis. In trying to resist reproducing a culture of disposability and punishment in my day-to-day life, it was a challenge to remind myself that behind these texts were other human(s). However, as challenging as these emotional experiences were, I believe the only way to overcome harmful ideologies are by confronting them to have a better chance at resisting them.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I focus on a specific case study to unpack existing discourse of the governance logics and principles used by White nationalist movements in Canada. This analysis adds to the literature that often discusses these movements theoretically or provides only a superficial analysis of their ideological underpinnings. In this analysis, I go back and forth between the existing literature and theoretical understanding of this topic and apply that to a case study. The theoretical framework allows me to understand how White nationalists related to the nation space, the role of upholding Whiteness in their movements, the role narratives of victimization play in their mobilization and situating these narratives within the context of neoliberal austerity. I analyze the logics they use to categorize people, and their perceptions around their own right to *belong* within *their* specific ideal nation space. Using the Canadian Nationalist Front (CNF) as the case study for analysing White nationalist discourse, I found that this group frames their organizing around narratives of political alienation, victimhood, and economic disempowerment. These narratives are used to justify their mobilization efforts against those they deem and “Other”, as well as the White “multiculturalists” who they see as responsible for bringing the “Other” into their spaces and jeopardizing the *White nation fantasy*. I argue throughout this analysis that, like settler-colonial governance logics and *strategies* (Walia, 2021), the CNF use their blogs as discursive strategies to justify their calls for the exclusion of the non-White “Other” from the nation space. I contend that the CNF are primarily focused on upholding White hegemony through an exclusionary ethnonationalist ideology, that is aimed at asserting their control over the use of resources and space, while also working to achieve their *White nation fantasy*. I further argue that the justifications that underlie their feelings of entitlement to hold such exclusionary politics stems from ideas about *White civility* and elevation of the White racial identity. These ideas about White civility are typically anchored in narratives of benevolent inclusion, yet the CNF consistently maintain their will to exclude both the non-White “Other”, as well as anyone, including White ‘multiculturalists’ who threaten their exclusionary agenda. This entitlement fuels narratives about victimization and political disenfranchisement any time White hegemony feels threatened. Furthermore, I discuss how in a neoliberal society where there has been a destabilization of social

welfare systems that have historically supported the White masses, opportunities are created for White nationalists to use economic grievances and frameworks of scarcity as political fodder for their movements. In this way, the CNF uses the outcomes of neoliberalism to negotiate and justify their exclusionary ideology and calls for action.

4.2 The CNF's White Nation Fantasy

In this section, I present how the CNF's narratives of victimization and feelings of fragility stem from a perceived or real threat to the ability for them to *belong* in, govern and achieve their goal of an imagined White nation space. One of the CNF's goals is the preservation of "Whiteness", which they consider a fluid category that moves beyond skin colour. This will for preservation revolves around an entitlement to exclude the non-White "Other" in order to achieve a White nation space and inhabit their White nationalist identity. This entitlement stems from a rationale that has created categories, and means of "Othering", used by White nationalists to reach their goal of building their imagined nation space. The CNF justifies their White nationalist agenda by positioning themselves as victims of any ideologies or practices that allows the inclusion of non-White "Others" within the nation space and enables their access to resources. Following this is a discussion of the rationale behind why the CNF believes they are under various forms of attack, what informs their feeling of victimization, the need to protect "Whiteness", and their strategies of building networks and mobilizing.

4.2.1 *White Fantasies of Exclusion*

The Canadian Nationalist Front (CNF) was originally named the White Nationalist Front (WNF), which reveals the aspirational ideals and fantasises of a White nation present since the inception of this group. Featured on the main page of their blog, there is a description of the group and self-proclamation that they are a White nationalist organization concerned with preserving a very distinct conceptualization of a White identity that they believe the settler-colonial Canadian state ought to resemble. The CNF makes it clear that 'Whiteness' and White supremacy are central to their own identity and organizing, and they believe it to be embedded within the national identity

and conception of who *belongs* in the nation. The CNF state their goals and calls for action more clearly while describing their group:

We are a true Nationalist Patriot organization that want to preserve our heritage ,culture and traditional values by reforms to reflect our true Canadian core identity. A moratorium on all immigration, stopping third world immigration, a new immigration policy for a return to Canada's traditional ethnic demographics of Euro-Canadian pioneer settlers and Natives. Real equal rights, eliminating affirmative action, discrimination against Euro-Canadians and an end to minority group special privileges. (CNF Main Page)

This brief statement regarding their goals and demands offers a glimpse into how the CNF conceptualizes the White identity, their role in the governance of the Canadian nation space, and the underlying logics and rationalities behind the conclusions they reach in terms of who is worthy of belonging and exclusion. In various posts throughout their blog, they reveal what their ideal demographics are to resemble, and the logics behind their mobilization. The CNF's main objective is to protect the idea of Whiteness as a key pillar of the Canadian nation and humanity, while at the same time dehumanizing, subjugating and justifying the exclusion the non-White "Other" or anyone who threatens their goals of achieving a White ethnonationalist state.

This discourses parallels what Walia (2021) conceptualizes as the strategies of *exclusion* and *discursive control* to describe how the state uses language and binaries of legal/illegal to reinforce a racialized national identity as well as a method of characterizing the "Other" that works as a method of control. In contrast, the CNF employs similar methods but instead uses different language that involves dehumanizing and derogatory terminology against the "Other". This also works to perpetuate an us vs. them discourse and is used to justify exclusionary ideologies and practices. These discourses are two different sides of the same coin, in that both ultimately seek to (re)produce a racialized national identity, whether that be through formal or informal language. This is in line with what Hage (2000) outlines in the literature regarding White multiculturalists and "evil" White nationalists, as both are ontologically rooted in the same premise. Similar to the state's logic that allows for the justification of various forms of exclusion through "walls, detention and deportation" (Walia, 2021, p. 80), the CNF also deploys the same rationale in their conceptualizations of the "Other".

While the CNF conceptualizes Whiteness along the lines of biological differences, they also go further than just understanding Whiteness as the colour of one's skin. In a response that aims to contest the notion stemming from a Critical Race Theoretical framework that views race as a social construction, the CNF shared a post that states:

We have invented a word, "race," which is used to categorize different humans into different logical groups. Because we have invented the word "race" does not mean it is a social construct--that the thing itself is not real--because the word is a made up word (like all words). To think that there aren't different races of humans is akin to adopting a position of such low consciousness we must thereafter, to be consistent, not believe in breeds of dogs, or varieties of roses and return to a primitive sub-human ham handed state where we have, perhaps, a single word for, say, snakes. And, in such a state of calling all snakes just snakes, we would fail to understand that snakes are not all the same and we would fail to understand that some snakes, such as dangerous rattlesnakes can kill us and others such as garter snakes can't. A snake is not just a snake and a human is not just a human. There are different types of each. (By H.Millard as cited in Race is a Social Construct? Nope!, January 26, 2015).

This post is reproducing the same logics of racial classification and divisions which are the premise of Canada's settler-colonial practices, while using an analogy of dogs and snakes to distinguish between various racial typologies and build the case that some "races" are more dangerous than others. The post goes on to further to make it clear that the analogy is meant to prop-up the superiority of Whiteness, while also explicitly stripping the humanity from the non-White "Other". Thus, spreading xenophobic and an explicitly dehumanizing discourse around anything that is different or unknown, and reinforcing that while these differences are primarily biological, they also seek to explain the superiority of Whiteness as something that moves beyond skin colour. The post further states:

[...] we also know that the differences extend far beyond skin color, but skin color, even if there were no other differences, is enough to classify some as this race and some as this other race. The king of the human senses is eyesight. We can reason to this conclusion by understanding that our eyesight is linked closely to our instincts to mate. Trust your eyes. If another human doesn't look like you, they probably aren't like you. And, if they aren't like you, they pose a danger to you either directly or indirectly in the sense that they possess genes that are unlike yours and if you mix your genes with theirs, you will produce non-White children and you will, in essence, kill off your Whiteness and set your family on a non-White trajectory. Now, to go even further than this talk of races of humans, many of us say that race, as a term, does not go far enough and that the major races of humans (the colour coded

ones) are actually different subspecies or even different species. And, just a few last words. Don't let the Blenders²⁷ convince you that skin colour is meaningless. Don't fall into that trap. Skin colour is not like paint that is applied as an afterthought over identical model humans. Skin colour is an essential part of humans and comes from within. Whites are simply not White if they are not white. (Upper case White means "non-Jewish white person of European descent." Lower case white means a colour.) (By H.Millard as cited in Race is a Social Construct? Nope!, January 26, 2015).

Through sharing this text, the CNF at first demonstrates that for them, 'Whiteness' is conceptualized along the colour line and skin colour is important in how they define an ideal member of the nation. However, they further make the distinction between 'white' and 'White' to highlight that beyond skin colour, there are other qualifiers of 'Whiteness' that serve as their markers of an ideal member of the nation. According to the CNF, the explicit distinction of 'Whiteness' to refer to a "non-Jewish white person of European descent" highlights the antiSemitic views of this group, which according to the literature, are a prominent feature of fascist politics and RWE groups.

Ironically, the understanding of 'Whiteness' as a socially constructed and fluid concept that encompasses various identifiers that go beyond skin colour aligns with a CRT framework that the post initially rejects. As previously highlighted in the above literature review, CRT is premised on an understanding of race and racial identities as socially constructed categories that function to divide groups of people in efforts to facilitate settler-colonial governance models that uphold Whiteness. The CNF frame and construct 'Whiteness' as being related to biological and cultural differences and attach a sense of danger and fear around those who do not fit in to this conceptualization, where this "Othering" serves as the basis for their White nationalists' pursuits. This framing reinforces the premise that race is socially constructed, in line with the framework of CRT, however their goal is not to unpack that race is a social construction based on their notion of Whiteness and the "Other". Rather, this framing is the basis upon which White nationalists

²⁷ Blender, race traitor or 'White multiculturalists' as described by Hage (2000) and discussed in previous chapters, are the White people who are not upholding White ethnonationalist ideology and are accepting of the inclusions of the "Other". They are still presented as operating from a place of governance over the nation space, which is why the CNF asserts blame and critique over their *choice* of including the "Other". I will be using these terms interchangeably.

dehumanize and justify the exclusion of certain people from the nation space and reproduce White supremacy. The CNF's criticism of the people they call 'blenders', who do not ascribe to this same

understanding around their construction of Whiteness, is indicative of the fluidity of race and Whiteness. "Blenders" would biologically fit in to this category, but because they do not ideologically align with the same understanding about Whiteness and a White ethnonationalist agenda, they are also deemed as outsiders and in need of exclusion.

Those who want to blend away all distinct peoples, and especially White people, often say that race doesn't really exist and that it is just a social construct. Of course, what they are really saying is: jump in bed with people of different races because it doesn't matter and we are all the same. This is nonsense. It is also miscegenation. It is also genocide. I call it bedroom genocide. Feel free to use the term. Whites should not mate with non-Whites. Period. It is the death of us. [...] Blenders want to confuse you and blur the distinctions so you will commit your own genocide and turn your White family line into a non-White family line [...] They want to destroy you and have you be assimilated and absorbed into the dark masses and cease to exist. They want you and all Whites to go extinct. They want you dead. (By H.Millard as cited in Race is a Social Construct? Nope!, January 26, 2015).

Protection of the nation space for the CNF also involves the disapproval of White people who may not share the same exclusionary ideologies of keeping non-White people outside of the nation space. The CNF shared a post that was critiquing White multiculturalists or 'blenders', while also playing up their own victimization as they make the case for White genocide. The White multiculturalist become adversaries for the White nationalists. The CNF are calling them the 'blenders' because they are seen as making the decisions about the parameters of inclusion of the "Other" within the nation space, which is at odds with the *White nation fantasy* and exclusionary White nationalist agenda. The concerns about the 'blurring of distinctions' is an effort by the CNF to reinforce racial distinctions as a social fact that emphasize the integrity of Whiteness. They warn against "miscegenation", which is a pejorative term that denounces interracial "breeding" to argue their point. They talk about the need to exclude those who may otherwise fit the markers of Whiteness and members of their ideal nation space, on the basis that they are willing to include and be in intimate relations with the "Other". These narratives are a continuation of perceptions about a decline in the existence of a White population, while reinforcing the sentiment of 'racial purity' that they believe would be compromised through interracial relationships.

The CNF's founder, Kevin Goudreau, frames the White nationalists as victims of "captivity syndrome" and writes:

Nowhere in nature do we see species in the animal kingdom interbreed except in captivity as it occurs amongst humans in what i like to call 'Captivity Syndrome' in the sense that we are forced together and held captive under occupation by the hostile enemy alien forces and their collaborators, the multi-cult commissars. [The masses being programmed Part II (Dr. Kev's diagnosis 'Captivity Syndrome, June 22, 2011)].

Goudreau describes the experiences of the White nationalist as captured victims under occupation and places the blame on both the non-White "Other" as well as white proponents of multiculturalism for engaging with one another. In this context, it is the "Other" and White 'multiculturalists' that are being accused of creating the conditions for the "Other" to exist in the nation space.

Goudreau goes on to demean those who choose to partake in interracial relationship, in particular the women, and states:

[...] every father in their right mind will tell their precious White-Aryan child "I'm not racist but...if you bring a [n-word] home i will disown you", the boys tend to obey logic and are naturally attracted to white women the most beautiful women on earth but girls on the other hand all have "Daddy Issues" and to rebel against their father will go slumming and bring a mongrel of some sort home like a stray cat and before they realize the mistake they have made they get stuck with a Peanut Butter Baby (that has no racial identity which we consider cruelty to children) and former white ladies are forever 'Damaged Goods' and no self respecting white man would touch a race traitor whore that has defiled herself with a 10 ft pole. (The masses being programmed Part II (Dr. Kev's diagnosis 'Captivity Syndrome, June 22, 2011))

In this post, not only is Goudreau revealing the misogyny present in the White nationalist platform, which is a common ideological trait found in the literature around RWE and fascist mobilization, but he is also revealing the parameters of inclusion of White people and the will to dispose of those who are not willing to uphold racial regimes of exclusionary White ethnonationalism. In this case, the worth and value of White women is framed in relation to the White man and their relationship preferences, revealing the chauvinism, heteropatriarchal logic, and disdain for the feminine that is present in both RWE ideologies (Paxton as cited in Giroux,

2019). This discourse reveals another way in which the CNF sees the protection of the nation space through the condemnation, dehumanization, and exclusion of White people, the ‘race traitors’, who do not share the same exclusionary and white supremacist ideologies, while reinforcing patriarchal structures of governance.

The CNF’s framing around ‘blenders’ reveals their opposition against a particular type of multiculturalism that is willing to negotiate the inclusion of non-White people. The CNF clarifies the parameters, categories surrounding the core White identity that determine what is acceptable diversity and who is worthy of multicultural inclusion within the so-called Canadian nation space:

We will amend the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and amend the Multiculturalism act that were enacted without our consent or consultation by known Communist Pierre Trudeau in 1971 that does not reflect Canadian core identity, values or heritage. We embrace multiculturalism and the diversity of Old Stock Euro-Canadian pioneer settler peoples, IndoEuropeans are the most diverse race on earth with many different physical traits such as skin tones, eye colours, hair colours, diverse cultures, ethnicities and languages. First was the French then English, Scottish and Irish in the beginning that pioneered and settled New France then Canadian confederation. With a smaller number of other Indo-European settlers during this time that were settler pioneers after that then after both World Wars there came European immigrants like the Danish, German, Dutch, Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, Croatian, Serbian, Italian, Greek, Spanish and Portuguese etc. that are the same race and share similar values, traditions cultures. (Canadian Nationalist Front Clarified Mission Statement, May 24, 2019)

With this clarification, the CNF is defining what core “Canadian” traits, Whiteness, and their *White nation fantasy* are to look like and their justification for the exclusion of non-European migrants. They reveal that an acceptable multiculturalism for them is one that achieves a fantasy of a ‘White’ nation through criterion based on homogeneity. This criterion for inclusion is centred around a set of descriptive physical traits, as well as the grouping of various ethnic groups under a banner of unified values, traditions, and cultures. Furthermore, they go on to describe their own version of historic accounts, which paints a specific picture of what the nation used to look like, to frame the presence of the non-White “Other” as a relatively new phenomenon and reaffirm their entitlement over space as ‘European pioneers and settlers’. These narratives work to present the existence of the non-White “Other” as peripheral to creation of the nation space. In this narrative, they also describe settler-colonialism as being a different form of migration that excludes them

from being categorically defined as an ‘immigrant’. The distinctions between categories and labels work to reaffirm the CNF’s logics of who is worthy of belonging, and who ought to be excluded.

The CNF’s critiques of the Canadian state’s immigration policies are linked to fears regarding the erosion of a *White nation fantasy*. In this discourse, the CNF frame non-European migration as a new phenomenon, and express their anxieties about the loss of the history, heritage and culture that they are familiar with. The CNF writes:

Non-European immigration and immigrants is a new thing and policy since the 1970's and 80's increasing ever since and not part of our original heritage and history, people are fed lies and have changed our history trying to destroy our true past and values to replace our population and destroy our heritage and culture with Cultural Marxist agendas that began with the Communist Pierre Trudeau and expedited further by his Communist son Jihadi Justin Trudeau [...] Equality and freedom do not exist in Canada if you are Euro-Canadian that is a myth and we will not stand idly by and allow this to go on any longer and the silent majority agree but many do not speak out for fear of retribution or being ostracized in this culture of fear created against us mostly by our own people that are brainwashed and indoctrinated by the system not realizing what they are doing and propagated by lies and not facts. (Canadian Nationalist Front Clarified Mission Statement, May 24, 2019)

The CNF’s discourse reveals who nationalists feel is worthy of *belonging*, and similar to the settler-state, they employ a strategy of *discursive control* (Walia, 2021) that positions the “Other” as oppressors to justify actions against them. They rationalize the protection of the White identity by presenting how the non-White “Other” is a threat in a variety of ways that leave them victims of political alienation and disempowerment, and present this as an existential crisis of Whiteness and their fantasies of a White nation. The CNF present the non-White “Other” and their migration into the ‘Canadian’ nation space as a threat that erases their history, values, and threatens their ability to feel at home and familiar in their nation space. In the above excerpt specifically, the threat is presented as Communist ideology that is conflated with Jihadism and put forth as compromising the culture and freedom of Euro-Canadians.

Therefore, Whiteness for the CNF includes framing their own presence in the Canadian nation space as one that is categorically different than, for example, the presence of Asian or Black folks. They state that:

[...]The Multiculturalism Act, Our Immigration and language policies should reflect that history, heritage only because Europeans pioneered and settled Canada we are not immigrants, there is a big difference, later on in our recent history the only immigrants were a small number of Asians like the Chinese on the west coast that made contributions to our railroads and some black people on the east coast we saved from slavery. (Canadian Nationalist Front Clarified Mission Statement, May 24, 2019).

They frame the presence of Asian folks in relation to their labour on the railroads and the presence of Black folks as a result of the benevolence of European settlers “saving” them from slavery. This framing of the ‘contributions’ of Asian folks in terms of their labour reveals the similarities between what Walia (2021) outlines as the governance strategy of *commodified inclusion*. While the CNF does not hold institutional power in the same way as the settler- colonial state, there are parallels in the gaze in which they are negotiating or evaluating the “Other” as a commodified presence within the nation space. The CNF’s framing serves to reinforce a narrative that positions nationalists as inhabiting an identity that allows them to manage the governance of the nation space. The CNF treats everyone else as “Othered” subjects whose presence and belonging is open to negotiation and contestation. This reinforces that those who fit the White identity are entitled to govern the nation spaces, movement, and belonging, and the protection of this identity is central to governance decisions. What is also important, is how the CNF frames their will to include the non-White other as an act of benevolence and saviourism that reinforces ideas about *White civility* (Coleman, 2006).

4.2.2 Justifying the Protection of Whiteness, Identifying the “Other”, and White nationalist Victimization

The CNF demonstrate how they have been taken advantage of and made victims of their benevolence and attempts of inclusion. For example, the CNF positions the Liberal party as making “bad choices” in their will to include ‘refugees’ within the nation space and state:

After Justin Trudeau and the Liberals were elected in 2015, they literally opened the floodgates for Syrian refugees with little to no vetting being done. Unfortunately, Canadians have been stuck with the bad choices of the Liberals. Several refugees have taken advantage of the generosity of Canadians and committed a variety of crimes. In fact, the Liberals treat refugees better than Canadians. (Syrian Refugees Busted With Over 220 Grams of Fentanyl, June 28, 2019)

The CNF emphasize their generosity and inclusivity as a reason for the loss of a preferred treatment for ‘Canadians’ and paint the inclusion of the “Other” as culpable for this loss. They also use this discourse to antagonize the “Other” by positioning them as a security threat while claiming that they have access to special privileges and resources. This logic is similar to Canada’s colonial state logics found in the literature (Thobani, 2007; Dossa, 2019) that highlights how claims of benevolent “multiculturalism” in Canada allow the state to gain legitimacy when positioning themselves as victims, prefaced by how benevolent they have been to an unappreciative “Other”. While the CNF does not advocate for a state multiculturalism that would include non-White “Others”, they frame the Liberal government’s will to include the “Other” as an act of generosity and use this to reinforce the idea of innocence around the Canadian identity. As the literature shows, these narratives are often used to preserve the state without enacting systematic changes when faced with anti-racism or anti-colonial efforts (Thobani, 2008). Further, as Walia (2021) highlights, state multiculturalism efforts are a form of window-dressing under the political ideology of liberalism that aims to preserve the state while it continues undertaking racial capitalist ventures. For the CNF, however, the belief is that the Canadian state’s institutions should serve the White nationalist interests, and so even superficial attempts of ‘inclusion’ by the state, such as refugee and migration policy, are seen as an issue worthy of political critique and resistance.

As previously mentioned, the CNF’s assertions about the superiority of, and the need to protect, Whiteness are rooted in the narratives of Canadian benevolence, innocence and *White civility* (Coleman, 2006). They use these assertion as the precursor to highlight how they have been taken advantage of, or threatened by the “Other”. In a post called *White Civilization*, the CNF states:

The civilized world would not be civilized if not for whites. If we had not come to north America the natives would sill be in he tepee and using bows, we brought social structure, monetary value, better weapons monogamy and many other things that had not been here before now. Africa as a prime example of this, South Africa is civilized, has industry and so on and so forth although there is war and unrest but it is essentially civilized where as North Africa where the white man never seemed to venture there is sill a turd world country living in mud huts using spears and jumping around a fire, it would seem all the turd world countries are low on the civilization factor of the worlds that the white man walks now, mind you the Asian countries of China and Japan have a good civil structure but did this happen

before or after they where exposed to the white man? It would also seem all the inventions that are important to the world came from the white man, so in short the white man has civilized the world!. (White Civilization, February 10, 2011)

In this context, the CNF is conflating civility and civilization with structures and practices of colonization that prioritize monetary gains and militarization of the nation. The CNF is reinforcing that it is the presence and exposure of the ‘White man’ that has brought civilization to the Canadian settler-state and other regions of the world. They reveal their antiBlackness in their distinction between North and South Africa, framing South Africa as more civilized, citing industrialization as an indicator of civilization and presenting this as a result of colonization by ‘the White man’. Thus, one of the justifications used to push for the *White nation fantasy* is grounded in the notion that White people are the pillars of civilization. This conflation of Whiteness, civilization, and colonization efforts as one is used by the CNF to justify their entitlement over the governance of spaces and their calls for action.

While the CNF’s blog does not lay out logistical specifications of their calls to action, it is clear that their discourse around the need for action is often partnered with claims about the decline of the White population, the loss of their heritage, traditions, and their inability to feel at *home* and *belong* within the nation space. This is accompanied by a central demand to remedy these concerns through the exclusion of the “Other” and those who facilitate their existence to get there. Goudreau states:

We are not just outnumbered in the world with the white race only being 13% of the world's entire population but in our own country as well! Not only are we loosing our heritage and traditions like Christmas and their holidays starting to overshadow ours but our sacred institutions are being disrespected with non-White traditions like walking in to the Legion with their religious garb mixing and matching their garb with uniforms like tarnishing an RCMP uniform by wearing a turban, their churches popping up everywhere we look and our country is walked all over and spit on like the dirty non-White ghettos of Toronto where white Canadians that were born here walk through with fear and loathing in a city which is now 52% non-White while we hand them money, free leases on cars, free daycare, business grants until they commit criminal acts them we pay to keep them in a our fancy expensive jails and prisons then send em back and then they just come right back into Canada repeatedly. The white population of Toronto has dwindled due to the influx of nonWhite immigrants and our people have fled to rural areas, small towns, and cities in fear of these non-White hordes. It is time to take a stand and tell them THIS IS OUR HERITAGE!

THIS OUR HOMELAND! WE WILL TAKE IT BACK AND WE SHALL STAND AND

FIGHT! (Our Heritage, Our Homeland, March 22, 2012)

They focus on the make-up of the population and the loss of Whiteness within this makeup, and highlight their grievances around their inability to have their “traditional” holidays and “sacred institutions” be at the forefront of how they experience and relate to the nation space. They express discontent with the “Others” religious accommodations that alter the RCMP’s uniforms and make commentary about the makeup of neighbourhoods and how the non-White “Other” is taking up too much space and resources. This logic is reproduced in a post called *Proud To Be White*, where the CNF highlights that they feel that the presence of the non-White “Other” restricts their ability to show pride in their Whiteness. They state:

There are African Canadians, Mexican Canadians, Asian Canadians, Arab Canadians, Native Canadians, etc .Then there are just Canadians.[...] You are proud to be black, brown, yellow and orange, and you're Not afraid to announce it. But when we announce our white pride. mnYou call us racists.You rob us, carjack us, and shoot at us. But, when a white police officer Shoots a black gang member or beats up a black drug-dealer running from the law and posing a threat to society. You call him a racist. (Proud To Be White, February 10, 2011)

The CNF uses ‘just Canadian’ as a marker to determine who they imagine an ideal member of their nation to be. They position themselves as a White nationalist group who are victims of their “just Canadian” identity and unable to access the same right to announce and show pride in their identity the same way the “Other” racialized groups can. The distinctions made between other ethnic groups are juxtaposed against ‘just Canadians’, which works to reinforce the supremacist logic that Whiteness is the unmarked identity against which all other groups are compared, contrasted and “Othered” against. This logic is a tool of race-making that upholds governance regimes centring the protection of Whiteness while subordinating the “Other” within a nation. Despite the “Other” having citizenship status, this logic of racial citizenship prevails and prevents their ability to attain *belonging* in the nation space. Further, the post goes on to use the discourse around laws and criminalization to situate White people, in this case a White police officer, as victims of being called out for racism while also presenting the non-White “Other” as a physical threat. This serves to discredit the critiques and arguments that contest racial state violence through criminalization and implies an assumption that there is a justification for the violence perpetuated against racialized community members or the “Other”.

The CNF's discourse and organizing begins with a conceptualization of Whiteness that goes beyond skin colour to include fantasies about racial identity based on homogeneity, and their goals of preserving Whiteness by using their blog posts to discursively control and negotiate the existence of non-White "Others" in spaces they feel entitled to govern. They perceive the non-White "Other" as a threat to their hegemony, but also include those who are 'White' but do not hold ethnonationalist ideological views as their enemy as well. The underlying logic for the CNF is centred on ideas about White civility, their entitlement to govern what spaces should look like, as well as their feelings of victimization. These sentiments guide their mobilization and calls for action. Throughout their posts, the CNF offers a variety of justifications for viewing themselves as under attack by various "Others" that they position as their adversaries. One of the key adversaries, are those that the CNF positions as the political "Left", which will be discussed in the following section.

4.2.3 The "Leftists" as the Enemy

One of the predominant ideological adversaries referenced by the CNF are who they place on the political left and their 'leftist agenda'. It is unclear the precise ideology they are naming in their discourses, however, the CNF ascribes anti-White, anti-European, and communist sentiments to the "Left" and frames it as an effort by the "Left" to create division amongst the community. The CNF brings forth concerns about the "brainwashing" of the masses and position their 'own kind' as susceptible victims. The discourse typically includes claims of anti-Whiteness or reverse discrimination when referencing efforts for the "Other" to engage in any form of belonging in a space. This logic is comparable to what Walia (2021) highlights as the state's discursive order in their governance of refugees and migrants, which is grounded in "Eurocentrism and anticommunism" sentiments (p. 86). On the brainwashing of the masses, the CNF states:

They employ simple Pavlovian control mechanisms of flashing certain images at us at a certain rate, colour and frequency to achieve certain programmed physical responses in our people to imprint their left-wing, anti-white ideas and agendas to destroy our morality as a people and nations to poison our bloodlines and create war and strife amongst our own kind. (The masses being programmed with leftist agenda, June 20, 2011)

Protecting the fantasies about wanting to create a White racial state comes up in this discourse as the CNF feels as though the “Other” is not only impeding this, but also poisoning “their bloodlines” and countering the fantasy of White ethnonationalism. The “Left” is presented as being anti-White because they pose the threat of disrupting ideas about White unity and unpacking the constructions of racial hierarchies. This is one of the way the CNF perpetuates narratives about their political alienation and feelings of repression when expressing their ethnonationalist ideas. Goudreau reveals these feelings in a blog post that highlights his perception of being a target of discrimination. Goudreau shares:

I'm discriminated against at every turn, work, looking for apartments, friends and my fiances family. Why? I stand up for the white man and speak my mind and fight for the white race, all they see is my tattoos, swastika tattoos I got when I was younger to take the Gammadion back as a white pride symbol because what bonds us beyond genetics and blood are our ancient white Aryan religious symbols [...] Who is close minded? Who is a small minded hatemonger? What kind of idiots believe left-wing internet propaganda? Dumb, ignorant, small minded, close minded, lemmings and sheep that parrot what the incrowd says.(Anti-racists are anti-white, bigoted hatemongers and hypocrits!, August 27, 2015).

Goudreau’s appeals to protecting and upholding Whiteness is what allows him to feel justified to discriminate against the non-White “Other”, though he projects the same criticism he allegedly faces against those who call for accountability. He re-frames criticism about his racism into narratives about his own victimhood, being suppressed and unable to feel belonging in the ways he desires. The White nationalists feel authorized to hold exclusionary values that are used to contest, negotiate, and discriminate against the belonging of the “Other” within the nation space and their access to resources. However, if the same logics are used by the “Other”, White nationalists then claim victimhood.

While the CNF highlights that ‘[their group] in no way endorses, promotes, advocates, condones nor incites any acts of violence, hatred or illegal acts by their membership or anyone else.’ (Richard Warman the Anti-White, chronic whiner, criminal harasser of Nationalists attempting to gain a Restraining Order against Me, June 13, 2019), there are instances where they do call for state violence and interventions in their posts. For example, in response to opioid-related overdoses and deaths in Peterborough, they wrote:

We need to be like China and bring back the death penalty for many crimes and to legally execute drug dealers charging them with attempted murder and murder or manslaughter that deal fentanyl, Purple Heroine, heroin and harsher punishments for crystal meth and crack (Peterborough police, paramedics respond to 13 opioid-related overdoses, 2 deaths in 72 hours, Execute Drug Dealers!, June 3, 2019).

While calls for state violence are not uncommon for this group, it is also important to highlight that the CNF feels that the “Other” gets special treatment from the state in the context of punitive and carceral institutions. For example, they discuss some of the accommodations different religious groups were getting in provincial jails. The CNF writes:

It is one thing to have religious freedoms and it is quite another to have special religious privileges such as turbans with an RCMP uniform or accepted head dress in The Legion or a kirpan dagger or sword to be carried as part of a religious belief in the so called free world but in jail when freedom is lost and people are there to be punished certain people get special privileges as well? [...] In provincial jails everybody is supposed to have the same diet and basic calorie requirements so we are not talking about gourmet meals here, people fight over more food, make trades to get more and sell their souls for an extra portion for generic small portioned not very good meals of processed meat that is one step up from dog food unless you are Jewish or Muslim. (Special privilege Halal/Muslim and Kosher/Jewish religious diets in provincial jails, July 19, 2011).

The CNF shares an anecdote as an example about provincial jails:

True story, in a certain Super Jail in Southern Ontario somebody had a Persian cellmate that was Iranian and had the Halal diet and he did not practice the religion just had the Koran but did not pray etc., one day on a Wednesday was supposed to be pizza day for lunch according to the menu and people would laugh because it was fake potato slivers with a slice of fake processed colbassa covered with a pinch of cheese and tomato sauce, when lunch came the Muslim cellmate got an actual real pizza to Halal specifications so the regular white Canadian cellmate put in a complaint about this on a request form then a few hours later a guard nicknamed Handlebars calls out this person's name and walks up to him and says "did you write this?" the inmate said "yes" guard says "is this a joke?" inmate says "no" then the inmate sensed some hostility and prepared for a possible beating then the guard who looks like a big skinhead goes off on some liberal-hippie-commie starving children in Africa speech and that they should be thankful to be fed etc then he left and then a female guard walked up to him before she left and said they would have been beaten up if she was not there. Another prime example of Social Communism and certain people having special privileges in a country their forefathers did not build or fight for. (Special privilege Halal/Muslim and Kosher/Jewish religious diets in provincial jails, July 19, 2011)

This example uses poor food options in the context of Ontario's Provincial jails and religious accommodations for those of Muslim and Jewish faith as a means to claim that the "Other" is accessing special privileges that the CNF believe they have not earned. This is further claimed as evidence of Social Communism, although it is unclear as to how this anecdote is an example of a Communist political system. The CNF frames the story around a perceived threat of violence from prison guards for resisting, in this case through a complaint on a request form. While it is unclear as to what the outcome of this incident was, these narratives demonstrate feelings of perceived victimization and loss of rights by the CNF as a source of their grievances.

The CNF's Goudreau comments on other RWE attacks, such as the ones that took place in Norway by Anders Behring Breivik, and discuss the political tactics they are (un)willing to engage in and states:

We don't want to be linked in with that kind of behaviour [...] I can understand, like, the frustration, perhaps. Like I said the feeling of helplessness. That there is nothing we can do. And things aren't happening fast enough. And you want to make some kind of statements. But this guy's obviously a sick individual and perhaps mentally ill. It's one thing to make a statement and attack a symbol, but to bomb a building when people are there or shooting students, that's just ridiculous. It doesn't make any sense to us. (A Lover Among Us, August 13, 2011).

While they denounce such violence in this post, there is a sympathetic stance with regards to violent interventions by non-state actors as a response to social issues or grievances. The sympathetic outlook towards violence stems from feelings of perceived helplessness or justified by pathologizing the individual who is engaging in the act of violence.

Feelings of helplessness and victimization are a common trend amongst RWE and White nationalist narratives, and Goudreau provides further commentary on this:

In Canada a lot of us feel kind of oppressed in the sense that when we try to speak out, or there's events or issues that we're trying to tackle and make public, there tends to be a lot of media blackouts, of course [...] and then you have the human rights commission persecuting White nationalists for certain statements they make. [...] We're basically being monitored, persecuted for certain beliefs or allegiances. And so a lot of people feel like they to go underground and resort to more, I guess what you'd call more desperate action. (A Lover Among Us, August 13, 2011)

In another post, the CNF expands on their feelings of persecution, criticizing the Human Right Commission in stating:

The Commissars of Human Rights Commission aka KGB need to be stopped and are to be considered enemies of the state for collaborating with hostile invading alien enemy forces and charged with high treason and all be put to death by hanging for aiding and facilitating the invasion of non-Whites into Canada and helping to destroy and subvert the fabric of Canada and our values while persecuting true Canadians in witch hunts like the KGB aka Thought Police with its agents holding the original white European immigrants and their descendants thoughts and actions hostage in favour of non-White immigrants and their invading cultural onslaught and the demise of our heritage and culture. (Special Privileges part II, July 11, 2012)

Here, the CNF compares the Human Rights Commission to the Soviet union's state security force and is very clearly calling for violence as a response to their complicity in facilitating the "Others" presence and inclusion within the nation space. Like the commentary on "blenders" and "race traitors", the CNF believes the Human Right Commission to be making choices that work against their White nationalist agenda. It is important to note that in this discourse, while the Human Rights Commission is a state governance body, the CNF presents them as "enemies of the state". This underscores that while the CNF denounces the Canadian state for their inclusion of the "Other", they are not working to dismantle the nation-state, but rather looking to seize its governance.

In more recent years, the CNF has used discourse around narratives of victimization to mobilize claims of being part of a "Silent Majority" that faces persecution and harm from the media, 'multicultural' immigration policies, greedy corporation, the presence of the non-White "Other", and the "Leftist" agenda. They state:

Extreme leftist-Social Communist hate groups like CAHN and Antifa/ARC working with the INGSOC like mainstream media outlets similar to The Ministry Of Truth (Ministry Of Lies) the propaganda machine for the Liberal/Socialist/Communist Government (Big Brother) in George Orwell's book 1984, have helped to Purge and attempted to Purge in Communist NKVD like style witch-hunts and help suppressing free speech of Nationalist Patriot Politicians, Police Officers, members of the Canadian Armed Forces, Professors and Public Servants is having the opposite effect they desire. [...] Instead they have shown the formerly Silent Majority that support our cause in either in whole or in part that they are not alone or as isolated as they thought and in greater numbers in the ten of thousands across Canada

willing to speak out publicly without fear of reprisals. Now our people are breaking the shackles of oppression in this culture of fear no longer afraid to show their support and act because now they see that we were right and for the past 20 years since true Nationalist Patriot thoughts and opinions were driven underground it just made us stronger, more organized, support multiplying exponentially in secret and now everyone, average Canadians are coming out of the woodwork and are saying Enough Is Enough! We're Not Going To Take It Anymore!. (The Social Communist Purge and Witch-Hunts of true Nationalist Patriots having the opposite effect they desire, May 28, 2019)

The CNF reinforce feelings of political alienation and perceived oppression, while highlighting their organizing and mobilization efforts. They note how mainstream political parties have begun adopting supportive discourse to the White nationalist agenda and underline the role of their ‘enemies’ in facilitating their ability to build networks. They write:

Maxime Bernier criticized the status quo of extreme Multiculturalism policies and left the Centrist Conservatives to start and successfully build a national real Conservative party in a very short time. Faith Goldy got 25,000 votes in the mayoral election in Toronto and she voices our similar views. People now know they have better options to vote for like Travis Patrone and his Canadian Nationalist Party that want to limit immigration to 25,000 people a year and Francois Belanger Alliance Du Nord based in Quebec is similar. [...] People being "exposed" or "doxxed" with certain views are mostly people we did not even know about so we reach out to them and recruit the ones we can and direct them to one of the hundreds of allied organizations that are best suited for them if not suited specifically for the CNF, the left is helping us build our networks by providing us with new members across the country [...] We'd like to thank our enemies for helping us consolidate our power, strength, memberships and public support, have you people learned nothing from history? Every action has an equal and opposite reaction, oppression of a people and beliefs sparking an uprising and revolution, our people are pushing back! Refuse! Resist! The Revolution continues to grow for Our Heritage! Our Homeland!. (The Social Communist Purge and Witch-Hunts of true Nationalist Patriots having the opposite effect they desire, May 28, 2019)

In the above post, the CNF highlight how their own calls for change, particularly calls around altering the make-up of who can exist within the nation space, are now being represented within more mainstream political systems through, for example, calls for changes in immigration and multiculturalism policies. This is a pattern also found within the RWE literature and rhetorical strategies used by right-wing populist parties to critique or discredit existing political structures, while working to gain popularity within them through platforms that harness the social, political and economic disenfranchisement and dissatisfaction that people face, using them to push forward

their exclusionary nationalist agendas. They alter their messages to be more palatable and bring more people within their movement.

As previously mentioned, the CNF ascribe much of their feelings of political disenfranchisement to what they call the political “Left” and use this to justify their movement and need to speak out. The CNF state:

The leftist hatemongers trying to act as the cultural Marxist Thought Police by calling the police or taking our pictures and sending them to the media like [...] calling us Nazis, white Supremacists or racists etc. don't realize how brainwashed they are and how they are the hatemongers. [...] The culture of hate and fear towards whites and pride in being white by trying to instill and foster baseless "white guilt" created by the leftist elite in schools, liberal media and the so-called "in crowd" when we should feel nothing but pride in our achievements in the areas of creativity, inventions that put man on the moon and propelled the civilization we created whilst saving black slaves from the south, we have oppressed no one, there is no white privilege in fact minorities are getting the special treatment and privileges like Affirmative Action in government employment, special grants and scholarships for minorities while Cultural Marxists are pushing their beliefs and Marxist agendas on the public and is blowing up in their faces, the oppressive nature of this antiwhite culture has created an atmosphere of fear to speak out but our resistance movement is getting stronger everyday bringing about a revolution. (Outpouring Support for Our White Pride Rally and the Commissars Of Cultural Marxism, March 22, 2017)

This post demonstrates the way in which the CNF conflates their elevation of the racial identity of Whiteness to ideas about White civility in viewing themselves as pillars of civilization and saving Black folks from slavery. However, these two sentiments contradict one another because upholding systems and narratives of Whiteness necessitates the subjugation of the “Other”. The CNF goes on to reframe their own subjugation of the “Other” as their attempts to “speak out” against the various forms of oppression they feel subjected to by the “left”. Further, they highlight instances where they feel as though the “Other” is receiving special treatments. The CNF feels entitled in their White Nationalist identity to attain *belonging* within the nation space by espousing their exclusionary ethnonationalist agenda that places Whiteness at the top of the racial hierarchy. They use ideas about benevolent White civility and inclusion to justify this entitlement, yet they frame any attempts for the “Other” to actually seek belonging and resist the oppressive racial structures as an instance of their victimization. This becomes the discursive logic behind the CNF’s exclusionary agenda.

In more recent years, the CNF has stated their intentions to further mobilize their movement by entering the mainstream political realm, which was also an underlying reason of their name change from the White Nationalist Front to the Canadian Nationalist Front. The literature shows a similar pattern in places like France, where people like Marine Le Pen found ways to intertwine their exclusionary political discourse within the mainstream political sphere in more palatable ways. The CNF state:

We have decided after about a decade of being the White Nationalist Front we needed to evolve into the Canadian Nationalist Front. Why? More of a focus and emphasis on Canadian based White Nationalist activism, content and symbolism. We are still committed to networking with the global White Nationalist movements but we must put Canadian Nationalist interests first and foremost. Furthermore we will be registering as a political party to run in federal elections in the near future. (The new Canadian Nationalist Front name., January 25, 2017)

They highlight their intentions to focus their White nationalist organizing locally by putting Canadian nationalist interests first and sign off this post with “For Euro-Canada, Our Heritage! Our Homeland” which reaffirms the logic that they understand a Eurocentric identity to be the ideal nationalist and entitled governors of the Canadian nation space.

4.3 Disingenuous Canadian Civility and Neoliberal Fascist Negotiations

In this section, I discuss the CNF’s use of austerity-based arguments in their discourse, which reveals how the emergence of the political rationality of neoliberalism and the instability of social welfare systems allows for conditions that exacerbate and manifest *neoliberal* fascist mobilizing. This context provides White nationalists the opportunity to tie their exclusionary political motives and resentments about the “Other” about their inability to govern spaces, to more palatable economic grievances that are brought on by neoliberal structures. As a result of neoliberalism’s austerity regimes breaking down social welfare systems, the CNF is able to reinforce the idea that their material well-being is threatened, as well as the existential crisis of White identity. Both ideas are predicated on narratives of victimization that are used to mobilize people. This is not to say that the lack of social welfare systems does not have material consequences for the people in these

movements. This is intended to highlight that these grievances are then used to mobilize the masses.

As outlined in previous chapters, there is a tendency within literature on RWE in Canada to focus on understanding groups, such as the CNF, as people who hold fundamentally different ideologies that are positioned in opposition to the “Canadian” state’s identity of multiculturalism, tolerance, civility, and benevolence. Meanwhile, other literature documents how these attributes are a façade (Thobani, 2008; Walia, 2021). The disconnect between fields of literature effectively occludes the similarities between the ideological premise of White nationalists and the ‘multicultural’ state, which are both rooted in settler-colonialism and racial capitalism. Thus, situating the CNF’s discourse in the context of neoliberal governance structures reveals the ways in which the state and its on-going colonial project further exacerbates and intensifies the real or perceived grievances of the CNF laid out in section one. The CNF’s sense of victimhood allows these groups to offer unwavering justifications for the politics of *exclusion* and resentment deployed and reveals the entitlement and purported superiority they are starting from. Situating their justifications in the context of neoliberalism uncovers how groups like the CNF use economic grievances brought on by a collapse of social welfare to further their own political mobilization around protecting the White nation space.

4.3.1 *Negotiating the Use Value of the “Other”*

The CNF uses the assertions of the perceived decline in the White population, their political disenfranchisement within the nation space, as well as a real or perceived loss in privileges and rights that they feel entitled to, and presents the “Other” as anyone or any group that threatens the fantasies of a White racial state imagined by the CNF. What is common in CNF discourse, and parallels settler-state narratives, is a protectionist approach to the economy, that again, works to position themselves as victims of scarcity that are unable to participate and benefit from the economy in the way that they feel they are entitled to. Walia’s (2021) conceptualization of *commodified inclusion* suggests that the settler-state is willing to accept individuals and the non-White “Other” under the condition that their acceptance provides use value within a capitalist system. The CNF denies this logic by refusing the significance of any *commodified inclusion* of the “Other”, as this reaffirms their commitment to a White ethno-nationalist state. Further, in the

context of neoliberalism's austerity-based regimes that have significantly impacted material conditions, it has fostered a shift towards new forms of fascist mobilization to proliferate. This context has created an opportunity for the CNF to use economic grievances as a way to refuse the logics of commodified inclusion, to push forward a White ethnonationalist agenda aimed at achieving their White nation fantasy. The narratives around the CNF's real or perceived oppression are consistent in upholding the fantasies and values about their racial superiority and goals of achieving a White racial state.

While in many instances the CNF justifies their mission and ideology on the sole basis of pursuing the ethnonationalist fantasy of a White racial state, it is also evident that perceived or tangible economic grievances are a contributing factor in their framing of resentment towards the "Other". Neoliberal frameworks of scarcity and an inability to access social supports, in tandem with witnessing government structures make deals in their own capitalist interest, serves to further reinforce feelings of victimization for White nationalists and RWE. Informing their calls to action, the CNF wrote:

Not only are we being flooded by non-Whites in record numbers and most of those from China, The Middle East and Asia Minor but also an economic invasion. with our government approving the biggest takeover of our 2 main oil companies by China and Malaysia not only are we selling our souls to allow Chinese immigrants to come here in exchange for business and trade deals but now we are selling our main booming nonrenewable natural resources then saying that's it, that's the last deal of this nature, somehow I'm not inclined to believe the government. Time to stop the Red and Yellow invasion! (The Communist Chinese Invasion On All Fronts, December 12, 2012)

Though the CNF is naming the impacts of global capitalism, including business and trade deals with other nations around the world and the decline in natural resources, they tie their economic grievances to the presence or "invasion" of the non-White "Other" within the nation space. This justification remains a common theme in their discourse and how the CNF negotiates the existence of the "Other" in relation to economic interests.

One of the initial posts uploaded to the CNF's blog²⁸, titled *Five Immigration Myths Exposed*, outlines how one's proximity to Whiteness is a marker of what an ideal nation looks like, but also puts forth an argument about what is needed for the prosperity of the economy. What the CNF presents as the "myths" in need of debunking also serve the same function of negotiating and dictating the movement and exclusion of migrants, or the "Other", within the nation space. The first myth responds to the idea that "high levels of immigration are required to ensure Canada's prosperity" (*Five Immigration Myths Exposed*, June 20, 2011). In response, the author presents the "facts" as being that:

A country's prosperity does not depend on a growing population or workforce. This is particularly true in the case of Canada since we are a trading nation and do not require an increasingly large domestic market to achieve economies of scale. Our prosperity depends rather on sound economic policies that stimulate productivity, make good use of capital investment and maximize the potential of the existing workforce. (Five Immigration Myths Exposed, June 20, 2011)

In the above post, what the CNF presents as ideal practices within the nation's space and imagined community are based on an economic rationale of increasing productivity of labour and capital. The negotiation of who is considered an ideal member of the nation is premised on their ability to help achieve the objective of economic prosperity for the nation. By suggesting that Canada does not need a growing work force or population, the CNF is attempting to contest the notion that migrant labour is a necessary requirement for economic prosperity. This serves to further discredit the idea that the existence of the "Other" in the nation space is necessary, and views the "Other" as a subject whose existence in the nation space can be debated and contested based on the commodified value offered to the nation space. This logic is mirrored in arguments made in the previous post, where Chinese migrants are referenced by the CNF in relation to the labour provided in building of Canada's railroads. This post, and the subsequent "facts" and "myths" that the CNF is attempting to contest, stem from the logic of negotiating the existence of the "Other" in the

²⁸ CNF was the WNF at the time.

nation space and reducing their worth to an economic value, while reproducing the state's border governance strategy of *commodified inclusion* (Walia, 2021).

The same post moves on to highlight four other myths centred on addressing ways to deal with the effects of an aging population without immigration. The CNF seeks to challenge the notion that Canada has a sparse population and needs more people, specifically people to undertake certain jobs that “Canadians” will not do, and the possibility of facing shortages of skilled labour.

In response to this, the CNF writes:

[On migrants coming to large cities that it] does not result in net benefits for most of the residents of these large cities and increases pressure on educational and health care facilities as well as adds to housing costs, commute times and environmental problems. (Five Immigration Myths Exposed, June 20, 2011)

The responses to these myths continue to reinforce race-making through citizenship, as they make distinctions between the categories of real “Canadians”, who are ideal members of the nation, juxtaposed against those categorized as ‘immigrants’ and therefore deserving of having their belonging in the nation space negotiated and contested.

Once again, they ground their reasons for such measure in the inherent danger and drain on resources that the “Other” presents if they were to enter the nation space. The CNF perpetuates xenophobic, Islamophobic rationale and state:

We waste 20 billion dollars on rapefugees, immigrants and 50 billion in unpaid taxes by Chinese immigrants so yeah we can afford the fence and savings in the long run in law enforcement, prisons (Joyceville Penitentiary know as the Muslim prison and mostly sex offenders and so called honour killing murderers), free money and grants to so called refugees and illegal immigrants, murders due to illegal guns smuggle from the USA, drug smuggling and human trafficking costs to law enforcement and the justice system at large. This is a logical and practical next step in securing the safety and security in Canada. (The Great Canadian Goudreau Border Fence, February 17, 2017)

With this framing, the CNF conflates the existing of the non-White “Other” within the nation space as a physical and economical threat, which reveals another level of their resentment that underlies their calls to limit their access to the institutions within the nation space as well. The use of labels like “rapefugees” also work as more derogatory version of the state's discursive strategies that often uses distinctive categories like “migrant” and “refugee” to adopt specific narratives about

who is worthy of protection and care and who gets “depicted as “bogus refugees” moving for economic reasons and hence underserving of protection” (Walia, 2021, p. 86).

As outlined in previous sections, the CNF defines their presence within the settler-colonial nation space as being “settlers and pioneers”, making a distinction between this label and that of an “immigrant”. The underlying response to these myths is permeated with claims that migrants are not necessary and are subordinate members of the nation, while deploying justifications centred around scarcity of resources, burden on the system, and their contributions (or lack thereof) to the economy. The CNF write that:

For immigrants to make a net contribution to the support of social services, they would have to pay more in taxes than they receive in benefits [...] Immigrants themselves grow old and draw on social support services while on average they have families as small as those of other Canadians. (Five Immigration Myths Exposed, June 20, 2021)

These justifications reveal that the areas of concerns for the CNF are in relation to the economic and environmental impact created by migration and offering their own accounts as to what is needed to achieve their ideal nation. The framing of their concerns is done in a way that presents migration as a relatively recent phenomena and concern for them. This is contrary to the literature which shows the historic and on-going practices of settler-colonial states that negotiate the inclusion of the “Other” as means to reinforce the boundaries of social and racial exclusion, while simultaneously commodifying their existence to extract labour from the populations they deem to be inferior (Thobani, 2008 ; Walia, 2021; Hage, 2000). Such discourse reveals how working-class White nationalists associate the hardships and negative outcomes of neoliberal austerity measures to be an issue created by migrants, rather than an outcome of neoliberal regimes. The CNF’s logic in this post centres the hardships of ‘Canadians’, and weaponizing the crises brought on by neoliberal structures as a means to villainize and scapegoat migrants as the reason for these negative economic impacts.

The post on the *Five Immigrations Myths Exposed* illustrates how framing of the “facts” on migration, from a White nationalist perspective, is still rooted using the logics of commodifying the “Other” to push forward their own political objectives. The CNF do not want the “Other” in the nation space for any reason, even if their inclusion provides the nation with an exploitable

worker population. However, they use the logics of commodified inclusion, and exploitable value, and contest them to push forward their own narratives that exclude the “Other” from being viewed as an ideal member of the nation, worthy of belonging, or having access to the nation’s resources. Additionally, scarcity-based arguments, particularly those around access to labour or employment, often comes up as the CNF critiques inclusionary efforts by the state. This is also evident in their discourse around temporary foreign workers.

In relation to social welfare and access to resources, the CNF’s solidarity for the working class is also along nationalist lines. In a post that the CNF shared, but did not write, they describe the course of events at a protest concerned with Canada’s Temporary Foreign Worker (TFW) program and state:

Close to 1,000 flyers were distributed in the area calling for an end to the TFW Programme which floods Canada with 500,000 foreigners at a time when unemployment tops 1.5-million and another 900,000 Canadians, according to Statistics Canada, are involuntarily locked into part-time jobs." There is no skills or labour shortage," IWC [Immigration Watch Canada] organizer Ryan explained, "just a cheap labour shortage." It's time to let Canadians have jobs instead of catering to greedy employers seeking to suppress wages.(Immigration Reformers Protesting Temporary Foreign Workers Programme Threatened by AntiRacists, April 1, 2015)

For the CNF, there is little to no solidarity with migrant workers or workers internationally, and this is made clear in their distinction between ‘foreigners’ who are working through the TFW program and Canadian workers. While there are instances where the CNF will identify and name neoliberal logic and ‘greedy employers’ seeking low and unlivable wages as a threat to their wellbeing and prosperity, it is still framed in a way that villainizes the “Other” for carrying the blame of impeding the nationalist’s ability and entitlement to *belong*. In this same post, the CNF also highlights the mobilizing efforts by a group called Immigration Watch Canada and their banner that reads “Canadian Workers Come First”, as well as a group called Migrant Workers Alliance for Change:

Staged the protest against TFW’s and Live-in Caregivers being barred from working in the country for more than four years [and] also believes that all TFW’s and Live-ins should remain here permanently. (Immigration Reformers Protesting Temporary Foreign Workers Programme Threatened by Anti-Racists, April 1, 2015)

While the author of the post does not make direct commentary denouncing the purpose of the Migrant Workers Alliance for Change's protest, it does demonstrate differences in the ideological premise that these groups start from. While one group is focused on contesting the structures around citizenship to provide migrant workers status as residents and out of precarious working conditions, the other group, IWC, is focused on contesting the TFW's because it threatens their ability to access employment using nationalist rhetoric. Ironically, while the CNF has stated their contempt for the "left" in other posts, as discussed earlier in this chapter, this logic is what Walia (2021) presents as Welfare Nationalism that is associated with the political left and offers criticism on how it also upholds White supremacy and exclusionary ideologies. As Walia (2021) puts forth:

Calls on citizens to 'protect out jobs' puts working-class movements on a path away from collective ownership of the means of production and, instead, toward an ambiguous sense of ownership of the nation-state.[...] Welfare nationalism then emerges to control public services, not as egalitarian institutions based on social solidarity, but as a form of bordered exclusion to allegedly defend the nation's workers [...] These restrictions operate as a de facto wealth test, as well as a nationalist form of exclusion against "undesirable" immigrants. (p. 202)

This illustrates how working-class resistance that is typically associated with the political Left, when done along nationalist lines, is still working to reproduce logics of White supremacy. As previously discussed in the literature review, this is what Arat-Koç (2010) argues is another attempt at unifying and upholding "Whiteness" by organizing the working class to preserve the welfare state that is being destabilized through neoliberal governance decisions. The destabilization of settler-colonial welfare states that have been built on Western liberal principles, also means the destabilization of Whiteness. These structures, institutions, and ideals were created for carrying out the settler-colonial project that only serves to benefit certain people, while subjugating and exploiting the "Others" (James, 2013). These ideas are key within discussions looking to understand RWE groups and White nationalists in the present-day context of settler-colonial Canada and the destabilization of the welfare state.

Another example is, the CNF highlight their grievances with attempts to achieve employment equity through affirmative action policies:

We need more attention brought to the fact that hiring policies in Canada aka Affirmative Action or Employment Equity must be stopped and is a form of reverse discrimination and is quite dangerous to hire non-Whites or anyone based on race and not qualifications especially in jobs like firemen and police officers where lives are in danger and you have to rely and trust the person behind or beside you with your life. (Employment Equity/Affirmative Action, February, 8, 2011)

Within this post, in addition to approaching employment as an issue of scarcity, the CNF are attributing a level of danger to the non-White “Other” who may be getting hired for certain positions. The CNF imply that the non-White “Other” is not qualified and therefore it is dangerous for them to be occupying their positions, while further reiterating that White people are then susceptible to being victims of “reverse” discrimination. There is both an effort to imply that the “Other” is incompetent and dangerous, while highlighting that they are a threat to employment for those who would not be benefiting from affirmative action or employment equity policies. The CNF also states:

Parts of the Charter of Rights and Multiculturalism Act contradict facts and everything Canada stands for how this country was built, creating institutional racism against EuroCanadian pioneer settler people's in our constitution and laws forcing government institutions and education to create hatred and self-loathing or Euro-Canadians by forced indoctrination and stifling the rights and freedoms of Euro-Canadians and giving minority groups special privileges above us . In reality we do not have equal rights or freedoms in Canada if your Euro-Canadian. We are excluded from employment opportunities in government, military, police etc based on racist hiring practices that prefer race over qualifications that is real institutional racism. Minority groups cannot be criticized in any way eliminating our freedom of speech but minorities can criticize us with impunity willfully promoting hatred against us with racial slurs and lies, calling us Nazis, White Supremacists etc. (Canadian Nationalist Front Clarified Mission Statement, May 24, 2019).

This blog post was published by the CNF a few years after the post on immigration “myths”. They continue to state that access to employment is a key grievance for the CNF, and frame policies like affirmative action are instead a form of oppression against White people, specifically ‘Euro-Canadians’. The CNF uses this to claim that White people also face systemic oppression. Rather than focusing on the systems that deny everyone access to resources or means of employment, they attribute these concerns to minorities, or non-Euro Canadians, while outlining their discontent with facing criticisms of racism or White supremacy.

4.3.2 Exclusionary Labels that “Protect” the Nation Space

The CNF continue to reproduce this logic in critiques of the efforts of those who they deem as the “Other” in attempting to access or create resources or seek any form of belonging within the nation space. This logic has similarities with the governance strategy of territorial diffusion that Walia (2021) uses to describe the state’s efforts to enact “racialized surveillance”, both within and beyond the nation space. This tactic is used to restrict those characterized by the state as migrants, from accessing social supports and various institutions within the nation space, while also preventing them from tangibly “reaching the legal jurisdiction of the state” (Walia, 2021, p. 87). While the CNF does not hold institutional power in the same way, they do use grievances around resources in a framework of scarcity, to justify their calls to prevent the “Other” from accessing various forms of belonging within the nation space and reaffirm their White nation fantasy. Often, these justifications are grounded in claims of victimization, economic efficiencies, or security concerns. Further, they are accompanied by discursive strategies of exclusion that create categorizations of the “Other” that work to subjugate their existence and justify the calls for their removal or exclusion.

The CNF state the safety threat they perceive the “Other” to pose, particularly in relation to migrants entering the nation’s space and territory:

We are importing non-White societies of terrorists and criminals. Canada has been flooded for decades with non-Whites that are known Islamic terrorists, Somali warlords, Sikh extremists, Tamil Tigers just to name a few that commit acts of terrorism against host white nations and recruiting our population to commit these acts on foreign soil to kill our diplomats and soldiers and funnel money made here to fund these groups in the Turd World. [...] We know where it began with that dirty Liberal hippie Pierre (the traitor) Trudeau, hope many urinate on his grave because he helped Canada on the road to ruin by bringing in the tidal wave of muds that hate us, use us and want to kill us. [...] We must do what we can to end this travesty and crime against our people and nation and rectify the mess Trudeau and then Brian Mulroney made by speaking out as much as we can and taking a stand against the tide of non-White blood flooding our precious lands. (Imported societies, terrorists and criminals, January 22, 2013)

The framing of non-White people as violent ‘imports’ to an otherwise ‘precious’ White host nation reinforce fantasies that Canada as a settler-colony is a White ethno-racial space centred around

ideas of purity and civility. This fantasy permits the framing of all violence to be pinned on the presence or influence of the non-White “Other”. It is the bordered logic of protecting the physical nation spaces from the existence of “non-White” people, their presence within institutions, the creation of their own institutions, as well as the perceptions of a variety of resources they are using and have access to, that is a source of grievance for the CNF.

Through his explanations and discourse about what the ideal nation space is to look like, the CNF’s Kevin Goudreau, reinforces the idea of their entitlement over the nation space, as well as his “dream” that describes how to protect this space from the “Other”. He frames the “Other” as a danger, while reinforcing the need for borders and restricting the ability for some to move freely in the nation space as a necessary safety measure. Goudreau states:

Due to the recent revelations of a mass exodus of illegal immigrants from the USA due to new Immigration laws in the US (are mostly Muslims from the middle east and Africa) and the fact they can just walk across the border in many places has prompted me to share my longtime dream of a great Canadian border fence, we do not need a Trump or Israeli cement wall with automated gun turrets but we do need a fence to protect the worlds longest open unprotected border. (The Great Canadian Goudreau Border Fence, February 17, 2017)

He further justifies this:

Why do we need such a fence? Well its obvious and logical to any sentient Canadian that we need a border fence spanning our long open border with the USA to stop smuggling of illegal hard drugs like heroine and crystal meth slowly killing our people, human trafficking, to stop smuggling of illegal hand guns and automatic weapons and to stop illegal immigrants from flooding our borders. [...] This is a logical and practical next step in securing the safety and security in Canada. (The Great Canadian Goudreau Border Fence, February 17, 2017)

The CNF’s rationale of presenting the “Other” as a subject who needs to be excluded, monitored, and ultimately controlled, particularly as it pertains to their ability to exist within the “borders” of the nation space, has direct parallels to how the state employs border logics and controls. Walia (2021) highlights *exclusion* as a state border governance strategy which serves the same purpose of governing and controlling a specific space, while also reinforcing the racialized identity of who belongs and who does not belong within that space. Another one of CNF’s calls

to action is centred around the removal of the non-White “Other” from the space through deportation:

Deport 'em all! We cannot keep importing the enemy and allowing homegrown terrorists to be recruited by Islamist scum! Brainwashing our own citizens to attack our own people! It must Stop and the time is now! (Canada Under Attack From Within!, October 23, 2014)

The CNF further emphasizes the justification of protecting the nation space as measures that are necessary to prevent the violence and danger that they view as inherent to the “Other”; in this case, it is migrants coming from Africa or the Middle East. These sentiments, paired with previous discourse regarding the perceived injustice Euro-Canadians experience, illustrate that protection of the nation space means physically preventing the migration and movement of non-White or non-European people.

There CNF justifies various strategies of *exclusion* in order to restrict the access of the “Other” to the nation space, as well as any institutions within the space while using a combination of economic and securitized rationale to support these claims. They call for more controls and surveillance around the nation space and present how they hope to operationalize this:

A 20 ft high chain link fence stretching across our border (that would not impede the view and serenity of our beautiful landscape without intrusion) with a 3 to 4 ft cement base to keep below the frost line to preserve the life of the fence and to deter tunneling as happens at the US/Mexico border with fence sensors to detect fence cutting, seismic detectors to detect tunneling activities, surveillance cameras along the fence and drones to patrol over the border to lower costs and shortage of Canadian Border Services Agents and maintain realistic logistical monitoring of our border without great cost and manpower. (The Great Canadian Goudreau Border Fence, February 17, 2017)

These calls replicate the state’s measures of what Walia (2021) highlights as exclusion rooted in securitization measures that “flaunt virtual walling through intrusive electronic surveillance technologies, automated decision-making, predictive data analytics, facial recognition software, and biometrics systems tested on migrants and refugees” (p. 80). However, while Walia (2021) highlights how these measures work to support a “five-hundred-billion-dollar border security industry” (p. 80), one of the CNF’s justifications for these calls is to use cost-efficiency as the rationale. The CNF do not gear their critique and calls for action towards the neoliberal systems

that have restricted access to social welfare supports in support of various forms of industry the expansion of penal and carceral systems (Wacquant, 2010). Instead, they frame their understanding, in ways that reaffirm White ethnonationalism, by presenting the “Other” as the culprit responsible for their economic grievances.

Often, the CNF’s calls for securitized borders are accompanied by narratives of victimization and claims of reverse discrimination and oppression by the systems that they believe should be serving them. The CNF shared a post of a Global News article as evidence in demonstrating an instance of reverse discrimination that they believe to be happening daily. The CNF’s author prefaces the post by stating:

I don't really need to do any commentary on this sick sad story of reverse discrimination in Canada that happens everyday. (Toronto man denied subsidized housing for not being Muslims, August 29, 2015).

While the CNF provides minimal commentary about the rest of the article, it does reveal the double standard throughout their blogs as they denounce the “Other’s” right to inclusion, of which contravene human rights in this case, but continue to deploy human rights legislation to contest instances where they feel discriminated against.

The Global News article discusses access to subsidized housing that was created specifically for individuals from the Muslim community, and how an individual who was not of Muslim faith was rejected a spot on the waitlist. Claims for discrimination are centred around appealing to Ontario’s Human Rights Code and the right for everyone to belong. As the mother of the man who was rejected from the waitlist states “I thought we were moving forward [...] we are a melting pot, this does not reflect that.” (Toronto man denied subsidized housing for not being Muslims, August 29, 2015). The CNF uses this article to make claims of reverse discrimination around how the “Other”, in this case those of Muslim faith, were accessing subsidized housing that was catering to members of their faith group, and subsequently denying those who were not of Muslim faith to access these spaces. However, the article uses principles of human rights, dignity, and inclusion to make the claim of discrimination, which are all principles that the CNF regularly denounces in relation to the inclusion of the non-White “Other” within the nation

space. The article captures comments from the mother of the person who was denied housing for not being of the Muslim faith and a lawyer:

Laura Whiteway (Mother): “If it’s legal, it should not be legal; it’s insulting, that’s what it is,” she said. Under provincial law, renters aren’t supposed to be denied accommodations on the basis of religion.

Shane Martinez (Lawyer): “The purpose of the Human Rights Code in Ontario is to make sure people feel as though they are part of the community and that their dignity and their worth is protected,” said Shane Martinez, a Toronto criminal defence lawyer who specializes in human rights issues.

“The Human Rights Code for the province still applies and is really the paramount legislation that needs to be given consideration in a situation like this,” Martinez added. But the city of Toronto says the practice of allowing only certain ethnic or religious groups is legally acceptable. (Toronto man denied subsidized housing for not being Muslims, August 29, 2015)

The CNF sharing, endorsing and commenting on this article on their blog, implies that at the very least they take issue with people being discriminated against. However, to denounce discrimination in its entirety would contradict their ideological premise as a White nationalist group and previous comments about human rights in other blog posts. As previously outlined, CNF beliefs are premised on exclusionary ideologies that explicitly work to discriminate against the non-White “Other” within the nation space. They feel entitled to discriminate against others, both their presence within the nation space and access to resources. Yet, they are critical of the “Other” looking to have their own exclusive spaces or resources. The CNF’s issue is that the “Other” is venturing to create their own spaces and resources and should not have that right. While they are using an article that cites human right laws against discrimination to make such a case, their discourse and blog posts demonstrate that the CNF are only taking issue with this situation precisely because it is the “Other” who is trying to dictate what spaces and access to resources should look like.

In another post, the CNF highlights the disparity of treatment that Syrian refugees receive, in comparison to the ‘average Canadian’, while situating their displacement within imperialist agendas. They state:

Because of American Imperialism aka "Bringing Democracy" to the middle east it has destabilized Persian and Arab countries, why? Of course favorable oil trade deals and reconstruction contracts after they bomb the heck out of their nations after an America/Israeli friendly puppet government has been put in place [...] This destabilization creates a power vacuum after the destruction of functional and successful secular states to be filled by Islamic extremists like ISIS to overthrow the weak fledgling puppet states meanwhile providing both sides with the same weapons for profit like the 8 year Iran/Iraq war America engineered in the 80s to the Invasion of Iraq and instigation of the Arab Spring by the USA. (American Imperialism, Islamic Terrorists and So-called Refugees Invading Our Lands, March 11, 2016)

While the CNF names imperialist agendas and the pursuit of profits through trade deals and weapons sales as one of the reasons behind war, destabilization, and crises of mass displacement in the Middle East, they still link these issues to reinforcing their own ideas about the dangers of the “Other” entering their perceived nation space. The CNF further expands on this rationale and state:

This strife creates enemies bent on killing all Infidels, American/Israeli/Coalition countries like Canada by sending so-called refugees that happen to be mostly men of fighting age between 25 and 35 years of age to wreak havoc in our nations by infiltration, taking advantage of our free money for immigrants to send back home to fund wars against us, turn our own people against us radicalized to kill us, spreading radical Islam and committing white genocide by their sheer numbers and creating Sharia Law Enclaves that are Muslims Only areas within our own countries [...] Toronto has almost 6000 homeless people and over 7000 families on waiting lists to get housing whilst so-called Syrian refugees are living in nice hotel rooms, getting housing right away by-passing Canadians on waiting lists, that will get free daycare, 50000\$ business grants we are not privy too, free lease on a car for a year, more money than average Canadians from social service organizations but to criticize this is racist according to the anti-whites and promoters of white genocide (American Imperialism, Islamic Terrorists and So-called Refugees Invading Our Lands, March 11, 2016).

Through these comments, the CNF is reinforcing their fears and concerns about the “Other”. In this case, they use the category of ‘so-called refugees’ and transition from describing the destabilization created by American imperialism, to presenting migrants who are impacted by displacement as people who come to Canada to take resources, enforce their own laws, take up space, and get rid of the White population. The CNF highlights the disparity in how the “Other”, in this case, those of Muslim faith or Syrian refugees having access to more economic and social

supports, that ‘average Canadians’ cannot access by noting the inadequate supports for housing in Toronto. Again, they frame the presence of the “Other” as a threat to the space, resources, and exclusive form of belonging that the CNF feels entitled to, rather than focusing on the broader inadequacies of social supports. This logic is what informs the CNF’s calls to action:

Are we to sit idly by to watch this happen and allow the safety and security of our white nations be compromised by a hostile imported population that doesn't want to be here? That disrespects our culture, heritage, institutions and our laws! We try to help them and make their countries safe so they do not come here in droves but yet they still come knowing they can use us and send our money back to insurgents instead of going back home to fight for themselves as they should. Refugees? Refugees in fear of their lives that go back to visit their homelands often? Time to stand up and tell our governments in open protest, letter writing campaigns (but be careful of how you word things you may end up in jail wrongfully like patriot Brad Love) marches and lobbying to stop immigration of non-Europeans into our nations to subvert, pollute and dilute our gene pool. Time to make a stand and save Our Heritage! Our Homeland! (Racial Holy War, October 1, 2012)

On one end, the CNF names the destabilizing outcomes of imperialism and explains the mass displacement of people, with sense of sympathy, yet they continue to present Western interventions in other nations as efforts of ‘making [these] countries safe’. The latter of these narratives allows them the space to reinforce narratives of White benevolence and civility. This position then permits the CNF to justify their resentment about the non-White “Other” occupying their spaces by claiming that they are accessing special benefits and threatening their fantasies of a White racial state.

4.4 Conclusion

The entitlement to govern and belong in the nation space and access resources are grounded by the CNF in the various ways through which they position Whiteness as a superior category of existence. This entitlement feeds and justifies CNF narratives around feeling victimized, silenced, ostracized, and politically disempowered when met with any resistance against their White ethnonationalist organizing or denial of belonging for the “Other”. These feelings and ensuing narratives are what the literature highlights as a key mobilizing factor amongst RWE and White nationalist groups. It is evident that these feeling of entitlement point to the CNF’s belief that it is

their right to have a say on governance of the nation space. And their various feelings centered around victimhood when they feel they are unable to do so successfully just further reinforces the beliefs that they are deserving of dominating others they have deemed inferior, as well as resources and the land. Through this analysis of the structures of feelings that underly the CNF's logic, the on-going process of racialism stemming from the inception of European civilization is once again brought to the forefront of understanding these movements and the historical processes that remain relevant today. This is an important addition to the discussion in the existing literature of RWE, that continue to view groups like the CNF as fundamentally different as mainstream governance logics and structures of power.

While the CNF's blog does offer insight into the logics and rationales that guide their mobilization and calls to action, there is little transparency as to the future strategies deployed to attain a White ethno-racial state. However, understanding the logical premise of their White nationalist ideologies, and the myths and fantasies they perpetuate, will allow for those interested in resisting fascist mobilization to counter their divisive and harmful narratives. Through unpacking the blog posts of the CNF, I found that there are parallels within the discourse and governance logics between exclusionary Right-wing extremists/White nationalist groups and the "multicultural" settler-state. The logics and rationale of White nationalists, like the CNF, demonstrate a process of race-making and the reproduction of racial regimes of White supremacy in how they write about groups of people whose existence they have deemed as up for negotiation and exclusion. A central tenet to their feelings of entitlement regarding engagement in the process of governing the Canadian nation space and the people within them, is their strong belief about fantasies of racial superiority that stem from the discourse of White civility and benevolence. When this entitlement is threatened, or *feels* threatened, the White nationalists present this as a form of oppression and use this victim narrative as a mobilizing logic for their movements. Similarly, this logic is what Walia (2021) and Thobani (2008) unveil as being a core principle of settler-colonial discourse around state building and governance strategies.

Throughout my analysis, I have presented the ways in which the settler-colonial logics of border governance permeate the racialized governance logics of White nationalist groups like the CNF. I have argued that for White nationalists in Canada the ideal nationalist identity is one that aligns with their conceptualization of Whiteness, and the ideal nation space is one that

excludes the belonging and participations of anyone who threatens White hegemony. I further demonstrate that the logic behind the entitlement of exclusionary White nationalist ideology stems from the same narratives of benevolent “multicultural” inclusion and White civility and allows White nationalists to use this premise as an outlet for their feelings of fragility and use it to claim political victimhood. And finally, I have argued that in the context of neoliberalism, which has resulted in restrictions to social welfare care and supports and impacted many working-class communities, the CNF have had an opportunity to push their White ethnonationalist ideas through austerity-based justifications and rationale.

While the goal and scope of this analysis was not to examine the continuity or similarities of ideologies between RWE groups and the settler-colonial state of Canada, using Walia’s (2021) border governance strategies allowed this analysis to anchor the CNF’s discourse with the state strategies and situate the analysis within important conversations in the literature that view this era as a more intensified context of the structures of racial capitalism and settler-colonialism. Despite the similarities, there is a tendency for both the literature and the mainstream discourse around RWE in Canada to occlude the Canadian state’s own White supremacy by presenting these groups as exceptional or “fringe”. These conversations are taking place outside of the debates aimed at tackling the very logics of settler-colonialism, and European civilization, that create the space for White nationalist ideologies to flourish.

CONCLUSION

As I conclude this research project, there is a growing movement in the form of convoys, rallies and populist Right-wing electoral organizing all over Canada. This movement is organizing around the demand for “freedom” and using the COVID-19 lockdown and vaccine mandates as a focus of their resistance (Little, 2022). Amongst organizers and attendees of such events have been those known to hold explicit White supremacist and White nationalist discourse (Gilmore, 2022), while others use more tempered nationalist language around putting “Canadians First” to espouse similar logics.

The progression of these movements, and the frequency of White nationalist violence (Yun, 2022), their popularity of their rhetoric within mainstream political platforms (Boutilier, 2022) and their influence within enforcement institutions (Boutilier, 2021) continues to attract my interest in understanding this topic further.

In my research project, I unpack the ideological rhetoric found on the Canadian Nationalist Front (CNF) Blogger to offer a new narrative aimed at understanding White nationalism in the context of White “multicultural” Canada. I pursued this research project to get a deeper understanding of how White nationalists justified their political endeavours in a “multicultural” settler-state, like Canada. I aimed to situate my understanding in the literature’s debates around the broader structures of the settler-colonial state and its oppressive governance logics. I framed my project and analysis this way, as I found that there was a need for existing literature on RWE in Canada, to engage those critical debates around the racism found at the core of settler-colonial state building and governance.

Some other interesting observations that came up throughout my analysis and worthy of future research, were the ways in which the White nationalists co-opt and appropriate the language of indigenous peoples as stewards of the land, while pushing exclusionary narratives about their entitlement to govern spaces. I am also inspired by the discussion that highlight the key role that enforcement institutions, like the police, play in upholding and protecting these ideologies (Monaghan, 2022) which differs from other recent authors who focus their discussion on reforming state enforcement responses to such issues (Perry & Samuels-Wortley, 2021). I find solace in these recent writings put forth by researchers like Monaghan (2022), that also bring

in the implications of conservative ideologies in settler-colonial states like Canada, and the ways in which they uphold racial hierarchies of White supremacy.

It is important to move away from explanations that frame the issues of RWE and White nationalism as unusual issues pertaining to a “fringe” group within the population and position these groups and individuals within the broader structures that inform their logics. I invite all future researchers seeking to analyse and understand the issue of RWE and White nationalism in Canada to implicate the logics of the settler-colonial state, particularly as they pertain to the political economy, when confronting and seeking further understanding of this topic. The narratives of Canadian exceptionalism and the misleading accolades that Canada gives itself when it pertains to issues of White supremacy and its various intersecting systems of oppression, only work to occlude the power structures that create the space for these issues to proliferate, from the discussions. I hope this project can contribute to such discussions that seek to name harms and make changes to oppressive systems that hinder equitable and inclusive communities.

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APPENDIX A

The Canadian Nationalist Front's logo.



APPENDIX B

Codebook:

CODE	Description	Example
NF_NEO+	Anything that presents neoliberalism rationality/philosophy/system in a positive light- proponents of. Language around profitmaking/consumption/Market logic. Democracy and agency seen as revolving around profit-making and consumption. Both explicitly/implicitly reinforcing this type of a system- sees humans being analyzed in terms of economic value as a good thing. Survival of the fittest- ethos.	“They are illegal and don’t even help the economy” “ They want free stuff” “We don’t give handouts, you should work for what you earn” <i>*All that reinforce and reproduce the logics of this type of a system- not critical of this way of organizing society*</i>
NF_NEO-	Anything that present neoliberalism in a negative light. Critique of the system. Advocating for alternative modes of governance that denounce market-logic/self-interest/individualism	“Denouncing the capitalist system, self-interest and individualism”- or state-corporate corruption <i>*I don’t think there will be a lot of this, from what I have seen so far- but I am thinking of SNC Lavalin- the posts are mobilizing against liberal through that discourse*</i>

NF_NEO=	Anything that isn't necessarily presenting the system/traits of the system in a negative or positive light- however the structure of a neoliberal system is there implicitly or explicitly. This would be more inferring about the content they are producing.- humans relations/social organization done on an economic basis/rationale	"They are taking away resources from X cause to give to Y cause" <i>*Here, inferring self-interest and individualism- which is a product of a neoliberal society/system*</i>
NF_FAC_DESCRIPTION	All things that could be directly linked to "descriptions" of Fascism movements/political formations. See * Coding Explanations document: Fascism for the descriptive traits	Ex. The organization/group having a male leader <i>This would be traits of the organization/groups that can be pinpointed as resembling "fascist political behaviour/mobilizations"</i>
NF_FAC_VALUES	All things that implicitly or explicitly refer to the ideology behind Fascism groups and the "mobilizing passions" Normalization of violence (active or passive) See Coding Explanations document "the mobilizing passions".	This may be things like the "about us" of the groups of posts stating worldview, values perception of the groups.

NF_FAC_RATIONALE	The justifications for the values, why they believe their ideology and political organization is best and.	Example: we have been victimized/ our culture is dying. Posts reinforcing an individuals worth/ self-esteem based on
	Also includes inferred rationale based on the “mobilizing passions” of fascism	involvement group/cause/organization. <i>There will probably be overlap with the things found for values and rationale- but one has to be the “ideals – or principles they have for their utopic vision of society- the other is how they justify these visions/ideals/principles</i>
NF_FAC_LANGUAGE	The language/terms being uses by the groups- connotations that it may have. “Fascism begins with language” Language of Disposability Waste, parasites, no social value-excess	Racist remarks Dehumanizing rhetoric Language of Disposability Example: <i>Words/remarks that legitimize peoples rational for their beliefs and practices” or words that are rooted in the unjust system- EXAMPLE: Calling First Nations/Indigenous peoples INDIANS.</i>

CODE	Description	Example
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NF_RW_POPULISM_DESCRIPTION	Groups that advocate as being “for the people” or “population”- that place themselves as a juxtaposition of the mainstream politics or “elite group:.	“The system has failed us, it’s about time that we take things into our hands” <i>The way the way these groups organize and under what logic (this code isn’t about what their values are- but how they are organizing for “the people” by “the people”</i>
NF_RW_POPULISM_VALUES	Groups that spew ultranationalism, white supremacy, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia and xenophobia as part of what the ‘people’ want. (Check American Fascism book for more on this) *PUT R-W VALUES/what has been associated with RW there.	“The politicians keep bringing in more refugees and our own culture is declining” <i>All things that align with Right- wing values but justified as being what the “people” want or need that existing systems and “elite’ are not providing or going against</i>
WN_WHITENESS-TRAITS	The physical and categorical traits that are ascribes to “whiteness”. Can be both the physical attributes that “white” people have but also the traits associated with the category of “whiteness” that was created an aspirational ideal.	Physical: blonde hair, Caucasian traits, no accent when talking. Or other values traits: See Code book for various traits by Hage/Thobani/Razack

		*See Codebook for the categories and traits related to the concept of ‘Whiteness’
WN_NATION_SPATIAL	All inferences implicit and explicitly to a physical which would be the ‘nation’ – this would be more the geographical space- the ‘country, land, ‘the west’ -reinforcing the territorial aspect of a ‘nation’	We don’t want them to die but they should go back to where they came from” <i>Any reference that may explicitly or implicitly refer to the imagined “space”- for judgments/comments/desires to be made there has to be an assumed “territory”</i>

CODE	Description	Example
WN_NATION_IMAGINED	All they refer to an abstract idea of a “nation” – it’s not referring to a space, but an idea of unity based on commonalities that aren’t geographical. Also referring to what the space and practices and people within it “ought to be like”	“As a nation we are very welcoming” “us and them” rhetoric <i>The rhetoric and discourse here will be as though they are managers of the ‘nation’ in terms of the values and action that are/are not allowed within it.</i>
WN_NATION_IDEAL	What those who see themselves as managers of a ‘nation’ say the nation ought to resemble/look like. The ideal traits that the nation should aspire to have/be. This is similar to WN_NATIONALISM_HOME, except that it’s not the affective in nature- this would be more descriptive of how they say the nation should be.	We don’t want other languages on street signs. Calling for banning religious things, (i.e niqabs)

WN_NATIONALIST	Explicit or implicitly references to one (or a group) being managers of a designation space or nation. This is if the actual subject is able to be identified as a “nationalist” who feel entitled to governs and dictates what can happen in the national space (even if it’s just through a legitimate opinion)	Example: Kevin Goudreau- creating the blog that is calling “Canadian Nationalist Front” Politicians Party leader Group leaders
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WN_NATIONALISM_HOME	The explicit or implicit referral of a “Thing” that the nationalist is aspiring to achieve to fulfill their fantasy ‘space of fullness’. The moods, feelings and attitudes nationalists ascribe to the feeling/ concept of ‘home’. Feelings of disempowerment, fear/ anxiety and talk of “others”- is a loss of those sentiments See Code Explanation: Affective politics	“It used be to different there”. “It doesn’t feel like out like home anymore.
WN_NATIONAL_BELONGING_PASSIVE	Any implicit or explicit reference to a sense of being part of a nation and belonging to it-namely being able to use its resources, benefit from existing in it and feeling ‘at home’.	“They come in and get subsidized resources” “There is no money for our own people, and they come and take it away”

WN_NF_POSITIVE	Any implicit or explicit justification or explanation that is managing the space (access to resources, legitimate opinion with regards to governance, allowed to exist but through a market-logic lens. And presenting the “other” in a positive way. Any perceived benefits of the “other”.	“Well they contribute taxes which is great for our country.”
WN_NF_NEGATIVE	Any implicit or explicit justification or explanation that is managing the space (access to resources, legitimate opinion with regards to governance, allowed to exist but through a market-logic lens. And presenting the “other” in a negative way. The perceived negativity of the ‘other’	“Well they take away jobs away from the real Canadians”

CODE	Description	Example
WN_NATIONAL_BELONGING_GOVERNMENT AL	Explicit or Implicit Reference to ones ability to contribute to internal/external politics of the nation. Even if the contribution is just having a legitimate opinion	<i>Any example of one stating anything about what should be done in the state. Expressing their opinion on an issue.</i> <i>Governance of the population- “this does not mean actual state/government power”</i>
WN_TOLERANCE	Any implicit or explicit references to understanding, acceptance, Justifying, welcoming, allowing or respecting the ‘other’ See Codebook*	“ Canada can’t be racist, we are so accepting of different cultures”. We welcome them here and they think it’s okay to take away our culture?

WN_NATION_TRAITS_CANADA	The explicit referral of the nation's "traits" being related to the Canadian nation's characteristics	*See Thobani's list from CODEBOOK EXPLANTIONS -
WN_INTOLERANCE	Any implicit or explicit referral to traits or characteristics that the 'other' or 'invade' of the space may possess. See Codebook*	X people have a culture that is incompatible with our values. "go back to where you came from"

ADDED CODES:

CODE	Description	Example
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Migration_Positive	Any explicit or implicit reference to people moving through the space- but presenting it in a positive way. Not the” groups” but the actual process or concept of migration and moving through space.	Immigration is great, as long as it's people who share our same values. Economical immigrants...
Migration_Negative	Any explicit or implicit reference to people moving through the space- but presenting it in a negative way. Not the” groups” but the actual process or concept of migration and moving through space.	We are already overpopulated, we can't have more people coming here.
Nations_origins	The discourse/ideas about what a “nation” is, how this perceived “nation” was created- why they have these beliefs about the origins.	We are the creators of this nation. Nativeborn Canadians (but referring to white settlers + the generations)
White_Fragility	The discourse/ideas about feelings of victimization or oppression at the hands of the “Other”. Either directly, or through the state.	“We are being silenced” “They are brainwashing us and taking our resources”