Do Federal US Actions Influence Rightwing Violence?

Laura Dugan-University of Maryland, Criminology and Criminal Justice & Erica Chenoweth-University of Denver, Korbel School of International Studies
Why Ask about Rightwing Violence?

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, there are 892 Hate Groups currently operating in the United States.
Who are the Rightwing Extremists?

Some are hate groups that fall under these ideologies:

- White Nationalists
- Christian Identity Movement
- Ku Klux Klan
- General Hate groups
- Neo-Nazis
- Radical Traditional Catholicism
- Anti-LGBBT
- Neo-Confederate
- Racist Skinhead
- Anti-Immigrant
Who are the Rightwing Extremists?

June 6, 2014 – Jerad and Amanda Miller used firearms to ambush two police officers eating at a restaurant and attacked a nearby Walmart in Las Vegas, killing 3 people before being killed. The assailants decried on social media, the federal government, taxes, anti-gun laws, and demanded a revolution...

Others are Anti-Government groups and individuals, like Timothy McVeigh, that target representatives of the federal government or abortion providers.

On November 27, 2015, Robert Lewis Dear opened fire on a Planned Parenthood clinic in Colorado Springs, CO, killing 3 people and injuring 9 others. He claimed to be a “warrior for the babies.”
Known Rightwing Violence in the US, 1994-2014

Sources: Global Terrorism Database, Extremist Crime Database, Uniform Crime Reports
Conditions that Foster Rightwing Violence in the 1990s and Today

1990s
- Economic Recession
- Outsourcing of Jobs
- Fall of Soviet Union and Threat to US Power
- Military Troops Returning from Gulf War

Today
- Still Recovering from Market Crash
- Concerns about Illegal Immigration
- Rising Power of China, India, and Russia
- Military Troops Returning from Iraq War
- Recent Election of First African American President
- 2016 Presidential Election Normalizes Hate Speech

Both periods produce a group of disenfranchised individuals who were vulnerable to recruitment by violent extremists.
Why “Constituencies” Matter

- Constituencies form the pool of potential recruits into the extremists movement.
- Extremists organizations use the perceived mistreatment by government to motivate radicalization.
- Extremist groups need a thriving membership to survive.

This raises the possibility that the federal government behavior can unintentionally trigger or mollify rightwing extremist activity.
Research Question

How much do actions by the US Federal Government affect violence by Rightwing groups or persons?

The current research addresses this question during the 1993-2001 months of the Clinton administration, as the dataset needed for this analysis is still in production.
Findings

- Some evidence that punishing offenders (discriminate repression) deters.
- Rightwing perpetrators seem sensitive to issues on the Federal Government’s policy agenda.
- Due process seems related to fewer attacks.
- Hate crimes against minorities appear sensitive to how “haters” are treated and to how minorities are “privileged”.

Government Actions in Terror Environments (GATE) Dataset
Collecting GATE Data

- Downloaded Reuters news articles using elaborate search strings to identify US Federal agencies and leaders.
- Extracted lead sentences and used textual analysis to code according to the subject (actor) verb (action) and object (target).
- Kept all actions that were by a federal actor targeting terrorists or the constituencies of rightwing, jihadi, or environmental extremists.
## Current Status of GATE-USA, 1987-2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administration</th>
<th>Stories for Removal</th>
<th>Stories For Coding</th>
<th>Final Stories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reagan</td>
<td>1,333</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.H.W. Bush</td>
<td>6,192</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>23,835</td>
<td>7,790</td>
<td>3,316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.W. Bush</td>
<td>21,168</td>
<td>10,806</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama</td>
<td>4,443</td>
<td>2,259</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Bar chart showing the number of government actions by constituency type.](chart.png)

- **Constituency Type**: Rightwing, Jihadi, Environmental, General Counterterrorism
- **Conciliatory Actions**:
  - Rightwing: 276
  - Jihadi: 875
  - Environmental: 563
  - General Counterterrorism: 872
- **Repressive Actions**:
  - Rightwing: 640
  - Jihadi: 563
  - Environmental: 78
  - General Counterterrorism: 200
Actions Relevant to Terrorists and Constituencies

Directly Relevant to CT
- Criminal justice actions
- Punishment
- Reactions to attacks
- Involvement in other conflicts

Tangentially related to Constituency
- Policies on trigger issues
  - Environmental
  - Civil rights
  - Immigration, etc.

FBI agents on Friday arrested seven West Virginia militia members or sympathizers on charges of plotting to blow up the bureau's fingerprint records complex and transporting explosive materials.

President Clinton has apologized to 50 gay elected officials for the behavior of Secret Service officers who put on rubber gloves before admitting the officials to the White House for a meeting last week.
US Government Actions and Known Attacks by Rightwing Extremists

Chart showing the number of government actions and known rightwing US attacks from 1993 to 2001. The chart includes three categories: Rightwing Repression, Rightwing Conciliation, and Known Rightwing US Attacks.
Sample Findings

**Discriminate Repressive Actions on RW Terrorist attacks in the US**

GAM 3 df smooth for rrdisla, adjusted for covariates
Sample Findings

Federal Policy Actions that Favor the RW Agenda on RW Terrorist attacks in the US
Sample Findings

Federal Indiscriminate Actions that Favor Minorities on Violent Hate Crimes Against Minorities

GAM 3 df smooth for civirwla, adjusted for covariates

Component & partial residuals for antiCivil_v
Summary of Findings

- Some evidence that punishing offenders (discriminate repression) deters.
- Rightwing perpetrators seems sensitive to issues on the Federal policy agenda.
- Due process seems related to fewer attacks. Although more acts of discriminate conciliation, is sometimes associated with more violence.
- Hate crimes against minorities appear sensitive to how specific “haters” are treated and to how minorities are “privileged”.
Implications for Today

- Law enforcement should be on alert during high risk times when the federal government is acting on policy items of interest to these groups (e.g., abortion, civil rights, gun control).
- Punishing high profile offenders appears to have a deterrent effect.
- Fair treatment of high profile offenders is important to mollifying violence.