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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Michael J. Davis entitled "Was That Racist or Not? I Can't Tell: The Music of Prussian Blue." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Communication and Information.

Dr. John W. Haas, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Dr. Ronald Taylor, Dr. Joan Rentsch, Dr. Barbara Kaye, Dr. Dwight Teeter, Jr.

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

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**Was That Racist or Not? I Can't Tell:
The Music of Prussian Blue**

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Michael J. Davis
August 2009

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There are many people to whom I am grateful for making my time at the University of Tennessee so rewarding. I am particularly grateful to my Doctoral Dissertation Committee, Dr. John Haas, Dr. Ronald Taylor, Dr. Barbara Kaye, Dr. Joan Rentsch, and Dr. Dwight Teeter, Jr., for their support and encouragement. I would also like to thank my friends here in Knoxville who made my time in this city so engaged.

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ABSTRACT

This study is an investigation into the music group Prussian Blue. The study was conducted by textual analysis of cultural material including novels, Web sites, documentary films, online interviews, music, videos, and magazine articles garnered through theoretical sampling. The textual analysis was conducted following the grounded theory approach to coding qualitative data. The findings reveal various discursive and ideological interconnections between the music group Prussian Blue and the contemporary hate movement. The group has a history of Holocaust denial, celebrates Adolph Hitler as someone with “a lot of good ideas,” and cultivates relationships with some of the most notorious figures within the U.S. hate movement. White power music is being used as a tool to advertise and recruit people to the hate movement.

This research also explored the meaning of white power music from the perspective of those of produce it as well as those who consume the music. Describing the meaning to them, fans report enjoying the music, appreciating the pro-white messages, and express the belief that Lynx and Lamb represent good role models. From April Gaede’s perspective, the mother and manager of Prussian Blue, the music represents a counterhegemonic activity designed to mainstream pro-white messages and make money. April also described that music is a way to showcase her daughters’ music, while also extending the white power music scene. Finally, April expressed her hope that Prussian Blue music would recruit other youngsters to produce pro-white cultural material.

The meaning of Prussian Blue music to band members Lamb and Lynx Gaede represents the most complex and evolving perspective. Earlier narratives from the duo described how making music was a fun process and that the pro-white message of their music was of their own choosing. More recent narratives, however, express a strikingly different perspective. Specifically, the two reject their earlier pro-white music while also expressing regret for making those songs. This transformation has implications for cultural identity and action.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL INFORMATION

Hate crimes and violence in the United States are pervasive. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (2007) reports that in 2006 there were 7,722 total hate crime incidents involving 7,324 offenders and 9,642 total victims. That represented a nearly 8 per cent rise in hate crimes since 2005. While striking, these statistics account for only recorded hate crimes; it is likely that some hate crimes fail to be reported and recorded (Perry, 2001; Wood, 2001). Nonetheless, these statistics provide evidence that hate crime is a continuous and comprehensive problem in the United States. When conceptualized as texts, crimes of hate speak to various audiences and communicate assorted perceived realities about existing cultural power dynamics and lines between good and evil. To more fully understand the multiplicity of meanings within the language of hate and conveyed via violence, researchers must reconstruct the systems of meanings out of which these expressions of hate emerge. Part of this project requires the decoding of those messages that provoke such violence.

A survey by the Southern Poverty Law Center (2009) indicates that there has been a 54 per cent (54%) rise in hate groups since 2000. While these statistics are striking they, like the statistics of hate crimes, fail to tell the entire story. Research demonstrating a rise in the number of hate groups, like the survey by the Southern Poverty Law Center identified above, fails to account for individuals known within the hate movement as “lone wolves.” The practice of lone wolf-ism strategically sheds the hierarchical organizational structure creating what Barkun (1997) identifies as leaderless resistance.

As the Federal Bureau of Investigation (2004) asserted, lone wolves “typically draw ideological inspiration from formal . . . organizations, but operate on the fringes of those movements . . . [additionally, they] can mount high-profile, extremely destructive attacks, and their operational planning is often difficult to detect” (pp. 15-16). Indeed, the Federal Bureau of Investigation predicted in 2004 that lone wolf acts of violence will continue to be a central concern within the United States, noting that “The most significant domestic terrorism threat over the next five years will be the lone actor, or “lone wolf” terrorist” (p. 15). Considering the increase in the number of hate crimes recorded as well as the rise in the number of hate groups operating in the United States, questions concerning how hate groups organize and disseminate information are timely and important.

RESEARCH TOPIC

In 2009, twin sisters Lynx and Lamb Gaede, who record White power music as a music group called “Prussian Blue” are sixteen-year-old. Some think their songs and their values are too conservative, others label them as extremists and worry about their welfare (Anti-Defamation League, 2005; McFadden, 2006; Southern Poverty Law Center, 1999b). Some ask how they are to function in society if they have been brought up as White supremacists, others worry about the danger that two girls—who have been taught to subscribe to a White-only, immigrant-bashing, Jew-hating ideology—could pose to society (Gell, 2006; Quinn, 2007; Theroux, 2003, 2007). Some argue that their music is hate speech, others argue that it is a matter of First Amendment rights (Bartholomew, 2007; Pringle, 2005a, 2005b; Southern Poverty Law Center, 1999b).

The pair grew up on Bakersfield, California, what they called “Mexifornia” because of the diverse racial character of the area (Gell, 2006, Quinn, 2007; Theroux,

2007). Their mother, April Gaede has been an active member of several hate groups, bouncing around from one racist group to another after disagreements about how those organizations should be run. White supremacism clearly runs in the Gaede family; April's father Bill Gaede is a rancher in California, whose registered cattle brand is a swastika (Theroux, 2003).

Consistent with the Gaede family's White supremacist ideology and propensity for advocating White nationalism, there was concern expressed by the twins' biological father surrounding April's decision to remove Lynx and Lamb from the public education system—they were home schooled until sixth grade—in order to resume home schooling (Gell, 2006; Quinn, 2007; Theroux, 2003). The twins biological father, Kris Lingelser, estranged from the family due to drug addiction and a subsequent stint in the prison system for drug related charges, made a failed attempt to gain full custody of Lynx and Lamb in 2006 arguing that the twins were being socialized to subscribe to the various ideologies of hate imbuing April's worldview (McFadden, 2006). On the other hand, legal scholar Khianna Bartholomew (2007) used Lynx, Lamb, and April as a case example in an article published in the Cornell Law Review. In that article, Bartholomew argued that despite the potential for socialization, “universal standardized testing will resolve the negative consequences . . . of home-schooling curricula without unnecessarily infringing on the parental right to direct the upbringing of one's child” (p. 1179). The twins' mother April, describing her philosophy on Lynx and Lamb's education to documentary filmmaker Louis Theroux (2003), noted:

I don't want to teach them to be politically correct just because that's the easy way out A person who tells their children that all people are created equal and that men and women are equal, in my mind, they're lying to their children. They're blatantly lying to their child. I believe that we're normal, that we're correct, and that other people are distorted. So yes, I understand that I'm raising my children in a perverted world—in a perverted multiculturalist world—and I have to teach my children the truth despite the fact that it's a dangerous thing to be teaching them. I'm doing something that is very dangerous, but I could not live with myself if I were to tell them anything different because it would be a lie.

April's ideas outlined above were echoed in an interview with documentary filmmaker James Quinn (2007), during which she responded to the controversy over home schooling the girls:

We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children. If explaining to your kids what you believe and point-by-point going through and explaining it, and saying this is what I believe and teaching them along those lines, if that's brainwashing, then Catholic parents, and Jewish parents, and Christian parents—all kinds of parents—are guilty of the same thing.

While the twins received nearly three years of home schooling, they are now reenrolled in public school following their relocation to Kalispell, Montana (Quinn, 2007). The move was an attempt at escaping the encroaching diversity of the Bakersfield area as well as the increasing mainstream media coverage about Prussian Blue and their politics (Quinn, 2007). Yet, the move to Kalispell did not provide the anonymity that they

sought, as the Gaede family's reputation for racial disdain to all but whites proceeded them, sparking anti-hate rallies within the community (Quinn, 2007).

A self-styled description of the band is available on The Official Prussian Blue Web site (www.prussianblue.net):

Prussian Blue is the combination of 14-year-old twin sisters named Lynx and Lamb. Prussian Blue is also probably one of the most controversial up and coming bands on the music scene today. In a day and age when most bands are working hard to remain within self-imposed limits of Politically Correct Thought, Prussian Blue pushes the envelope. Within the fold of White Nationalist Rock, one of the only true alternatives to the corporate music and recording business, these two little girls have filled thousands of their fans with love and hope for the future. Also, within the pro White genre, they stretch the envelope even more to create and sing songs that are of the unexpected. Personal beliefs and experiaences (sic) are delicately woven with upbeat rhythms and poignant lyrics to create something that is guaranteed to catch the listener off guard and create a reaction. Open your heart and your mind to a time and place in the future where Pride in who you are and where you came from, Love for your people and Hope for the future are acceptable for EVERYONE. Open your heart and mind to Prussian Blue! (Prussian Blue, 2008)

This quote positions Prussian Blue in an intriguing way. It suggests that the band is fighting political correctness and the corporate music industry, while articulating a pro-White message predicated upon "love" for White people (rather than vilifying racial

others). It is also important to note here that the notion about pride and hope for “everyone” only includes White people. Before an “on-air” interview with the group, David Pringle (2005a) described Prussian Blue to listeners of his White Wire Internet Radio program: “Their CD, the quality and the maturity of their music—this is basically a pop cross over CD and I think that most everybody is going to be very impressed with it.”

According to journalist Aaron Gell, who interviewed the duo in 2006, “The origins of Prussian Blue date from a 2001 National Alliance event in Sacramento called Eurofest At Eurofest the twins sang an *a cappella* rendition of Brutal Attack’s “Ocean of Warriors” when they were eight-years-old” (p. 213). At that event Dr. William Pierce, who had acquired the white power music label Resistance Records in 1999, approached April Gaede, the twins’ mother (and manager) about signing the duo to a recording contract. The girls would spend the next year learning to play instruments. Gell (2006) describes: “Lamb chose the guitar, Lynx the violin. After practicing for a year or so, they booked studio time and recorded [their first album] *Fragment of the Future*” (p. 213). Their deal with Resistance Records entitled the girls to one dollar for each of the one thousand CDs initially produced (Gell, 2006). According to Gell,

The musical quality of Prussian Blue’s debut record generated some debate on white-nationalist message boards. The vocals are often flat and rhythm-challenged. One lengthy thread explored whether promotional shots of the girls in short skirts constituted kiddie porn Overall though, it’s an oddly arresting disc, and to my horror, I actually found myself unable to stop humming some of the tunes. (p. 213)

Over the past eight years, the duo has received considerable mainstream media attention both in the U.S. and abroad. Lynx and Lamb, as well as their mother/manager April, have been featured by various mainstream media outlets including an article in *Gentlemen's Quarterly* (Gell, 2006), episodes of *Primetime ABC* (McFadden, 2006), and in two BBC documentaries (Quinn, 2007; Theroux, 2003). Beyond mainstream media attention, the group attended and performed at international music festivals. As the Anti Defamation League (2005) noted, Prussian Blue performed at White supremacist venues around the world:

In 2005, Prussian Blue played at various white supremacist gatherings, including events organized by the National Vanguard. Most recently the group performed on October 15 at Euro Fest, sponsored by the Phoenix unit of the National Vanguard, and at Hammerfest 2005, a white power festival held this year near Atlanta on October 1-2, which attracted racist skinheads and white supremacists from around the country.

Their most recent international appearance was at the 2007 Nordiska Festival in Sweden hosted by the Nordic Alliance, a folk nationalist, pan-Nordic organization (Gaede, 2007). Breaking from traditional White power music genres, Prussian Blue is strategically cultivating a catchy pop music sound and using lyrics that are innocuous to those unfamiliar with coded language of the U.S. hate movement.

Aside from their ideologies of hate, Aaron Gell (2006) describes the twins as being disturbingly normal:

Though they seem like a matching set to the untrained eye, the girls—who like to append a diminutive -ie to their names—are actually fraternal twins. “Lynx tends

to be more of the girly-girly glamour girl,” April tells me, “and Lamb is more the sporty rock ‘n’ roller.” They are in the first bud of womanhood—pretty and blond, with braces on their teeth, a layer of baby fat softening their features. They can toggle in an instant between giggling maniacally at some secret joke and moping around the house, sighing in boredom. (p. 211)

Additionally, their politeness and general demeanor presented somewhat of an enigma to one radio host who interviewed the pair. The host noted:

If they were ugly, with gnarly warts on their faces, people would be going, “You’re a racist!” But they’re beautiful as they are saying these words, you know? And they’re agreeable when they’re saying these words. And people go “What? Was that racist or not? I can’t tell!” (Quinn, 2007)

MY SUBJECTIVITY

I first heard of the music group Prussian Blue in 2005. Knowing my research focused on cultural material grounding the hate movement, a fellow graduate student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill sent me an email encouraging me to “take a look.” At the time I was in the process of finalizing my Master’s Thesis, which focused on a book entitled *Hunter* (Macdonald, 1989), a seminal text of the U.S. hate movement that is linked to some of the most menacing acts of domestic terrorism in the United States, including the 1995 Oklahoma City Bombing (Zuckerman, 1997a, b). On the suggestion of my colleague I conducted a cursory Internet search to find more information on the music group Prussian Blue. The search results were both frightening and fascinating: twin girls singing white power songs. I continued to monitor the music and activities of Prussian Blue while finishing up the research requirements for

completing my Master's degree (Davis, 2005). Little did I know that over the next four years they would become famous both within the hate movement as well as infamous within mainstream media.

During my doctoral program my research continued to explore the ways that the hate movement in the United States construct and appropriate a variety of cultural media to shape social prescriptions about cultural identity and action. That interest led me to conduct the present research. As I studied these phenomena I was amazed—and appalled—by Prussian Blue, their music, and their activities. It is not possible to dismiss their hate speech, not as long as words have meaning and hate crimes occur.

RATIONALE FOR STUDY

While I do not agree with ideologies of hate, I am not indifferent to them. My approach here is derived in part from the teaching of Abraham Foxman (1999) who, in the introduction to *Mein Kampf*, implores scholars not to ignore cultural texts that do not agree with our own perspective. Instead, Foxman argued that scholars should attempt to better understand those unfamiliar and/or unpopular texts. Foxman (1999) warned:

Here in the pages of *Mein Kampf* Hitler presented the world with his dark vision of the future. Years would pass before he attained the power to realize that vision, but *Mein Kampf*'s existence denies the free world the excuse of ignorance. We dismissed him as a madman and we ignored his wretched book; the result was a tragedy of unprecedented proportions. This is yet another lesson to take from *Mein Kampf*: The lesson of vigilance and responsibility of not closing our eyes to the evil around us. (pp. xxi-xxii)

Indeed, understanding the ideas, ideals, texts, and tactics of the contemporary hate movement, such as the music made by Prussian Blue, may be a useful way to resist such ideologies of hate. There is a clear and present need to acknowledge, to understand, and to resist ideologies of hate circulating both the hate movement and pop culture (via White power music). The recent rise in white power music distribution, coupled with a lack of academic research focusing on this music, makes the current study an important extension of existing academic research focusing on the contemporary hate movement. The need for research such as this study is clear, as it has the potential to demonstrate how hate is being strategically cultivated in our American communities. Education may help forestall the making of hate through campaigns teaching about the practices of the hate movement. As the great jurist Louis D. Brandeis (1932) observed, “Sunlight is said to be the best of disinfectants” (p. 92).

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The purpose of this investigation is to describe, from the “insider’s perspective,” the meaning and significance of the White power music made by Prussian Blue. This research seeks to explore: (1) the role of White power music from the perspective of the music group Prussian Blue; (2) the role of music in their everyday lives of the Gaede twins; (3) the meaning of making White power music (as opposed to creating other cultural media); (4) how the group selected the “pop” music genre (as opposed to another genre); and (5) which communication technologies the group uses to produce and distribute its music.

KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Culture - provides the ultimate grounding for its members. Culture prescribes particular social discourses—language, meaning, and action—that symbolize the individuals’ relationship with a discursive community. Geertz (1973) noted that culture “denotes an historical transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life” (p. 89) and functions as a “template or blueprint for the organization of social and psychological processes” (p. 216).

Fighting Words - Defined by the Supreme Court as “[words] which by their very utterance inflict injury or tend to incite an immediate breach of the peace” in the *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire*, 315 U.S. 568 (1942) decision.

Hate Movement - finds existence in five ideological principles: Christian Identity, white supremacy, xenophobia, sexism/heterosexism, and anti-statism (Perry, 2001). Grounding the hate movement in terms of ideological principles is particularly useful for the present analysis because it helps illustrate the overlapping cultural perspectives and practices that transcend individuals, groups, national borders (space), and time.

Hate Speech – communicative material (film, act, spoken word, music, etc.) used by a dominant group to undermine or attack marginalized groups (on the basis of race or ethnic origin, religion, gender, age, physical condition, disability, or sexual orientation).

Hegemony – “is accomplished through the agencies of the superstructures—the family, education system, the church, the media and cultural institutions, as well as the coercive side of the state—the law, police, the army, which also, in part “work through ideology”” (Hall, 1977, p. 333).

Ideology – represents a system “of meaning in which people live in reality, or . . . live their relationship to reality” (Grossberg, Wartella, & Whitney, 1998, p. 191).

Incitement – Defined by the Supreme Court as speech that is “directed to inciting or producing imminent lawless action and is likely to incite or produce such action” (*Brandenburg v. Ohio*, 1969, at 447). The two-part legal test for incitement established in *Brandenburg* requires proof that speech is: (1) directed to produce imminent lawless conduct and (2) likely to produce lawless action (*Brandenburg v. Ohio*, 1969)

Popular Culture – represents the dominant pattern of meanings, symbols, ideas and ideologies grounding contemporary social life. Unlike culture that is historically grounded and generally linear, popular culture is current and has the potential to be non-linear, fragmented and fleeting.

Pop Music – is a distinct genre of music designed to appeal to the contemporary cultural milieu as well as contemporary audiences. The music reflects the current cultural conditions, and resonates with audiences because it reflects the very conditions in which they live their everyday lives. Pop music is generally considered more “commercial” and more mainstream than some other genres of music because of its wider appeal within the public sphere.

Public Sphere – is a conceptual space wherein culture and popular culture happen.

Conceptually similar to the notion of a “marketplace of ideas,” the public sphere represents the “marketplace” wherein ideas compete for wider acceptance. Those ideas that are reproduced and garner wide acceptance within the public sphere can be said to be popular. As those ideas accumulate, they have the potential to impact popular culture.

White power – draws primarily upon white supremacy as a social framework. The notion suggests that whites are biologically superior to racial others and implies that the white identity and the purity of the White race is being threatened. Aside from abstract ideas, white power also evident in concrete practices including the active cultivation of the white identity through white supremacist texts, the active vilification of racial others,” as well as material acts of ethnviolence that are ethereally justified within the racist mind as a form of protection. Thus, White power represents a significant thread binding the contemporary hate movement.

White nationalism – represents the idea that White people should have their own segregated nation that is separate from and free of racial other. The concept is underpinned by various ideologies of hate including white supremacy, heterosexism, xenophobia, and anti-statism. The reference to white nationalism is typically a coded euphemism for White power.

White power music – describes music that is either involved with White supremacist organizations or expresses White supremacist ideologies. Thus, White power music, as a category of music, can transcend specific musical genres. For example, The Anti-Defamation League (2004) identified four main genres of

White power music can be identified historically: Racist Oi!, Hatecore, National Socialist Black Metal (NSBM), and Nationalist Folk.

ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

This first chapter introduced the reader to the research topic, the researcher's interest in the topic, and described a rationale for the study. Additionally, this chapter identifies the purpose of the study and provides a list of key terminology and definitions. Chapter Two introduces the reader to the contemporary hate movement, how individuals and groups are actively cultivating material that articulates ideas and ideals for cultural identity and action, the significance of communication technologies within the hate movement, and the process of cultural mainstreaming. Chapter Three describes the process of data collection, the materials retained for analysis, as well as the process of data analysis.

Both Chapter Two and Chapter Three provide insight into the context within which I understand the data and from which my results derive. Chapter Four blends the existing literature with the range of empirical and qualitative data collected to discuss the ideas and themes that emerged from this analysis. Chapter Five, the final chapter, explains the results of this research, discussing implications as well as heuristic directions for future academic research on the contemporary hate movement and white power music.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section reviews literature relevant to the current research. The first section reviews existing communication research hate material. The second section reviews music as a cultural form, and its role in the contemporary hate movement. The third section describes the role of new communication technologies in the reproduction of hate movement ideas and ideals. The final section reviews the bases and boundaries of the First Amendment to better understand potential implications related to white power music.

IDEALS FOR CULTURAL IDENTITY AND ACTION

To address this need for analysis and knowledge, a growing body of academic research seeks to understand the realities being lived by members of the U.S. hate movement through analysis of a range of cultural material including Web sites (Billig, 2001; Bostdorff, 2004; Waltman, 2003), cartoons (Waltman & Davis, 2004), and novels (Davis, 2005; Waltman & Davis, 2005). Billig (2001), for example, conducted a textual analysis of Ku Klux Klan Web sites to understand the Web sites use humor on those Web sites. Billig concluded that humor functions as both a vehicle and a context for hate speech, allowing the messages to address taboo topics in ways that appear jovial. Billig also recognized that much of the humor on Web sites concern the commission of acts of violence against other races while noting that the Web site also included a disclaimer statements about not advocating violent acts. Like the warning labels on dangerous

products, this appears to be an effort to avoid liability should violence occur and be linked to a Web site.

Interested in potential discursive patterns about the targets of violence, rhetoric scholar Kathryn Olson (2002) conducted a textual analysis of publicly available transcripts from “stranger rapists,” sport hunters, and hate criminals. Noting the patterns across the three sets of transcripts (e.g., stranger rapists’, sport hunters’, and hate criminals’) Olson concluded that there exists a homology of discursive functions that (1) dehumanized the other (woman, animal, race); (2) constructed the other as interchangeable class representatives; (3) distanced the other while not diminishing the threat posed by the other, and (4) celebrated the conquer of the other (usually via violence).

Seeking to better understand how communicative texts inform and are informed by ideas circulating the U.S. hate movement, researchers Waltman and Davis (2004) conducted a textual analysis of racist cartoons publicly available on the Internet. A textual analysis of the cartoons revealed specific cultural myths about Aryans and about other races. Noting the function of humor, the researchers demonstrated a conceptual overlap between the myths permeating the cartoons and the discursive functions identified by Olson (2002). The researchers conclude that racist cartoons as a form of hate speech have the potential to use cultural myths to establish symbolic justification for the Aryan commission of ethnviolence against racial others. The myths identified in the research are consistent with a range of historical race-based myths that transcend national borders via various media and ideologies that vilify, dehumanize, and justify violence against the other.

To understand the attempts to recruit children to the KKK Youth Corps through its “Just for Kids” Web page, Waltman (2003) analyzed the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan’s Web site. Waltman, an expert on the U.S. hate movement, identified the use of both persuasive heuristics as well as hate stratagems on the “Just for Kids” Web page. He found that the Knights employed three persuasive strategies: (1) a liking heuristic (the child should join the Youth Corps because the speaker is a likeable person), (2) a consensus heuristic (the child should join the Youth Corps because many people are doing so), and (3) a credibility heuristic (the child should join the Youth Corps because the speaker is a trustworthy authority). Waltman (2003) concluded that “reliance on trickery and the encouragement of superficial message processing provide an ideal climate for the operation of hate appeals” toward children (p. 22).

Political rhetoric scholar Denise Bostdorff (2004), sought to understand the patterns of communication on Ku Klux Klan Web sites. Within the case study, the researcher identified the presence of masculinist discourse throughout the Web sites and noted that hyperlinks to other KKK Web sites as well as non-KKK Web sites fostered complex interrelations among Ku Klux Klan groups as well as between the KKK groups and other hate groups operating in the United States. Bostdorff concluded that the Ku Klux Klan Web sites and the surrounding phenomena have implications for academic research and theory regarding community building.

Extending their previous research on racist cartoons, communication studies scholars Waltman and Davis (2005) conducted a textual analysis of the novel *The Turner Diaries* (Macdonald, 1979), a novel that was used to help plan the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing. Succinctly, the novel described how to create ammonium nitrate using diesel

fuel and fertilizer while also depicting the use of a moving truck to bomb a federal building using the ammonium nitrate. Disturbingly, *The Turner Diaries* is widely celebrated and distributed within the U.S. hate movement. These researchers sought to understand the ideas expressed in the novel as they related to the Aryan identity and the identity of other. The researchers identified a set of myths about the Aryan identity and a set of myths about racial others. Ultimately, the researchers illustrated how the novel articulates how one should be a “proper” Aryan—complete with corresponding idealized actions—such as the commission of ethnviolence. The researchers conclude by noting the conceptual overlap between myths advanced in the pages of *The Turner Diaries* and the realities in which (or in relation to which) members of the U.S. hate movement live their everyday lives. In this way, they conclude that *The Turner Diaries* should be conceptualized as a key cultural artifact informing the collective memory of the contemporary U.S. hate movement.

Focusing on prescriptions for the Aryan identity in the novel *Hunter* (Macdonald, 1989), Davis (2005) extended previous work on racist cartoons and racist novels as he explored the intersection of the contemporary U.S. hate community, hate speech, and ethnviolence. Drawing on white supremacy as a social framework, the researcher found that *Hunter* used myth as a cultural hermeneutic for teaching readers specific practices to cultivate for the commission of ethnviolence. In so doing, *Hunter* provides readers with both a detailed understanding of the ideal characteristics of a lone wolf Aryan as well as a rationale for the commission of “lone wolf” acts of ethnviolence against non-Aryans. Ultimately, the researcher concluded *Hunter* teaches readers that lone wolf-ism

represents the sine qua non, or supreme strategy, for the commission of Aryan ethnoviolence.

This study of white power music, as a communicative and cultural form, is an important extension of previous academic research on the hate movement. It examines how cultural media accumulate meaning while communicating particular realities about cultural identity, action, and its relationship with society.

MUSIC AS A COMMUNICATIVE FORM

The pervasiveness of communication in everyday life is incontrovertible and no form is more embedded within everyday lives than music. In the United States one can identify a variety of personal and social places and situations that involve music including concerts, coffee shops, retail outlets, office spaces, religious ceremonies, studying, local pubs and restaurants, political campaigns, commuting to work, relaxing at home, or while waiting on the phone for a corporate customer service representative. Describing the complexities of the study of music, ethnomusicologist Philip Bohlman (2003) suggested that “[m]usic . . . stands out as the form of communication that is at once most familiar and most incomprehensible” because music can be identified in almost every culture and, yet, the form, meaning, and use of music varies by culture and by individual (p. 46).

Discussions about the production and use of music are intrinsically bound to communication technologies including radio (i.e., Internet, Satellite, or over the air radio), personal computers, television, jukebox, records, CDs, personal mp3 players, film, mobile phones, and the Internet. Each technology provides citizens with a different set of possibilities and constraints regarding the music, itself, as well as when, where, and how

one can “play” (i.e., listen to or produce) music (Carey, 1998). One example of the possibilities and constraints associated with music production is pop music. Historically, pop musicians limited the length of their songs to 2 minutes 30 seconds (because they “fit” nicely between radio advertisements) to better guarantee radio airplay (Toynbee, 2003). Thus, the length of the songs was affected by time availability while the popularity of the songs were likely constrained by frequency of airplay. Beyond production, consumption of music may be impacted by various situations or contexts wherein the actors and social space may facilitate or negate certain methods of music consumption. For example, listening to music with one medium signifies a much different context (e.g., actors, place, time, and situation) than listening to music via a different medium.

Texts, Messages, and Communication

Communication scholars conceptualize a range of communicative material as a text including film (Frentz & Rushing, 1993), documentary photographs (Lancioni, 1996), commemorative monuments (Blair, 1999), action (Cox, 2006), and music (Gormly, 2003). One could argue that the pervasive normality of music in our everyday lives, coupled with the lack of academic research from a communication perspective, suggests the necessity for such scholarship (Goffman, 1959).

Music is culturally constructed and constituted by the particular social, historical, economic, and technological conditions from and into which the music manifests (Blumer, 1969; Carey, 1975). For example, Schwartz (1997) argued that certain cultural conditions (e.g., stiff job competition, economic (class) strife, and an underlying

conservative fundamentalism) of the 1990s contributed to the popularity of Skinhead and Oi music (which glorify death and genocide) with the European youth sub-culture. Such conditions impact cultural understanding and, thus, the meanings of the content of the music (e.g., the “message”) as well as the form itself (e.g., why one produces and/or consumes music, why one prefers a particular “sound” or genre, as well as why one uses a particular technology to produce, disseminate, and consume). Two ideas emerge here. First, those who produce music are influenced by certain conditions and their music (message) reflects those conditions. Second, those who consume the music are influenced by the conditions and are likely receptive to the music because it reflects the conditions to which they relate.

Culture, the Hate Movement, and Understanding

Understanding is not static; any interpretation regarding the “meaning(s)” of the cultural material or the message(s) expressed therein is contingent upon the cultural perspective from which the message is “read” (Blair & Michel, 1999; Blumer, 1986). Culture, in a sense, provides the ultimate context for its members, as it prescribes particular social discourses—language, meaning, and action—that symbolize the individuals’ relationship with a discursive community (Balthrop, 1984; Geertz, 1973). For example, the terms “illumination” and “White Christian revival” may be innocuous on the surface, yet the terms are part of an effort by the Ku Klux Klan to revise its language to make their hate messages more palatable for mainstream audiences. Without the linguistic “key,” an outsider would not likely decode and interpret “illumination” to

mean “cross burning” or “White Christian revival” to signify a “Racial Holy War (RAHOWA)” between Aryans and non-Whites.

The hate movement is a culture, yet, conceptualizing the hate movement in terms of specific groups or locations can be deceptive. For this reason, the current research does not limit the hate movement simply to specific groups or locations. Instead, the contemporary hate movement is described as existing in five ideological principles: Christian Identity, white supremacy, xenophobia, sexism/heterosexism, and anti-statism (Perry, 2001). These ideologies represent, for the contemporary hate movement, “systems of meaning in which people live in reality, or . . . live their relationship to reality” (Grossberg, Wartella, & Whitney, 1998, p. 191). Grounding the hate movement in terms of ideological principles is particularly useful for the present analysis because it helps illustrate the overlapping cultural perspectives and practices that transcend individuals, groups, national borders (space), and time.

The ideology of Christian Identity is grounded in “a creative reading of biblical scripture, those advocating this perspective claim the white race to be the direct descendants of Ancient Israel, and therefore God’s chosen people” (Perry, 2001, p. 143). Christian Identity ideology underpins specific beliefs about racial others. Hate movement experts Waltman and Davis (2004) described the ideas emanating from Christian Identity:

Specific beliefs within the dogma of Christian Identity are all too familiar: Jews control the banks and are financing a Black revolution in the U.S., Jews are controlling the federal government (the Zionist Occupied Government) to oppress

White people, and Jews wish to perpetuate interracial mixing in order to extinguish the White race. (pp. 6-7)

The second ideology, white supremacy, is a “natural extension of Christian Identity” and proposes that “[w]hether God-given or biologically derived, the white race is deemed inherently superior to all others” (Perry, 2001, p. 145). This perspective lends, for those who subscribe to it, the belief that a racial hierarchy simultaneously justifies the hierarchy as well as the need to protect the hierarchy, typically through violence. Researchers Waltman and Davis (2004) provide an example of this mindset: within the hate movement race mixing “is treated as genocide . . . [and] vilifies the Other and makes violence an acceptable and desirable response” (p. 7).

The third ideology of hate, xenophobia, targets ethnic minorities as well as foreign nationals. This anti-immigrant discourse “seeks to construct immigrants as dangerous Others within” and is evident in references that emphasize group membership as well as a hierarchal ordering of belonging such as “illegal immigrant” and “alien” (Perry, 2001, p. 151). Within the hate movement, xenophobia is expressed—and minorities are vilified—by two main arguments: that immigrants “(a) exploit the welfare system [of the United States] and (b) take jobs from “real” Americans” (Waltman & Davis, 2004, p. 7). It is important to note here that not only are minorities comprising this class vilified, but the arguments implicitly situate these individuals as a direct threat to a white identity.

The fourth ideology of hate identified by Perry is sexism/heterosexism, which is evident in language that is overtly sexist and homophobic (2001, pp. 153-157).

Describing the presence of sexism/heterosexism within the hate movement, Waltman and

Davis (2004) noted that hate groups “see natural distinctions between men and women, much as they see natural distinctions between different races and ethnicities” (p. 7). The researchers continued, describing how the sexist views within the hate movement conceptualize and reduce women to breeders and caregivers: “White women are viewed as the frontline in the genocidal threat to the White race” as they have the ability to produce more white babies (2004, p. 7).

The final ideology of hate outlined by Perry is anti-statism, which opposes and rejects the validity of United States of America as a state as well as the form of government of the United States. Members of the hate movement consider the United States government to be increasingly infiltrated by Jews, making it essentially a Zionist Occupied Government (ZOG). Perry described ZOG as the belief that “The United States’ government embodies the Jewish and communist-inspired liberalism that lies at the root of the threats to the white race” (2001, p. 159). For members of the hate movement there are multiple referents for the rise of ZOG within the United States including advances in civil rights, multiculturalism, welfare programs. Additionally, members of the hate movement consider ZOG to be well ensconced across the various “elements of the State: the media, the federal government, law enforcement agencies” and the education system (Waltman & Davis, 2004, p. 8).

Similar to conceptualizing the hate movement in terms of ideological influences, popular culture is somewhat ethereal and typically discussed as something that is “out there” instead of something in which we participate (more or less). Grossberg (1997) defined popular culture as “a social pastiche, a structured distribution of practices, codes, and effects, constantly rearticulating itself by incorporating pieces of the margins and

excorporating pieces of itself into the margins” (p. 3). The process by which an idea or practice is upswept into popular culture is conceptually similar to Chief Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes’ notion about how we can determine the truth of an idea. In a dissenting opinion in *Abrams v. U.S.* (1919), Justice Holmes set forth that “the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in competition of the market” (250 U.S. 616, at 629). The notion of popular culture as a postmodern marketplace of ideas is widely acknowledged by characterizations of flexibility, fluidity, multiplicity, change, and heterogeneity (versus the singularity, stability, and homogeneity of modernity). Hall (1981) suggested that popular culture is the conceptual space of conflict between postmodernity and modernity:

Popular culture is one of the sites where this struggle for and against a culture of the powerful is engaged: it is also the stake to be won or lost in that struggle. It is the arena of consent and resistance. It is partly where hegemony arises and where it is secured. (p. 239)

The notion of popular culture as the place where hegemonic struggles occur is particularly illustrative when looking at how Prussian Blue draw inspiration from, and attempt to insert themselves into, popular culture.

The process of appropriating mainstream forms of popular culture for political ends is not new and conceptually similar to the way evangelical Christians have attempted to insert their ideology into the cultural mainstream (Gormly, 2003). The attempt to pirate pop culture is ironic, though, since there remains a strong distrust and skepticism of popular culture and mainstream media within the White power community. Similar to some Christian perspectives, pop culture and media are consistently identified

within the hate movement as a corrupting force, positioning popular culture as a direct threat to ones' religious or racial identity, respectively (Phelan, 1980; Schultze, 1996). Drawing on a myth that Jews control mass media, members of the hate movement constantly suggest that media programming is part of a larger, conscious effort to destroy the Aryan race (Davis, 2005; Waltman & Davis, 2004, 2005).

The recognition that the meaning is not intrinsic to the text as well as the fact that the texts do not exist in a cultural vacuum, highlight the importance of exploring these communicative forms. Rhetorical communication scholars Thomas Frenz and Janice Rushing (1993) encapsulate this idea: singular texts often derive their meanings, in part, from antecedent texts. Such a perspective necessarily explores and conceptually couples communicative products with communicative processes. The separation of these two also highlights the dynamic intersection—how they inform and are informed by—ongoing socio-cultural processes. Such a perspective studies particular products and communicative processes within larger systems of reality that can be “located” socially, spatially, culturally, historically, economically, politically, and technologically. Yet, most scholarly research ignores this multi-faceted approach and focuses on music *consumption* rather than music *production*:

Most academic research on everyday music focuses . . . on music listening. But what is equally remarkable is the sheer amount of *music making* in which people are engaged [which is] about enjoying being together in groups, real and imagined. Future research in music and the everyday needs to integrate the study of music making with the study of music use cinema, television, newspapers,

magazines, and advertising are still regarded in the academy as more socially and politically significant than records. (Frith, 2003, p. 100)

White power Music Genres

Prussian Blue is neither the first White power band, nor the first music used to inform the hate movement. The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) identified 4 types of hate music: Racist Oi!/RAC, Hatecore, National Socialist Black Metal Music (NSBM), Nationalist Folk Music (ADL, 2004). The ADL (2004) characterized racist Oi/RAC as “[t]he oldest genre of hate music derived from Oi!, an offshoot of punk music that originated in the 1970s[,] . . . heavily associated with the emerging skinhead subculture.” A second type of hate music identified by the ADL (2004) is Hatecore, which “is essentially a racist version of hardcore punk, a musical subgenre that emerged in the U.S. in the early 1980s. Some hardcore punk musicians later merged it with heavy metal music to create thrash or speed metal.”

The third type of hate music is National Socialist Black Metal Music (NSBM): “NSBM originated in Scandinavia in the late 1980s and still bears that regions’ cultural influences. Sometimes NSBM is less explicitly white supremacist than other subgenres, and often it adds a vehemently anti-Christian component that the other subgenres lack” (ADL, 2004). Finally, Nationalist Folk Music, also known as “National Socialist Folk Music,” is a type of music typically makes reference to “a mythical, often Aryan, Germanic, or otherwise nationalistic past. In such music racism is often implied rather than explicit, . . . [making it] more popular in some European countries such as Germany, where explicitly white supremacist lyrics may be illegal” (ADL, 2004). Beyond these

four types of hate music, the ADL (2004) implied the potential for hate material to imbue other types of music genres as well as the possibility for certain music to be appropriated as hate music by record labels that commercialize hate material: “Almost any type of music can be infused with white supremacist themes. Racist music distributors may sell racist country music or rockabilly, or racist techno or electronica music.” For example, there is nothing preventing a hate group from appropriating the song “Blood Brothers,” written and performed by Bruce Springsteen, as being symbolic of a White person’s (pure) blood ties to other whites, or as being a symbol signifying what people in the hate movement imagine as an impending racial holy war, referred to as RaHoWa (Perry, 2001).

NEW COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY FOR EDUCATING, RECRUITING, AND FUNDING

The hate movement has been quick to adopt and adapt new communication technologies for fund-raising, educating, and recruiting. By 1995 the first hate Web site, “Stormfront,” was available on the World Wide Web, created by white supremacist Don Black (Guttentag & DiPersio, 2003). Following Black’s lead, individuals and groups began “pushing the bounds of free speech” by constructing Web sites to convey their messages of hate (Sheppard, 1997). The efforts of these hatemongers were not insignificant, as they uploaded various ideologies of hate onto the Internet. The extent to which hate groups colonized the Internet via Web sites was evident by 1998, “when the number of hate sites on the Internet jumped by almost 60 per cent” (Southern Poverty Law Center, 1999b). The migration of hate groups onto the Internet served a strategic purpose: to evade government monitoring and legislation against hate motivated crimes

in the 1990s (28 USC 534, *Hate Crime Statistics Act*, 1990). Appropriating Internet technology in the 1990s ensured that hate messages would access a primarily White, middle and upper class audience. In 2000, for example, forty-six per cent (46.1%) of White, non-Hispanic and seventy-nine per cent (79%) of households with a median income of over \$75,000 reported Internet access at home (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

Like Web sites, white power music is being used as a tool to advertise and recruit people to the hate movement. An article published in *The Buffalo News* on April 17, 1997, entitled “Police monitor concert plan to celebrate Hitler,” describes Resistance Records as a record label “run by two shrewd and dedicated neo-Nazis who have mounted the most successful propaganda outlet seen in recent memory” (p. 1B). In the fall of 2004, neo-Nazi recording label Panzerfaust Records launched “Project Schoolyard USA . . . one of the most ambitious efforts in recent memory to recruit young people to the white-power movement[;]” officials report that the campaign distributed approximately 100,000 White power music CDs to schoolchildren (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2004). As this and the proceeding discussion illustrate, there are now various industries that have emerged to commercialize and convey hate messages: novels, films, music, and other sundry ephemera available on the Internet.

Beyond recruiting, white power music represents a source of income for individuals and groups in the hate movement. The White power music industry operating in the United States gained heightened media attention in the 1990s largely because of white power record label called Resistance Records. Becky Baupre (1997) noted in her article in *USA Today*, “Resistance Records Inc., a label that records the white power music of such groups as RAHOWA (Racial Holy War),” was one of the first companies

in the United States to commercialize (i.e., produce, market, and distribute) hate music both on the Internet and offline (p. 6A). By 1996, Resistance Records had established itself as a profitable business, earning a reported \$300,000 per year (Southern Poverty Law Center, 1998). Only two years later Resistance Records was described as “the most lucrative white supremacist enterprise in North America” (Southern Poverty Law Center, 1999a). A raid on Resistance Records in 1999 led to the deportation of the two neo-Nazi founders—both Canadian nationals who moved the business to the United States to evade Canadian anti-hate propaganda laws via First Amendment protection (U.S. CONST. Amend 1). The raid led to the eventual sale of Resistance Records in 1999 to Dr. William Pierce, founder of a white supremacist organization known as National Alliance.

David Pringle (2005a), founder of White Wire Internet Radio, described how Prussian Blue uses various communication technologies to produce and distribute their music as he interviewed the duo in 2005:

And, you know, your videos are great too. You know, one thing I noticed that you guys are doing and I don't know whether you two had anything to do with it—or the people who are helping you out—but, the fact that you have single, downloadable videos on your site, in iPod format, is absolutely cutting edge and that's the future of media. You know, in the future people probably won't even get a CD pressed, it'll just be available electronically and people can buy it and download it.

In a separate interview with April Gaede, Pringle (2005b) described how he's both a consumer and distributor of “pro-White” music: “I'm not really a participant in it—I buy pro-White music. In fact, I have bought *a lot* over the years, and I've distributed a lot. In

fact, I've funded the Anchorage unit exclusively through CD sales for a number of years.”

FIRST AMENDMENT: BASES AND BOUNDARIES

The First Amendment of the Constitution states that “Congress shall make no law establishing religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, abridging the freedom of speech or the press, the right to peaceably assemble, or the freedom to petition the government for a redress of grievances” (U.S. CONST. Amend 1). The absolute-seeming words of the First Amendment were ratified in the Constitution in 1788. Yet, despite the absolute language, the freedoms outlined by the First Amendment—religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition—are subject to limitation. Teeter and Loving (2004) emphasize that the absolute sounding words of the First Amendment have, however, been subject to interpretation by the Court in times of national emergency, functionally facilitating the suppression of expression by the state. In addition to specific “time, place, manner” restrictions on expression (Ward v. Rock Against Racism, 1989) the court has also deemed certain types of content as outside the bounds of First Amendment guarantees; one example of these types of speech includes obscenity (*Roth v. United States*, 354 U.S. 476, 1957).

Although the text of the First Amendment only restricts actions by Congress, the U.S. Supreme Court held in *Gitlow v. New York*, 268 U.S. 652 (1925), that the First Amendment is applicable to the states via the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Drawing from First Amendment theorists, scholars Teeter and Loving have identified four bases, or tenets, of the First Amendment: marketplace of ideas, individual fulfillment, safety valve, and self-governance (Teeter & Loving, 2004, pp. 9-16). In his

dissent in *Abrams v. United States* (1919), Justice Holmes set forth one of the most central ideas that have guided the First Amendment, the concept of the marketplace of ideas. Essentially, Holmes argued that the test for the force or truth of a particular idea is its ability to get itself accepted in the larger marketplace of ideas (*Abrams v. United States*, 1919). A second tenet of the First Amendment is that of individual fulfillment, which Baker (1989), an expert in media communication law, conceptualized as the ability to define oneself publicly (pp. 48-52). A third tenet is the notion that the First Amendment serves as a safety valve. As Teeter and Loving (2004) suggest, the freedom to express ones own ideas provides agency (or at least the appearance thereof) for responding to conditions with which an individual disagrees; in this way, the notion of the safety valve provides an idea that free expression can relieve social tension. Succinctly, such a tenet is fundamental when taking up the question of hate speech. Alexander Meiklejohn (1955) noted that free expression is central to our system of government as well as our ability to participate in that government and argued that government should never restrict speech on a topic on which the voters will vote.

Media law scholars Dwight Teeter and Bill Loving identified four boundary issues related to the First Amendment: liberty versus license, bad tendency, presumed intent, and clear and present danger (Teeter & Loving, 2004, pp. 22-27). The first issue was temporarily resolved in *Near v. Minnesota* 283 U.S. 697 (1931), when the Court overturned an earlier ruling that conceptualized the ability to publish as a “privilege” licensed by the government rather than a “right” (liberty). The *Near* decision concerned *The Saturday Post* in Minnesota that was temporarily barred from publication for being a “nuisance.” The court ultimately held that such action (barring publication) was

unconstitutional (*Near v. Minnesota*, 1931). The second issue, bad tendency, is associated with the *Gitlow v. New York*, 268 U.S. 652 (1925) case. Gitlow and his comrades produced and distributed “the Left Wing Manifesto.” Ultimately, the court upheld earlier decisions denying Gitlow First Amendment protections on grounds that the publication had the potential to inspire bad tendency among others. Gitlow’s conviction under New York’s criminal anarchy statute was an example of that prosecutor’s bad tendency. Under such a scheme, words do not actually have to cause harm; rather, if a court can find that words tend toward a dangerous outcome, then the judgment is sufficient for suppression. In time of war hysteria, innocuous words can lead to imprisonment.

A third boundary issue concerns presumed intent, addressed in *Abrams v. United States* (1919). Abrams and other Russian nationals distributed a slew of pamphlets protesting the United States government exploratory expedition into Russia during WWI. The document did not directly address the ongoing war, but did encourage a labor strike in munitions facilities so that the munitions made manifest by Russian expats would not kill their Russian brethren. The Court upheld Abrams conviction on the grounds that reasonable persons can *presume* that Abrams *intended* to undermine the ongoing war effort. The fourth and final boundary issue concerns the case of *Schenck v. United States*, 249 U.S. 47 (1919). Schenck was arrested, tried, and convicted for distributing leaflets to individuals who had been admitted to the draft, a violation of the 1917 Espionage Act that suppressed dissent that had the potential to undermine the war effort. The court ultimately upheld Schenck’s conviction. The decision is notable for several reasons. First, it was the first of the World War I cases interpreting the First Amendment. Second, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote a unanimous court opinion wherein he crafted the

famous concept of clear and present danger, which established intent as the fundamental test for incitement. Justice Holmes declared:

We admit that in many places and in ordinary times the defendants in saying all that was said in the circular would have been within their constitutional rights. But the character of every act depends upon the circumstances in which it is done. The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theatre and causing a panic. * * * The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree. When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to the effort that their utterance will not be endured. (*Schenck v. United States*, 249 U.S. 47, 1919, at 52)

Regarding the *Schenck* decision, Dwight L. Teeter (2009) emphasized, Justice Holmes' words about the clear and present danger test is, in effect, the point at which the Supreme Court rewrote the First Amendment shifting from "Congress shall make no law" to "except when there is a clear and present danger."

Precedents in Incitement

As legal scholar Jeffery Stone (2004) notes, the fundamental question comes down to expression (advocacy) versus action. Consistent with Stone, former Yale Law professor Thomas Emerson (1970) suggested that only full protection of expression will help fulfill the teleological ideal of a truly democratic United States (p. 17). Given this

perspective, Emerson would likely support the notion that the answer to “bad speech” is more speech. Perhaps the seminal decision to our modern understanding of the First Amendment was crafted by Judge Learned Hand in his opinion in the case of *United States v Nearing* (1918). In the opinion Judge Hand advanced the idea of express advocacy. The essence of the concept is conceptually similar to Holmes’ notion of the ‘marketplace’ and posits that mere abstract advocacy of violence should be protected while express advocacy to immediate and specific acts of violence should not be protected by the First Amendment.

This concept of express advocacy applied to *Whitney v. California* (1927), a case wherein the leader of the Communist Labor Party was charged for advocating violence as a means of accomplishing political change. Ultimately, the Court overturned the earlier ruling, noting that even though the defendant intended to incite violence as a means of political change, the speech was constitutionally protected since there was no clear danger that the expression would precipitate immediate or specific acts of violence.

Yet, in certain cases there are classes of speech that are likely to precipitate an immediate breach of the peace. Such was the case in *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire*, 315 U.S. 568 (1942) when a Jehovah Witness who reportedly caused a public disturbance by denouncing religion as a racket was escorted by a police officer without being informed that he was under arrest. Upon meeting a city official, Chaplinsky, not known for parsing words, accused the official of being a “god damned racketeer and Fascist.” On appeal, the Court upheld Chaplinsky’s conviction and created the “fighting words” doctrine that limited speech that is likely to prompt an immediate response in reasonable men, or an

immediate breach of the peace. In doing so, the ruled that some speech has such “slight social value” that it is beyond First Amendment guarantees.

Noto v. United States, 367 U.S. 290 (1961) also drew upon the ideas set forth by Judge Learned Hand in *United States v. Nearing* and then *Whitney v. California*. Essentially, the decision noted that mere abstract advocacy of violence or violent actions are fundamentally different than preparing a group for violent action and stealing it to such action. The notion that courts must demonstrate a clear link between advocacy and the likelihood of action was then integrated in *Brandenburg v. Ohio*, 395 U.S. 444 (1969), which established the test for incitement.

Brandenburg was a KKK leader in Ohio who, during a televised rant, described the moral necessity for violence as a means of political change. One can intuit the details and respective roles assigned to each race by Brandenburg. Brandenburg was arrested, charged, and convicted of Criminal syndicalism. The “Ohio Criminal syndicalism statute [outlawed] . . . advocating the duty or necessity of crime, violence or unlawful methods of terrorism to accomplish political reform” (Teeter & Loving, 2004, pp. 44-45). On appeal to the Supreme Court the conviction was reversed. In the decision the judges crafted a two-part test for incitement. The Court said that States cannot prohibit advocacy “except where such advocacy is directed to inciting or producing imminent lawless action and is likely to incite or produce such action” (*Brandenburg v. Ohio*, 395 U.S. 444, 1969). Thus, to constitute incitement there must be 1) intent to incite violence and 2) the likelihood that the speech will incite violence. Given these conditions, the court overturned Brandenburg’s conviction on the grounds that, despite the intent for

inciting violence, the advocacy was too abstract and, thus, not likely to predicate specific acts of violence.

Incitement and media

The question of incitement and the Brandenburg test have been applied to a variety of media with various results. In general, these cases position media as a fundamental cause of some harm. The case of *Eimann v. Soldier of Fortune Magazine, Inc.* (1989) concerned an classified advertisement placed in a swarthy magazine that advertised a certain individuals' military training, skills, and interests regarding "high risk assignments." The advertisement led to several murders. However, the court ultimately ruled that *Soldier of Fortune Magazine* had no duty not to publish the article because the classified ad was worded "innocuously." The same magazine was, again, subject to a case involving a classified ad related to murder.

The case of *Braun v. Soldier of Fortune Magazine*, 968 F.2d 1110 (11th Cir.1992) and the subsequent decision was distinct from the first case, however. The classified ad in question included the words "Hitman" and "all jobs considered." Ultimately, *Soldier of Fortune* was found to have responsibility because the advertisement was not mere abstract advocacy and communicated a particular intent for committing acts of violence. Similarly, a case *Paldin v. Rice*, 523 U.S. 1074 (1998) found the distributor of a hitman handbook, a how to guide for committing murder, partially responsible for several murders. The court ruled that the book extended beyond theoretical advocacy and since the distributor marketed the book, it could be presumed that the distributor had the intent of promoting violent acts.

Beyond publications, music, musicians, and lyrics have been the focus of incitement cases. One case, *McCollum v. CBS, Inc.*, 202 Cal.App.3d 989 (1988), involved the song “Suicide Solution” by Ozzy Osbourne. Ultimately, the music was not considered incitement (protected) because the defense failed to show Osbourne’s intent or that the song was the direct cause of the teenager’s suicide.

Another case involves the music of Judas Priest. In *Vance v. Judas Priest*, 16 Med.L.Rptr. 2241, 2257 (1989) there was a question whether Judas Priest imbued their lyrics with subliminal messages. Such messages could be construed as ‘intended’ messages. However, the case failed to prove that Judas Priest included subliminal messages or that the music directly caused the enactment of the suicide pact formed by Vance and his associate. Finally, in *Pahler v. Slayer*, 29 Med.L.Rptr 2627 (2001) the parents of Elyse Pahler filed a wrongful death suit concerning the rape, torture, and subsequent murder of their daughter Elyse. It was suggested that the three men who murdered Pahler listened to Slayer music and that they believed that such an act would promote their career in death metal. In the decision, the Court applied the test established in *Brandenburg*, noting: “it must appear that the Slayer lyrics (1) were directed and intended to cause listeners to commit specific criminal acts; and (2) that they were likely to produce the violent acts urged by the speaker” (*Pahler v. Slayer*, 29 Med.L.Rptr 2627, 2001).

In an intriguing and significant decision, the judge emphasized that [lyrics] “cannot be considered to contain the requisite “call to action” for the elementary reason that they are simply not intended to be and should not be read literally on their face, nor judged by the standards of prose oratory” (*Pahler v. Slayer*, 29 Med.L.Rptr 2627, 2001).

Ultimately, the Court ruled that while Slayer lyrics are vile, they are abstract and cannot be said to constitute the requisite immediate call to action required by the test for incitement.

Free Expression and Restrictions on Hate Speech

The ideas expressed above are rearticulated by hate speech scholars who argue that freedom of expression has the potential to limit the freedom of others to express their ideas within the public sphere. For example, legal scholar Martha Zingo (1998) suggests that issues of equality are consistently subverted as hate speech enjoys First and Fourteenth Amendment protections (p. 23). Here Zingo identifies the irony of hate speech: it silences and subjugates minorities, denying them the freedoms guaranteed by the first and fourteenth amendments and, in the end, subvert the very values that underlie the First Amendment.

There are three cases that illustrate the implications and likely outcomes of codes and ordinances that place limits on speech on the basis of the subject it addresses or presumed intent. First, *Beauharnais v. Illinois*, 343 U.S. 250 (1952) the leader of the White Circle League distributed pamphlets advocating the need to forcibly resist the incursion of blacks on whites. Citing a history of racial tension, the courts upheld *Beauharnais*' conviction. More recent developments have protected expressions of hate. In the case of *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul*, 505 U.S. 377 (1992) a 17-year-old burned a cross on a black family's private property (yard). The teen was charged, tried, and convicted in accordance with a Minnesota Bias Motivated Crimes Ordinance. On appeal, the court ruled that the Minnesota ordinance prohibited speech solely based on the subject it

addresses and, thus, ruled the Ordinance unconstitutional (functionally protecting hate speech).

Similarly, the case of *Virginia v. Black*, 538 U.S. 343 (2003) involved a Virginia statute that banned the burning of crosses on public, private, or on highways. Moreover, the statute established that any cross burning would be considered, a priori, to be intended to intimidate and incite. Ultimately, the court ruled the Virginia statute unconstitutional. The court recognized the history of cross burning as a means of racial intimidation. Additionally, the court suggested that a statute banning the burning of crosses with the intent to intimidate would be constitutional. However, the court noted that any statute that conceptualized advocacy or action as intended, a priori, to intimidate or incite is unconstitutional because it fails to account for the (supposed) multiple meanings and intensions that may underlie the burning of a cross. It is this last case that proves particularly intriguing when considering the First Amendment and implications for music and lyrics of Prussian Blue.

Art, Hate Speech, or Something Else?

As the example of Resistance Records suggests, the laws of some countries do not support the production and distribution of hate music as broadly as does the First Amendment of the United States. An interesting aspect of the First Amendment guarantees related to hate music concern the profits associated with the sale and distribution of hate music. Being “protected” and publicly available for sale makes it more likely that white power record companies and music groups, such as Resistance Records and Prussian Blue, will have to pay some component of their profits to the

federal government as sales tax and corporate operating costs. Thus, while the proceeds from the sale of white power music are likely redirected back to support hate movement activities, the First Amendment also tangentially guarantees that some portion of the proceeds are not going back into the hate movement but, rather, the U.S. Treasury.

The legal character of hate music in the United States is one of the most notable differences between hate movement activities in the United States and abroad. An editorial article entitled “Music, Money and Murder” written by Mark Potok of the Southern Poverty Law Center in 2000 identified how the illegal sale of hate music in Europe plays a significant role in funding the hate movement:

Thanks largely to the fact that neo-Nazi propaganda is illegal in much of Europe, the music of bands . . . is extremely lucrative. By banning it and therefore relegating its distribution to criminals, the European authorities have virtually guaranteed that the profit margins for underground sales are enormous — much as those for illegal liquor sales during Prohibition were. In fact, these profits are now . . . financing much of the European neo-Nazi movement. (Potok, 2000)

In addition to hidden profits, one could argue that those countries and continents that suppress hate speech and/or white power music simultaneously hide dangerous ideas from view and critical examination. Ideas driven underground may be more threatening to societies in the long run.

CHAPTER III

MATERIALS AND METHODS

This study relied on theoretical sampling to collect publicly available qualitative data related to Prussian Blue. The researcher then engaged in a textual analysis, informed by grounded theory approach to coding qualitative data, to describe, explain, and understand the interplay among the musical form, communication technology, and the U.S. hate movement. The assumptions of the qualitative perspective, method of data collection, and the method of data analysis are described more fully below.

Theoretical Basis: The Qualitative Perspective

Two general approaches to research can be identified as qualitative and quantitative approaches. The fundamental differences between these approaches are the assumptions about reality, which have direct implications for the methods chosen for each approach. Qualitative research assumes multiple, varied realities, while quantitative research assumes that there is a single, stable, and knowable reality. Such assumptions structure the questions asked about the nature of reality, the answers available (predicated on the questions) and the types of phenomena under investigation.

Qualitative research, predicated on an assumption of multiple realities, seeks understanding from an insiders' perspective (Taylor, 1994, p. 268). For this reason, qualitative research is typically identified as informing and informed by the humanistic and hermeneutic traditions (Wood, 2004, pp. 33-35). Such a perspective encourages the researcher (i.e., the "instrument") to recognize that what people say matters, people have free will, and context is important. It also recognizes that "research participants" provide

emic language (text and talk produced by those who participate in the culture and/or movement), lending the researcher a cultural perspective from which they attempt to understand the world similar to the way members of the focal culture might. Data are said to be soft, rich, real, deep, lived and, thus, empirical; all is grounded in observation and experience (Taylor, 1994). The researcher, as a subjective position, uses requisite insight to interpret meaning and, thus, understand the focal phenomena. In this way, one could argue that the researcher's insight leads to a truth (but not one single, knowable truth) and that the research is process oriented with the goal of liberation. Data proceed theory; which is to say, data are used to build theory. In this way, qualitative research rejects the imposition of *a priori* theories onto data. The consequent theory building is conceptually similar to grounded theory and substantive theory. Substantive theory focuses on cultural/social/historical empirical developments as a way to better understand data and, consequently, describe social reality. Discussing how individuals come to know and, thus, understand phenomena, Nietzsche (1956) suggested:

All seeing is essentially perspective, and so is all knowing. The more emotions we allow to speak on a given matter, the more different eyes we can put on in order to view a given spectacle, the more complete will be our conceptualization of it, the greater our 'objectivity.' (p. 255)

Here, it is important to note the conceptual similarity between Nietzsche's notion of "objectivity" and the qualitative researcher's belief in "authenticity."

The current study drew upon insights garnered from the researcher's previous experience analyzing and critiquing cultural texts that inform the ideas and actions of the hate movement (Davis, 2005; Waltman & Davis, 2004, 2005). Glaser and Strauss (1967)

argued that researchers can use their own personal experiences (e.g., social, cultural, historical) to provide insight when interpreting and understanding social collectives, their members, and the cultural material informing them. Dilthy (1961) articulated:

“[m]ankind becomes the subject matter of the human studies only because the relation between experience, expression, and understanding exists” (p. 71). He continued:

Interpretation would be impossible if expressions of life were completely strange. It would be unnecessary if nothing strange were in them. It lies, therefore, between these two extremes. It is always required where something strange is to be grasped through the art of understanding. (p. 77)

One could argue that this field of experience engenders a unique position, situating the researcher as an instrument for insight and interpretation authenticated by the attempt to get “close to the phenomenon [to gather] real, rich, deep, and thick” understandings grounded in everyday life (Taylor, 1994, p. 268).

Data Collection: Theoretical Sampling

These assumptions underlie various methods that help researchers maintain subjectivity and agency of themselves and participants recognize the importance and fluidity of cultural milieu, and be aware of the inherent interpretation and translation involved in research. Such methods include participant observation (Lofland, 1976; Philipsen, 1975), in-depth interviews (McCraken, 1988), focus groups (Madriz, 2000; Morgan, 1996), case studies (Stake, 1978), and textual analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Like theoretical sampling, textual analysis is a cumulative, emergent, flexible, and analytic process that positions the researcher (i.e., the instrument) as an intrinsic and

meaningful part of the research process (Dilthy, 1962; Glasser & Strauss, 1967). Thus, textual analysis, as a method of qualitative research, has clear potential for building (grounded) theory (Charmaz, 1983; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Because no single text fully represents a members' perspective on White power music, this research used theoretical sampling to recover text and talk about White power music from a variety of publicly available sources (Hodder, 2000). As Strauss and Corbin (1998) noted, "Theoretical sampling is important when exploring new or uncharted areas because it enables the researcher to choose those avenues of sampling that can bring about the greatest theoretical return" (p. 202). Theoretical sampling is different than the methods of quantitative sampling in that theoretical samples do not attempt to secure a subset of a larger whole for the purpose of generalization. Yet, theoretical sampling, like quantitative sampling procedures, involves the purposeful and deliberate collection of empirical data, driven by the questions posed by the researcher. Because theoretical sampling is a cumulative, emergent, flexible, and analytic process of discovery that relies on a researcher's observational and interpretative skills, theoretical sampling is best positioned to help better describe, explain, and understand the phenomena surrounding Prussian Blue (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

The theoretical sampling procedures yielded various types of qualitative data concerning the group Prussian Blue and their music. This research focused specifically on publicly available texts, such as the Prussian Blue Web site (www.prussianblue.net). After the completion of data collection, during the writing of this dissertation the Prussian Blue Web site became unavailable. When it first became unavailable the user was redirected to a Web page that identified some the sites' temporary unavailability due to

technology or payment issues. At the time of this writing, that status has changed and is being forwarded to a white power music distributor called Micetrap Distribution (www.micetrap.net). One might suggest that the current U.S. economic crisis has impacted the ability of Prussian Blue to retain server hosting due to the monthly cost. The disappearance of the site, however, did not impact this research because data collection was complete prior to this issue. Additionally, the researcher had made a full copy of the Prussian Blue Web site, saving it to a computer hard drive as a precaution should the site crash. This further illustrates the potential pitfalls of doing academic research on the “moving target” of Internet content (McMillan, 2000, p. 80).

The Prussian Blue official Web site (www.prussianblue.net) appears both organized and professional. The banner at the top identifies the site as “The Official Prussian Blue Web Site,” juxtaposing the dated (noticeably younger) images of Lynx and Lamb Gaede. The font of “Prussian Blue” in the banner is conspicuously different from the other words in the banner both larger in size and more stylized. Directly below the banner are a variety of links to other Web pages comprising the site including a “Store” page, a “Downloads” page, a “Forums” page, a “Blog” page, and a “Fan Mail” page. For example, the main page of the Web site contained links to subsequent Web pages (within the same Web site). Prussian Blue Web site provided a number of heuristic directions for additional data collection.

Three Web pages within the Prussian Blue Web site contained fan mail; the first fan mail page contained 36 postings, the second fan mail page contained 28 postings, and the third fan mail page contained 11 postings. The researcher retained all seventy-five (n=75) fan postings as qualitative data; none required additional transcription. The

Prussian Blue “Downloads” Web page offers 6 Prussian Blue “singles” (individual songs from the album) for free download. The singles available for download were “Gone with the Breeze,” “I Will Bleed For You,” “Stand Up,” “The Stranger,” “When I’m With You,” and “Your Daddy.” Each of these songs were downloaded onto the researcher’s computer and transcribed by the researcher.

The Web site also contained various external hyperlinks, such as the one that directed readers to Prussian Blue’s Blog. As this research is being written, the Prussian Blue Blog remains available and active. The Blog contains a variety of qualitative data including photographs and narratives about Lynx and Lamb. Other hyperlinked information is available on the Web site in a section labeled “Discography,” which highlights some of Prussian Blue’s most notable media coverage. This bibliography included hyperlinks to a 2005 phone interview that Lynx, Lamb, and April conducted with David Pringle of White Wire Radio, an Internet racist radio station affiliated with the Neo-Nazi organization Stormfront. Clicking on the link to the interview opened an audio file containing each of the interviews—one with Lynx and Lamb, another interview with their mother (April). The researcher downloaded and transcribed those two interviews, each one-hour in duration, yielding two hours of uncut and uninterrupted qualitative interview data.

The bibliography on the Web site also made reference to the documentary that Prussian Blue participated in, conducted by Louis Theroux with the BBC (Theroux, 2003) as well as the interview conducted by Aaron Gell published in *Gentlemen’s Quarterly* magazine (Gell, 2006). Each of these documents (magazine article and documentary film) were available on the Internet, accessed through a simple Internet

search conducted on www.google.com. A simple Internet search for “Prussian Blue,” using Google search engine, also revealed additional interviews including one conducted by and later published in *Vice Magazine* (Pearson, 2004), and a more recent documentary film focusing directly on Prussian Blue entitled *Nazi Pop Twins* (Quinn, 2007), conducted by BBC correspondent James Quinn. Again, both the article and film were publicly available for free download on the Internet.

Both documentary films *Nazi Pop Twins* (Quinn, 2007) and *Louis and the Nazis* (Theroux, 2003) were available at www.youtube.com. Each film was downloaded before they were subsequently removed from YouTube for “terms of use violations” (presumably related to the content). The researcher transcribed all interview narratives contained in each documentary film. This yielded an additional cache of qualitative interview data from Lynx, Lamb, and April Gaede for this analysis. YouTube also provides access to a variety of Prussian Blue music videos (texts) with corresponding commentary. Some of the comments are about the band, while other comments concern the video. Those music videos as well as the viewer responses represent additional sets of texts retained for this analysis. Additionally, the researcher conducted a search using LexisNexis Academic for transcripts containing the terms “Prussian Blue,” “Lynx,” “Lamb,” “April,” and “Gaede” within the full text article. The transcript search was limited to any documents containing those terms published within the last ten years, since the ten-year designation encompasses and extends beyond the initial formation of the band. The LexisNexis Academic transcript search yielded sixty (n=60) transcripts. Each of the transcripts were retained for analysis, none of the reports required additional transcription.

Two attempts were made via letter to contact April Gaede (legal guardian of Lynx and Lamb Gaede) in order to gain access for conducting in-depth interviews. However, Ms. Gaede did not respond to the interview requests. Consequently, in-depth interviews conducted by this researcher were not a component of this project. Additionally, repeated attempts to identify upcoming Prussian Blue concerts were unsuccessful, prohibiting data collection through participant observation. Yet, because the texts collected and analyzed in this study are archived and available to the general public, this material is “the equivalent of a collection of interviews or field notes” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, pp. 61-62, 111-112). The range and diversity of the theoretical sample (i.e., cultural material collected for the present study) makes the process of triangulation useful for this analysis. Hansen, Cottle, Negrine, and Newbold (1998) define triangulation as a process whereby “claims and accounts produced from one source can be contrasted to those from another. Consistencies can be recognized and interpreted, discrepancies or differences can be pursued further, but all in pursuit of deeper, more valid, interpretations” (pp. 44-45). As the researchers indicate, this process of discovery and evaluation further bolsters the authenticity of the research.

Data Analysis: Textual, Inductive, and Grounded

This textual analysis relied on inductive analysis informed by the grounded theory approach to coding qualitative data (see Lindlof & Taylor, 2002; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Grounded theory analysts comb data for emergent themes that reflect key concepts and ideas within the text. The process of constant comparative analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), allows researchers to continually reshape and refine categories. Thus,

ideas garnered from further textual analysis are judged against, and used to reanalyze categories constructed early in the research process. This mode of analysis compels researchers to revisit interpretations of early categorizations through the lens of what emerges later in the research process (Charmaz, 1983; Lempert, 1996). Such an approach recognizes inherent value in exploring social phenomena *sine a priori* theory to curb the generalizations associated with “grand” theory (Mills, 1959).

Grounded theory and inductive analysis are useful in research projects that are not explained well by an existing theoretical lens. In spite of that, there remain several heuristic directions that drive the current research. Some of those directions include:

RQ1: What hate movement symbols, iconography, or references are evident in Prussian Blue music and/or everyday talk?

RQ2: How do Lynx and Lamb talk about the music they make and the purpose/role/significance of their music.

RQ3: How does April talk about the music her daughters make, and the purpose/role/significance of that music.

RQ4: How do fans talk about the music that Prussian Blue makes and the purpose/role/significance of the music according to the fans.

As discussed above, hate movement discourse is coded and not easily deciphered by those unfamiliar with their emic language. Such coded discourse made it difficult for a “second coder” to draw similar conclusions from the data without knowing the emic symbols. To address this knowledge gap on the part of a second coder, this research provided a “trail of evidence,” comprised of ten percent of the data as well as a list of symbols and culture specific (insider) meaning to a second coder. This additional coding

procedure helped validate the findings as being a reasonable and authentic representation of the data.

Finally, just as the texts for this analysis represent somewhat of a moving target, the individuals being studied have the potential to evolve as well. Over the past eight years Lynx and Lamb went from 8 year olds to teenagers. Attempting to understand and represent the world from their perspective, then, represents something of a moving target as well. At the same time, however, the span of time, age, and experience has the potential to illuminate both consistencies and changes in their music, identity, and perspective across that time period.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This research addresses both theoretical and pragmatic issues with respect to the study of White power music. On a theoretical level, existing academic literature fails to consider seriously the meaning of music-making to those who produce music. To address the research question, the researcher employed theoretical sampling to collect empirical data (e.g., text and talk) about the meaning of White power music to those who make that communicative material (music). Inductive analysis, informed by grounded theory, was used to analyze, describe and explain the dominant themes and threads connecting the texts to “build theory.”

This chapter is divided into five sections. The first section reviews the consistencies between Prussian Blue discourse and the ideologies, symbols, and members of the contemporary hate movement. The second section explores the significance, role, and meaning of Prussian Blue from the perspective of band members Lamb and Lynx Gaede. The third section reviews and describes Prussian Blue from the perspective of April, mother of Lynx and Lamb as well as the manager of Prussian Blue. The fourth section reviews Prussian Blue from the perspective of fans of the group. The fifth and final section of this chapter focuses on contradictory narratives from Lynx and Lamb regarding their music and “activism.” These narratives begin to suggest the possibility that Lynx and Lamb’s music and worldview are currently evolving, becoming more diverse and less grounded in racial fundamentalism.

A CONVERGENCE OF IDEOLOGIES AND DISCOURSES

Prussian Blue is important to study for three reasons: Lynx and Lamb have a history of glorifying Hitler and Nazism, denying the Holocaust, and a connection to high-profile figures within the hate movement.

A History of Glorifying Hitler and Nazism

First, the members of Prussian Blue (and their mother) have an extensive history of celebrating Adolf Hitler, the author of *Mein Kampf*. In an interview with Cynthia McFadden on *ABC Primetime* in 2006, Lynx and Lamb discussed their perspective on Hitler. Referring to Hitler, Lamb explained, “I think that he had—he wanted to preserve his race . . . I think he had a good belief” (McFadden, 2006). Building upon her sister’s remarks, Lamb affirmed, “Yeah. I think [Hitler] had a lot of good ideas” (McFadden, 2006).

Perhaps the most notorious symbolic reference Lynx and Lamb have made to Hitler is a photograph of the girls accompanying the 2006 article written by Aaron Gell, published in *Gentlemen’s Quarterly* magazine. In the photograph, the twins stand shoulder to shoulder, one sister with her arm around the other, and each smiling into the lens. The wholesome and youthful appearance of the girls is simultaneously complemented by and contrasted with the image on each of the girls’ white T-shirts. The image on each shirt appropriates the traditional “smiley face” adding two symbols. The first symbol is a small black rectangle situated over the smile of the smiley face, while the other symbol, a black triangle, is skewed to the left side of the smiley faces’ forehead.

When combined the smiley face resemble the likeness of Hitler (see Figure 1). April described the T-shirt to James Quinn (2007):

It's a famous t-shirt. You know, I really, honestly still don't know why people don't find this hilariously funny. You add a little triangle, and a little rectangle there and all of a sudden people, "ooohhhh this is scary, scary, scary.." It's just funny. It's just kind of funny.

In fact, it was this strange mix of virtue and vice that Aaron Gell (2006) described in the article: "It's that eerie combination of darkness and light, of goofy innocence and twisted menace, that makes Prussian Blue like a scary clown, which might explain why the sparkly eighth graders have been transformed into internationally recognized spokeskids for hate" (p. 210). Other symbolic references to Nazism are evident in Prussian Blue songs, such as the song entitled "Sacrifice," which celebrated Nazi Rudolph Hess (considered within the hate movement to be a racial martyr). The lyrics described Hess: "Rudolph Hess, a man of Peace. He wouldn't give up he wouldn't cease, he gave his loyalty to our Cause. Remember him and give a pause" (Prussian Blue, 2004a). The repeated commemoration of Nazi leaders by Prussian Blue in interview and song are neither isolated events nor matter of precipitous coincidence; rather, they represent a pattern.

The Band Name: Signifying Holocaust Denial

The second reason why Prussian Blue warrant investigation is the name of the band, "Prussian Blue," which is, within hate movement vernacular, a coded reference to Holocaust denial. Those familiar with the hate movement acknowledge that Holocaust



Figure 1. Lynx and Lamb Gaede, in *Gentlemen's Quarterly* (2006)

denial is pervasive throughout hate movement discourse (Perry, 2001; Waltman & Davis, 2004). Technically, Prussian blue refers to the bluish residue left following contact with cyanide (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2007). Yet, the substance holds a special meaning for members of the contemporary hate movement. White supremacists typically make reference to (the lack of) Prussian blue in the gas chambers at Nazi concentration camps to deny the Holocaust. Band members Lynx and Lamb described their rationale for naming their group Prussian Blue during an interview with Jesse Pearson from *Vice Magazine* in 2004. Lynx and Lamb explain,

Part of our heritage is Prussian German. Also our eyes are blue, and Prussian Blue is just a really pretty color. There is also the discussion of the lack of “Prussian Blue” coloring (Zyklon B residue) in the *so-called* gas chambers in the concentration camps. We think it might make people question some of the inaccuracies of the “Holocaust” *myth* [emphasis added]. (Pearson, 2004)

As the quote suggests, the choice to name a band Prussian Blue is a symbolic nod that, drawing upon “insider” language, implicitly questions the events surrounding the Holocaust and, in doing so, communicates to the larger hate movement a shared skepticism. Thus, the choice to name the band Prussian Blue is both strategic and meaningful as it signifies to members of the hate movement the presence of a pro-Aryan message while simultaneously commemorating the Nazi actions during the Holocaust. Such a perspective begins to more fully illustrate the convergence between the ideologies grounding the ideas and actions of Prussian Blue and those ideologies informing the contemporary hate movement.

Cultivating Relationships with High-Profile Haters

The third reason that Prussian Blue warrant critical investigation is their known connection to high-profile individuals within the hate movement. Prussian Blue fostered relationships with some of the most notorious hatemongers and hate groups. Prussian Blue found early ideological and financial support from Dr. William Pierce, a former engineering professor, who was particularly good at disseminating his neo-Nazi message through various media. Dr. William Pierce gained notoriety within the hate movement, and later the mainstream U.S., as the author of the novels *The Turner Diaries* (1979) and *Hunter* (1989) under the pseudonym Andrew Macdonald. Both books played a central role in the conceptualization and planning of the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing (Zuckerman, 1997a, b). In an interview prior to his death Pierce described his rationale for writing the novels:

Fiction or drama . . . gets much more inside the head of the person experiencing it because the reader or viewer identifies with the character. Seeing the reaction to *The Turner Diaries*, I then wrote a second novel, *Hunter*, so that I could carry my readers through a process of development. I tried to make *Hunter* much more an educational novel. (Guttentag & DiPersio, 2003)

It is important to note here that the “education” Pierce describes involves the deification of the Aryan identity as well as the demonizing of racial other. That process, for readers, has the potential to serve as an ethereal logic that justifies ethnviolence as an act of protection from threatening racial others (Davis, 2005; Waltman & Davis, 2004). The retail success of those novels served as a consistent source of revenue for Pierce and his neo-Nazi organization called National Alliance based in West Virginia. The novels also

aided Pierce in recruiting card-carrying (and dues-paying) members to his organization. The dramatic action depicted in *The Turner Diaries* spurred a variety of copycat organizations and actions within the 1980s and 1990s. One such group was known as The Order, based on a fictional group of the same name depicted in *The Turner Diaries*.

In the 1980s The Order, also known as the “Silent Brotherhood,” was responsible for a string of armored vehicle robberies that nabbed more than four million dollars. The group was also responsible for the high-profile murder of Alan Berg, a Jewish talk show host. There remains strong speculation that the money from those heists came back to Pierces’ National Alliance in the form of cash donations, empowering Pierce to purchase a large tract of land in Hillsboro, West Virginia that would later become—and remains—the National Alliance compound.

It is likely that those funds also facilitated Pierce’s subsequent investment in other methods for disseminating his neo-Nazi message, such as his purchase of Resistance Records in 1999 for nearly \$250,000. The recording contract with Resistance Records in 2001 further ensconced Prussian Blue within the realm of the hate movement. Prussian Blue emphasized their relationship with and respect for William Pierce in their song entitled “Sacrifice.” The text of the final verse is as follows: “Dr. Pierce, a man so wise, helped so many of us open our eyes, see the future for what it could be: a future for our Race’s eternity” (Prussian Blue, 2004a).

Not only did Prussian Blue cultivate a connection with Dr. William Pierce, they also pursued a relationship with one of the most notable members of “The Order,” David Lane. Lane was tried and convicted for the 1984 murder of Alan Berg. By the time Lynx and Lamb became affiliated with David Lane he was in the midst of serving a one-

hundred-and-ninety year prison sentence in Colorado's Supermax prison—the same prison that would later hold Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols, co-conspirators in the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing. During his incarceration, until his death in May of 2007, David Lane continued to inform the ideological direction of the hate movement. His notoriety was magnified, for example, when he released the now infamous “14 Words” mantra (“We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children”) that continues to ground the contemporary hate movement in both idea and action.

Considering his limited contact with the outside world, it should come as no surprise that David Lane welcomed and even encouraged the correspondence with young Lynx and Lamb through both telephone calls and letters. In fact, Lane consistently submitted suggestions for Prussian Blue lyrics and co-wrote one song with Lamb entitled, “Lamb near the Lane” (Prussian Blue, 2004b). British filmmaker James Quinn released a documentary in 2007 wherein he films and interviews Lynx, Lamb, and their mother April. In one scene Quinn records a phone conversation between the Gaede's and David Lane. Lane said:

When the girls were little they were like daughters or something . . . now they're growing into women and, being a natural male it's . . . you know, the daughters . . . well you know what I'm trying to say. They're like sisters, daughters, fantasy sweethearts, I don't know what else. The most important thing in my life right now is to be a good teacher to them. (Quinn, 2007)

The subtext of sexual interest here is disturbing considering Lynx and Lamb's age (at that time they were fifteen); the simultaneous sexist subjectivity and objectification evident in Lane's narrative is consistent with ideologies (i.e., heterosexism) imbuing the

contemporary hate movement (Perry, 2001). Still, this suggests a new role for Lynx and Lamb as they continue to get older: sexual icons for the hate movement.

David Lane died of a seizure in an Indiana prison on May 28th, 2007. Of Lane's passing, the following was written on the Prussian Blue Blog:

We deeply miss our friend, his phone calls and letters and his constant good humor despite the horrible conditions he was enduring. No matter what your opinion is of the crimes that he was being punished for, no true racially conscious White person can fail to understand the importance of his contributions to our cause through his writings and especially the 14 words. "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children."

Like other white power bands, Prussian Blue songs also celebrate other fundamental members of the hate movement including Robert "Bob" Mathews, the founding member of The Order. Bob Mathews is frequently identified within the hate movement as a martyr because of the circumstances surrounding his death. Following a string of armed vehicle robberies and ongoing counterfeiting operations, Mathews was surrounded by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation at a "safe house" in the state of Washington in 1984. The event quickly turned into a standoff between FBI agents and Mathews, leading to Matthews' death. The following quote from the Supreme White Alliance Web site encourages readers to "remember our heroes," while describing the circumstances surrounding Bob Mathews death:

Robert Jay Mathews was killed in action fighting for over 24 hours in the midst of a hail of bullets and surrounded by over 75 government agents on Whidbey Island in December 1984. The Federal dogs eventually set fire to the cabin with the aid

of a helicopter gunship, burning Robert Matthews alive with weapon in hand. He remained faithful to our cause until the end. Robert Matthews died a hero and a martyr to our Race. God rest his soul. (Supreme White Alliance, 2006)

The same type of commemoration of Matthews' life and death is evident throughout the Prussian Blue song celebrating him entitled "Gone With the Breeze:"

You stood against lies. You would never hide. You stood face to face with the enemy, the enemy. Against all the odds, dangerous paths you trod. You knew it could only end in tragedy, in tragedy. (Prussian Blue, 2004c)

The lyrics of the chorus assure listeners that those martyrs will be commemorated:

"You're gone with the breeze. But you left a lot of people who loved you. You're gone with the breeze, but we'll remember you, remember you" (Prussian Blue, 2004c). The text of the last verse of that song is as follows:

All ends in devastation, for a man who loved his Nation. Another warrior they took away. Yeah, they took you away. In our hearts you did not die. Forevermore your flag will fly. One day the land will stand in your memory Robert Mathews. (Prussian Blue, 2004c)

The glorification of racial martyrdom is also evident in the Prussian Blue song entitled "Sacrifice," which opens with the following lyrics:

He fought so strong for our race. We're finally back in our place. It took his life, my dear son, and now it's over the war is won. Our Race was saved because the lives that were sacrificed: those men that died. (Prussian Blue, 2004a)

The ideas expressed in this verse, as well as the relationships with key "martyr heroes" of the hate movement, demonstrate how Prussian Blue actively cultivated an identity that

would be symbolic to individuals and groups participating within the hate movement. In this way, one can see a patterned confluence of ideology and discourse among Prussian Blue music and the hate movement becomes apparent.

NATIONALIST FOLK MUSIC TO POP MUSIC

Prussian Blue's initial album, *Fragment of the Future* (2004), was heavily influenced by the Nationalist Folk genre. Lamb played acoustic guitar while Lynx played acoustic violin. Even the album cover drew symbolic reference to Nationalist Folk; Lynx and Lamb stand simply in a field of flowers, smiling, and each dressed in plain German/Nordic outfits. The font of the lettering on the album cover, reading "Prussian Blue," also reflects a Nordic/German symbolism (see Figure 2). While the writing and picture on the cover clearly evokes images of Nordic or Prussian folk, there was, at the same time, a strategic choice not to include national socialist symbolism. Aware of the strong anti-hate material laws of Germany, the mother (and band manager) describes the constraints on the packaging of the compact disk in an interview with Louis Theroux in 2004, "We've been making sure there are no National Socialist emblems on it so it can



Figure 2. Album Cover. Prussian Blue, *Fragment of the Future*, (2004)

be sold in Germany It's okay to have the word "Aryan" But we won't have pictures of Grandpa's cattle brand in there" (Theroux, 2007). April later notes that "there's a really cute picture of Lamb and Lynx saluting. We'll take that out" (Theroux, 2007). Here it's important to note that April's reference to "saluting" is a coded reference to the Nazi practice of saluting Hitler while saying "Sieg Heil." Beyond illustrating why Prussian Blue would need to remove the symbolism of Grandpa's cattle brand or salutes to sell the CD in Germany, the interview also demonstrates the coded language and symbols grounding this discourse community.

Some might argue that Prussian Blue continues to be a Nationalist Folk Music band. Yet, Prussian Blue's follow-up album represents a clear break with the Nationalist Folk Music genre. The acoustic sounds have been replaced by amplified sound; Lamb moved from acoustic to electric guitar while Lynx moved from violin to bass guitar. The duo described the shifting sound to Aaron Gell in a 2007 interview: "We're getting away from that folkie sound, hoping to appeal more to kids," Lamb says, snacking on Red Bull and Cheetos. "It's more pop punk." To that end, Lynx recently put aside the violin to concentrate on the bass." This modern move from folk to pop-rock is mirrored in the album cover. The image is less "staged" and Lynx and Lamb are visibly older—each wearing a tank top with their blond wispy hair hanging long. The font of the text, reading "PRUSSIAN BLUE: The path we chose" is contemporary block lettering (see Figure 3).

The image and text, like the music, appear sanitized for a more widespread, popular appeal—a stark contrast from White power music groups that have historically cultivated a death metal or punk sound. Thus, Prussian Blue should be credited for extending White power music into a new, more mainstream musical genre: pop-rock.



Figure 3. Album Cover. Prussian Blue, *The Path We Chose*, (2005)

The mainstreaming of Prussian Blue message was accomplished two ways. First, was through mass media attention. Aaron Gell (2006) recalls a conversation with April Gaede about inserting Prussian Blue into the public sphere: “Primetime mainstreamed us!” April marvels. “I don’t think a white-pride band has ever gotten this kind of media attention before. I mean, these two girls have become some of the most powerful people in white nationalism” (p. 112). The second way that the message of Prussian Blue was thrust forth within the cultural public was through their popular sound and innocuous lyrics. Mother/manager April described to David Pringle (2005b) how Prussian Blue sometimes perform without revealing their extremist views:

We’ll go to places and they’ll do an open mike night or something and they’ll play their songs and nobody has *any clue* that they’re playing Skrewdriver [laughs], or a RAHOWA song, or that they’re doing a . . . Brutal Attack cover. Nobody realizes this, of course, until they’re alerted by the ADL [Anti-

Defamation League], the SPLC [Southern Poverty Law Center], or some local anti-racist nut ball.

Skrewdriver is a neo-Nazi band from Great Britain which were popular in the late '70s and '80s (Gell, 2006). The entry into this new musical genre represents an interesting and sophisticated development within the White power music scene as it facilitates the potential for a more surreptitious entry into mainstream popular culture.

Yet, innocuous access to mainstream audiences attempted by Prussian Blue were not always successful. The Prussian Blue Web site recalled a time when the band was "revealed" prior to a concert and how they were, subsequently, asked not to perform:

September 2005. The city of Bakersfield is in an uproar again and at the center of the storm are the courageous duo of Prussian Blue. The girls were scheduled to make an appearance at the Kern County Fair this week, but the appearance had to be canceled at the last moment Apparently, the whole controversy began with a single complaint from a student who had attended school with the girls the previous year. Several school friends had taken flyers announcing the performance so that kids who wanted to see one of Prussian Blue's concerts at the fair could make arrangements to attend. A female student, who disagreed with the Lamb and Lynx politically, had her mother alert the public censors at The Californian, who in turn, alerted the fair officials, who then sacked the performance. (Prussian Blue, 2008)

A second example of Prussian Blue performance being cut short is evident in the documentary film by James Quinn (2007) entitled *Nazi Pop Twins*. During one scene Quinn accompanied Lynx, Lamb, and April to a local bar where the twins performed

songs at “open mic” night. The video shows patrons of the bar listening, nodding their heads, and tapping their feet along with Prussian Blue lyrics. People even clap after the songs. As the evening draws on, April began distributing copies of the girls’ CD, identifying herself and the band as white nationalists:

Yeah, the songs that I would say are political are “The Stranger” is about wanting to be around your own kind of people rather than being surrounded by people of other ethnicities and cultures Here is the girls CD. You can listen to it yourself and make your own decision. I challenge you, listen to this. Listen to that CD. (Quinn, 2007)

At that point, their cover was blown. The owner/operator of the pub came over to April to express concern and asked April about the politics behind the music leading to the following exchange:

Owner: Nothing against your girls, but I won’t support anything to do with racism or white supremacy—anything to do with that.

April: We’re not white supremacists. We’re separatists with white pride.

After hearing April’s explanation, the owner threw April, Lynx, and Lamb out of the bar (Quinn, 2006).

LYNX AND LAMB’S PERSPECTIVE ON PRUSSIAN BLUE

Attempting to reconstruct Lynx and Lamb’s perspective on their music represented one of the most difficult questions to address for this study. Generally, interviews of the duo entertained questions that primarily concerned their worldview instead of focusing on their music. There are several threads emerging from interviews of Lynx and Lamb about their music. One intriguing aspect of these threads concerns

changing talk about the pro-white music over time. Narratives from Lynx and Lamb from 2005 consistently emphasize that the making of White Nationalist music is their choice. Only two years later Lynx and Lamb seemed to express frustration about how discourse and activity surrounding their music has gotten too political. These threads are explained below.

Making Music is a Fun Process

When discussing their music, Lynx and Lamb characterized it as a “fun process.” Doing so, they identified popular musicians when they enjoy listening to while describing how they make their own music. Part of that discussion involved describing their instruments, and how they obtained their instruments.

Lynx and Lamb discussed some of their favorite music with David Pringle in 2005:

Lamb: We listen to Ashley Simpson [and] Hillary Duff, but we also listen to Green Day and All American Rejects . . . and . . . people like that . . .

Lynx: and Sugar Cult

Lamb: We met the lead singer [of Sugar Cult]. He helped with a song “Hey Hey.”

Lynx: and then he gave Lamb pointers and like what was the best. It was really cool.

This interchange between the duo suggests that their favorite music is outside the realm of pro-white music, but also how the Lynx and Lamb take pride in collaborating with other musicians to extend their musical skills. Lynx and Lamb do not mention a single pro-white band when listing their favorite musicians. The fact is even more intriguing since several of Prussian Blue’s songs are covers of white power music. For example, one

Prussian Blue song, entitled “Victory Day,” described an impending “great war, a bloody but holy day. And after that purging, our people will be free” precipitating “the brand new dawn of our Race” (Prussian Blue, 2004d). The lyrics of the song continue, assuring listeners that: “Our gift to you we bring: A holy creed of Racial purpose, as a mighty Race to defend.” Lamb described the song “Victory Day” to Aaron Gell in 2006:

“That was a cover of Rahowa I think, you know, if there was a war between the races . . . hopefully everybody will get their own little space. And that’s basically what we want, you know? So we don’t have to live with the other groups.” (Gell, 2006, p. 211)

As previously discussed, RAHOWA (Racial Holy War) refers to an impending war between the races that will ensure the survival for the Aryan race via ethnic cleansing of the United States (Davis, 2005; Perry, 2001; Waltman & Davis, 2004, 2005). What these narratives demonstrate is that Prussian Blue enjoy both consuming and producing music. It also suggests that the pair are drawing influence from various avenues including the hate movement as well as popular culture.

Lynx and Lamb described how they’ve taken professional music lessons, as well as how they include professional musicians in the writing and recording of their songs.

Describing the writing process, Lynx said:

I just kinda did it by ear. I just, kinda, kept it in my head and stuff. I never really wrote it down on a piece of paper. My teacher, I’d play it for him, and then he’d write it on a piece of paper just so he could remember it. But I’d never write it on a piece of paper. (Pringle, 2005a)

Later in the interview, the pair discussed the other musicians who play with Prussian Blue: “The lead guitarist . . . is my sister’s guitar teacher Lanny, and the bass guitarist is my teacher Mark—bass guitar because I am taking Bass Guitar now. Then the drums is this guy Roger who plays in a band with my bass guitar teacher” (Pringle, 2005a). The following exchange between the duo in the same interview with David Pringle, sheds additional perspective on the atmosphere surrounding their making of pro-white music:

Lamb: Those guys are so cool . . . it’s fun though because it’s like really really comfortable in the studio . . . and everybody can joke around.

Lynx: Yeah, it’s more of like a . . . It’s not really like work or anything . . . it’s more just like a get together to have fun with everybody . . . you know, we joke around . . . and I mean . . .

Lamb: It’s serious but, like, serious but we have fun. We all go . . . in and get Starbucks and then we go back and record it. It’s really fun.

Aside from the ability to collaborate with professional musicians, the two also take pride in their instruments. Lynx described how she chose her bass guitar to David Pringle in 2005: “I’m not good enough to know all the, you know, which ones are the best. I just got really . . . good advice from a bass player who works at the store.” Lynx continued, describing her violin: It’s a “Hans Kroger Bavarian violin imported from Germany. It’s really really cool because it’s a lot different than my last violin. It’s bigger and it has a fuller sound and, yeah, I’m really excited.” These narratives illustrate how Lynx relied on other musicians to select instruments as well as her delight that the newer instruments are more musically complex. In doing so, the narratives suggest that Lamb viewed herself not only as part of the hate movement, but also as a participant within a community of musicians.

In the interview with Pringle (2005a), Lamb also described her instruments. Lamb said: “[M]y first guitar was a Fender—it was a Stratocaster. Oh, I had a Washburn—a red Washburn—and it was really pretty, but I traded it to pay mostly for my “Quart.” Lamb continued, describing her Quart: “[My] Mark Quart . . . [is] pretty new. I got it for my birthday. It’s blue and it’s really pretty. It’s in the “I Will Bleed for You” video and it’s in the “Victory.” It’s pretty much in all of my videos.” Lamb’s perspective on her instruments is distinctly different from her sister, Lynx’s. While Lynx’s observations about her instruments detail how her newer ones are musically advanced, Lamb’s narratives about her instruments primarily concern aesthetics (“prettiness”) instead of musical character. What remains is the notion that, whether through musical character or aesthetics, the sisters consider making music to be fun while offering them the ability to participate in multiple communities (e.g., hate movement and musical) simultaneously. The next section explores Lynx and Lamb’s perspective about their message.

White Nationalist Message is Our Choice

One thread that imbues Lynx and Lamb’s talk about their music is the notion that it was their choice to articulate a white nationalist message. This thread overlaps other narratives from Lynx and Lamb (previously discussed) regarding their beliefs about the racial superiority of whites as well as hero martyrs for the white race. Yet, this category also includes unique narratives from Lynx and Lamb about their music. Specifically, those narratives acknowledge and refute the perspective that their mother, April, is cajoling the twins to make hate music. The notion that the white nationalist message is

their choice is evident in the title of the duo's second album, entitled *The Path We Chose*, as well as their talk about the album. Discussing their second album with David Pringle in 2005, Lynx described:

I came up with the title because, you know, people are always saying my mom . . . we're just, you know, doing what my mom wants . . . [that] we're just basically going along what my mom thinks and that someday we're just gonna go and probably even get Black boyfriends. We just wanted people to know we're not just stupid and ignorant. We know we're doing the right thing and this is the path that we chose too. (Pringle, 2005a)

This narrative acknowledges the perspective that the girls are simply the puppets of an activist mother while also explicitly rejecting that perspective. The quote simultaneously reveals how Lynx can navigate interviews in a savvy way, while also explaining her own volition about the racial and political character music that she and her sister make. This idea is further developed as Lynx described one of the songs, entitled "Not a Problem," which they wrote for the second album: "When we wrote it . . . we were enrolled in public school and I was getting frustrated with some of my friends . . . they were the kind of people who believed the same thing but . . . they wouldn't say anything" (Pringle, 2005).

Lynx continued that idea when she gave an example of a time when she and a school friend discussed issues of race:

If you just say something to them they'll be like, "Oh, yeah, yeah, yeah." Like my friend, she said, "But not to be racist or anything," and I was like, "That's no problem" [she giggles] . . . [S]he was like "Oh, okay, well..." You know, it was

more of if I said something to reassure her that I didn't have a problem with it, she was more comfortable to say what was on her mind. But she's too afraid, [she cares] what other people would think. (Pringle, 2005a)

Glimmers of Change

One intriguing thread of talk from Lynx and Lamb about their music is found in the documentary film *Nazi Pop Twins* (2007) by James Quinn. The film represents the most recent glimpse into the girls' mindset regarding their music and their lives. When asked by Quinn (2007) about Prussian Blue's image, Lamb quipped: "I think that people think that we're a bunch of psychos to tell you the truth." Then the teens took the opportunity to describe the band and their future. Lamb stated:

I don't want to say White power, because that's not what we're about. For the past four years everything's been about politics. It's kind of drained my sister and I, we just want to take a break and cool down for a bit. I think just hang out a little. Get out of the media for a little bit. (Quinn, 2007)

Echoing Lamb's sentiments, Lynx said:

We just want to take a break for a little while. We're not always going to be doing this for the rest of our lives. I'll always play my guitar, and I'll always write songs, just—we're not going to be doing this our whole lives We have other dreams and other goals other than this. (Quinn, 2007)

These narratives represent a sharp contrast to narratives from the duo only two years earlier, when each espoused their white nationalist beliefs and emphasized their own agency in making white nationalist music.

During those two years, however, the group consistently received coverage from mainstream media organizations. The family also moved from Bakersfield, California to Kalispell, Montana and resumed their education within the public school system, which they described as lending entirely new perspectives about the world than those “truths” taught by April during home schooling. For example, Lamb described public school course curricula related to Martin Luther King, Jr.:

It’s kind of funny because for Martin Luther King Day in world history (class), we talked about how the white man was beating up the black man and I felt guilty for some reason because of all the things people have accused me of, hating black people, or of worshiping Hitler. I feel guilty for something I haven’t even done This whole issue has made me smarter about stuff. You just have to think about stuff more before you say it and before you do it. (Quinn, 2007)

Those feelings of guilt also seemed to emerge when Quinn asked the duo about the smiley-faced Hitler t-shirts that the twins once wore. In an emotional and emphatic response Lynx responded:

We don’t care about Hitler. We wore those t-shirts because we thought they were a joke. J. O. K. E. A Joke. Yeah, it offended people, but have you seen us wore [sic] them anywhere else? No, we haven’t worn them. We threw them away. They were thrown away.

Building on her sister’s narrative, Lamb added the following:

There are some songs that we wish we didn’t sing because now we disagree with it. Concerts that we wish we never went to because of the reputations it gives. Sometimes people change what they view. I wouldn’t even consider myself a

white nationalist. Maybe my mom, but I think I'm below that, not as extreme anymore.

These narratives shed additional perspective on the newer Prussian Blue songs that do not contain the racial overtones evident in their larger body of work. For example, the song "When I'm With You" is on the second album, *The Path We Chose*, and lacks any clear reference to white nationalism. The lyrics are as follows:

You make me feel,
Like I'm in the air.
You make me feel,
Like I'm very fair.
Oh my head is spinning,
Like I'm off the ground,
Oh my head is spinning,
I'm glad its you I found.

'Cause it's up
down,
All around,
Are my feet on the ground?
My world is spinning,
When I'm with you,
When I'm with you.

Oh my world falls down,
When you are not here.
But you pick it up again,
Wipe away my tears.
We can dance round and round,
Completely oblivious,
To what is going on.
What matters is us. (Prussian Blue, 2005b)

Lamb described the writing process of the song in an interview with David Pringle in 2005:

I never really wrote it about a certain boy . . . you kinda know the feeling so you just kinda write it, but it's not over anyone in particular . . . I wanted it to be

more happy and stuff. I didn't want it to be, you know, sad and stuff. I wanted it to be a little happy teen-angst pop song (Pringle, 2005a)

Both the lyrics of the song "When I'm With You," as well as Lamb's description of the writing process are significant precisely because they do not espouse the white nationalist message most associated with Prussian Blue. The narratives offer glimmers of hope that Lynx and Lamb's perspective about their white identity relative to racial others may, indeed, be changing. At the same time, it also suggests the potential for Prussian Blue to cross over into other musical genres, such as pop music. If the duo were to cross over, questions remain as to whether they would do so as the group Prussian Blue, or whether Lynx and Lamb would start a new band to shed the public stigma associated with Prussian Blue.

APRIL'S PERSPECTIVE ON PRUSSIAN BLUE

Across narratives from April discussing Prussian Blue and pro-White music, there are several patterns that one can identify. Generally, she identifies the music made by Prussian Blue as a counter-hegemonic activity designed to "mainstream" their pro-White message, recruit others to the movement, extend the existing pro-White music scene, and make money. These threads are more fully discussed below.

Music as Counter-hegemonic Activity for Mainstreaming and Money

From April's perspective the world (a world that she considers to be controlled by Jews via various institutions, countries, and superstructures) is conspiring against her, and Prussian Blue's, pro-White message. In April's mind, there are several clear examples

including countries as well as “the media.” Discussing having been denied entry into Australia based on their ideologies of hate, April observed:

There’s this big discussion going on about Lamb and Lynx being banned from the country because they say that they would start the riot or something. They’re actually even also considering passing a bill to make possession of [laughing] Lynx and Lamb’s CD illegal [laughing] You know when you get banned in a first-world country, when your music is illegal in a first world country, a first-world democratic country, you know you’re doing good. (Pringle, 2005b)

A similar perspective of Prussian Blue as a counter-hegemonic force is evident as April described “the media.” When discussing the media to documentary filmmaker James Quinn (2007) she observed:

The media is so biased against white people, against white pride people, and people who want to stand up for their race—White Nationalists. They have maligned us so badly that even rednecks in a bar are scared shitless. They have, basically, castrated the white race—the media has. They’ve got everybody so afraid to say anything and there’s only a few people who have the guts to stand up and do anything.

The perspective of media as corrupting cultural force is not unique to April’s perspective. Rather, media is consistently identified, within the hate movement, as an institution that intentionally undercuts pro-White interests in favor of some Jewish agenda (Davis, 2005; Waltman & Davis, 2004, 2005). This perspective helps illustrate how April views the music and activity of Prussian Blue as a way to insert a pro-White message within the public sphere while bypassing mainstream media, including the recording industry.

The first way April sees Prussian Blue music as a counter-hegemonic activity is through the insertion of pro-White message into cultural discourse despite efforts to “quiet” them. April believes that an era of political correctness and stigmatization of race has erased pro-White messages in mass media. In an interview with Aaron Gell (2006) April boasted: “Primetime mainstreamed us! I don’t think a white-pride band has ever gotten this kind of media attention before. I mean, these two girls have become some of the most powerful people in white nationalism” (p. 211). In the article Gell lists some of the mainstream media programs that had contacted Prussian Blue, including: Dr. Phil, Newsweek, Good Morning America, Elle Girl, *The Los Angeles Times*, and *Teen People*.

Not only did these interviews position Prussian Blue on a national stage, April suggests that the innocuous lyrics made the music available to audiences beyond the White Nationalist community. April described:

There are a couple of songs on there that sound—I wouldn’t be surprised if a similar sounding thing were on Nickelodeon or on a TV commercial, or used for some kind of promotion for a sitcom. Some of the songs are—like “Hey Hey” and “What Do You Think of Me Now”—I think that they’ve got a lot of potential for crossover into the mainstream. (Pringle, 2005b).

In the same interview April asks rhetorically, “If the music isn’t so blatantly political, that people can sit there and listen to it, and hear it, and not really understand unless they know about our politics, then what is the harm in them listening to it” (Pringle, 2005b)?

A second way that April sees Prussian Blue as counter-hegemonic is their choice to circumnavigate the music industry. Here it’s important to note that April is referring to both corporate record labels as well as pro-White record labels, such as Resistance

Records. April discussed the issue of record labels in an interview with David Pringle (2005b):

A working class guy with a wife and a kid, working a 9-5 job, he's usually not gonna be able to come up with 5 or 6 thousand dollars to record a new CD, and the pressing, and all of that. So that's why, traditionally . . . they've had to go through these record companies.

Yet, April identifies new communication technologies as an alternative to signing with record labels: "Now, with all the home recording devices that are available and . . . a lot of the stuff—these guys can start doing these things on their own" (Pringle, 2005b).

During the interview, April also identified some of the draw-backs of doing business with smaller record labels, such as white nationalist record labels:

Traditionally the way that White Nationalist music has been done, say you sign with . . . a White Nationalist record label and they say that they're gonna pay you a thousand dollars, or a dollar for every CD that was pressed. Well, you don't know whether they pressed a thousand CDs or two thousand CDs, or five thousand CDs, or ten thousand CDs. You don't know how many they pressed. (Pringle, 2005b)

April continued,

For me the situation that we're in, as far as selling the music, it really makes a lot more sense. We put a lot of effort and money into music, ourselves, and we need to try to get our money back out of it. But also, the girls need to be the one that profits from this CD, not a record company and not a record executive. It needs to

be the artists who actually profit, and the problem with White Nationalist music.

What's happened is that everybody profits but the actual musicians.

April described the financial aspects of producing Prussian Blue's second album, *The Path We Chose*, to David Pringle (2005b):

It's entailing a lot of out of pocket expenses for the family. It's taken a pretty good sized chunk of change to put this all together because this CD [sighs] we had backup musicians that we were paying as well as a lot more studio time—as you can tell—because there are a lot more tracks in these songs. Some of those songs from the first CD, we did them in one track, and so we did one take for the music and one take for the vocals and that was just about it. It wasn't a lot of mixing to be done. But [for *The Path We Chose*] there was a lot more. It was at least a thousand dollars just in the mixing fee.

These narratives illustrate how April considered Prussian Blue's independent production and distribution of White Nationalist music, facilitated by new communication technologies, as a way to go around record labels and, in doing so, ensure that Prussian Blue retains sole monetary profit from the music that they make.

Showcasing Talent, Extending the pro-White Music Scene

A second pattern within April's narratives about Prussian Blue and their music, is the notion that they are showcasing Lynx and Lamb's talent while also extending the pro-White music scene. Discussing the making of Prussian Blue's second album, *The Path We Chose*, April described:

I want them to be able to showcase their talent with this CD... it was more, in a way, a gift to them from me saying “Here, this is what you can do, go see what you can do with it, you know? Give them the opportunity to make the kind of music that they wanted to make. And, [laughs] they really ended up exceeding all my expectations with what they were able to do. We’re just really excited about what they were able to do and I’m really proud of it. (Pringle, 2005b)

April also suggested that part of showcasing Lynx and Lamb’s talent was giving the girls more artistic control with respect to the production of *The Path We Chose*. April explained:

This CD and why we put so much money and effort into it was because I wanted the girls to be able to feel—I kind of gave them free reign on this CD and I said “OK,” whatever songs you wanna do. Come up with 8 or 9 songs and we’ll record ‘em and . . . we’ll get you backup musicians and we’ll do this the right way. (Pringle, 2005b)

From April’s perspective, not only did the CD provide Lynx and Lamb an opportunity to showcase their talent, it was also designed to broaden the scope of pro-White music.

April described the historical character of pro-White music to David Pringle in a 2005 interview: “White Nationalist music, to this point has been very limited—it’s been pretty much either Black Metal, OY punk, or Folk ballads—there really isn’t anything out there in between.” April continued, describing not only the need for new genres, but also some heuristic directions for accomplishing this pro-White musical shift:

I think that White Nationalist music needs to make some new directions. We need to . . . not always be singing about war and Vikings. You know, we need to

come up with some different topics to sing about, and we need to sing more about, you know, real life issues that we're dealing with everyday. And I'd love to see some . . . good White poetry like this Kipling poem and turn it into songs because there's a lot of potential there. (Pringle, 2005b)

Not only did April see potential within Prussian Blue to extend White Nationalist music, she also emphasized the potential for recruiting White people to the movement, which is addressed in the next section.

Recruiting Youngsters to the Movement to Make pro-White Material

From April's perspective, Prussian Blue's music has the potential not to only recruit people to the movement, but also to encourage those youth to produce pro-White cultural material. Both of these ideas are addressed in order. The first way that April suggests Prussian Blue can recruit people to the movement only tangentially involved the music they make. Rather, she believes that the sex appeal of her daughters—who are consistently compared to Mary Kate and Ashley Olsen—will help recruit both girls and boys to the hate movement. April described Prussian Blue's potential for recruiting to documentary filmmaker Louis Theroux in 2003:

I think that Lynx and Lamb's music and their appeal, especially as they get a little bit older, they're going to be an example and they're going to show how being proud of your race is something that would be very appealing to young teenage girls. You know, I mean, what young man, red-blooded American boy, isn't going to find two blond twins, 16 years old, singing about White pride, and pride

in your race . . . Very few are not going to find that very appealing. (Theroux, 2003)

A similar perspective for recruiting young girls was expressed by April in an interview with David Pringle in 2005:

And the girls, because of the age, the appeal that they would have to other young girls their age, you know, we wanted to bring a sound, the kind of thing 13 and 14 year old girls listen to. And that's what we tried to do with this [album, *The Path We Chose*]. So, it wasn't just because of marketing White Nationalist music. (Pringle, 2005b)

One of the more disturbing threads among April's narratives about Prussian Blue (from my perspective) is her hope that Prussian Blue will also serve as a model for other white children to explore their talent in making pro-white material.

One of the things that I saw in one of these TV talk shows—[who] were attacking us—[was that they were] . . . afraid of seeing a whole bunch of little Prussian Blue imitators That's exactly, then, what we need to do I don't want my kids to be . . . the only kids that ever do this. I want to see other people do this I would love nothing more than to see some other white nationalists get their kids together on the other side of the country and create a band. (Pringle, 2005b)

April continued,

We get emails all the time—you can't even believe—we get thousands and thousands of fan letters from young kids all over the world. Everywhere from Iceland to Ireland to Italy to Illinois [laughs] . . . saying “Oh, we want to play...

we want to learn to play the guitar and I want to be like you” [T]hese kids that want to do this . . . the parents need to encourage them and help ‘em out. Beyond music, April also suggested that (white) children not talented at music, may demonstrate potential to other artistic endeavors that parents should help cultivate: “I’m sure that there are probably other things too . . . other artistic endeavors . . . you know, there’s probably some kids that are really good at drawing or really good at [sighs], I don’t know” (Pringle, 2005).

One consistent thread across April’s various perspectives about Prussian Blue music. That is the notion that April is fueled by public criticism of Prussian Blue, seeing it as “striking a chord” within pop culture. The following quote from an interview with James Quinn (2007) epitomizes April’s outlook: “To be honest, it’s like someone has pinned a great big medal on me by having them attack me. It means that I must be doing something effective and, obviously, I must be doing something right.”

THE FANS’ PERSPECTIVE ON PRUSSIAN BLUE

The fan’s perspective on Prussian Blue was recovered from various outlets including the “Fan Mail” Web pages on the Prussian Blue Web site as well as commentary sections for the Prussian Blue music videos posted on YouTube. One interesting (and seemingly ironic) finding from fan narratives is the diversity of the group’s followers. The postings spanned the United States to Europe, included self-professed liberal listeners, as well as persons reporting Indian (but Aryan) and black racial backgrounds. Prussian Blue followers posting comments also ranged in gender and age, from 13 year old girls to older men with children. In general the fan responses

reflect three ideas: favor for Prussian Blue music, agreeing with the overall pro-white message, and Prussian Blue as role models.

Enjoying the Music

One consistent thread imbuing fan self-reports from The Official Prussian Blue Web site revolve around their fondness for the music. In general, the fan messages ranged in specificity. For example, some fans, such as “Chrissie” who is 16 and lives “in a small town near Great Falls, Montana” expresses her favor for the music, but doesn’t express exactly why she likes the music. Chrissie notes: “[W]ow! I love your Music. It is basically amazing. I heard about you guys in my English class and decided to check out your web page...I think you guys are very brave for sticking up for your beliefs. Kudos to you.” Other fans like “Allison” mentioned how she obtained the Prussian Blue music as well as the exact album to which she was listening:

I ordered *Fragment of the Future* a while ago and it is AMAZING. It was so nice that the inside cover was autographed. I love your music and plan on ordering *The Path We Chose* as soon as I get back to school, after spring break. Are you coming out with a third CD anytime soon? If you are, I am greatly looking forward to it. Don't let anyone bring you down; many of us look up to you!

Not only does this narrative express Allison’s liking for the *Fragment of the Future* album, it also noted her desire to obtain additional Prussian Blue music while situating Prussian Blue as role models. This idea is further developed in the next section, “Prussian Blue as Role Models.” Like Allison, a fan identifying herself as “Airen” a “a 13 year old girl from Ohio” described her perspective on Prussian Blue music:

Hey! my dad just told me about you girls today (feb-11-06) [sic] and I think your music is totally awesome!! LoL. Its really good to sing what you believe I think its awesome to sing for your race. I'm a white girl, and proud to be... I'm not racist, but I'm still proud to be white, which is great I understand everything that you sing about and it makes sense!!! I think you girls have great singing voices!!

A second fan, "Adrienne" a 13 year old from Australia, also praised Lynx and Lamb's vocals:

[Y]ou girls are wonderful singers and are so pretty. and I love listening to your music! I love how determined you are to spread your opinion about the white race how it is been over run, and I think its great!

A fan named "Jenny," who has several posts on the "Fan Mail" page, described how she "listened to some of the sample songs and I think they a wonderful. You are very talented and you WILL go far! I think your beliefs about preserving the White race are very important and special." Aside from general observations about the duo as singers or their talent, other fans described their affective relating to the music. A fan named "Heather," a 15 year old from Missouri explained her emotions about the Prussian Blue song entitled "Your Daddy." Heather said: "I just want to say that I love your music and can really relate to the song Your Daddy. I actually almost started to cry the first time that I heard it."

Other posts on the Fan Mail pages emphasized the character of the music from the fan's perspective while also telling the group what they would like to see from the group musically in the future. A fan named "Rich" from Boston suggested:

While your musical talent is great and your songs are wonderful, the incorporation of harmony into the music of twins, whose voices are genetically identical, is a very powerful sound and I would love to hear you harmonize and then come back to the same octave and then go back to harmony. It's a powerful sound that creates a powerful response in the listener. Rock on girls. I hope to someday see you live in concert.

Similar to the previous narrative, "Marcel" from Hamburg Germany, identified the philosophical character of Prussian Blue music while also applauding their continued musical evolution. Marcel noted:

[Y]our music combines philosophical statements with a nice folk music sound! I hope you will keep on with making such nice music. Your second album impressed me more than your first one, because your musical skills have much improved Please excuse my bad English, but it is a foreign language for me.

Not only does this quote illustrate the music from "Marcel's" perspective, it also emphasizes the internationality of Prussian Blue fandom.

Perhaps the most detailed fan narrative about Prussian Blue music comes from "Liz" who not only recounted her favorite songs, but also positioned Prussian Blue within the context of other "pro-White" music groups. Liz explained:

I downloaded some of your music and was hooked. I've never heard anything like your music. I love the combination of guitar and violin, with beautiful lyrics. The song "I Will Bleed For You" is probably one of my favorites, it moves me every time- and "The Stranger," "When I'm With You," and "Ocean of Warriors" are rockin'!!! I haven't heard all of the newer ones yet because they weren't available

on my filesharing program. I want to buy the CDs sometime soon I've found some other pro-white singers I like, such as Valkyria, Viking, Cut Throat, Symphony of Sorrow, Broadsword, and Ravenous (from counterculturemusic.net; I didn't buy any of those CDs yet either, but I probably will someday!)

Liz continued her post, contrasting what she doesn't like about other pro-white music with what she likes about Prussian Blue music:

I don't like the racial slurring RAC artists much because those will just turn more people against us. I like how your songs mostly have meaning behind them and not just songs that say things like "I hate niggers." Instead, you sing mostly about pride, culture, struggle against oppression, and a hopeful future for white children, as well as a few non-racial pop songs, which are good things that can help people listen and understand (rational explanations and nonviolent protests should always be attempted before violent actions; a "race war" should be a last resort!). I hope you continue to reach to new audiences. If only you could get on mainstream radio, maybe first with one of your non-political songs.

As this narrative suggests, Liz favors Prussian Blue music precisely because the lyrics reject overt racial slurring in favor of a more nuanced pro-white message. This idea is further developed in the next section.

A Message of White Pride and Racial Purity

A second thread infusing fan narratives about Prussian Blue music is the consistent celebration of their overall message. Like fan perspectives on the music, some narratives are more specific than others. For example, a fan called "Cath" from England

emphatically noted: “Hey girls! You rock! Come to England!!!! It's awesome that you use your talent in such a positive way, with such a brilliant message! Love, Cath.”

Another fan from the UK, “Kezia,” also celebrated the Prussian Blue message: “You two girls are so couragous (sic)! I love the message you are helping to spread. You are wonderful musicians as well. How would I go about getting an autograph?” A third fan, “Nichole,” is more specific about what she saw as Prussian Blue’s message:

I wonder if they bothered to listen the numerous times you have stated that you don't promote violence and hatred towards other races, you just think that white people should have the right to be proud and unashamed of who they are, and learn not to forget their own culture and heritage What I also find so good about your message, which most people seem to look past, is that you are female, and promoting females being proud of who they are.

This narrative is interesting because it not only uses race as an identity orientation, but also celebrates the duo for what could be described as “girl power.” Such a perspective is interesting because it seems to circumnavigate white supremacy and sexism usually evident in hate movement discourse.

Another fan, “Jens” from Berlin Germany, described what he saw as the message infusing Prussian Blue music (pride for heritage) as well as the emotional impact the music had on him:

[Y]our music and lyrics affected me to tears. I thought about your message- this 'pride of heritage and name'. My grandfather was an accountant and SS-Member during WWII, fighting in Croatia against partisans You pushed me to think about our circumstances and the terrible condition we are in as a people.

Therefore I'd like to send you an old picture of my grandma's Wedding with him on December 1933, may it inspire your lyrics.

Like the previous narrative, “Joe” from Columbus, Ohio also expressed his perspective on Prussian Blue’s overall message:

I am in FULL SUPPORT of your message. Don't ever get the idea that you are wrong. We, the White Race, have every right to be proud and every desire to preserve our race's purity Keep doing what you are doing. I intend to buy some of your CDs, and I will bookmark your website. Thanks for being who you are, and keep up the great work!

These two posts suggest that fans view the overall message of Prussian Blue to be an issue of White pride rather than hatred of racial other. A fan post from “Brent” epitomized:

I am very happy I found your site and your band. For once someone is happy to be white It is good to share some common interests not to mention being able to listen to your music and get a positive message from it not gangster shootings and dealing drugs on the streets, it is a positive message about caring on tradition not hate to others.

A post from an unidentified fan acknowledged the controversy surrounding Prussian Blue and their message:

Isn't it a little odd and one sided that some people are condemning what you are saying with your music. No one complains when a rap star talks about black power, no one complains when any minorities say anything negative about whites, or rally behind their race, religion, nation, or country. You have the given

right (by the constitution) to freedom of speech, and you are expressing that right I applaud your work, your message, your cause, your music. Keep it up.

Despite the controversy, “Bryan a.k.a. "Mick" from NY” who described himself as a “self-proclaimed Liberal- and hell, even downright “hippie” at times” emphasized the First Amendment right to convey racial messages:

I think what you're doing is wonderful You have just as much of a right to sing about and have your beliefs as anybody else. I'd love to preserve the White European race So cheers to you, and keep up the message. Because I am White, and I couldn't imagine being anything else. Good for you, girls.

As this fan narrative emphasized, not only is the message important, but so is the freedom to express ones ideas. Moreover, fans would likely argue that the expression of these ideas, despite the controversy surrounding their expression, situates Prussian Blue as a model of strength and perseverance for other white nationalists. The idea of Prussian Blue as role models is more fully developed in the next section.

Prussian Blue as Role Models

A third thread running throughout fan narratives about Prussian Blue is the view that Lynx and Lamb represent role models for children, other musicians, and to participants in the hate movement writ large. A fan named “Jason” from Tennessee described how Prussian Blue music serves as an inspiration to young white “activists:”

Racial Regards from Tennessee! Just wanted to say how impressed I was after hearing Prussian Blue as I find it great to see more young white activists being

productive, not to mention the talent of your music that inspires many of our people including myself. Keep up the great work sisters!

Conceptually similar to the previous narrative, another fan identifying herself as “A. Thakore,” a 14 year old Indian from Illinois, celebrated the group for their efforts to preserve the white race and culture:

Even though I'm not a white Aryan, I'm a decendant [sic] of Brahmin Aryans in India, my whole family can be traced to those Aryans who came to Northern India. I just have to say, what you guys are doing is great. You're trying to preserve the white race and culture, which is really a good thing. So please, continue your fight and prevent this from happening to others. Preserve your race and heritage in the nonviolent way you are now.

The notion of Prussian Blue as role models is more explicitly captured by a fan named “Dustin,” a 17 year old from Patrick County, Virginia. Dustin said: “I've been trying to get a copy of your CD, so I could spread your music across our land You girls are role models in my heart.” Yet the most explicit and descriptive narrative about Prussian Blue being role models for the White nationalist movement can be found in a post by “Florian,” a 16 year old fan from France (who claims German heritage). Florian noted:

We really appreciate what You are doing for the preservation of the white race. Thanks to You, we now have a new focus point (Landmark, Beacon), specially the youth of the new Nationalist generation, which thanks to your work have new footsteps to anchor our beliefs to, in order to integrate within the WN movement, and express our feelings towards the actual decaying world You are setting up a model for the new generation You who are today our role model will

inherit an place of honour in our world, once we are done making it a better place to live. I really like all that You are doing, and I am a great fan of You. I hope we can have You girls on concert next summer in Germany, I will attend it with pleasure and many friends. Friendly regards, Florian (and the Gang of Zone Libre).

Not only does this narrative identify and reinforce the role of Prussian Blue as role models for the White Nationalist movement, it also creates a coherent future wherein Prussian Blue are essentially deified for their activism. This rhetorical move is conceptually similar to the references for martyr heroes within Prussian Blue songs, however the narrative does not explicitly include the tragic conclusion typically associated with martyrdom (death).

Beyond role models for the movement (in general), some fans describe Prussian Blue as role models that they would like their children to emulate. A fan identifying herself as “Gabriel,” posted:

I recently learned about your group, a friend gave me a copy for my daughters, I just wanted to tell you how much we love your music. You young ladies are awesome! Keep The Faith! I am looking forward to picking up more of your music. Thank you for your part in the struggle, both of you are incredibly brave and strong I hope that I have imparted the strength to my daughters that your parents have imparted to you.

A second fan identifying himself as “Eric,” from Boise, Idaho, echoed the ideas expressed above.

I bought your first CD as a gift to myself and my daughter. If she grows up with at least half the fortitude you two have, I would die a proud father I just think its high-time someone lets you folks know how awesome and strong you are. Your mama raised you right. God bless you and your family.

A third example of parents identifying Prussian Blue as role models for their children is evident in a post from a fan identifying themselves as “K.S.T.” Beyond praising the duo, this post also juxtaposed Lynx and Lamb to other female “Pop” musicians:

I love you girls' music and I admire your bravery and courage in the face of the repulsive human beings who would dare send vicious insults to two young, beautiful girls who simply sing about being proud of their heritage The hypocrisy inherent in the idea that two young girls singing about their heritage deserve scorn, while a girl like Britney Spears, who has meaningless lyrics, plays no instrument, and dresses like a tramp, is praised by our rat controlled media is absurd I own all your CDS and, when I eventually have my children, you girls will be the only music they will be allowed to hear when they are young. You have great voices, your lyrics are deep and meaningful, and there are simply not enough words to express my admiration for you and your brave mother.

These narratives illustrate how some fans, as parents, are sharing Prussian Blue music with their children, while simultaneously situating Lynx and Lamb as role models for their children. What remains unclear is whether these parents, who share Prussian Blue music with their children and who view Prussian Blue as role models, are raising their children in ways conceptually similar to the way April raised Lynx and Lamb. Such a

question is beyond the scope of the present research, but represents a logical extension of this research for future academic inquiry.

A final thread of narratives about Prussian Blue as role models comes from other musicians. A fan named “Carl” from Memphis, Tennessee posted:

I'm a musician as well and want to say what your doing is great. White people don't take a stand enough. If we don't start now, we will fail for sure. Anyway, good luck to the two of you and hope you go far with your music!! Have a good life.

Another fan, identifying themselves as “D. Wilson” from Birmingham, England, emphasized a shared ideological perspective while simultaneously offering to help market the group in England:

I first came across Prussian Blue on a documentary you did with a British journalist who goes by the name of Louie Thoreux I am also a singer and write lyrics about our people's struggle and the good times and bad from our history. Please get back in contact with me, I'd love for you to have strong links with the U.K and hope to hear from you soon.

Aside from general praise, other musicians are more specific about their interest in Prussian Blue. One fan named “Steve,” a 16 year old from Washburn Ireland, who plays guitar said:

I heard about your band a while ago from some of my friends and I have really gotten into your music!!! You have such a fresh sound and some very cool songs. I am impressed at how talented you are! I'm so jealous ha ha!! I'm trying to learn some of your songs on the guitar at the moment. Also congratulations on the new

album!!! I haven't got my copy of it yet but I have heard some of the songs on the cd and I'm really looking forward to it! You guys are soooooo cool and I really admire you. If you ever come to Ireland I would definitely go and see one of your shows. I think my favourite (sic) song of yours is "When I'm With You". It's awesome.

Like the previous narrative, another musician, who identified himself as “Karl,” expressed favor for Prussian Blue music. In the post Karl also positioned himself as a white nationalist music producer, and asked to purchase Prussian Blue merchandise:

I want to thank Lamb and Lynx for the hope they have given to many white girls with their music and great struggle. Your music is truly a warming candle in the winter darkness. I wish you all the best and I am so happy for your success. My favorite song is Victory. I am also making music, Swedish, White Nationalist music-your music is a great inspiration. Maybe I will send you a copy some day. Well then, I am wondering if there are any t-shirts that are available for sale? I would really like to wear it proudly this summer.

In general, both of these fans acknowledge Prussian Blue as talented and identify specific songs that resonate. The first narrative from “Steve” did not explicitly identify himself as a white nationalist, did not praise Prussian Blue for pro-white beliefs, and identified the song “When I’m With You,” a more recent song that lacks the racial references of their earlier work, as his favorite. On the other hand, the second narrative, from Karl, identifies himself as someone making white nationalist music, expressed support for their racial beliefs, and identified the song “Victory,” a song with racially laced lyrics, as his favorite. These polar opposite examples, then, provide a coherent illustration of how fans

may use various orientations, such as musical and/or racial, for listening to Prussian Blue. This section uses fan narratives to highlight patterns within fan talk about Prussian Blue and their music. As discussed, the three main categories of fan talk about Prussian Blue concern the fans' liking for the music, liking for the overall message, and belief that Prussian Blue are role models.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

This research sought to explore the white power music group Prussian Blue to better understand its meaning and significance from the “insider’s perspective.” In this chapter it is important to revisit the importance of this study, outlined in Chapter One, to contextualize the conclusions made in this research. After reviewing the significance of this research, the conclusions—both anticipated and unanticipated—from the analysis are discussed. This chapter concludes by identifying pertinent directions for future academic inquiry based on this study.

Importance of the Study

One of the basic premises of this study was that white power music, as a communicative cultural form, has the potential to play a role in the everyday lives of members of the hate movement. This study does provide some evidence that white power music plays a central role in Lynx and Lamb’s everyday lives as they practice their instruments, write songs, perform, and independently distribute their music. The study also suggests that Prussian Blue music is important in their fans’ everyday lives, whether it be for enjoyment or subjecting themselves to pro-white messages. There was also some support for the notion that Prussian Blue music plays a role within the hate movement, by articulating specific ideals for pro-white cultural identity and action. Beyond the potential to do so, the fans’ narratives addressed in this study, which celebrated Prussian Blue’s pro-white message, suggest that Prussian Blue music is

rearticulating some fans' preexisting pro-white perspective by celebrating culturally significant martyr-heroes.

The commemoration of these martyr-heroes within Prussian Blue music implicitly glorifies the ethnviolence against non-whites of which the individuals were responsible. In this way, Prussian Blue music has the potential to implicitly legitimize ethnviolence against non-whites as an ideal for cultural action. Listening to Prussian Blue music also provides individuals with a way of drawing ideological inspiration from the hate movement without necessarily maintaining a formal relationship with an established hate group. This conclusion supports the concern advanced by the Federal Bureau of Investigation regarding "lone wolf" domestic terrorists. This suggests that pro-white music, like the music of Prussian Blue, is one communicative form that provides lone wolves with the ideological rationale they seek while also helping them remain on the fringes of the hate movement.

Aside from the messages articulated by Prussian Blue, a separate question identified in Chapter One concerns the communicative technologies that the group employs in producing and disseminating their music. While the results of this research reveal little regarding which software the group use when producing their music, a perusal of the range of resources employed in this study begins to bring the question of dissemination into sharper relief. One can identify four primary avenues for disseminating Prussian Blue material. The first avenues, the Prussian Blue Blog and YouTube, offer a range of cultural material produced by the duo ranging from the mundane and everyday aspects of Lynx and Lambs' lives to free and downloadable music videos.

The second avenues, the Official Prussian Blue Web site and in-person distribution (whether through performance or handing out CDs), reveal the primary methods of distributing the pro-white music. While some songs, such as “Your Daddy,” “When I’m With You,” and “The Stranger” were available for free download on the Prussian Blue Web site, other songs were “Album only,” and could not be accessed on the site except through purchase. Following purchase, a physical copy of the CD would be sent to the buyer. One intriguing aspect of the songs available for free download on the Web site is that they were in .mp3 file format. The .mp3 file format made each of the songs compatible with popular music software such as Windows Media Player and Apple iTunes and, thus, compatible with popular personal media devices such as the SanDisk Fuse or the Apple iPod. In the end, the most comprehensive and credible avenue for dissemination, the Prussian Blue Web site, has been removed and inaccessible for more than two months. The mysterious disappearance of the official Prussian Blue Web site may lend additional evidence that Lynx and Lamb are, indeed, taking a break from the making of white power music. The Prussian Blue Blog remains accessible, though postings typically revolve around issues such as skiing trips and going to homecoming. The last active post on the blog was January 1, 2008, signaling the groups’ movement away from the public eye.

MATTERS OF PERSPECTIVE

The results of this research also provide unique insight into the perspective of the mother, members, and fans of Prussian Blue. These conclusions are addressed below.

Research Question 1: Prussian Blue Music and the Hate Movement

Another question addressed in this research involved identifying hate movement symbolism, iconography, and references within Prussian Blue music and everyday talk to determine whether there were sufficient evidence to characterize the music as white power music. This research provides strong support for characterizing Prussian Blue music as white power music, though April, Lamb, and Lynx would label it “white nationalist” music. Specifically, the Prussian Blue music commemorated infamous individuals such as William Pierce, David Lane, and Robert Matthews while also making implicit references that deny the Holocaust. Beyond simply referencing hate criminals in their songs, Prussian Blue actively maintained relationships with these individuals, such as William Pierce and David Lane.

The glorification of the white identity is evident throughout the collection of Prussian Blue songs. To the extent that interviews with or the songs of Prussian Blue are conveyed via mass media, the more mainstream the group appears and, thus, there is a greater potential for Lynx, Lamb, and April to participate in the shaping of public discussion. As discussed earlier, the ability to shape public discussion, though, stops short of telling the public what to think, but rather, what to think about. Exploring how Lynx and Lamb discuss the music that they make, how their mother/manager, April, talks about the twins’ music, and the fans perspective help to illustrate what specific segments of the public think about Prussian Blue and their music.

Research Question 2: Prussian Blue's Perspective on their Music Making

This research also provides insight into the meaning of making music from the perspective of Lynx and Lamb, the musicians. This research identifies three main categories of narratives about Prussian Blue music from Lynx and Lamb: music making is fun, the pro-white message is our choice, and finally, regret for making pro-white music. An intriguing aspect of the perspective articulated by Lynx and Lamb is a marked shift within their perspective over the course of two years. In 2005 the duo were consistently performing at pro-white events and emphasizing that the pro-white message was their choice (instead of a mandate from their mother, April). Lynx and Lamb's narratives about producing music also revealed that they enjoyed making music because it allowed them to participate in multiple communities simultaneously. Specifically, it allowed them access to a creative culture of musicians, the activity was heavily wed to family activity (activism), and the making of the music facilitated their inclusion within the hate movement.

By 2007, however, the pair still described the making of music as a fun activity, but also expressed regret for songs that reflect pro-white politics. As will be discussed in the next section, the rise in media attention, coupled with the public resistance, or backlash, to their pro-white ideas likely played a significant role in the transformation of Lynx and Lamb's perspective on making pro-white music. Another distinct finding when comparing talk about Prussian Blue music is the disparity between Lynx and Lamb's narratives and the narratives produced by the mother and fans. This trajectory, moving from relative obscurity to heavily mediated, only to withdraw from the public eye, is not unique to Lynx and Lamb Gaede. Instead, the course appears to be commonplace among

childhood stars including Brittany Spears, Danny Bonaduce, and Gary Coleman. While more research on other specific cases of childhood stars is necessary to draw generalizable conclusions, it appears that the making of white power music ceased to be a fun activity for the duo when issues of money, family, and public scorn complicate the activity.

Research Question 3: April Gaede's Perspective on Prussian Blue

This study also revealed April's perspective on Prussian Blue music. Generally, April considered Prussian Blue music as a form of resistance to a dominant, hegemonic set of multicultural beliefs articulated institutionally through avenues including mass media. Conceptualizing her perspective as counter hegemonic, she believed her daughter's music, as well as her own support of Lynx and Lamb's music, to be a form of pro-white activism. April viewed, and likely continues to consider, Prussian Blue as a vehicle for mainstreaming "white nationalist" messages within the public sphere. The making of the music is also considered to be a way to make money, while simultaneously showcasing Lynx and Lamb's talent and extending the white power music scenes in new directions. Extending the scene has the potential to draw in a new set of listeners, broadening Prussian Blue sales and, thus, increasing the revenue generated by this music making venture.

Finally, April described her hope that Lynx and Lamb and their music will recruit younger members to the hate movement while also inspiring those youth to explore their own talents related to the making of pro-white cultural material. These categories of talk from April support the conclusion that April is the driving ideological force behind Prussian Blue. Viewing music as a way to mainstream pro-white messages, it is April's

intention to shape the agenda of mass media outlets to include white nationalist sentiments.

Research Question 4: Fan's Perspective on Prussian Blue

This study also provides an intriguing insight into Prussian Blue music from the fans' perspective. Three main categories of talk emerged from fan narratives: enjoying the music, appreciation of the pro-white message, and the belief that Lynx and Lamb are role models for other white children. When discussing how they enjoy Prussian Blue music, fans typically referred to liking the pop sound of the music as well as Lynx and Lambs' singing voices. One interesting finding was that individuals posting messages about enjoying the music included various other musicians—some of whom made pro-white music—who appreciated Lynx and Lamb's musical talent. The narratives also expressed favor for the pro-white message of Prussian Blue music. Cultural material that symbolically references a pro-white agenda is more likely to resonate with individuals who seek out pro-white ideas.

The final category is comprised by fan posts from older fans who have, or expect to have, children. In this category fans consistently celebrate Lynx and Lamb as role models for children. Essentially, this is an instance when parents situate Lynx and Lamb—who are largely mediated through a series of songs, documentary film, magazine interviews, and Television appearances—as ideals for their children to emulate.

PRUSSIAN BLUE AND HATE SPEECH

Beyond specific conclusions about the various perspectives circulating Prussian Blue music, there are also questions about whether the music constitutes hate speech as

defined in the U.S. Court system. This section focuses on two limits on the First Amendment, fighting words and incitement to violence, to determine whether Prussian Blue lyrics would be protected or unprotected speech.

Fighting Words

One cannot deny that Prussian Blue's lyrics are intrinsically tied with both White supremacy and violence. While this would likely not inflict injury or a breach of the peace from someone unfamiliar with the Sleeping White Man Myth, it would, indeed, be a derogatory insult to members of the hate community. Thus, if one were to experience the "I Will Bleed for You" lyrics as an accusation of being a "sleeping White man" (by either Prussian Blue or someone who provided the song to that person) the lyrics could conceivably cause an immediate breach of peace and, therefore, could constitute fighting words. Yet, this hypothetical scenario is not a likely outcome. Succinctly, Prussian Blue's lyrics, while violent and racist, would not constitute fighting words.

Despite the precedent set in *Chaplinsky*, a recent case, *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul*, 505 U.S. 377 (1992), demonstrated how fighting words could be immune from regulation despite their designation as unprotected expression. The facts of the *R.A.V.* case concerned a group of White teenagers who burned a cross in the yard of a Black family. The White teens were each charged with a misdemeanor offense under the St. Paul Bias-Motivated Crime Ordinance, which prohibited the placement of:

on public or private property [,] a symbol, object, appellation, characterization or graffiti, including, but not limited to, a burning cross or Nazi swastika, which one knows or has reasonable grounds to know arouses anger, alarm or resentment in

others on the basis of race, color, creed, religion or gender. (*R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul*, 505 U.S. 377, 1992, at 379)

In accordance with the Minnesota state Supreme Court’s interpretation of the ordinance, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the ordinance “reaches only those expressions that constitute ‘fighting words’ within the meaning of *Chaplinsky*.” The court ultimately found the ordinance unconstitutional on grounds of content-based regulation, and not the fighting words doctrine:

“Assuming, arguendo, that all of the expression reached by the ordinance is proscribable under the ‘fighting words’ doctrine, we nonetheless conclude that the ordinance is facially unconstitutional in that it prohibits otherwise permitted speech solely on the basis of the subjects the speech addresses.” (*R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul*, 505 U.S. 377, 1992, at 381)

Therefore, even if the expression is considered to constitute “fighting words” and is, thus, unprotected under the First Amendment, if the ordinance regulating the expression is seen as content-based, the expression would be immune from regulation (because content-based regulation is unconstitutional). Succinctly, if Prussian Blue were charged with violating an ordinance for expression that could be construed as unprotected fighting words, the expression might nonetheless be protected, because the ordinance signifies content-based regulation.

Incitement to Violence

In general, someone would have to sue Prussian Blue and its lyrics for some harm for a Court to consider an incitement case against the group. Such a suit is a tangible

possibility considering those cases (described earlier) involving violent lyrics and incitement. One hypothetical example could include a set of parents (similar to those of Elyse Pahler) whose child was victim of a hate crime (such as Matthew Sheppard was in Laramie, WY in 1998). The plaintiffs, similar to the Pahlers, would argue that Prussian Blue and its lyrics immediately incited the perpetrators to commit the hate crime. To find Prussian Blue's lyrics as incitement the prosecution must apply the *Brandenburg* test to prove that Prussian Blue produced those lyrics to directly incite lawless conduct and that the lyrics did so. It is important to note that speech that directly incites such lawless conduct can exist either in lyrics or outside of the music lyrics (e.g., statements during public interviews, private communications, or public statements posted on the Official Prussian Blue Web site).

Prussian Blue's music is filled with references to the commission of violence, which are imbued with the compound notion that Aryans are forced to fight to protect the race and once one takes up the burden to protect the Race, that individual is worthy of commemoration. Such an idea is repeated throughout Prussian Blue songs. One song entitled "Lamb Near the Lane," which was co-written with David Lane (a White supremacist who founded "The Order" in the 1980s and who is currently serving a 190 year sentence in Federal prison), includes the lyrics: "he fought to save his own kind . . . now forced to fight. Because too many White men choose wrong over White" (Prussian Blue, 2004b). The lyrics continue to instill in listeners a fear appeal regarding the safety of Aryan women and children: "It's insane, I feel it's insane. If the white man won't battle for life and for race. Then women and children, the terror will face." In this way, the

lyrics establish the protection of Aryan women and children (and, thus, the Aryan race) as a moral duty for Aryan men.

Another Prussian Blue song called “Ocean of Warriors” includes the following lyrics that teach listeners how to fight, why to fight, and to prepare oneself: “Ready to kill with a fist of steel, Ready to fight to cure our nation’s ills, White resistance has risen” (Prussian Blue, 2005a). White resistance, in this case, is making a coded reference to an impending racial holy war (“RAHOWA”), which, from the hate community members’ perspective, will ensure the survival for the Aryan race via ethnic cleansing of the United States (Perry, 2001).

The most explicit lyrics encouraging listeners to action can be found in the song “Stand up.” The chorus of “Stand up” urges: “stand up, for what you believe in, stand up, for people like him, stand up, for you and me” (Prussian Blue, 2006). While the title and the chorus line are abstract, a member of the hate community would likely understand (given both their own experiences, as well as the antecedent messages of violence contained in other Prussian Blue songs) how to stand up (e.g., with fists of steel), why one should stand up (e.g., to protect women, children and, ultimately, the Aryan race), and the benefits of standing up (e.g., glory, morality, or martyrdom). Not only could multiple songs accumulate to directly incite lawless action (as described above), public statements (e.g., interview narratives as well as the band members’ actions) could serve as antecedent texts to those music lyrics and, consequently, add additional meaning or context. While fruitful questions for future research, these extra lyrical questions remain beyond the scope of the current research.

To consider the constitutionality of the Prussian Blue lyrics with respect to incitement, one can apply the *Brandenburg* test. First, is it the group's intention to directly incite lawless action? Second, are the lyrics likely to incite such action?

Does Prussian Blue does celebrate concrete examples of people who did participate in lawless action? As previously discussed, Prussian Blue consistently commemorated persons who engaged in lawless action (on behalf of the Aryan race) including David Lane, Ian Stuart, Rudolph Hess, Robert Matthews, and Dr. Pierce—all of whom are directly identified in the Prussian Blue song entitled “Sacrifice” (Prussian Blue, 2004a). Thus, it is clear that Prussian Blue did, in fact, condone and commemorate the commission of lawless action.

Would Prussian Blue glorify lawless action (e.g., ethnoviolence) that was incited by its lyrics? Given the glorification of other individuals who committed lawless acts (described above), presumably without direct incitement by the music of Prussian Blue, it is likely that Prussian Blue would, indeed, glorify lawless actions (that promote Aryan survival) incited by its lyrics. However, the fundamental question of the *Brandenburg* test is: did Prussian Blue intend to directly incite lawless action? While the music and lyrics of Prussian Blue inform and are informed by a racist rationale, the abstract nature of those lyrics provide the most concrete, conclusive evidence that Prussian Blue lyrics do not directly incite lawless action (Prussian Blue, 2004a).

Quoting *Noto v. United States*, 367 U.S. 290 (1961), the Court held in *Brandenburg v. Ohio* (1969) that: “the mere abstract teaching * * * of the moral propriety or even moral necessity for a resort to force and violence, is not the same as preparing a group for violent action and steeling it to such action” (at 448). While the Prussian Blue

lyrics described above are both rhetorical and meaningful for members of the hate movement, it is, ultimately, their abstract character that would constitutionally protect the lyrics. To constitute incitement an expression must fulfill both conditions. If the analysis had concluded that Prussian Blue did intend to directly incite lawless action, then the second condition of the *Brandenburg* test would have been applied to the case. To prove the second condition one must demonstrate that the lyrics of Prussian Blue are likely to incite lawless action. However, such analysis is superfluous in this particular case.

Marketplace of Ideas

Writing a dissenting opinion in the *Abrams v. U.S.* (1918) case, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes posited: “The best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market” (250 U.S. 616 at 629). The notion of public sphere as a marketplace of ideas within which the truth of ideas are determined based on their ability to become generally accepted is an intriguing notion when applied to Prussian Blue. Note that Justice Holmes did not argue that the truth is determined by an ability to insert oneself, or ones’ own messages, within the public sphere. As the previous sections on fighting words and the law of incitement applied to Prussian Blue suggest, making this music is the First Amendment right of Lynx, Lamb, and April Gaede. Irrespective of one’s favor with the conclusions or the Court decisions that protect Prussian Blue’s lyrics, the First Amendment remains clear.

Also clear are those concepts absent from the First Amendment; it does not guarantee that speech shall be polite, articulate, neighborly, insightful, respectful, or responsible. Perhaps the lacking last (e.g., responsibility) accounts for the limits on First

Amendment freedom imposed during times of national emergency or war (whether declared or not). Such questions of (ir)responsibility are all the more vivid considering the moves by the Bush administration to limit Americans' constitutional freedoms via policies and practices including the U.S. Patriot Act, extraordinary rendition, and warrant-less wiretapping. One can intuit that these and similar institutionalized limits on the constitutional guarantees of expression will be subject of considerable public debate for years to come.

As this suggests, limiting the ability to express those perspectives publicly would be a mistake. Perhaps the greatest irony regarding hate movement members' (like April Gaedes') perspective is the notion that various institutions including the education system, media, and government persecute them (and their beliefs). What this perspective does, though, is conflate the marketplace of ideas with the First Amendment. The First Amendment does not guarantee that racist ideas will be accepted within the public sphere. Instead, it only guarantees one's right to submit those ideas (barring the limits described earlier) for consideration and competition within the marketplace. Limiting a hatemongers' ability to express their hate speech, however vile, would only lend support to their preexisting perspective of persecution, likely empowering their recruiting efforts. The regulation of expression in Europe can serve as a case example. The prohibition of producing and distributing hate material, such as hate music, essentially created a culture of criminal activity within the European hate movement. Doing so had two main effects. First, it made the ideas harder to access, analyze and monitor. Second, as discussed earlier, the lack of price regulation within the black market allowed producers and

distributors to charge higher prices while subverting taxes and, thus, provided a larger revenue stream to the European hate movement.

Closer to home, one could suggest that it was, ultimately, the marketplace of ideas that provided the conceptual space for Lynx and Lamb's evolving perspective. The twins' notion that others see them as "psychos" and the regret that they express in interviews with James Quinn (2006) begin to suggest that they are not out-of-touch with the understandings negotiated and renegotiated within the public sphere. The ability to submit their ideas within the wider marketplace and gauge if and how those ideas resonate with others was not unimportant. Rather, it led to a conclusion that precipitated their current condemnation of white nationalism and their choice to take a break from making white power music.

Returning to the question posed at the outset of this research, "Was that racist or not," one must reflect on the characteristics constituting racism. Essentially, the term "racism" makes reference to a perspective that uses racial distinctions as a foundation for social interaction. As used in modern vernacular, the term implies the reliance on difference (between races) to make implicit and explicit value judgments about both ones' own race as well as racial others. This dual functionality recognizes that the explicit deification of one race simultaneously demonizes—whether explicitly or implicitly—racial others. Did Prussian Blue music make explicit or implicit value judgments about the superiority of the white race? If this is the test for whether or not Prussian Blue lyrics are racist, then they are, indeed, racist. Yet, the answer to the question of whether Prussian Blue music is racist may also be an evolving one, depending on the perspective from which the lyrics are translated. A cultural outsider,

that is to say, someone who is not affiliated with the hate movement might, for example, identify the lyrics as racist. At the same time, insiders—those who participate in the hate movement—might not consider the lyrics to be racist; rather, cultural insiders might interpret and/or position the music as the “truth” or a message celebrating whiteness. Also evolving are those perspectives, such as those of Lynx and Lamb, who are charged with the task of negotiating racist and non-racist worlds. The duo demonstrated a capacity to critically reflect on the ideas they expressed through music and did appear to express regret for singing those songs. And still society is left waiting to learn how Lynx and Lamb would answer the question of whether this is racist or not.

HEURISTIC DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE INQUIRY

This study exposes various directions for future academic inquiry related to the hate movement. First, this research demonstrated the need to continue to critically examine racist texts. Second, this project also suggests that resisting hate messages within the public sphere has the potential to create new possibilities for change, as was the case with Prussian Blue. These directions are discussed below.

Critical Examination of Racist Texts

Given the recent increase in the number of hate crimes as well as the increase in hate group activity, there remains a need to continue to critically examine a range of racist texts. This study of Prussian Blue illustrates how those who produce hate messages continue to do so in new and complex ways, largely due to evolving communication technologies. At the same time, there is a need to understand the texts and activity on a local level to tease out nuance in meaning while also locating the activity within the

broader scope of the hate movement. The meaning of a text, set of texts as well as the activity of an individual or group is not isolated but, rather, gains meaning through a process of accumulation. For example, future research on the hate movement should explore individual texts, such as Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, to understand how the text is being reappropriated by the contemporary hate movement to ground its identity and action. One could argue that by decontextualizing Hitler's ideas expressed within *Mein Kampf* and recontextualizing them within the current milieu provides the movement with a more stable sense of identity, a seemingly continuous historical linearity, and a complex set of collective memories from which to ground cultural identity and action.

Forms of Resistance to Hate Messages

While beyond the current project, there also remains a need to better understand how to effectively resist hate messages through counter-messaging. While communication is not the solution for every social problem, the notion of the marketplace of ideas suggests that the answer to hate speech may be, in fact, more speech—spoken word or action. There are several cases of resisting hate messages that would be instructive in this regard. The first case is related directly to Prussian Blue, involving a performance at the New York Musical Theatre called *White Noise*. Journalist Jerry Fink (2007) described: “*White Noise: A Cautionary Musical* was inspired by twin sisters Lamb and Lynx Gaede, who formed the white nationalist band Prussian Blue” (p. 1A). The musical is a political satire of the hate movement. Like Prussian Blue's music, the songs are catchy and laced with racial overtones. The irony and complexity of

performing similar songs as a form of resistance was not lost on performer Libby Winters, who described her performing role to Jerry Fink in 2007:

When you're doing satire like that, you have to be so careful to make sure the audience knows it's satire because if they don't know it, then they think you are a white supremacist, and that's about as bad as it gets. It's difficult. You have to be careful with the tone of everything (p. 1A)

The second case involves counter-demonstration at the funeral of Matthew Shepard, a gay teenager who was murdered in 1998. At the funeral religious fundamentalist Fred Phelps and members of the Westboro Baptist Church, an anti-gay organization with the Web site www.godhatesfags.com, demonstrated against homosexuality stating phrases such as “Matthew Shepard rots in hell” and a variety of other statements related to HIV-AIDS. A group of Matthew Shepard’s friends as well as local citizens who wanted to speak against hate crimes showed up dressed as angels with tall wings and stood between the demonstration of Fred Phelps and his church members and the people walking into Matthew Shepard’s funeral (Patterson & Hinds, 2007).

The third case involves a counter-demonstration in Knoxville, Tennessee in May of 2007. Following the murder of two white college students by several black men and women, the National Vanguard and Ku Klux Klan organized a demonstration to highlight black on white violence. At the demonstration, counter-demonstrators attended in costume, performing as Ku Klux Clowns (McCarthy, 2007). During the demonstration the counter-protesters used a variety of responses to resist the KKK shouts for “white power” including “white flour,” “white flowers,” and “wife power.” The tactics used in

these three cases of counteracting hate messages deserve careful consideration through additional academic investigation.

LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

Reflecting on both my academic training and this research project, there are three main limitations weighing on my mind. The first two limitations involve missed methods of data collection while the third limitation considers how my own reality played a role in the making of the research design and completion. These are each addressed below

Lack of Access and In-depth Interviewing

Perhaps the most disappointing aspect of this research was the inability to gain access to Lynx, Lamb, and April for in-depth interviews. While the interviews recovered for this research were useful for reconstructing the meaning of making white power music from the perspective of those who make it, some texts were more useful than others. From my perspective, for example, the most useful resources for recovering these narratives came from the two interviews conducted by David Pringle (2005 a, b) from White Wire Internet radio. While these interviews were heavily coded in terms of hate movement terminology and discourse, they were also the most diverse in terms of the topics covered. As I've already suggested, the majority of resources that interviewed the trio focused questions primarily on the Gaedes' ideological perspective rather than also addressing the music that they make.

Other interviews accessed for this research were useful, but had already been pre-filtered by the author, journalist, or filmmaker. Simply put, the narratives contained in those texts were typically decontextualized from the questions and or situations wherein

the narratives were produced. The best texts for recovering such narratives, then, represented ones where the researcher can hear and/or see Lynx, Lamb, and April. It is for this reason that this research relied heavily on narratives from the documentary films as well as from the “uncut” interview with David Pringle. At the same time, the authenticity of the narratives recovered and retained for analysis would have been best served through in-depth interviews. Those interviews would have lent additional perspective on Prussian Blue and the current state of white power music, since they would have represented the most recent narratives available. Ultimately, while this research benefited from the range of empirical interview data collected by various mainstream media representatives, I would also argue that those interviews also undercut my own ability to gain access to the Gaedes. Briefly, April maintains a strong negative sentiment toward various documentary filmmakers and journalists regarding the way the Gaede family were represented in the final versions of those stories, shows, and films.

One might argue or suppose that these individuals lacked the ethics of academic researchers. For example, to gain access documentary filmmaker James Quinn agreed to help create a Prussian Blue music video (Quinn, 2007). Similarly, filmmaker Louis Theroux had to purchase a variety of gifts and take the Gaede family on a trip to an amusement park to gain access (Theroux, 2003; 2007). The Institutional Review Board (IRB) would have serious reservations to the purchase of gifts, payment, or similar concessions to protected populations like minors. The IRB process may have helped prevent the types of negative feelings that April had following the interviews due to debriefing procedures.

Missed Opportunities for Participant Observation

Like the inability to collect data through in-depth interviews, there were also missed opportunities early in the research process to attend white power concerts and rallies to experience Prussian Blue performances first hand. The last Prussian Blue concert that I can find documentation for is the 2007 Nordiska Festival, listed on the Prussian Blue Blog as well as within an article entitled “Nazitvillinger Synger I Sverige” written by Kristina Olsson for the Danish publication *Politiken* (Olsson, 2007).

Attending these performances would have extended my own ability to provide a more authentic “insiders’ perspective” on the events, discourse, and phenomena surrounding Prussian Blue. Like in-depth interviews, the participant observation would have had to receive IRB Form B approval. A more sobering note about participant observation concerns my own personal safety should I consider employing this method for data collection in the future. Describing his own participant observation at a skinhead music festival in Riverside County in Southern California, where he first met April, Lynx, and Lamb, Louis Theroux (2007) recalled how the event, “called the Gathering of the Gods[,] . . . featured six or seven “hatecore” groups” including Brutal Attack, Final War, and Extreme Hatred” (p. 237). Prior to the event Theroux “consulted with a pair of security experts from Pinkerton’s” but the security experts wouldn’t attend the event with Theroux because “that would have meant giving up their weapons at the gate, which they refused to do” (p. 237). Theroux recalled how the security experts, instead, stayed in a van down the street from the festival and encouraged Theroux “to stay alert at all times and make sure we had a clear route to the exit” (p. 247). Theroux’s perspective on this experience is instructive and if I conduct a participant observation at a white power music

fest in the future, I will consult with security professionals and employ their services during the data collection.

My Own Perspective

In the spirit of critical reflexivity, the final limitation of this research is my own perspective as the researcher. As discussed in Chapter Three, the interpretations made in the current research were derived, in part, from my own research experience and familiarity with the texts, ideas, and ideals central to the contemporary hate movement. My perspective as the researcher facilitated the research focus, the texts that were analyzed, the method of data collection, the method of analysis, and the conclusions derived from that analysis. As I've already noted above, there are two specific methods—in-depth interviews and participant observation—that would have extended the empirical data collected for this research. Both my research experience and the choices I made as researcher for this project impact my own sensemaking of the phenomena surrounding Prussian Blue. Qualitative research is useful precisely because communicative material has multiple meanings, “speaking” to different people in different ways. As Davis and French (2008) suggest, “There is an inherent value in our ability to engage in multiple readings and critical reflections about how our communication practices predicate complex and often contradictory truths that shape our world around us” (p. 255).

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APPENDIX

SOURCES OF DATA

The sources of data included in this Appendix do not encompass the entirety of available information about Prussian Blue. For example, the majority of publicly available sources are about Prussian Blue but fail to include conversations with and quotes from April, Lamb, and Lynx about Prussian Blue music. The sources included below, then, are valuable precisely because they provide researchers access to text and talk produced by the subjects of this analysis.

Mainstream Press

Magazines:

Vice Magazine

<http://www.viceland.com/int/v11n10/htdocs/hello.php>

Gentlemen's Quarterly

http://men.style.com/gq/features/landing?id=content_4207

Television:

Primetime ABC

<http://abcnews.go.com/primetime/story?id=1231684&page=1>

Books:

Call of the Weird: Travels in American Subcultures (Theroux, 2007).

Prussian Blue's Blog

<http://prussianbluefan.blogspot.com/search?q=>

The Official Prussian Blue Web site

www.prussianblue.net

The Web site provided a range of material for this analysis, including:

- Fan Mail pages
- Downloads of Prussian Blue songs
- Discography

- Description of Prussian Blue
- Links to interviews

The Web site has, within the last 2 months, been taken down. Before that happened I copied each of the web pages comprising the Prussian Blue Web site to my computer's hard drive (in case their site "went down"). Therefore, I still have the ability to describe and analyze the content contained therein.

Documentaries

Louis and the Nazis:

http://www.youtube.com/view_play_list?p=3116993E6F1AB007&playnext=1

Nazi Pop Twins:

<http://www.archive.org/details/MichielSmit.comPrussionBlueMichielSmit.com>

Internet Radio Interviews

Lynx and Lamb interviewed by David Pringle of White Wire Internet radio

http://www.whitewire.net/ww_radio051231_high.mp3

April interviewed by David Pringle of White Wire Internet radio

http://www.whitewire.net/ww_radio060106_high.mp3

Lyrics of Prussian Blue

Aryan Man Awake:

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/Aryan-Man-Awake-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/5E89BA3B121E49E8482570A60005AAC7>

Gone With the Breeze

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/Gone-With-The-Breeze-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/5D782472233E49E4482570A60005AAB7>

Green Fields of France

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/Green-Fields-Of-France-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/4C3DBF27EF224E064825715B0010DA83>

Lamb Near the Lane

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/Hate-for-Hate-Lamb-Near-The-Lane-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/519D212FBE0BF16B482570A60005AAE3>

Hey, Hey

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/Hey-Hey-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/C2D1BB79D77BB82D4825715B0010DA4E>

I Will Bleed For You

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/I-Will-Bleed-For-You-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/7C9732353A0014D9482570A60005AAD3>

Not A Problem

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/Not-A-Problem-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/E61F2F10456D0BA04825715B0010DA5B>

Ocean of Warriors

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/Ocean-Of-Warriors-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/7F3086F3ADDC88644825715B0010DA77>

Our Vinland

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/Our-Vinland-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/67793A039964988F482570A60005AA6F>

Panderlized

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/Panzerlied-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/847F426151C59C62482570A60005AA9B>

Road to Valhalla

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/Road-To-Valhalla-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/191749F4C88E6786482570A60005AA40>

Sacrifice

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/Sacrifice-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/02CBFFAD91C0EE43482570A60005AA8B>

Sisters

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/Sisters-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/11F621DE5607963A482570A60005AB03>

Stand Up

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/Stand-Up-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/50CE667887630F9548257266002AD6C1>

The Snow Fell

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/The-Snow-Fell-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/064BD2E93AA7C1D7482570A60005AAA7>

The Stranger

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/The-Stranger-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/5B318A565AD21FAE482570A60005AB10>

Victory Day

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/Victory-Day-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/A1AE8B31CD2274DD482570A60005AA51>

Weiss Weiss Weiss

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/Weiss-Weiss-Weiss-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/E10569D6A1AE24BA482570A60005AA5F>

When I'm With You

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/When-I%27m-With-You-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/890F08FE0387538548257142000A1C5E>

Your Daddy

<http://www.sing365.com/music/lyric.nsf/Your-Daddy-lyrics-Prussian-Blue/EB308F75D0EC21A2482571D40025239F>

Music Videos

Victory Day

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wViubDpJojw>

Prussian Blue - Live Performance at Eurofest

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1q4E3PArH4g>

I'll Bleed for You

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mr_EhJsyKV4

Lamb Near the Lane

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HjbDvSuVx78>

The Stranger – Live Performance

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rjh9YQHvg4w&feature=related>

VITA

M. Justin Davis joined the University of Tennessee Ph.D. program as a Graduate Teaching Associate in 2005 and served in that role until 2009. During his term at the University of Tennessee, he balanced teaching and research, presenting over a dozen research manuscripts at regional, national, and international communication conferences, while also publishing articles in peer-reviewed academic journals. At the University of Tennessee, Justin was the recipient of the J.R. Randt Scholarship, and the Herbert H. Howard Fellowship given to promising doctoral students in the College of Communication and Information.

Justin also participated in College service as a member of the Dean's Advisory Council and Coordinator of the School of Communication Studies Internship Program. Beyond the campus, Justin was active in the community, participating as a reviewer and chair for the both the Environmental Communication Division and the American Studies Division of the National Communication Association. He also served as a member of the Board of Directors, and as President/CEO, of the non-profit Maple Chase Homeowner's Association from 2007-2009.

One of his principal areas of research explore the way that the U.S. hate movement both constructs and appropriates cultural media to shape prescriptions about identity and action. These have direct implications for the manner in which cultural identity, memory, and mind is invented, performed, and consumed. The fundamental question constituting his research program extends into cultural studies and media studies. In particular, he is interested in understanding the ways cultural media accumulate meaning through interaction with other texts and ideologies to communicate particular realities about cultural identity, action, and its relationship with society.

His most recent article, published in the *Southern Communication Journal*, focuses on news media representation of citizens in the Gulf Coast region following the landfall of hurricane Katrina. This interdisciplinary research contributes to ongoing debates in Media and Cultural Studies as well crisis communication research to explore the role of mass media during crisis events. He concludes that the discursive construction of "victims" and "survivors" accumulated through a series of rhetorical strategies and semantic devices, infusing those terms with specific racial, class, and criminality characteristics. In doing so, the coverage denied citizens' ability to define themselves while blaming victims and survivors for their presupposed irresponsibility. Because the initial aftermath of Katrina was partially mediated for officials and first responders, the realities communicated by news coverage had direct implications for the policies enacted and responses mobilized by government officials.

Onward.