# PARENTING AS ACTIVISM: Identity Alignment and Activist Persistence in the White Power Movement

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This article addresses the relationship between identity and activism and discusses implications for social movement persistence. We explain how individuals negotiate opportunities as parents to align and extend an activist identity with a movement's collective expectations. Specifically, we focus on how participants in the U.S. white power movement use parenting as a key role to express commitment to the movement, develop correspondence among competing and potentially conflicting identities, and ultimately sustain their activism. We suggest that parenting may provide unique opportunities for activists in many movements to align personal, social, and collective movement identities and simultaneously affirm their identities as parents and persist as social movement activists.

**Keywords:** collective behavior and social movements; social psychology; crime, law and deviance; race; gender and class; culture; sociology

Understanding the persistence of social movement activism is a tricky conceptual problem. Despite claims we are trending toward a movement society (Meyer and Tarrow 1998; McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001) in which protest is regularized, normalized, and accepted, activism remains a marginalized social status that can be risky, time-consuming, and inconsistently rewarding (McAdam 1986; Taylor and Whittier 1992; Taylor and Raeburn 1995; Nepstad and Smith 1999; Blee 2012). Myriad incentives to conform to conventional societal standards still operate as barriers for many people to openly identify with and participate in committed political activism.

Scholarship on how people become activists and sustain involvement typically focuses on the mediating role of social movement organizations and social networks to secure and deploy resources and frame issues in a way that engages participants and sustains involvement (Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1992; Meyer and Staggenborg 1996; Benford and Snow 2000; Meyer 2004; Meyer and Minkoff 2004). At the micro level, researchers emphasize how individual mobilization hinges on both

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microstructural and social psychological factors. For instance, scholars observe that individuals are more likely to become involved in political activism when they are "biographically available" or lack "personal constraints that may increase the costs and risks of movement participation" (McAdam 1986:70; see also, Lofland 1966). This typically means the most likely movement participants are politically motivated young people and others with fewer social commitments, such as marriage, children, and a stable job. Biographical availability also implies that a person has fewer competing identities to align. As obligations and commitments accumulate through the life course, however, new identity dimensions emerge and activists may respond by reducing their commitment to movement activism (Whalen and Flacks 1989; Stryker 2000).[1]

More recent research specifies that a person's obligations and commitments hinder movement participation mainly at the point when individuals initially consider whether or not to become involved, but has little influence on those already committed to the cause (Beyerlein and Hipp 2006). Beyerlein and Hipp (2006) extend Klandermans and Oegema's two-stage mobilization model that demonstrates how activists first commit to participation and then convert commitment into participation (Klandermans and Oegema 1987; Oegema and Klandermans 1994; Klandermans 1997). Once individuals have completed both stages, personal constraints associated with reduced biographical availability does not limit participation. In fact, Beyerlein and Hipp (2006) found that when already committed activists became parents, their level of movement activity increased.

In this article, we address questions about precisely *how* individuals align potentially competing identities as parents and activists. Activists must find ways to express their politics in a manner that corresponds to a personal sense of self, social roles, and the movement's collective expectations. Rather than treat parenting and movement activism as discrete and competing identity categories, we identify ways in which parenting itself may be experienced as a form of activism. For instance, becoming a parent is unlikely to hinder movement participation in cases where a movement's ideology strongly emphasizes the importance of the parent role. Likewise, activists who frame their own participation as a means to improve their children's future may more effectively manage tensions between parenting and movement involvement.

We draw from extensive ethnographic data on white power movement (WPM) activists to explain how Aryans[2] specifically imbue parenting with political convictions in ways that help them extend and align personal, social, and collective identities (Klandermans 1992; Hunt, Benford, and Snow 1994; Stryker, Owens, and White 2000; Reger, Myers, and Einwohner 2008). While activists of any political stripe must balance various identities and roles that compete with movement expectations (Stryker 2000; Reger et al. 2008), Aryan activism provides a particularly useful case to understand the undertheorized question of how activists sustain commitment over time. White power persistence requires individuals to consistently enact one of society's more marginalized identities. Capturing how white power members use the parenting role to sustain themselves as movement members is a step toward better understanding how members across a variety of different movements persist in the face of social constraints.

## IDENTITY AND ACTIVISM

Scholars have long noted that social movement involvement hinges, in part, on how activists align a personal sense of self with a collective movement identity. Collective identity refers to a shared sense of solidarity or fellow-feeling among group members (Melucci 1989; Polletta and Jasper 2001; Snow 2001; Hunt and Benford 2004; Fominaya 2010). This sense of groupness is anchored in the real and imagined shared attributes, common interests, and experiences that distinguish groups from one another (Snow 2001). Collective identity lies both within "an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community" (Polletta and Jasper 2001:285) and in the relationships between activists as they construct and sustain meanings of "who we are" over time. Movement members use collective identity as an orientation point to understand movement frames, issues, strategies, and ideology, as well as their own role expectations as activists (Hunt et al. 1994; Wieloch 2002; Fominaya 2010).

The collective identity concept helps to capture the role of meaning, motivation, and cultural representation in collective action (Polletta and Jasper 2001; Bernstein and Olsen 2009; Fominaya 2010; Reger 2012). Yet key questions remain about the relationship between personal and collective identity. One understudied issue centers on what Snow and McAdam (2000:42) refer to as "the problem of identity correspondence," or the processes "through which personal and collective identities are aligned" so that movement activity, roles, and self-concept are relatively consistent (Snow and McAdam 2000:49).

We understand personal identities as "self-cognitions tied to roles and thus to positions in organized social relations" (Stryker 2000:28). Personal identities are also used by individuals to understand and portray how they are unique when compared to other members of society (Burke and Stets 2009; Cast and Welch 2015). Individuals maintain identities as multiple parts of an overall sense of self, which includes "the meanings one has as a group member, as a role holder, or as a person" (Stets and Burke 2003:132). People carry their cognitive schema of identities and role expectations across situations and they act in line with their extant identities (Stryker 2000:28). In this way, identities, roles, and behavior are inextricably intertwined. Role behavior is the basis for identity and identities strongly move people to actions that express their meaning behaviorally (Stryker 2000:28, 33). An individual's mosaic of roles and role-related behaviors reflect their identity commitments.

Some identity commitments are more salient to individuals than others (Wiley 1991; Stryker and Serpe 1994). One's degree of commitment to a role specifies the salience of the corresponding identity. Highly salient identities "strongly move persons to behave in accord with role expectations [that define] the meaning of the identities" (Stryker 2000:35). Salient identities can also be "transsituational" (Stryker 2000:34), meaning that they may affect people's role-related choices across a multitude of situations. Thus, role-based behaviors are often expressions of a highly salient identity and the commitments associated with that identity.

While some identities and roles coexist in relative harmony, others conflict leading to stress and personal turmoil (Burke 1991). The potential for identity conflict raises questions about the strategies people employ to align multiple identities and roles. We

focus on how activists actually negotiate the complex process of creating and maintaining a highly salient activist identity that simultaneously connects personal meanings, social roles, and a collective sense of belonging and commitment to a cause (Snow and McAdam 2000:50). One strategy to align personal and collective movement identity is through identity extension efforts, which involves "the expansion of the situational relevance or pervasiveness of an individual's personal identity so that its reach is congruent with the movement's" (Snow and McAdam 2000:50). Personal identities are the "self-designations and self-attributions" an individual regards as "personally distinctive" (Snow 2001:3; Stets and Burke 2003). Personal identity attributes are often, albeit not always, closely tied to one's social identities. Social identities are grounded in established social roles, such as "teacher" or "parent" or broader social categories, such as gender or ethnicity. When one's social roles are deeply intertwined with self-concept, roles become highly salient and pervasive (Snow 2001). And, when individuals align personal and social identities with a movement's collective identity, they connect the personal and the political in ways that help them persist as movement activists (Snow and McAdam 2000; Haenfler 2004).

We describe how activists use the parenting role to enact movement commitments through repeated, personal acts they imbue with powerful political meanings. Our explanation highlights how activists negotiate who they are as individuals and their shared collective identities, as well as the social contexts where this identity negotiation occurs. Even for the most committed activists, much of this negotiation does not happen during explicit protest moments or even during "latent movement activities" (Melucci 1989; Fominaya 2010; Whittier 2012), but in ordinary, routine everyday activities.

## ACTIVIST PARENTING

Parenting is among the most common social roles and salient personal identities in our society (Daniels and Weingarten 1982; Simon 1992; Manoogian et al. 2015). Parenting involves the purposeful rearing of a child or children within a family context by providing basic necessities such as shelter and food and attention to the child's psychological and social development (Small and Eastman 1991; Simon 1997; McHale et al. 2000; Bornstein and Cheah 2006). Parenting occurs as part of a larger web of relations within family structures that produce integration among members. Highly integrated family units are typically characterized by affinity and cohesiveness helping produce, among other things, intergenerational attitude congruence between parents-children (Glass, Bengtson, and Dunham 1986; Bengtson and Roberts 1991; Silverstein, Bengtson, and Lawton 1997; Bucx, Raaijmakers, and van Wel 2010). The form of family structures and relations, however, varies substantially across socioeconomic class, race/ethnicity and a number of other dimensions (Baumrind 1966; Lareau 2011). Because parenting practices are typically viewed as domestic activities, we know relatively little about how individuals in these private spaces practice politics and manage their identities as parents and as activists (Maccoby and Martin 1983; Hays 1996; Twine 2010).We focus on a particular style of parenting that seeks to build intergenerational solidarity around identification with a particular social movement. We conceptualize "activist parenting" as a

form of identity work in which parents align parenting and activist roles to simultane-
ously give meaning to themselves as both parents and as committed movement mem-
bers (Snow and Anderson 1987; Hunt et al. 1994; Snow and McAdam 2000). Activist
parenting occurs when individuals perceive child-rearing responsibilities as essential to
their politics and use opportunities to imbue parenting activities with oppositional
movement convictions. Rather than responding to biographical changes by withdrawing
from their activist self, the parents we studied sustained their activist self through the
parenting role.[3]

Activist parenting reflects a process of identity extension in which parent's
"personal identity [is] broadened and made more inclusive in terms of its range of
relevance" and pervasiveness across everyday parenting contexts (Snow and McAdam
2000). Parenting provides activists with myriad opportunities to align personal,
social, and collective identity and, in turn, activist parents experience self-efficacy and
satisfaction derived from meeting the movement's collective expectations. Part of the
power related to activist parenting is that it can occur so frequently, in day-to-day
activities, anchored by one of the most salient and pervasive social roles people enact
(Hunt et al. 1994).

Our emphasis differs from the more common scholarly attention given to how
parents' political activities and beliefs influence children. Most research that examines
the links between parenting and activism focuses primarily on political socialization and
the intergenerational transmission of political beliefs from parents to children. For
example, prior work has explained 1960s student activism as the outcome of an older,
politically radical generation socializing children to carry on activist traditions (Kenis-
ton 1968; Fendrich and Tarleau 1973). Other studies focus on how the style of parenting
influenced political orientations and activism among children (e.g., Flacks 1988; John-
ston 1991, 1994; Naples 1998).

Childhood socialization is complex, dynamic, and multidirectional (Ambert 2001;
Lareau 2011). On the one hand, parents' efforts to socialize children may lead them to
adopt their parents' ideas and values as their own (e.g., Twine 2010; Lareau 2011). Con-
versely, parents may attempt to steer children toward one set of goals while children
may pursue very different ones (Ambert 2001; McDevitt and Chaffee 2002).[4] Under-
standing the effects of parental socialization on children is important and we certainly
have observed white power parents trying to build intergenerational solidarity by
encouraging their children to identify with white power and support the movement as
they mature. But given the long-term uncertainty of family socialization efforts and the
fact that our data cannot provide us with definitive long-term insights on the outcomes
of Aryan parents' socialization efforts, we do not address questions about the effective-
ness of political socialization. Instead, we focus on the undertheorized question of how
parents' efforts at political socialization help to sustain their own activist identity. It is
in the process of parents' efforts to build intergenerational solidarity that they reinforce
their own commitments to the cause and sustain their activist identity.

We now turn to our methodological approach and data sources. We then briefly
describe the ideological and organizational features of the WPM. Our analytic sections

explain the WPM's collective expectations, the movement's view of the family as a site of activism, and the interactional strategies Aryans use to extend, align, and maintain their parental and movement identities. We conclude by discussing implications of activist parenting on how we might more broadly conceptualize and understand this type of activism across different types of social movements.

## METHOD AND DATA

Our analysis draws upon ethnographic data on the U.S. WPM to explain how Aryans use the parenting role to sustain their identity as political activists. Our data were collected between 1997 and 2015 although data collection was not continuous across the years we studied the movement. Relying on interviews, participant observation, and content analysis of WPM websites and other movement literature, we gathered data in several phases as our sample snowballed and we achieved new levels of access. As we are not members of these groups, entrée was difficult. WPM members are often antagonistic toward outsiders, prefer secrecy, and, at times, participate in illegal activities. Moreover, the movement's networks are diverse and loosely structured, and levels of activism vary widely among participants.

Simi made initial contact with Aryan Nations and Southwest Aryan Separatists via several letters and phone calls requesting, as a sociologist, opportunities to observe movement events. Eventually both groups granted these requests on the sole condition that he was white. These contacts snowballed into others across several of the movement's networks, culminating in the sample described below. While many contacts were open to interviews and observation, many others were not. Simi conducted unobtrusive, nonconfrontational field observations as both a participant and observer (see Gold 1958; Gans 1982; Snow, Benford, and Anderson 1986) and relied on an empathetic, nonjudgmental interaction style to build rapport and gain insight about their perspective. WPM members sometimes challenged Simi's status, accusing him of working in concert with law enforcement agencies or as an agent provocateur. Some of these challenges resulted in threats of bodily harm, although none occurred.

Our sampling strategies produced substantial variation in terms of group types (i.e., Klan, skinhead, Christian Identity etc.), geographic distribution of subjects, and demographic characteristics. Our contacts participated in a wide range of networks and groups active in 27 states.[5] Interviews included one-to-six-hour face-to-face and telephone interviews with 133 Aryan activists. Eighty-nine follow-up interviews were conducted with primary contacts for 222 total interviews. Forty-four of the subjects were interviewed within the past two years and are now formers who defected anywhere between one and twenty years ago. Of the 133 interviewees, 100 were male and 33 were female. Their ages ranged from 15 to 25 years (N = 16), 26 to 35 years (N = 39), 36 to 45 years (N = 35), 46 to 55 years (N = 29), and 55 and over (N = 14). Participants represent a broad cross section of socioeconomic status found in the movement (see also Aho 1990; Blee 2002).[6] Sixty-two percent of those interviewed

were parents at the time of data collection and the majority were WPM activists prior to becoming parents.

Simi conducted participant observation with Christian Identity adherents in Arizona, Idaho, Nevada, and Utah and a variety of white power activists in Southern California. The events observed in Utah and Arizona included 23 house visits lasting from one-to-three days and a variety of social gatherings (e.g., parties, Bible study sessions, hikes, etc.). Additional fieldwork included four three-to-five-day visits to the Aryan Nations' former headquarter in Hayden Lake, Idaho, to observe activities and interview participants at Aryan Nations World Congresses and other more informal gatherings. Fieldwork in Southern California included observations of various social gatherings and 22 visits in activists' homes ranging from two days to five weeks.

Insights gained from participant observation are not available through sole reliance on secondary sources and movement propaganda (on this point, also see Blee 2002). Observations of Aryan parenting provided real-time data that allowed for the analysis of unfolding processes (Becker 1958) that could be compared with what Aryans said during interviews. To some extent, statements derived from interviews represent idealized notions of what the movement expects in terms of parenting as opposed to what parents actually do. The observations of family environments were thus critical to assessing the types of daily practices Aryan parents employ. We reviewed secondary sources to verify data we collected through primary interview and observational techniques. All of the names used in this manuscript are pseudonyms to conceal the identities of our subjects.

## THE U.S. WHITE POWER MOVEMENT

The United States has a long history of white power activism. During the Reconstruction Era, for example, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) became a prominent force in the former Confederacy's guerilla war to retain white supremacy and repress the freedom of former slaves (Trelease 1971). During the 1920s, the KKK emerged as a national movement as membership soared to nearly five million and the organization established itself as a political force (Maclean 1994; McVeigh 2009). Post–civil rights era integrationist policies and multicultural ethics, however, have increased public stigma associated with explicit white supremacist ideologies and those who espouse them (Kaplan 1995; Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 2000; Blee 2002; Cunningham 2013). Although racist tendencies certainly persist in many forms and among many people (Feagin 2013), there are now "strong codes against the direct expression of racist views" (Van Dijk 1992; Billig 2001). Popular media, government agencies, and human rights organizations lampoon white power activists as wackos on the fringe (for similar arguments, see Aho 1990; Blee 2002).

Contemporary U.S. white power activists participate in "fragmented, decentralized, and often sectarian network(s)" (Burris, Smith, and Strahm 2000:218) of overlapping groups such as the KKK, Christian Identity sects, neo-Nazis, and white power skinheads (Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 2000). Although differences exist among participants in these networks, adherents build their activist identity around a core set of radically racist

and anti-Semitic beliefs (Burris et al. 2000). Aryans feel they have special insights into the "true" nature of the world enabling them to see through cultural subterfuge and reject what they perceive as false claims about the virtues of a multicultural society. Foremost in their worldview is a commitment to white power and defense of the "white race" from genocidal plans perpetuated by Jews and their "nonwhite pawns." Aryans' core beliefs about racial genocide and securing a world for white children also reflect a collective emphasis on raising a new generation of movement members. Parenting is a crucial part of this goal. We now turn to explain how Aryans sustain their activism through parenting.[7]

## PARENTING AS MOVEMENT ROLE

Activist parents face complicated choices. Parenting demands a focus on caring for children's physical and emotional needs and being attentive to social expectations (De Coster 2012). Powerful expectations for parents may also flow from movement cultures. WPM leaders and rank-and-file activists discuss parenting as among the highest callings for movement members. Aryans discuss parenting as a prime mechanism to create the next generation of white power activists; the movements only hope for survival in the face of oppression from the "Zionist Occupied Government's" (ZOG's) plan for white genocide. White power music, one of the movement's most ubiquitous forms of cultural expression, glorifies the virtues of Aryan families (Corte and Edwards 2008). Movement websites present literature, videos, and photo galleries that celebrate the Aryan family and provide an array of parenting advice forums. Aryan family photos depict children in clothing with white power insignia and families in explicit Aryan-themed settings such as white power music festivals, as well as in more mundane settings such as homes or neighborhood parks (Eyerman and Jamison 1998; Eyerman 2002; Futrell, Simi, and Gottschalk 2006; Simi and Futrell 2006).

Interactions across movement contexts help anchor Aryans' idealism about activism and parenting. According to our observations, WPM members embrace Aryan family idealism as a central part of their identity. Aryans also emphasize that one of the most essential contributions to the movement is for parents to raise ideologically aligned children. The following statements typify how Aryans we observed view the relationship between family and the movement.

> [The role of the family] is central, no doubt about it. You can't get anywhere without a solid foundation. The movement has to have stronger families to survive. If we can raise our children to be racially conscious and white families pull together, then maybe there's hope. It's really the only hope we have. (Interview with Aryan Nations activist, May 23, 1997)

> We all know the movement begins with the family so if you can't save your family then what's the point? The family is what we fight for—it is the struggle... (Interview with SWAS activist, January 22, 1997)

Beyond recognizing the importance of the family, Aryans also consider parenting as a means to align and affirm their parenting role and political beliefs. In an explanation typical of our subjects, an Aryan father explained,

> Yeah it's conscious. It felt good trying to connect my kids [to the movement]. It made me feel like I was living the ideals not just talking about it, but actually doing my part. (Interview with former Aryan activist, March 14, 2013)

Parenting provides Aryans a broad range of opportunities to "do their part" for the movement by outwardly expressing political ideals and thereby integrating movement expectations about their parent role with their sense of self.[8] Activist parenting's primary latent effect is to solidify and sustain parents' own political commitments.

The connection between parents and the movement begins with the idea that biological reproduction itself is a form of political activism. Aryans perceive parenthood as deeply political and reflect this sensibility when they talk about the relationship between family and movement. Although mothers and fathers play different roles in the Aryan family, we found relatively few differences in how women and men talked about raising Aryan children. Both genders reflected upon how important parenting is for the movement's future. For example, a SWAS mother of three proudly showed off her newborn son and explained the honor of Aryan motherhood.

> Look at him [her newborn son] he's so special, he's white and that just makes it even more special. That's what's so amazing knowing that I'm helping saving my race. It's an honor to raise white babies. (Interview with SWAS activist, June 26, 1997)

Aryans who choose to have children directly contribute as "race saviors" to the movement's goal of helping repopulate a dwindling race.

Becoming a parent who anticipates raising white, racially conscious children is a political act that helps to prefigure the world imagined by movement members. This prefigurative dimension may be especially important to parents' identity alignment with the movement (Breines 1980; Polletta 1999). By producing white children they plan to raise as Aryans, white power members demonstrate a deep identification with the cause and perform an activist role considered vital to the movement.

## IDENTITY EXTENSION, RITUALISM, AND ACTIVIST PARENTING IN THE HOME

Activist parenting is a form of identity extension that occurs when Aryans broaden their personal identity and parental role to align with the movement's political goals. This is an ongoing process that hinges on regular reinforcement in the everyday social spaces where Aryans act as parents. Homes are the primary parenting spaces that afford Aryans

relative freedom, control, and privacy to enact political commitments (Blee 2002; Futrell and Simi 2004; Simi and Futrell 2010).

Aryan parents use the home as an ideological shelter where they filter anti-Aryan meanings and normalize extreme racist and anti-Semitic culture through a variety of rit-ualistic practices (Simi and Futrell 2010). Rituals are powerful forms of symbolic com-munication that express meanings about social relationships (Durkheim 1915; see also Wuthnow 1987; Bell 1992; Taylor and Whittier 1995; Collins 2004). Scholars analyze rit-uals as symbolic performances that express conflict (Goffman 1959, 1967; Garfinkel 1967), symbolize resistance (Schechner 1993), frame grievances and communicate power (Benford and Hunt 1992), create "emotion culture" (Gordon 1989) and group boundaries (Taylor and Whittier 1992). The systematic and repetitive nature of rituals provides consistent reinforcement of the special meanings participants intend to com-municate. The emotional intensity that characterizes ritual is a central dimension used to build intergenerational solidarity among families more broadly (Silverstein et al. 1997).

Aryan parents try to normalize white power in the home through various rituals to establish a cultural tone aligned with movement ideals. While the particular styles and practices Aryans use to create a white power environment vary, we observed several con-sistent ritual practices parents used in home settings. As we describe below, Aryan parents sustain white power culture through naming practices that mark children with movement identifiers, by racializing everyday activities, infusing Aryan ideals into com-mon celebratory events, and displaying racist and anti-Semitic symbols in the home. Through these ritual practices, Aryans express their politics in myriad everyday acts as parents, which help to expand and reinforce the pervasiveness of their activist self.

## Naming as Symbolic Ritual Anchor

Naming typically reflects the priorities, ideals, and expectations of the namer as opposed to the named (Lieberson and Bell 1992; Sue and Telles 2007). There are few more repeti-tive expressions directed at a child than their name. Once marked, parents and others consistently use names as the child's referent. By choosing to mark their children with movement symbols, activist parents establish grounds for consistently seeing their own political identity each time they interact with their children.

In our sample, it was common for Aryan parents to name children with an Aryan signifier, an act that helps them anchor their political commitment to the movement and reinforce that commitment over time. Aryan parents draw children's names and nicknames from popular movement symbols with differing degrees of subtlety depend-ing on parenting style. Parents use names that overtly invoke Nazi Germany, although the most notorious Nazi-related name—Adolf Hitler—seems rare.[9] Randy, a SoCal Aryan and expectant father, explained the significance of a name in terms of its associa-tion with a particular racial/ethnic heritage and his own identification with it.

> …the name I wish I was born with and will probably name my child if it's a
> son is Ernst. It's a good Aryan name and it'll help him stay in touch with his

white roots and I'm a fan of Ernst Rohm, Hitler's best friend who was betrayed by the traitors to Hitler, Himmler and Goering. (Interview with SoCal Aryan activist, February 25, 2001)

Nicknames given to children can also evoke explicit Aryan themes. A young child we observed was nicknamed "Little Hitler" by his parents and family friends to proudly describe his aggressive extremist attitude.

More typically, parents strategically choose names that movement outsiders are less likely to identify as explicitly Aryan, yet are deeply meaningful to parents and other movement members (see also Lieberson 2000). For instance, we interviewed an Aryan couple who named their son Hunter to signify the fictional character in William Pierce's infamous white power fantasy novel of the same name (MacDonald 1989). In the book, the protagonist, Hunter, guns down interracial couples and Jews to "cleanse" America and save the future of white civilization. Without prompting, the father told us his dual rationale for choosing to name his son Hunter. He identifies with *Hunter* as the primary character in one of his favorite books and the name stands as a symbolic reminder to both he and his son about who they are and what they struggle for as Aryans. At the same time, the name's significance is not obvious to non-Aryans outside the home and thus less likely to provoke ire from non-Aryans. The hidden meaning of the name, however, does not diminish its meaning for Hunter's parents and, in fact, may actually heighten its meaning to those in the know. In this sense, names can be coded in ways similar to Eyerman's (2002) discussion of movement-related music lyrics.

Aryan parents also draw from Nordic mythology and other threads of ethnic heritage they perceive as closely tied to Aryan bloodlines. For instance, Nordic names include Valkeries, the winged warriors of Nordic mythology, while other activist parents choose names rooted in the word "Aryan," such as Ariana. Similarly, other parents choose European-derived names as a starting point for teaching children Aryan meanings. As a Christian Identity member explained, he and his wife chose names they associated with their own ethnic identity which they intend to use as a point of initiation to help socialize their children into an Aryan worldview.

My daughters' names are Alana and Haley. We're all very proud of our Gaelic backgrounds and will pass that on to our children. The names we selected are just the start of teaching them to be proud of their heritage. (Interview with Aryan Nations activist, May 23, 1997)

Aryan naming is simultaneously a socialization strategy that Aryan parents use in an attempt to imbue children with white power symbolism from birth and also a mechanism for intensifying parents' own commitments to the movement. Naming children with an Aryan signifier creates the opportunity for parents' frequent and repeated ritualistic expressions of white power meanings. In short, the child is an ongoing reminder of the parents' own political commitments. As a SoCal white power parent explained:

It's not gonna start a revolution or anything, but names are like a lot of other things, it's what they symbolize that's important. They tell you something about what's in a person's heart and they help remind us what's in our own hearts and what the future holds. (Interview with SoCal Aryan activist, August 20, 2002)

Naming is a general practice essential to the parenting role. Aryan names, like names more broadly, operate as identity references (Gerhards and Hans 2009) and collective memory anchors (Gongaware 2010:218). When Aryan parents bestow an Aryan signifier on their child, they initiate a repeated socialization process by which parents relay to the child, and themselves, the meanings associated with the name. This repetition means that the parents can constantly see in that child the embodiment of their own white power politics.

## Normalizing Racism in the Home

Aryan home rituals take many forms. Some rituals are integrated into repeated, mundane daily activities such as meals and bedtime routines, while others are integrated into less frequent but more remarkable experiences such as birthday and holiday celebrations. For instance, before-dinner or bedtime prayers may be tinged with Aryan themes of dispossession, struggle, and the impending race war. Parents pepper dinnertime discussions with matter of fact statements about "Jew dogs," "spics," "niggers," and "muds" and proclaim the importance of using only "white foods," while explicitly avoiding what they perceive as "nonwhite" foods such as watermelon or black-eyed peas, "Jew foods" such as kosher products, and Mexican beer to name only a few. Parents also play white power music as the background theme to their racialized home life.

Aryan parents also organize elaborate ritual performances, which require greater strategy, planning, and theatrics. For instance, Aryan parents use common birthday celebrations and other rites of passage such as graduations and hunting trips, to connect children to white power culture. We have observed parents and family friends give children birthday gifts that they explicitly connect to racial ideology. Parents reinterpret toys such as "G.I. Joe" as "G.I. Nazis," clothe them in homemade uniforms with swastika arm bands, and offer them to their children with elaborate stories about how they fight to "save the white race." Likewise, parents also transform blonde blue-eyed "Barbies" into race-saving "Aryan girls" who have white babies to grow the flock. We witnessed gifts such as clothing emblazoned with racist insignia, Aryan comic books, white power-themed coloring books, neo-Nazi video games, Aryan-themed music, Waffen-SS knives, and other weapons. Birthday celebrations included swastika cakes, sometimes emblazoned with additional symbols such as "white power" and robed Klansmen figurines. Ritual events also serve as a form of group socialization, which extends and reinforces everyday racist practices in the home. Both parents and family friends racialize the happy-birthday song by substituting the child's name with phrases like "young Aryan" and "white warrior" and infuse entire celebrations with sieg heil

salutes and choruses of "White Power!" and "RAHOWA," which is the WPM's code for "racial holy war."

When Aryan parents host other white power members at birthday parties, graduations, and other ritual gatherings, they display their activism and garner compliments and support from other activists. Likewise, parents post photos of the events on Aryan social media sites where other supportive movement members encourage their political efforts. Such supportive social networks offer parents reflected appraisals from significant others, which are important to sustaining an activist identity, as one field observation illustrates

> Glenn, an Aryan father of five, gathered with his large extended family to celebrate his birthday. Shortly after the group sang "happy birthday," his nine-year old daughter, Liberty, approached him holding out a white T-shirt. Glenn held the shirt so he could see it, smiled broadly and turned the front of the shirt toward the group. After a moment, he quickly pulled the shirt over his head. A swastika inscribed in black ink by Liberty adorned the middle of the shirt. Above the swastika, Liberty had penned the words "white power" and drew SS lightning bolts on each side. Liberty said she and her mother worked together on the shirt design. As Glenn showed off the shirt to his relatives, everyone smiled and complimented both Liberty and her father. (Observation of Aryan gathering, May 2, 2014)

We do not know how much Liberty understood the meaning of phrases like "white power" or symbols like the swastika or SS lightning bolts. But Glenn clearly expressed pride and satisfaction that his daughter demonstrated to him, his family, and his friends a connection to white power ideas, which he and his wife had worked diligently to socialize her into.

Rituals often occur in spaces adorned with symbols that reflect and accentuate meanings the rituals emphasize. Aryan parents, in varying degrees, display and promote white power cultural items they closely identify with to turn their homes into symbolic havens. These symbols may include photo collages of children surrounded by white power symbols, along with posters, cards, newsletters, racist comic and coloring books, white power video games, and Aryan music fanzines. Aryans may decorate their homes with swastika flags along with photos of Adolf Hitler and other Nazi leaders or use more discrete movement-related decor. Movement-related clothing is also a common feature of Aryans' wardrobes and includes t-shirts emblazoned with Hitler, Nazi soldiers, hooded Klansmen, and motifs of white power music bands. Aryan parents extend their sartorial symbolism by also clothing children with movement paraphernalia, such as swastika T-shirts, infant-sized Klan robes, child-sized Nazi uniforms, and Aryan-themed jewelry. As one parent explained, clothing her child with political symbolism fills her with pride and happiness.

> It's [symbolic movement clothing] part of her education. I mean I can only tell her so much but she needs to experience it… seeing her wear this [Confederate

flag T-shirt] makes me happy, you know proud, that we're showing her things I had to find out on my own, you know because my parents didn't have the courage to tell me the truth. . .(Interview with Aryan Nations activist, April 11, 1997)

Like many parents we spoke with, this Aryan mother felt pleased and empowered by her activist parenting. She expressed her personal and collective identity commitments to the movement in her practices that she described as going beyond what her own parents were willing to do. She adopted activist parenting, which included taking her daughter to white power compounds and festivals and other large movement events.

It is difficult to know precisely how much Aryan parents' efforts to normalize white power ideas in the home may compel their children to embrace movement messages. But, it is clear that parents' socialization efforts serve to affirm and reinforce their own movement identities. Parents strategically use the privacy of the home to align their activist self and their parental role as they replicate movement mantras that encourage them to socialize the next generation of white power activists.

To be sure, Aryans do not enjoy complete freedom of expression in their homes. Aryan parents must strategically balance desires for expressing white power purity in the home with the need to conceal extremism from outsiders and avoid unwanted conflict. Yet, even when forced to conceal some of their beliefs to outsiders, Aryan parents feel they are performing their activist role by weaving white power ideas into daily routines as much as they can, thereby reducing the psychological distance between their personal and social role as parent and their collective white power activist identity.

### Rule Setting and Boundary Maintenance at Home and School

Aryans find opportunities to extend activist parenting through rule-making and boundary maintenance efforts intended to filter unwanted multicultural influences on their children. White power families live within institutional contexts predicated on aspects of multiculturalism and populated with the racial others they oppose. Under these conditions, Aryan parents feel they must be vigilant to control their children's exposure to competing political ideas. Aryan parents particularly focus on the socialization influences of peers and media and work to control friendship selection and the media messages their children receive. Control in terms of peer selection and filtering media sources provide opportunities for Aryan parents to live by white power ideals. Aryans perceive these efforts and the struggles they involve as a form of political resistance, which affirms their identity as activists.

Stryker (2000:31) observes that "every commitment to networks or groups not directly tied to a movement itself threatens the hegemony of the movement in securing persons' allegiance and participation." Aryan parents apply a similar logic to selecting their children's peers. Outsider influences offer competing identities that may challenge the ideals Aryan parents hope to teach their children. To combat unwanted influences, Aryan parents attempt to isolate their children, to the extent they can. For instance, a SoCal Aryan father related a familiar theme among the Aryan parents we observed:

I surround them with white culture, friends and family, so that their deepest connections and best childhood memories are related to their own people. My kids are only allowed to attend birthday parties and play groups made up of white children and parents…White parents, white children, white friends. (Interview with SoCal Aryan activist, June 29, 2004)

Similarly, other Aryan parents described the importance of limiting relationships with "nonwhites" to avoid confusion and present clear and consistent messages:

I would never allow my child to go over to [a nonwhite's] house. They are always doing something to someone. If you are going to stand against them then you can't allow your children to be friends with them. (Interview with SoCal Aryan activist, March 29, 2002)

Aryan parents recognize the myriad constraints on limiting children's exposure to racial others in their everyday lives. In turn, these constraints require strategic adaptations by parents related to choosing activities and peers that they feel increases the likelihood their children will experience and identify with a white power framework.[10]

Even in the privacy of the home, parents must be vigilant to control the multiculturalism that seeps in through various forms of media. Messages antithetical to Aryan ideals threaten parents' political socialization efforts and compromise their own role expectations as activists. Aryans emphasize that control over media images and messages their children receive is a key part of their parental duty. As one Aryan father explained, "We got rid of cable TV and only use our VHS and DVD for entertainment. We only show her movies with white people in them and only movies with strong white values" (interview with SoCal Aryan activist, May 23, 2002).

Activist parents have specific political objectives in mind when they scan and filter their children's media environment. For instance, Aryan parents we observed were quick to highlight the popular show *Dora the Explorer*, whose main character is a young Latina, as an example of multicultural programming they abhor. As an Aryan mother explained,

I'm very cautious of what I allow them to watch…. Dora is out of the question. They have some German cartoons…I'm glad she likes the really old ones, and if I can find any of the banned cartoons, I will let her watch those. (Interview with SoCal Aryan activist, July 20, 2004)

Exerting control of children's media exposure is no easy task for Aryan parents. In a world filled with competing influences, the parents we interviewed frequently talked about the frustrations of trying to align what they want as a parent and activist with movement expectations:

She used to watch Clifford the Big Red Dog all the time. But then we saw an episode where he had a black friend and we said no more…. Little Mermaid's

not too bad, but it's got some multicultural crap. [My husband] always tells me we need to stop letting her see this stuff, but it's so hard raising kids and wanting them to experience a pure Aryan lifestyle when you're constantly surrounded by all of this. . .. (Interview with Aryan Nations activist, August 3, 2001)

Such ongoing exchanges highlight ways in which parents both subtly and explicitly attempt to regulate their children's socialization experiences. While it is unclear precisely how these efforts affect children's worldview over time, this regulatory role certainly affirms the parents' views about their own role as political activists. As Aryans exploit even subtle opportunities to build solidarity between children and movement ideals, activist parents simultaneously work to align their personal identity with parental role expectations and movement expectations. To be sure, Aryan parents have to negotiate a complicated multicultural terrain that constrains their activist parenting and creates a sense of frustration. But, the more parents act like an activist by attempting to meet movement expectations, the more they continue to feel that activism is an integral attribute of their personal identity and parenting role. To the extent that they can align these dimensions of their identity, they experience a sense of self-efficacy critical to sustaining an activist self.

### Shaping School Experiences

Aryan parents' efforts to limit children's exposure to multicultural messages becomes more difficult as their kids reach school age and begin spending unsupervised time outside the home. In terms of formal education, Aryan parents have two main options. They may commit to homeschool or choose to send their children to public or private school outside the home.

As one of the most committed, systematic, and time-consuming aspects of activist parenting, homeschooling can intensify the activist parenting role as it tightly couples the parent's political self, their parental role, and movement ideals. Aryans view homeschool as an ideal form of political indoctrination. Homeschooling allows parents to racialize the content of the lessons and simultaneously keep their children out of public schools, which the movement defines as a bastion of multicultural race-mixing and Jewish propaganda. As one Aryan mother explained,

Homeschool is the best. You provide the information, they live it. I'm not about to put my child in public school. Homeschool allows me to know my children will get the truth and not all this liberal propaganda. (Interview with SWAS activist, January 19, 1999)

The risk of exposing children to competing influences in public school settings makes the prospect of homeschool especially attractive to movement members.

Mothers organize most of the homeschooling activities we observed. In some instances, mothers homeschool alone, organizing makeshift curricula using local libraries and consulting movement websites, such as Stormfront.org, that provide how-to

information on homeschooling and chatrooms to discuss education strategies with others in the movement. Whether it is a single parent or a group, Aryan homeschoolers typically organize a curriculum that focuses on fundamentals of reading, writing, and math, while also saturating lessons with Aryan themes. History and social studies lessons focus on preserving European cultures. A homeschooler explained how she used her lessons as a tool for cultural preservation.

> . . .I think with the public schools just promoting filth and hypocrisy I can't imagine sending my kids there so I teach them at home and I know the more we do this we will be ensuring our children have the tools to preserve our culture. . . (Interview with SoCal Aryan activist, June 20, 2004)

Aryan homeschoolers see themselves as their children's initial filter for enlightened truth about the world. Teaching is proselytizing and homeschool enables Aryans to control the political ideas children encounter.

> We need to educate our children. They're being indoctrinated into a society that has no morals, no responsibility. To survive, we need to teach our children that there's more to life than the garbage they're feeding us. (Interview with SoCal Aryan activist, August 21, 2002)

While the WPM celebrates parents who homeschool as among the most committed members, the option is an unattainable luxury for most Aryans who lack the time and resources to homeschool. As a result, most Aryans send their children to public schools. But public schooling also gives activist parents opportunities to politicize education and express their activist self. Aryan parents use public school experiences to teach their children how to carry on as an Aryan in a world that vilifies and challenges white power views. For example, Aryan parents talk about how the prospect of racial conflict in school is an opportunity to verify the legitimacy of white power views for their children and themselves.

> I'm already worried about preschool. . .I know when our son starts school it will be 90% nonwhites. We'll show him the difference. We'll show him that most of Mexicans and blacks are just out to get what they can, that they would hurt you in a second if they could. . .. Sure he can be civil to them at school that way he doesn't get into fights. But that's where it ends. (Interview with Aryan activist, July 1, 1999)

Aryan parents also frame public school curriculum at home in ways that support Aryan ideology. In a conversation with a SoCal Aryan's 13-year-old daughter, we learned that her favorite United States president was Abraham Lincoln "because he wanted to send all the blacks back to Africa." When asked how she learned that, she explained,

In school our history book mentioned something about this but my dad really focused on teaching me about it. He taught me that a lot of the history in my school isn't true or they don't focus much on things like this so he talks to me about what actually happened in our history and shows me what's actually right. (Interview with SoCal activist, October 17, 2002)

Aryan parents who have the flexibility to choose the specific neighborhood and schools for their children strategically rely on the persistently high levels of de facto residential and school segregation (Peterson and Krivo 2010; Reardon and Owens 2014) to help insulate their children from nonwhites. Living in mostly white neighborhoods helps parents increase the likelihood that white peers will surround their children in school and other social activities, even though these peers may not adhere to white power ideology.

Aryan parents embrace strategies related to peer selection, media messages, and schooling to express control over their children's socialization. Aryan parents' strategic efforts to socialize their children into the movement nourish their own activism and sense of self as movement participants. While many Aryan parents accept that as children age, it is virtually impossible to completely protect them from non-Aryan influences. Aryan parents, however, feel that targeted restrictions, especially early in children's lives, increase the odds children will embrace white power views. As they pursue this goal, they fulfill collective expectations regarding their role as activist parents, and reinforce their own identity commitment to the movement.

## CONCLUSION

Social movement research tends to ignore aspects of activists' everyday lives, focusing instead on how movement organizations recruit and sustain membership during high profile campaigns (for exceptions, see Naples 1992; King 2004). Consequently, we know relatively little about how activists negotiate their daily experiences and sustain their political identity. To understand how social movements persist, we must more directly attend to questions about how activists negotiate everyday settings because these experiences comprise so much of their lived reality. By attending to the daily experiences of political activists, scholars can heed McAdam's (2011) recent call to avoid "movement-centric" tendencies that unnecessarily isolate social movements from other sociological fields of study. Activist identity extends beyond marches, demonstrations, and organizational meetings. Committed political activism is a moral status that can permeate movement members' thoughts and interactions across movement and nonmovement situations, including family life and the parenting role. When activists connect a highly salient personal identity to a primary social role that is relevant to them across many contexts and situations, they find a variety of opportunities to enact their politics and affirm their movement commitments.

For activists facing risky and oppressive social contexts, merely sustaining an activist identity is an especially complicated task. Aryans experience very few circumstances

where they can openly enact their political convictions (Berbrier 2002; Linden and Klandermans 2006; Simi and Futrell 2009). The family, however, provides relative freedom and a cultural laboratory for Aryans to express and practice their radical views (Melucci 1989). Aryan parents use intimate relationships with their children and the relatively private sphere of the home to extend and align their personal and social identity to the movement's collective expectations. By interweaving explicit politics into the ordinary items and routines of daily family life, Aryan parents reduce the psychological distance between everyday life and political extremism promoted by the movement.

By expressing their politics through family rituals, rule setting, and boundary work, Aryan parents establish their activist identity as relevant and pervasive across myriad daily experiences (Snow and McAdam 2000). The everyday forms of activism we describe establish a consistent cultural tone among parents and children. Parents see their efforts to create Aryan culture in the home as an important, strategic parental socialization process for their children. But, our main point is that normalizing extremism also, and just as importantly, reinforces the parents' activist identity. A longtime Aryan reflected on precisely this point.

> When I was teaching my kids about the movement and trying to bring them into it... a lot it was about me you know helping support my own views and really convincing myself of being part of the movement. I thought I was doing right by my kids and was trying to help them, but they were sort of like props that we used to show [to ourselves and the movement] how much we believed and how much we represented the movement. (Interview with former SWAS activist, May 3, 2015)

Each time Aryan parents play white power music, use racial epithets, or reiterate the Aryan struggle for their children, they affirm their own political beliefs. In this sense, socializing children is a form of "self-talk" (Mead 1934; Fields 2002) or self-verification (Burke and Stets 1999) that helps Aryan parents express and concretize their movement commitments.

Political activism provides a particularly important circumstance to analyze and understand identity alignment processes, particularly with a focus on the parenting role. The two central sociological questions about all political activism are: How do people become involved in politics? And, how do they stay engaged? Biographical availability is a critical constraint on initial movement involvement and the psychological shifts and time commitments that parenting demands can be particularly vexing obstacles to political activism. But as Beyerlein and Hipp (2006) demonstrate, parenting can also be a role that deepens movement commitments and participation. Our explanation provides some insight on *how* parenting can sustain activism. Aryan ideology expressly celebrates parenting as a key movement role, members communicate collective expectations about parenting and movement goals to one another through face-to-face interaction and in virtual movement settings, and the Aryans we studied frame their parenting role as a form of activism. Under these conditions, Aryans experience parenting as political activism.

We must continue to ask similar questions about how activists across other movements, as well as those active in institutionalized politics, experience parenting and other roles that researchers do not typically analyze as part of the activist experience. Emphasizing the political dimension of parenting explicitly flips the meaning of a role that activists might otherwise experience as a reason to reduce their involvement or completely detach from the movement.[11] Questions that deserve further attention include: To what extent do leaders and members in other movements emphasize or ignore parenting and other "nonmovement" roles as a dimension of their calls to action? What are the effects of different types of activist parenting styles on movement persistence? Are there specific gender differences among parental commitment to activism across different movements? Does activist parenting differ among violent activists, such as those planning terror attacks, compared to nonviolent activists? Precisely when and why might activist parents shift to deidentify and disaffiliate with their movement? And, what are the long-term political consequences of being raised by an activist parent?

We do not see Aryan parents' efforts to imbue the home and family with white power ideals as exceptional or extraordinary. Aryan parents do what parents of all political and cultural leanings do to some extent—they attempt to control their children's environment by exposing them to "positive" role models and experiences that affirm the parents' own attitudes and aspirations for their children. In this respect, there may be some interesting parallels between the activist parenting we describe and the "concerted cultivation" (Lareau 2011) style of parenting common among mainstream middle- and upper-class American families where parents consciously attempt to socialize their children in particular ways that transmit differential advantages. While the extremist *content* of Aryan parents' socialization efforts is extraordinary, the *form* of Aryan activist parenting and its identity effects may be quite common. These matters offer fertile ground for future studies.

## NOTES

[1]While people may withdraw from overt political activism over the life course, activists typically retain political attitudes consistent with movements in which they participated (Fendrich and Tarleau 1973; McAdam 1988, 1989; Whalen and Flacks 1989; Sherkat and Blocker 1997).

[2]We use the term "Aryan" throughout the article as a short hand reference to white power movement members. The term "Aryan" has a long history and signifies a specific geocultural group (see Thapar 1996:3–29). Aryan was a name widely used during Nazi Germany as part of the Third Reich's "master race" theory. Contemporary white power advocates continue to use the term to describe themselves. There is some disagreement among neo-Nazis about what is and what is not Aryan. In recent years, there has been a shift toward "Pan Aryanism" or the idea that despite variations among nationalities, all whites belong to a single racial family that stretches across the globe (Kaplan and Bjorgo 1998).

[3]That said, we do not claim that activist parenting is a straightforward, uncomplicated process in which parents perfectly align politics and parenting. We observed Aryans interact with children in ways that appear to contradict their own values and movement expectations. Understanding how such contradictions may shape identity and activism is an important issue that deserves

further attention but it is beyond the scope of this article. We focus on the identity alignment processes that parents employ to help sustain movement involvement.

[4]Researchers have also examined socialization outcomes within highly religious families (Glass et al. 1986; Clark, Worthington, and Danser 1988). Parents of religious groups that imagine the world in terms of a war between good and evil appear particularly rigorous in their socialization efforts (Elison and Bartkowski 1997; Bartkowski and Xu 2000). Their socialization techniques emphasize strict disciplinary enforcement of religious lifestyle (Bartkowski 1995) and unwavering church attendance (Clark et al. 1988). Rohan and Zanna (2013), however, find that children raised in highly strict, conservative households whose parents' demand adherence to rules and are unresponsive to children's psychosocial needs tend to reject parental values compared with more liberal parents who give greater care and attention to children's concerns (Rohan and Zanna 2013). Additionally, cult members often abdicate their authority as parents because of their commitment to the group's spiritual leader as the one "true parent" (Appel 1983; Whitsett and Kent 2003). Children in these groups represent a potential threat to the community because they compete for parents' attention and loyalty (Kanter 1972; Whitsett and Kent 2003). Some groups even remove children from their parents and isolate them from the rest of the group (Kanter 1972; Deikman 1990; Stein 1997).

[5]States included: Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Texas, and Washington.

[6]We found that of the Aryans interviewed, 14 percent defined themselves as "upper class," 28 percent as "middle class," 48 percent as "working class," and 10 percent as "lower class."

[7]While previous studies highlight the WPM's emphasis on families (e.g., see Aho 1990; Barkun 1994; Ferber 1998; Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 2000; Blee 2002), few studies have investigated the empirical and conceptual mechanics relevant to *how* families matter in terms of the WPM and in terms of social movements more broadly. The closest is Blee's (2002) study of the WPM where she found mothers who taught their children racist ideas but did not want them to eventually become involved in the movement. Our article neither confirms nor contradicts Blee's (2002) findings as we analyzed a different issue. The apprehension or more often ambivalence regarding children becoming involved in the movement that we encountered was typically directed toward involvement in movement turmoil and more generally helping children avoid negative consequences that may result from involvement (e.g., perceived harassment). Despite external stigma associated with the WPM and the internal schisms over doctrinal differences and interpersonal disputes Aryans balance these realities with a strong idealized commitment to white power politics. In this respect, Aryans simultaneously express disenchantment along with ingroup identification in much the same way as members of a large family. Although internal movement disputes are relatively neglected (Moon 2012), we suspect similar dynamics can be found across a wide range of movements. Future studies should compare internal disputes across multiple movements.

[8]Yet, Aryan parents also find it difficult to meet the movement's expectations. Identity alignment is a challenge as everyday life is filled with constraints that mitigate opportunities to align identity across different spheres of life and across different situations. As Simi and Futrell (2009) document, Aryans live with a strong stigma that they strategically manage across everyday roles and contexts. Part of their effort involves periodically concealing their Aryan beliefs to avoid constant ire, indignation, and unwanted conflict with non-Aryans. Aryans experience

dissonance when they conceal such a salient aspect of their identity, which they moderate by exploiting opportunities to selectively disclose aspects of their activist self. Yet, they experience these selective disclosures as a form of resistance to social constraints on identity and self-expression that they perceive (Simi and Futrell 2009). Their strategies for selectively disclosing extremist ideals vary across everyday settings, such as family, work, school, and other public contexts. Here we focus on their strategic efforts in the family.

[9]That said, there are examples of Aryan parents naming their son after the Nazi leader. The most prominent is a New Jersey couple who fought a public custody battle and, in 2009, made national news after a supermarket refused to create a birthday cake using their son's name, Adolf Hitler. The parents also have a son named after Nazi diplomat, Hons Heinrich (see Schapiro 2013).

[10]Although beyond the scope of this article, the instances where adolescent children begin to reject the WPM and motivate their parents to disaffiliate with the movement is a dramatic case in point of how threatening outside influences can be to an activist identity.

[11]Not all Aryan parents sustain their activism. Taking on the parenting role can also lead to de-identification with activism and disengagement from the movement. In these instances, parents may fail to align personal and collective identity and come to define activism as incongruous with being a "good parent." See Fleisher and Krienert (2004) for an intriguing discussion on how female gang members intentionally became pregnant as a way of leaving gang life.

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