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THE FAR RIGHT AND JANUARY 6, 2021: HOW CYBER AND REAL LIFE SPACES BECAME ONE AND THE IMAGERY THAT FACILITATED THE PROCESS

A Thesis

Presented to the

Faculty of

California State University,

San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

in

Social Sciences and Globalization

---

by

Dori LaMar

August 2021

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Approved by:

Kevin Grisham, Committee Chair, Social Science and Globalization

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ABSTRACT

The growing presence of the far right in both internet and physical spaces is of concern because of the associated violence and civil unrest. The presence of the far right on the internet is historical and persistent. It is used by the far right movement to engage, radicalize, fellowship, plan and execute events, some of which are violent. This thesis explores the ways in which the far right uses online spaces and offline spaces in tandem, and how the use of imagery facilitates this process. To do this a visual and audio analysis was conducted on 100 videos posted to the social media site Parler on January 6, 2021. The videos were analyzed for far right related imagery and songs, chants, and narration to help shed light on how cyberspace and real life space not only worked in tandem, but in this event, became one and the same. The analysis found that while certain high profile far right groups kept their imagery visibility low, America First had a visible presence and they engaged in rhetoric decrying globalization and immigrants, which is of concern as it is the unifying theme nurturing growing global ties among the far right. The results also demonstrated the tension between pro law enforcement and antigovernment far right groups as well as the far rights weaponization of patriotic symbols.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

January 6, 2021, was a cold day in Washington, D.C. The weather hovered in the low 40s Fahrenheit, but the temperature of the crowd at the "Save America" rally was heating up. President Trump implored the crowd, "if you don't fight like hell, we won't get our country back" (Groeger et al., 2021, video 24). Before the former President was done speaking, parts of the crowd had made their way down Pennsylvania Avenue and were already pushing at the gates of the US Capitol building. Some of these individuals were members of far right organizations that had planned and were now carrying out an attack on the Capitol. Inside the building, the members of the United States Congress, along with Vice President Mike Pence, were in the process of certifying the election results. The process continued until the crowd breached the building.

This event lasted just over four hours, but its historical significance cannot be measured, at least not yet. It has been called a breach, a riot, a siege, an insurrection, and a coup d'état. Regardless of label, it was both planned and executed using the internet. It was also live streamed and uploaded to the internet in real time. Video after video of the day shows people with phones out. It is known that far right actors and groups took part in the events at the Capitol on January 6, 2021. The far right has used the internet since the early 1980s.

The progression of the far right's persistent presence and its ability to harness the internet to further its agenda represents a danger to civil society.

This paper begins by defining the far right and outlining how and why the far right is considered extremist. It then investigates the history and current state of the far right's presence on the internet, followed by theoretical frameworks from the field of social science to help in understanding the far right. A visual and audio analysis of the events of January 6, 2021, at the United States Capitol is undertaken and results show that cyber and physical spaces merged into one space on that day and imagery was prevalent in those spaces, serving as a source of solidarity and purpose for the participants.

The following sections of chapter one cover the research problem and hypothesis, the type of research, and definitions. The definitions section covers the far right, extremism, internet presence, and imagery. These sections contain historical information where appropriate to both provide context and reflect the Master's program of study.

Research Problem and Hypothesis

This thesis explores how the far right uses cyber and real life spaces in tandem and how imagery facilitates this process. This question arose after witnessing various flags being flown, taken down and then re-flown around the rural areas of the High Desert of Southern California during the run up to the November 2020 election. The High Desert is known to be conservative leaning

with a lot of support for former President Trump and it is also known to have individuals who are part of the far right movement. The observations of the flags spurred further questions: why were the flags going up and down, was there some type of message being sent, and where would discussion of this occur? This led to research on the far right, especially concerning their use of internet spaces in conjunction with real life events, and how imagery facilitates this process. This research led to a hypothesis that the internet was integral to the events of January 6, 2021, at the U.S. Capitol and that imagery was a major factor in creating solidarity and purpose among the participants.

Type of Research

Research was conducted to explore this question, including the reading of several books, scholarly articles, and journalism articles. First it was important to understand the history of the far right, especially their online presence. Research into far right imagery and the mediums on which they predominantly appear was also conducted. To reflect the Master's program of study completed concurrently to writing this thesis, an interdisciplinary approach from the lens of social science, using theories of anthropology, geography, sociology, and political science, was taken, while historical background was provided where appropriate. In addition, the growing global nature of the far right was also explored to reflect the Master's course of study.

Defining the Far Right

Professor and director of the Polarization and Extremism Research and Innovation Lab (PERIL) at American University, Cynthia Miller-Idriss (2020) offers a comprehensive definition of the far right. Miller-Idriss's (2020) research of the far right includes field work done in both the United States and Germany. She places the far right into "four separate but overlapping categories: antigovernment and antidemocratic practices and ideals, exclusionary beliefs, existential threats and conspiracies, and apocalyptic fantasies'' (Miller-Idriss, 2020, p. 4). The practices and ideals of the antigovernment and antidemocratic portion of the far right seek to undermine democratic ideals around the globe. Miller-Idriss (2020) cites "disinformation campaigns, election interference, attacks on the freedom of the press, violating the constitutional protection of minority rights, or using violence and terrorism to achieve political goals" as actions taken by these groups, who often form into paramilitary groups and militias in the United States and in Europe form third parties who put forth candidates for office, sometimes being successful. Miller-Idriss (2020) notes that in the United States the lack of influential third parties resulted in far right candidates running as Republicans and attempting to sway the party from within (p. 5). This can be seen in their adoption of some of the far right's talking points and specifically their use of exclusionary and dehumanizing language.

This language reflects the far right category of exclusionary beliefs. The belief system of the far right is hierarchical and includes "racist, anti-immigrant,

nativist, nationalist, white-supremacist, anti-Islam, anti-Semitic, and anti-LGBTQ+" beliefs (Miller-Idriss, 2020, p. 6). Individuals and groups seen as inferior in this hierarchy can be subjected to language that is meant to dehumanize them and therefore make hate and violence aimed in their direction easier. These beliefs and language also aim to "preserve the superiority and dominance of some groups over others" (Miller-Idriss, 2020, p. 8). The far right utilizes this language often to target immigrants and nonwhites and they see demographic changes that will make Europe and North America browner and blacker as a threat.

This threat is the basis for the far right category Miller-Idriss (2020) refers to as "existential demographic threats and dystopian conspiracy theories" (p. 9). Overall, this concern is referred to in the global far right as the "great replacement." The "great replacement" specifically is seen as a purposeful global plan to replace white Christians with nonwhites and non-Christians. The far right charges that this plan is being carried out by national and global elites, specifically Jews, who are a popular target of far right conspiracy theorists, both historically and in the present (Miller-Idriss, 2020, p. 9). The fear is that due to immigration and refugees, in addition to demographic patterns like lower birth rates in European and North American countries, a "white genocide" will occur. The term "white genocide" is used more often in North America, while in Europe the term "Eurabia" is more often used to reflect the perceived threat from Muslim immigration to the continent (Miller-Idriss, 2020, p. 9). The term "great

replacement” was created by French far right scholar Renaud Camus in 2011 and has been used as a “framework” to embed the various far right conspiracies and existential threats (Miller-Idriss, 2020, p. 9). This shared perception of the threat of immigration and demographic change is also a unifying one among the global far right and is seen as a common cause for action (Miller-Idriss, 2020, p.11; see also Baele et al., 2020). Miller-Idriss (2020) recounts just some of the recent instances of far right violence where the perpetrator has been inspired by these ideas: the Norway attack in 2011, the 2019 Christchurch attack, the 2018 Pittsburgh Synagogue attack, and the 2019 El Paso Walmart attack. Indeed, the killers often reference each other in online writings they post before their attacks. According to Miller-Idriss (2020), over the last few years an important change has occurred, the far right does not just use conspiracy theories to “frame far-right ideas,” rather “they are motivating violent action” (p.12).

The final of Miller-Idriss’s four categories to describe the far right is apocalyptic fantasies. On the extreme far right, the belief is that the conspiracies discussed previously will lead to an imminent apocalypse, which some of the far right want to accelerate. These actors see the coming apocalypse as necessary to enable the creation of the “ethnostate,” the creation of a white, Christian homeland. Accelerationists want to speed up this process by instigating societal chaos, sometimes expressed by the desire to engage in race war (in America) and to bring on the collapse of democratic government, or Day X (in Germany) (Bennhold, K., 2021).

In this paper, the term “far right” will be used to discuss the individuals and groups that follow, engage in, and believe the phenomena described in the previous section. Among the literature and scholars, there is no one accepted term for this phenomenon. Idriss-Miller’s (2020) discussion of contested labels stresses that the label “far right” is the “best bad term” available and that it “must always be used and understood as representing a spectrum of beliefs and approaches” (p. 18).

What Makes the Far Right Extremist?

Extremism researcher JM Berger’s (2018) definition of extremism “refers to the belief that an in-group’s success or survival can never be separated from the need for hostile action against the out-group” (p. 44). Utilizing Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner’s (1978) Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior, Berger has created a framework for understanding extremism. Berger (2018) builds on Tajfel and Turner’s (1978) ideas of in-groups and out-groups. Berger (2018) explains that identity is something that is created, and people often identify with many groups based on different ways they see themselves; they are part of in-groups based on the perception of a shared identity (p. 6). These groups can be simple, for example based on living in a common city, or being fans of the same sports teams. However, some in-groups are more involved and over time details and events experienced by the groups collate into an in-group narrative (Berger, 2018, p. 53). Parallel to an in-group’s development is the

development of the out-group, those not eligible for in-group status. Berger (2018) notes that extremist in-groups clearly define boundaries regarding who qualifies for the in-group, more so than non-extremist in-groups, where boundaries may be blurrier and of lower stake. An extremist in-group eliminates "gray areas" by explicitly outlining the answers to the following questions:

> What makes an individual part of the group, why the in-group has legitimacy, what makes an individual part of the out-group, why the out-group is less legitimate than the in-group, and how members of the in-group should interact with members of the out-group? (p. 53).

The in-group builds its own identity by addressing these questions and by creating and articulating its beliefs, traits, and practices. The practices of the in-group are formed from past, current, and future behavior. Berger (2018) argues that over time, this all coalesces into the in-group's "story of us" (p. 54).

For extremist in-groups, the story of the out-group, though, is created and viewed much differently. Since none of the in-group members are part of the out-group, firsthand knowledge is often lacking and information about the out-group is often based on less reliable sources. Further, Berger notes that the in-group's definition of the out-group tends to be negative, even toxic, and the in-group highlights negative data about the out-group while rebutting or ignoring positive data. The story of the out-group "usually includes a mix of truth, interpretation, and fiction" (p. 57). This dynamic is only considered extremist, following Berger's framework, if the in-group asserts that hostile action must be taken against the

out-group, because they believe that otherwise the success and survival of the in-group cannot be assured. This is the line that Berger uses to delineate hate or run of the mill in-group/out-group tensions, or even some forms of violence, from extremism: hostile action. Hostile actions range from shunning and discrimination to violence and at the extreme, genocide.

Extremist in-groups frame the need for hostile action as a solution to a crisis. The crisis arises from the "belief an out-group must be impeding the in-group's success in some way, and that impedance proceeds from the intrinsic identity of the out-group" (Berger, 2018, p. 76). There are five common crisis narratives identified by Berger: impurity, conspiracy, dystopia, existential threat and apocalypse (pps. 82-83). Since extremists believe the out-group is impeding the success of the in-group through these actions that comprise the crisis narratives, the in-groups propose the required solution. Solutions, as articulated the extremists, include harassment, discrimination, segregation, hate crimes, terrorism, oppression, war and genocide (Berger, 2018, pps. 99-100).

Returning to Cynthia Idriss-Miller's four overlapping categories of the far right, it is helpful to place them within Berger's extremist framework (Miller-Idriss uses Berger's definition of extremism in her work Hate in the Homeland). For those who identify with the "antigovernment and antidemocratic practices and ideals" in-group, the government and those who support it are seen as the out-group and hostile actions are taken to try to undermine and ultimately destroy democratic governments. We see this both in the United States with the rising

popularity of groups like the Oath Keepers (Jackson, 2020), who helped plan the January 6, 2021, attack on the US capitol building (Follman & Friedman, 2021) and in Germany with far right infiltration of law enforcement and military. Personnel clandestinely join far right groups that aim to eliminate Germany's democratic government, which will occur on the much anticipated Day X. This has led to the disbandment of an elite military unit, reorganizations of police units, expulsions from the force, and criminal trials (Bennhold, K., 2021).

The far right category of exclusionary beliefs encompasses a large variety of extremist groups where the in-group hates and targets the out-group (or groups) for hostile action due to their identity. Popular targets today include Black Lives Matter, LGBTQ+ individuals and groups, Asian Americans (a renewed target as a result of anti-Asian rhetoric related to the Covid 19 pandemic), Jews, women perceived to be or self-identified as feminists, and Muslims. Ethnonationalism is a potent force that is not only growing amongst "whites" in North America and Europe, but also in India as Hindu nationalists on the right target Muslims, led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi (Leidig, 2020, February; Roy, 2021).

Currently the in-group that best exemplifies existential threats and conspiracies category of the far right is QAnon. While there are many narratives amongst QAnon beliefs, essential to them all is that Democratic elites in the United States and Hollywood actors are part of a "cabal" that former President Donald Trump will save the world from. This conspiracy theory has spread from

the United States to Europe, finding popularity especially in France (Gilbert, 2021). Many of the attackers on the US Capitol on January 6 were followers of QAnon (Rubin et al., 2021). The followers of Q, who is believed to have had top level access to government secrets, refer to “the storm” as the day when the evil elites will be taken down by the return of Donald Trump. This leads to the last category, apocalyptic fantasies. Those that fall in this in-group want to accelerate what they see as the inevitable end. Often this means that their self-identified in-group, usually white, Christian and patriarchal will assume power, which means there would be several out-groups, all of whom would be eliminated, by violence in a race war, a revolution, or by sending them elsewhere.

Historical Overview of the Online Presence of the Far Right

The far right adopted the use of the internet early. By 1984 there were three different computer bulletin board systems (BBS): Info. International Network, Aryan Liberty Net, and White Aryan Resistance (W.A.R.) Net (Berlet, 2001). These early online far right networks were a way for individuals with home computers, modems, and phone lines to dial into and log onto the BBS system. On the BBS, individuals were able to access a directory of files for download. Features that were quickly added included the ability to post public messages, read text, and exchange group files (Berlet, 2001). The very first far right BBS was created by George P. Dietz, a well-known publisher of antisemitic and racist works, whose welcome message on the site said it was “The only computer

bulletin board system and uncontrolled information medium in the United States of America dedicated to the dissemination of historical facts—not fiction!" (Berlet, 2001, p. 2). Launched in March of 1984, by June of that same year the directory of the BBS listed ten different sections of information, including sections entitled: "Holocaust: Fact or Fiction?" "The Jew in Review," and "On Race and Religion" (Berlet, 2001, p. 2). Shortly after the creation of Dietz's BBS, Klan leader and influential far right personality, Louis Beam launched Aryan Liberty Net, with the help (and probably funds) of Richard Butler, the leader of the Aryan Nations Christian Identity located in Hayden Lake, Idaho (Berlet, 2001; ADL, 1985). This BBS posted the following all caps message in June of 1985:

> FINALLY, WE ARE ALL GOING TO BE LINKED TOGETHER AT ONE POINT IN TIME. IMAGINE IF YOU WILL, ALL OF THE GREAT MINDS OF THE PATRIOTIC CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT LINKED TOGETHER AND JOINED INTO ONE COMPUTER. ALL THE YEARS OF COMBINED EXPERIENCE AVAILABLE TO THE MOVEMENT. NOW IMAGINE BEING ABLE TO CALL UP AND ACCESS THOSE MINDS, TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS AND ISSUES THAT AFFECT HIM. YOU ARE ONLINE WITH THE ARYAN NATIONS BRAIN TRUST. IT IS HERE TO SERVE THE FOLK. (Berlet, 2001, p. 4).

One of the goals of the BBS, according to Beam, was to allow users in Canada and Europe, where much of the hate literature was censored, access to it (ADL, 1985). White Aryan Resistance leader Tom Metzger noted that "White

Aryan comrades of the North have destroyed the free speech blackout to our Canadian comrades" (Berlet, 2001, p. 4), and when he created the W.A.R. Computer Terminal BBS by late 1984 or early 1985, he sent out a message to "any Aryan patriot in America" (Berlet, 2001, p. 4). From the start the far right presence on the internet was not only to spread hate and propaganda, but also to create transnational collaboration.

From that point the far right expanded into the internet with the innovation of web 1.0, these are the earliest type of websites that were read only, though over time they became more involved with links and more engaging audiovisual content (Baele et al., 2020). The most influential was probably Stormfront, a white supremacist website and message board created by Ku Klux Klan leader Don Black. Stormfront is still active and counts over 800,000 monthly visits as well as providing 1,800 interlinked websites (Stern, 2019). Types of far right examples of web 1.0 include websites that provide far right content, blogs that do the same as well as offer commentary, far right publishers, and far right commercial sites selling merchandise (Baele, et al, 2020). The far right were also early adopters of web 2.0, or platforms centered around user driven content and interactions (Conway et al., 2019). Popular sites include Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Telegram, and Reddit. When the bigger names in social media have deplatformed far right actors and groups, some have migrated to newer, less used social media platforms like Gab, Parler, and Discord. Other forums, like the various "chans" offer anonymous spaces for far right activity (Baele et al, 2020).

Less well known and studied are the far right wikis, in which are far right versions of encyclopedias and are even translated into several languages (Baele et al., 2020).

Imagery Types

Imagery is foundational to the far right and it is both prominent and prolific in both physical and cyberspaces. For the purposes of this study, imagery is observed to determine how it facilitates the interaction between cyber and physical spaces. Two areas are of importance: the types of imagery and the medium on which the imagery is presented. In the literature review of the following chapter, these two facets of imagery are further explored.

Summary

The far right is a multi-faceted, heterogenous extremist movement that has increased its presence online and in physical spaces. The following chapters of this thesis include a literature review of the far right, using theoretical frameworks from social science and studies conducted among the far right regarding online spaces, offline spaces, and the imagery types and mediums, followed by chapters on the methods and results of the audio and visual analysis conducted to explore the research question. The study closes with a section of conclusions and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In this chapter, research will focus first on theoretical frameworks to help understand the far right. Following the theoretical frameworks is a discussion of how cyberspace is utilized by the far right and how this helps with efforts at transnationalization. Then the use of imagery is explored, both the types of imagery and the mediums on which they are presented. The chapter concludes with a discussion of imagery and its role in facilitating interaction between cyber and real life spaces.

Theoretical Frameworks Useful in Understanding the Far Right: Landscapes, the Imaginary, and Ecosystems

Extremism research has concentrated on jihadist terrorism (Berger, 2018), however of late there has been increased focus on far right extremism (Baele et al., 2020). The rise of far right violence, the growth of the far right presence on the internet, and the growth and visibility of far right events in the real world—Charlottesville and Jan. 6, 2021—all likely have influenced the growth of academic research and the attention of journalists. Recent work (Belew, 2018) has shined the light on the fact that the far right, far from disappearing, has had a steady, if at times low profile, presence since at least the early 1980s. After Timothy McVeigh's attack on the Edward P. Murrah building in Oklahoma City

and the law enforcement takedown of The Order, far right groups in the United States primarily adopted a decentralized structure to prevent law enforcement infiltration and investigations (Belew, 2018). While to the general public—and perhaps law enforcement—this, plus the aftermath of September 11, 2001, directed attention away from far right extremists, the movement continued to grow. A major factor in the growth of the far right has been the internet. Far right white supremacists and white nationalists used the internet quite early, before the general public, to sustain and grow their ranks (Gerstenfeld et al., 2003). Another early goal was to create and maintain international links (Berlet, 2001; Gerstenfeld et al., 2003). As the internet transformed from basic sites to user generated sites like social media platforms, the far right moved right along with those changes, successfully creating a presence on mainstream sites like Facebook and Twitter as well as on more obscure spaces like “chans” and dedicated discussion forums (e.g., Iron March).

To aid in the analysis of the transnational and increasingly global movements of ideas and people of the far right, both in physical and virtual spaces, Anthropologist Arjun Appardurai’s (1996) conceptual framework of global landscapes is helpful. Appadurai (1996) theorizes five global “landscapes,” which he describes as “fluid, irregular” flows and “deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors'' (p. 33). Among the five, ethnoscapes, technoscapes, financescapes, mediascapes, and ideoscapes, the last two are most relevant to this analysis of

the far right. Mediascapes “refer both to the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information” while ideoscapes are also concerned with images, they are political in nature “and frequently have to do with the ideologies of states and the counter ideologies of movements explicitly oriented at capturing state power or a piece of it” (Appadurai, 1996, pps. 35-36). The extreme far right’s ultimate goal is to capture state power and to rework society and create a white ethnostate. This framework allows for not only the discussion of the flows of ideas, but also for the instances where connections are lacking, which Appadurai (1996) labels as “disjunctures.” Among the far right the rhetoric is anti-globalist (Caiani & Kröll, 2015; Stern, 2019), however a disjuncture exists as they see the people of other places as the threat, as evidenced by the anti-Muslim, anti-refugee rhetoric, rather than the effects of late stage capitalism. Appadurai (1996) regards the scapes as the “building blocks" of the global imaginary. Working from Benedict Anderson’s (2006) theory the “imagined communities,” Appadurai (1996) writes that “the imagination has become an organized field of social practices, a form of work (in the sense of both labor and culturally organized practice) and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility” (p. 31). The imaginary is a potent force for the far right (Miller-Idriss, 2020; Stern, 2019). The idealized past and the hoped for future exist simultaneously in the far right imagination, and it can be seen explicitly with the use of images that harken back to a mythical past (Miller-Idriss, 2020). The imaginary gives space for the

expression of foundational issues, such as “territory, belonging, exclusion, race, and national geographies” (Miller-Idriss, 2020). The extreme right’s envisioned ethnostate is a powerful imaginary, with numerous written works laying out its creation, most notably William Luther Pierce’s *The Turner Diaries*. The far right imaginary as a building block of global mediascapes and ideoscapes implies disjuncture as it is a retreat from the global, an attempt at carving out a space that is homogenous among an increasingly diverse world. Today those spaces are online and offline in the form of specific events, while the future imagined ethnostate is a physical space, one that is being envisioned and discussed in online spaces in the present.

Place and space are important settings for the far right. Place is usually the ethnonationalist homeland that various far right movements claim based on their interpretation of history (Stern, 2019), and the physical site of the imagined ethnostate, but spaces offer so much more room for ideas and expression. Spaces are relational (Mazúr & Urbánek, 1983; Thrift, 2003) and filled by people and ideas, while the people and ideas are in return formed by spaces. As geographers Mazúr and Urbánek (1983) note, space is “‘filled’ with qualities given by interrelationships of elements of the landscape system and expressed by its structure” (p. 142). While not referring to Appadurai’s landscape framework, this notion fits well within the far right internet ecosystem as a landscape of ideas and images that inform and shape people and ideas, and in return the people continue to shape their spaces as a result of their interaction

with far right spaces on the internet. Further, as evidenced by the proliferation of fringe social media sites developed to replace access for individuals and groups that have been deplatformed for hate speech or threats of violence (Scott, 2020), the structure of spaces of the far right are created to follow the demand of new spaces, to enable them to continue their flows of ideas and images.

Free spaces are places where groups like the far right can be themselves without the pressure from the dominant group (Polletta, 1999). White Power Movement researchers Pete Simi and Robert Futrell (2006) expanded on the idea of free spaces refined by Francesca Polletta (1999) to create a framework for analyzing these spaces in the far right White Power movement. The authors used a multi-method approach to collect ethnographic data between 1996 and 2005. Methods included 107 in-depth face to face and telephone interviews, participant observation of events, and content analysis of 48 websites and four internet forum groups (Simi & Futrell, 2006). They outlined three types of free spaces: home, event, and cyber (2006). Home is the main free space for the nurturing and continuation of the White Power movement (WPM) culture as this is where it is directly taught and reinforced through families, especially to their children. Events, particularly congresses, conferences and music festivals, represent larger scale free spaces, although because of the controversial nature of WPM beliefs, secrecy and use of private lands are essential to the success of these events. Cyberspace represents a free space that the authors argue is “intertwined” with real world free spaces (Simi & Futrell, 2006, p. 115), rather

than comprising its own separate sphere. The authors describe several linkages between online spaces and real world spaces, including those that connect different WPM groups, create opportunities for continued activism and participation, facilitate logistical planning of events, report on real world events and “provide access to an array of WPM cultural items” (Simi & Futrell, 2006, p. 119). The authors further report that the largest real world events were those that had the most extensive online presence (Simi & Futrell, 2006, p. 134).

The Far Right's online presence has grown considerably since Simi and Futrell’s work in the early 2000s (Conway et al., 2019). Today, the number of far right spaces on the internet makes a comprehensive mapping of the entire entity an unwieldy task. Rather, an analytical framework can help make sense of it. Baele, Brace, and Coan (2020) offer a useful one. The researchers describe the far right presence online as an “ecosystem’ (p. 2), an “entity made of an ever-changing number of different components whose natures and interconnections are in constant evolution (as opposed to a static landscape made of a fixed number of well defined objects)” (p. 2). The authors further delineate the four levels of the far right ecosystem. At the simplest level are the “entities,” or individual domains, examples include blogs and Facebook group pages. “Communities” consist of “entities” that are linked: through hyperlinks, content flows, and user migration flows (p. 4). The “communities” are dynamic, both organically and strategically formed, and the “overall far-right ecosystem may thus be understood as a network made of a multitude of communities of linked

entities” (p. 4). Communities can be organized by type into “biotopes,” and the authors adopt Davey et al.’s five suggested categories for the far right ecosystem: white supremacists, ethno-nationalists, militia-groups (anti-state/government), the “manosphere,” and the alt-right (p. 4). Biotopes overlap and reflect the dynamic nature of the internet. Together the biotopes constitute the far right “ecosystem.” Internet culture is ever changing, and this creates difficulties in analysis, therefore this analytical framework is useful in creating a language for organization and analysis beyond what is currently relevant amongst the far right internet ecosystem, whether it be blogs that are popular or fringe social media sites that emerge after a deplatforming. In addition to offering this analytical framework, Baele et al. suggest a research agenda, as the rise in far right extremism has resulted in increased academic attention and given the dearth of previous research as compared to other types of extremism, particularly jihadist extremism.

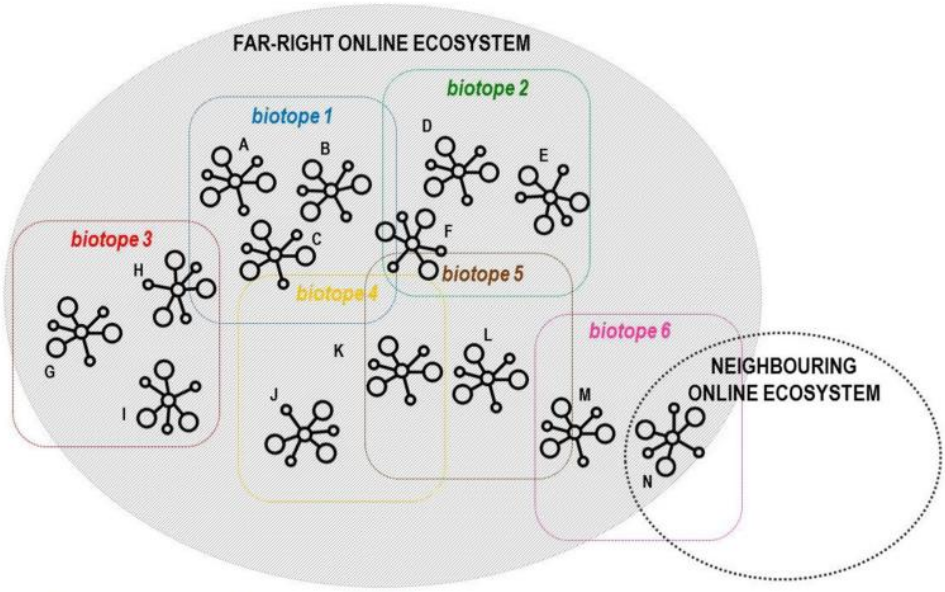


Figure 1. Generic model of the far-right online ecosystem, displaying a number of entities linked in communities (capital letters A to N), themselves grouped in a limited series of biotopes (numbered 1-6).

Figure. 1 Far-Right Online Ecosystem (Baele et al., 2020, p. 5)

Cyberspace and Growing Transnational Ties Among the Far Right

The far right uses the online ecosystem for the purposes of attracting new adherents, continuing engagement, fellowship, and coordination and the growing transnational nature of this landscape is reflected in all these areas of purpose. Since the early bulletin board systems of white nationalists in the US, the far right has utilized the internet to make transnational connections (ADL, 185; Berlet, 2001). Stormfront, the oldest major far right website, has sections labeled by country and numerous links to international far right websites (Bowman-Grieve, 2009). Recent research has found that the far right has used Twitter effectively to engage in transnational anti-immigrant and protectionist economic policy

discourse (Froio & Ganesh, 2019). A recent leak from the web forum Iron March, now defunct, reveals major collaboration between far right individuals connected to Atomwaffen. Iron March grew out an earlier version called International Third Position Forum, which “was launched by a Russian, produced a terror group in the U.S., and facilitated coordination among terror groupings in the U.K. and elsewhere, all through the power of the internet” (Ross et al., 2019). Extremism researchers Manuela Caiani and Patricia Kröll (2015) investigated “the degree and forms of extreme far right transnationalization (in terms of mobilization, issues, targets, action strategies, and organizational contacts) and the potential role of the internet in these developments" (p. 331). The research involved interviews with 54 representatives of six right wing organizations within Europe and the United States in addition to conducting a formalized web content analysis of 336 far right websites. They found that while most far right actions take place at the local level, the transnational landscape is growing, widespread and that the internet is assisting this process in three ways: increasing supranational targets, giving opportunity to “stage supranational organization,” and the creation of new transnational organizations (p. 343). The far right in the United States is the most transnationalized, however a particularly close relationship between the British and French far right exists which is constituted by both online and offline spaces, and in Germany the far right actors which most used the web were also most effective in “staging transnational activities" (p. 343). The internet is used as a tool, both on the local and transnational level, to “attract new members...

propagate their ideals among like-minded people, and connect individuals and organizations" (p. 343).

Connections built online lead to real world transnational meetings. In the past, music festivals, particularly in Europe, were popular far right events that would draw an audience from overseas (Yousef, 2020). Recently, Mixed Martial Arts (MMA) events hosted by far right individuals in Europe also tend to draw international participants (Miller-Idriss, 2020). Far right actors from the United States have trained in the Ukraine (Rotella, 2021). Far right politicians in Europe are also engaging in transnational connections. In 2019, a group of 23, of whom most were from far right political parties, visited Kashmir, the site of contested land between India and Pakistan (Leidig, 2020, January 21). Far right connections between North America and Europe have existed for decades, it appears these connections are growing, in addition to branching out in solidarity with more far flung countries, as with India.

The Role of Imagery

Language is an obstacle for transnational communication. The far right's use of imagery is one way to overcome this block. In Europe, far right imagery in the form of a cartoon was effective in spreading messaging across language barriers (Doerr, 2017). Researcher Nicole Doerr analyzed anti-immigrant cartoons originally produced in Switzerland, and how those images were

understood and transferred to audiences in Germany and Italy to show a sense of anti-immigrant solidarity between the far right of those nations (Doerr, 2017).

Far right imagery is prevalent and prominent in both online and offline spaces. Online mostly in the form of memes and offline on flags, t-shirts, stickers, patches, pins, and even tattoos. Most far right memes are created in the anonymous “chans” and then flow through other online entities as users visit other online far right spaces and share them (Baele et al., 2020). Many of the memes include imagery that is created by ever changing internet culture, for example the Boogaloo Bois preference for igloos and Hawaiian shirts. Neither igloos nor Hawaiian shirts have any historic tie to far right ideology or symbolism. Some memes have staying power, most significantly Pepe the Frog, an early internet meme that was appropriated by the far right, and the Red Pill memes, signifying an awakening to the far right cause, which originated from the Matrix movie series (Stern, 2021). The origins of some far right imagery, like Nazi and Confederate symbols, are historic and predate the internet. This imagery has become less visible, however, since many among the far right realize that the extreme nature of these symbols might turn away potential adherents who might need a softer, less controversial entry into the far right (Stern, 2019). The far right is reaching even further into the past to use Norse and Celtic imagery as symbolic of white European civilization and their perceived need to preserve and protect it (Miller-Idriss, 2020). This imagery appears in both Europe and North America. These images have made their way into contemporary online spaces,

as well as being a staple on physical items like t-shirts and flags. Online stores have flourished, and the quality of the merchandise has improved. In the past, shirts were often screen printed and of low quality. Today over a dozen high quality, far right clothing brands exist, sold on sophisticated websites that include currency converters for international customers (Miller-Idriss, 2020). There is also evidence of transnational solidarity in this arena: a Polish website sell shirts emblazoned with the Confederate flag, while in Russia images of Germanic history like Vikings are popular (Miller-Idriss, 2020). In the U.S., the Proud Boys and Oath Keepers both have high quality, original clothing and imagery. Public events and protests throughout 2020 featured both groups present in gear that was easily recognizable and highly visible.

In the United States, support among the far right for former President Donald Trump is strong and pro Trump flags, shirts, and hats are ubiquitous at rallies and events frequented by the far right, as are American flags, American historical flags and symbols. Researcher Cynthia Miller-Idriss writes:

> Hate clothing celebrates violence in the name of a cause---often using patriotic images and phrases and calls to act like an American, along with Islamophobic, anti-Semitic, and white-supremacist messages. In this way, far-right clothing links patriotism with violence and xenophobia. (2020, p. 80)

While it is likely impossible to determine if someone wearing American patriotic gear is a member or sympathizer of the far right, the far right does use American patriotic imagery (Miller-Idriss, 2020).

Summary

The far right can be better understood by applying theoretical frameworks from the social sciences. It is not a monolithic set of groups and actors, rather a large movement tied together by various far right ideologies. International ties were undertaken early using the power of the internet, and research shows these ties are growing and even branching out from the western world. The presence of the far right on the internet is both historical and of contemporary concern. The goal of this study is to add to the discussion of how online spaces are used together with physical spaces and the role of imagery in facilitating those processes. While Simi and Futrell found that far right cyber and real world spaces are “intertwined” (2006), there is a lack of research regarding the role of imagery in this process. Miller-Idriss contends, “that symbols and iconography move between online and offline spaces as they are deployed and co-opted by the far right in ways that deserve our close attention” (Miller-Idriss, 2020, p. 133). She suggests, “more empirical research is needed to disentangle variations in the utility of symbols in offline and online spaces for insider and outsider recognition, communication of far-right messages, and the degree of commitment they require to far right ideas” (Miller-Idriss, 2020, p. 133). The visual and audio

analysis in the next chapter is an attempt to help understand how imagery was used on the events of January 6, 2021, at the U.S. Capitol where both offline and online spaces were used by the far right.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the ways in which far right cyber spaces and real life spaces are used in tandem and how images facilitate the use of those spaces. For the purposes of this study, it was determined that the safest and most reliable way to procure data would be from third party sources. The shorter time length of this study did not allow for inroads and relationships to be created with far right actors in order to engage in interviews or distribute surveys. Additionally, while research for this project was being conducted, the events of January 6, 2021, occurred at the United States Capitol building. Video recordings of the events by participants were played by the media and reports signaled that the day's participants, including far right groups and actors, planned the events using the internet (Lytvynenko & Hensley-Clancy, 2021). Significantly, the public contents of Parler, a web platform popular with the far right (Katz, 2020), were saved to the internet archive by a group of internet activists prior to the service losing its Amazon Web Services hosting and its app being removed from the Google and Apple app stores (Wong & Morse, 2021). This deplatforming was a direct result of the Parler's inaction in dealing with the violent and insurrectionist content on January 6, 2021 (Wong & Morse, 2021). According to the internet programmers that—anonymously—uploaded the data, this cache consisted of

99% of Parler's public contents, including thousands of recordings from the January 6, 2021, incident. Of these thousands of video recordings, investigative journalism non-profit ProPublica released 500 as an effort to provide data to the public (Klein & Kao, 2021). This database provided by ProPublica was used to complete the audio and visual analysis for this thesis based on the use of this platform by far right groups and individuals, its accessibility, and the historical importance of the events of January 6, 2021, at the United States Capitol building.

Research Design

For this thesis, an audio and visual analysis was conducted on 100 of the 500 Parler video recordings of January 6, 2020, that were provided in the ProPublica database. A flaw in Parler's code at the time of the site's content retrieval not only made the recordings—and other content—easy to access and save, but it also included the videos original geolocation and time stamps (Greenberg, 2021). Using that information, ProPublica's database provided each video recording with a time and label by location: around Capitol, near Capitol, and inside Capitol. The first video posted on the database was recorded at 12:01 PM Eastern Standard Time while the last video posted was recorded at 5:39 PM Eastern Standard Time. Each video recording was analyzed to determine which, if any, symbols or imagery were present on individuals and the flags flown by individuals. Additionally, an audio analysis was conducted on each video: when

individuals “selfie” narrated the event, or were clearly heard behind the recording device, the contents of the narration were either collected word for word (shorter recordings) or summarized with some quotes recorded (longer, repetitive recordings).

Sampling and Procedures

Data was collected by generating 100 random numbers out of 500 using an internet random number generator (Urbaniak & Plous, 2021). Random sampling was chosen as it seemed the best way to capture a representative slice of the 500 videos. Utilizing a Google Form format, each of the 100 videos was analyzed for the following: flags, hats/beanies, clothing (shirts/pants/jackets), pins/patches, chants/songs, and narration. An individual Google form was filled out for each video. When these items were observed or heard, a check mark notation system was used to record imagery and words used. Additional checks were not added if more than one of the same item was viewed. Under each category listed above were the descriptive analysis markers: Pro Trump, American, Anti-Biden, Proud Boys, Oath Keepers, Gadsden, Confederate, QAnon, American Betsy Ross, Three Percent Flag, and America First, and others, with some slight variation among the categories (see Appendix A). Using the Google form allowed for additional descriptive markers to be included as needed during the analysis, but no markers were removed during the process. A handwritten list was also created to cross reference the sample number with the

timestamp and length of the video, and its place out of the 500 videos. This step was necessary because ProPublica's database did not number the videos, however the videos were posted in sequential order by time of day and sorted by location. Each video was viewed at least twice, many were viewed five or more times, depending on the length and content of the video. Once all 100 videos were viewed and their associated Google forms were submitted, the data was then available in several formats: summaries of each question (including charts and graphs), by question, and by individual entry. A Google Sheet spreadsheet was also auto generated after the last form was submitted. This allowed for both visual and textual data analysis.

Both qualitative and quantitative analyses were conducted on the video recordings. However, it must be noted that the quantitative analysis is not meant to be a full record of the types and numbers of imagery present on January 6, 2021, at the US Capitol. Since the videos were often of the same crowd spaces but from various individuals reflecting their position in the crowd, the scenes must show the same individuals and flags, therefore a counting was deemed unrealistic and prone to error. The same is true for some of the chants recorded in videos from the same crowd space and at around the same time. Rather, the point is to provide a qualitative analysis of the day, specifically checking for markers of far right groups and actors, including imagery and rhetoric, and reflecting on how these markers facilitate the use of both real life and cyber spaces. It is likely that the events of January 6, 2021, at the US Capitol will be

researched and analyzed for years to come. Several news analyses have been published in just the few months since and undoubtedly much academic research is ongoing. This small study is meant to add to the discussion of the events of the day, specifically how cyberspace and real life space became one during the event and how imagery was used in this space.

CHAPTER FOUR

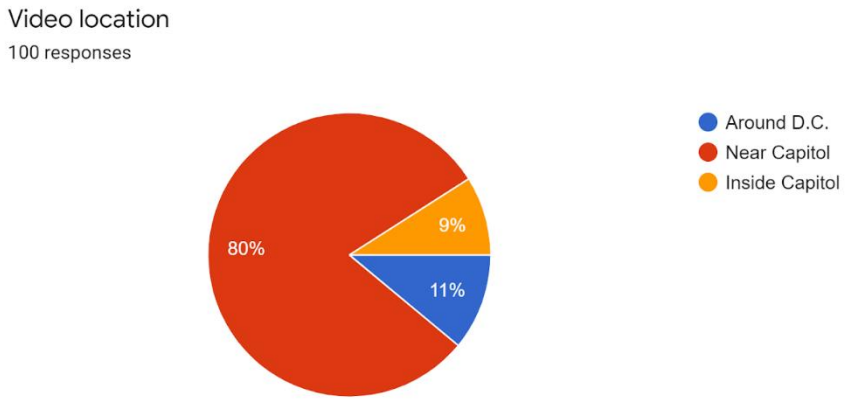
FINDINGS

Introduction

This study is an analysis of videos taken on January 6, 2021, around, nearby, and inside the United States Capitol building and posted to the social media platform Parler by participants of that event. Audio and visual analysis was conducted on 100 videos to determine what, if any, far right imagery and rhetoric was used by participants of January 6 as they recorded themselves and others. The videos represent a merging of cyber and real life spaces. The results of the analysis show the predominant imagery visible during the incident was pro Trump, followed by the American flag imagery. The results also show a distinct lack of imagery from far right groups that were known to be at the Capitol that day. Finally, the audio analysis provides a narrative window into the actions of the participants of January 6 as the cyber and real life space intertwined to become one space. The following sections examine the results of the visual analysis, followed by audio analysis, discussion of findings, and study limitations.

Analysis Findings

Of the 100 videos studied, most were recorded near the Capitol, followed by around the Capitol, and inside the Capitol. The following chart details the numerical breakdown:



Pie chart auto generated by Google Forms

Figure 2. Video Recordings by Location

The full 500 videos posted by ProPublica (Groeger et al., 2021) also are majority near, followed by around, and inside which affirms the random sample as being representative as far as location.

Visual Analysis Findings

The visual analysis of the flags, garments, hats/beanies, and patches and pins shows pro Trump and American Flag designs to be the most prevalent imagery visible from the January 6 videos of the Capitol. The Gadsden Flag and the Betsy Ross flag were also popular images. Little far right imagery was easily spotted in the videos. Oath Keepers imagery made a small appearance, the

Proud Boys, even smaller with just one sighting, as well as a few Kekistan flags (alt-right imagery), though the far right group with the greatest visible presence as far as imagery was America First.

The weather on January 6, 2021, in Washington, D.C was in the low 40s Fahrenheit between the hours of 12 PM and 6 PM. The weather likely influenced the prevalence of beanies, hats, and coats. The great majority of beanies and Make America Great Again (MAGA) hats appeared identical; perhaps many were bought at concession stands at the rally before the march to the Capitol. Overcoats covered many people's shirts, leading to difficulty in seeing t-shirts for analysis. Patches and pins were also hard to see for the same reason in addition to the relatively unsophisticated software and computer used for this analysis. It was difficult to focus and zoom in on items as small as patches and pins, particularly given the crowd sizes in some of the video clips. Overall, as the figures below demonstrate, most imagery present on January 6, 2021, at the US Capitol was pro Trump and American flag related. This finding is reflective of the known agendas of the far right groups at the Capitol that day. While there was scant far right imagery, there was a lot of nondescript, camouflage and tactical gear. These were not categories analyzed in the study; however, they were noticeable, along with the lack of far right imagery that had been prevalent at other "Stop the Steal" related events leading up to the events at the Capitol on Jan. 6. It is also known from law enforcement arrests (Kunzelman & Durkin Richer, 2021) that far right actors both planned and executed attacks that day.

Table 1. Types of Imagery Shown on Hats and Beanies

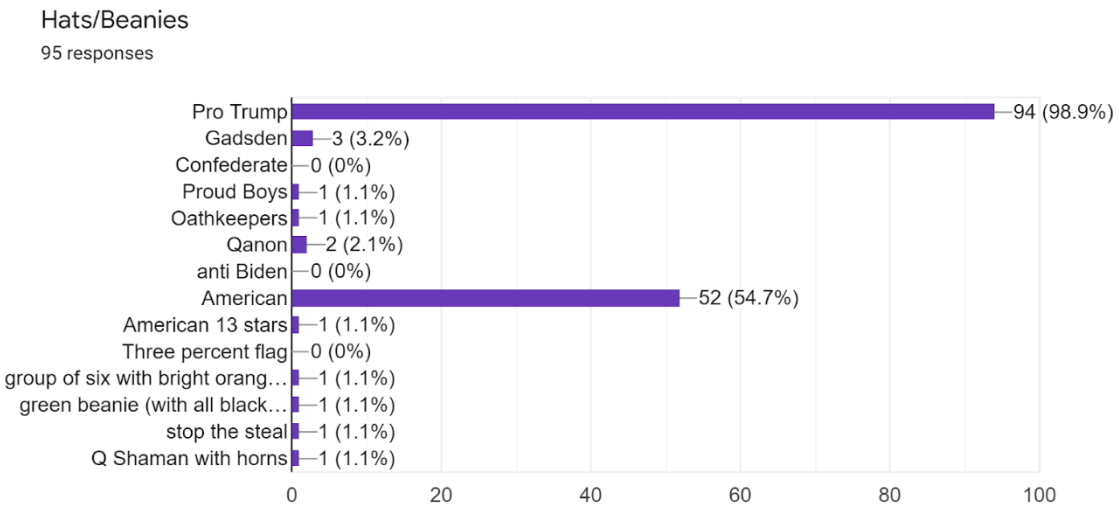
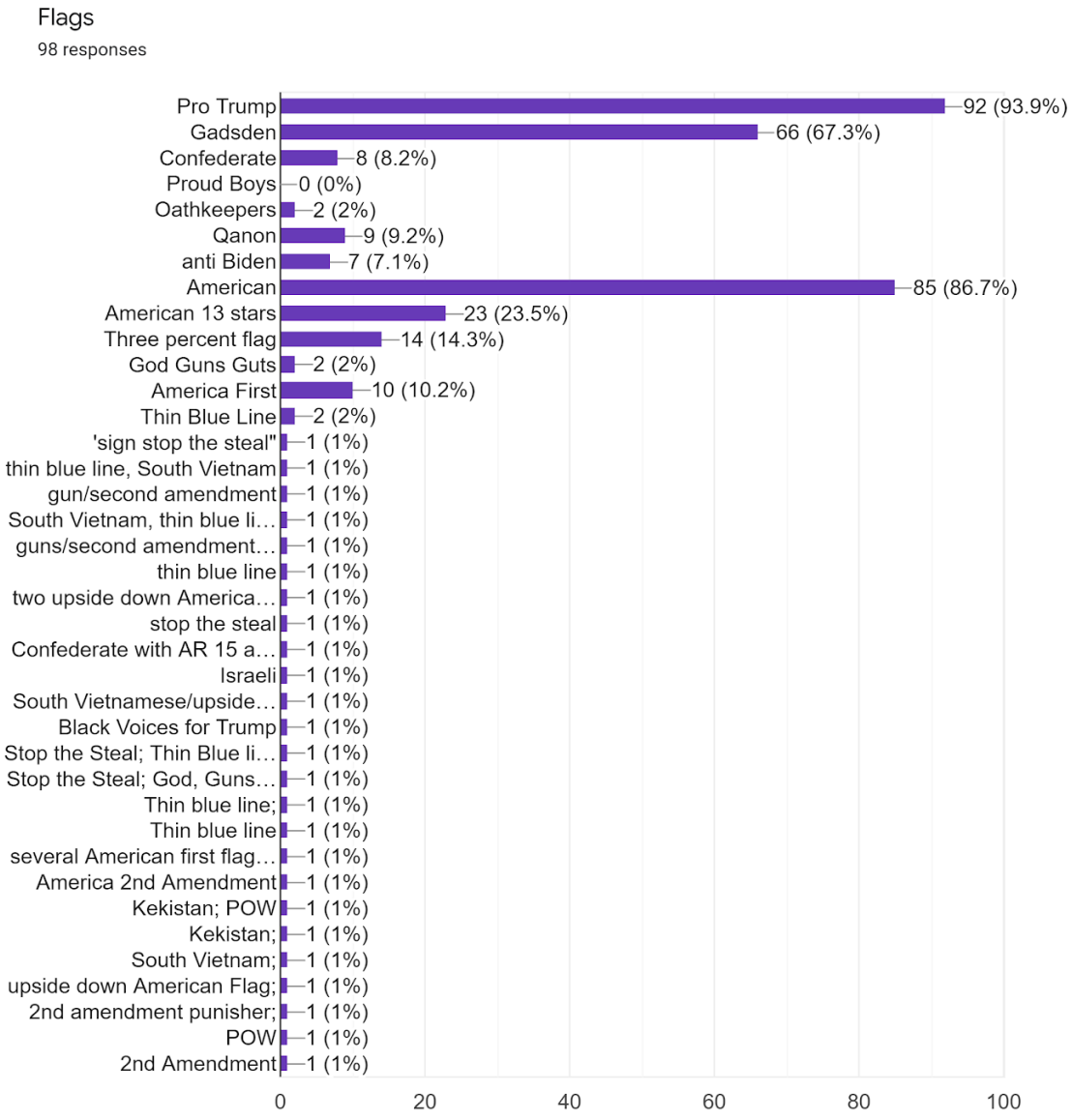


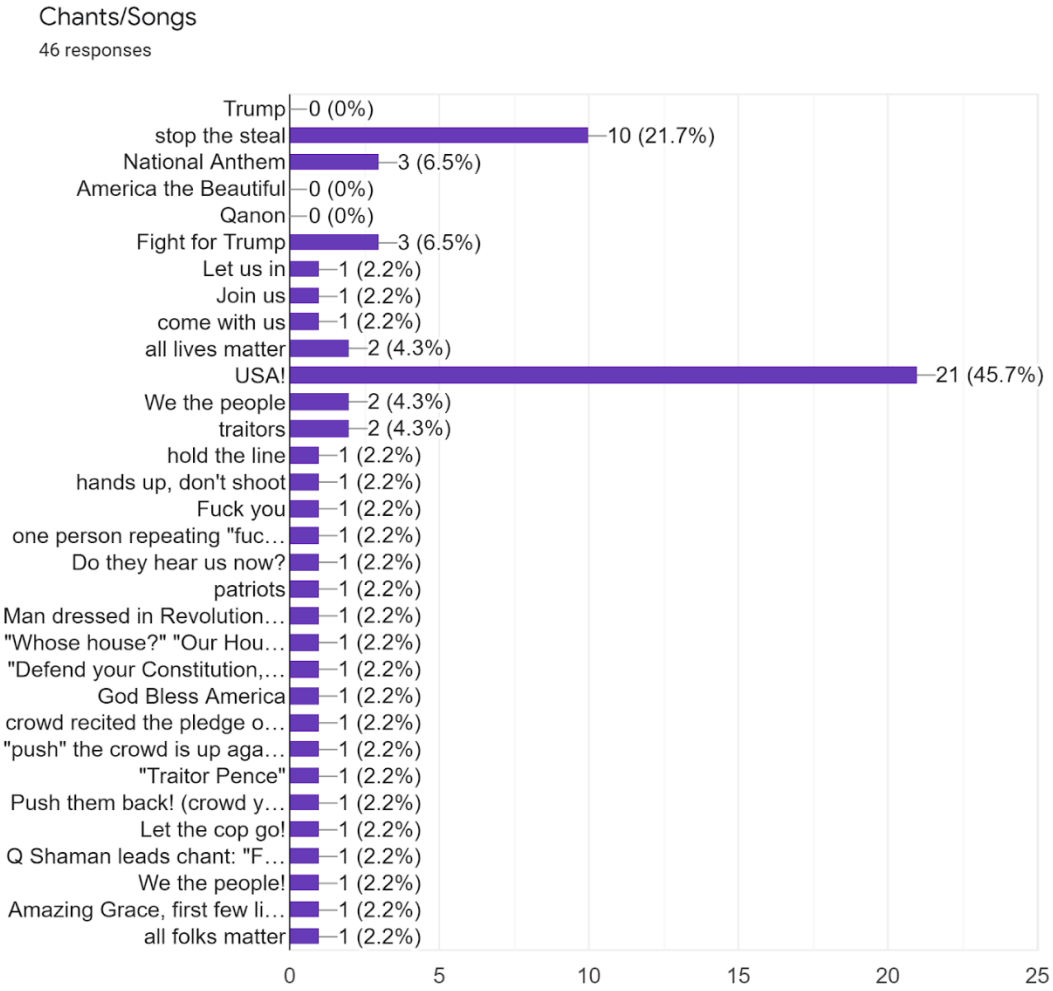
Table 2. Types of Imagery Shown on Flags



Audio Analysis Findings

Chants and songs could be heard throughout the video recordings of Jan. 6. The two most common chants were “USA!” and “stop the steal!” The National Anthem was sung a few times and the Pledge of Allegiance was recited. Some of the chants were only repeated by one or a few people, however they were clearly heard on the video, so they were recorded for this study. These chants and the narration, by people both in front of and behind the camera, reflect what are known to be the events of the day. Earlier in the day, between 1 PM and 2 PM, the audio analysis shows rhetoric surrounding the election and demands to “stop the steal” and “let us in,” by midway through the events, between 2 PM and 3PM, the tone and words changed to reflect the crowd knew the Capitol had been breached and shouts were heard to help, and videos were then filmed inside the Capitol, rather than just near or around. After 3 PM, some of the individuals inside the building are seen leaving, to cheers and congratulations, and law enforcement are observed arriving to reinforce the Capitol Police.

Table 3. Chants and Songs



Video recorded at 12:59 PM (Groeger et al., 2021, video 12) near the Capitol shows a man standing on the steps yelling, “We already voted, and what have they done? They stole it! We want our fucking country back. Let’s take it…[unintelligible] come on, come on!” Throughout the clip are shouts by others: “stop the steal!” “let us in!” “join us!” “all lives matter” “USA!” and “we the people.”

Seven minutes later, also nearby, a video shows the crowd pushing toward the building, and a man off camera can be heard saying, “People have taken over the Capitol building. Storming the walls and storming the Capitol. This is our house!” (Groeger et al., 2021, video 21). One minute later, at 1:07 PM, a video was posted from around the Capitol that showed Trump on the big screen telling the crowd at the “Save America” rally at the Ellipse that “if you don’t fight like hell, we won’t have a country anymore” (Groeger et al., 2021, video 24). The next three recordings cover about a thirty minute period between 1:07 PM and 1:35 PM. Various chants are heard: “traitors!” “hold the line!” “USA!” “hands up, don’t shoot!” and “fuck you!” along with one man who exclaims “It’s a fucking war zone out here boys!” (Groeger et al., 2021, videos 47, 53, 59). Far right figure Alex Jones appears on a video at 1:51 PM. He is holding a bullhorn and telling the crowd to relocate to the other side of the Capitol where he says there are permits for the event. He called the police “provocateurs” and told the crowd not to engage with the police and “give the system what they want” (Groeger et al., 2021, video 79).

At 2:01 PM, a man can be heard yelling during video 100, “They just breached it. They’re storming the Capitol. Hell yeah!” (Groeger et al., 2021). Videos filmed over the next ten minutes are full of people encouraging the Capitol attack. Various directions were given: “Whoo! Yeah! Yeah! Push forward!” “Fucking go! They need our help” (Groeger et al., 2021, videos 193, 196). Video 122 shows the crowd surging towards the building, and one man can

be heard instructing them that “we need to have this area completely occupied. It’s an easy push forward!” (Groeger et al., 2021). A video posted a minute later captures a man breaking the windows of the Capitol building before being tackled by the police. Some in the crowd shout to “leave him alone” while others say, “he was breaking the law” and to leave the police alone since they are just “doing their job” (Groeger et al., 2021). At 2:25 PM a man can be heard on recording 171 saying “They got the door open. They got the door open. They’re in” to which another man replies, “This is our house too, brother” (Groeger et al., 2021). The chants in the background of several of these videos are “stop the steal” and “USA!”

The first video of the sample set from inside the Capitol occurred at 2:34 PM and it consists of a man yelling, “Where are the fucking traitors? Drag them out by their fucking hair. Where are the fucking traitors?” after which someone near his voice replied, “Come on, who’s first?” (Groeger et al., 2021, video 209). A minute later a man can be heard in another video from inside the Capitol yelling, “You’ve paid for this. Hey, cover your face. Let’s go!” (Groeger et al., 2021, video 215). The videos posted in and near the Capitol at this point—between 2 PM and 3 PM—are the densest in terms of amount per minute. Most show the crowd pushing up against the Capitol. One video, however, is further away and the Capitol building can be seen in the near distance. The video shows a young man in a suit and tie, possibly far right leader Nick Fuentes, speaking to the crowd with a bullhorn. He is standing on steps, with people around him

wearing America First (AF) shirts and flying AF flags. He begins with “Honestly, I think people talk too much about Socialism. The real threat to this country isn’t socialism, it’s globalism.” He says the country has been taken over by “foreign, global special interests” and continues his speech “they are attempting to replace our population,” “that globalism is the antithesis of nationalism,” and that they “want to erase our borders, erase our identity.” He argues for revolution contending that he hopes it happens “bloodlessly, or it can take place another way, either way this American revolution must take place!” (Groeger et al., 2021, video 242). The crowd cheers.

A man wearing a MAGA hat self-narrates a video near the Capitol at 2:51 PM. He calls the members of Congress “cowards” that “hid inside and were emergency escorted away because of their fear of the people.” He also calls former Vice President Pence a “treasonous pig” whose “name will be mud forever” before concluding with “now the real battle begins” (Groeger et al., 2021, video 292). During video 329 at 3:01 PM a woman can be heard off screen saying “This is beautiful. This is awesome…. you know what? This is what happens when you don’t like us and you didn’t fight for us” as the camera pans the crowd pushing toward the Capitol (Groeger et al., 2021). Three minutes later a video shows another woman in a MAGA hat self-narrating her video. She states:

> I’m live at the Capitol building, where we have overtaken the building, and wondering if the media hears us now? If there is any media here, I don’t

> see any media, Proud Boys are here. I don't see Antifa. It's all protestors saying, "stop the steal." We climbed the walls; we climbed the scaffolding and hung an American flag. There's no violence here, but we're upset. The lies, the stealing, needs to end, and our government needs to listen. Do you hear us now? (Groeger et al., 2021, video 340)

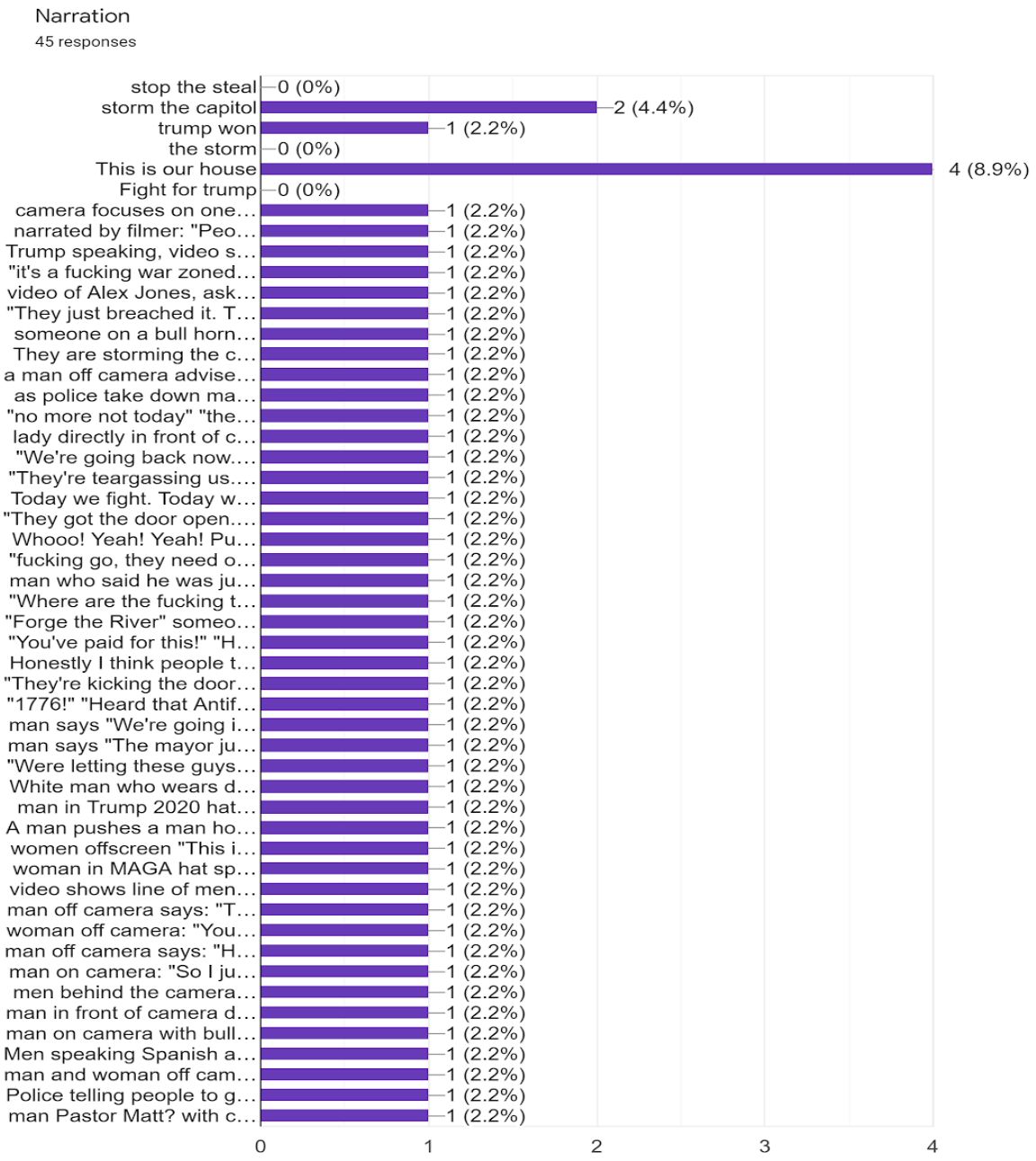
Another three minutes after this video, events begin to transition. Some videos are still showing the crowd pushing against the police at doors and windows, as well as videos of participants inside the Capitol, however there is now footage of individuals leaving the building.

A video showing a line of men leaving the building to cheers and exclamations of "way to go" (Groeger et al., 2021, video 347) is posted at 3:07 PM. At 3:25 PM the man called the "Q Shaman" by the media—Jake Angeli—is seen exiting the Capitol while yelling out "freedom," the crowd responded back "freedom!" (Groeger et al., 2021, video 399). A few minutes later, a clip shows a line of police officers in riot gear walking toward the Capitol building and man off camera yells, "Hey those are good people up there, you don't need none of that" (Groeger et al., 2021, video 407). By 3:41 PM police officers can be seen pushing out the doors of the building, down the steps, and away from the building as two men behind the camera converse: one states, "They're leaving" and the other replies, "I doubt that—they're letting them down to the bottom so they push us all back. We'll see, they'll play like your friend and stab you in the back" (Groeger et al., 2021, video 420). The next few videos of the sample have no

narration, although in one a loud “USA!” chant is heard as the crowd seems like it is trying to keep the energy up as events appear to be winding down. At 4:01 PM a man outside the doors of the Capitol is shown on camera speaking through the bullhorn, “My three kids are going to grow up in this country. And I want them to respect my house. And that makes us different. We will stand our ground. But the police are not the problem” (Groeger et al., 2021, video 462). A minute later another clip shows the crowd singing the first few lines of “Amazing Grace” before it tapers off and a man behind the camera remarks that no one seems to know the rest of the lyrics (Groeger et al., 2021, video 463).

The following clip shows a group of men and women walking away from the event and speaking in Spanish to the camera. They are speaking about their support for Trump and the cause, as well as their Cuban and Dominican backgrounds (Groeger et al., 2021, video 471). The final video in the sample also shows a man who has just left, and he is speaking to the man holding the camera about a shooting he saw in the Capitol. The man in front of the camera is probably referencing the shooting of Ashley Babbitt that occurred inside the Capitol. The man behind the camera claims to be a pastor and he initiates a prayer over the man’s head. During the prayer he calls the man a “lion” and a “patriot” (Groeger et al., 2021, video 489).

Table 4. Narration by Speakers On and Off Camera



Discussion of Findings

While the above narrative based on the audio analysis does not include all the narrative events of the day, it is representative of the whole. The visual analysis is similar in that while a notation system was used to record the various images, it was not a comprehensive count of imagery. The hope was that this analysis is still useful in understanding how the physical spaces on January 6, 2021, intertwined and became one with the virtual spaces as participants actively recorded their and other's participation in the events of that day, and how the ubiquitous use of imagery was a part of this process.

The findings from these analyses show that while some far right imagery was not as visible as in prior "stop the steal" related events, it was still present, particularly imagery related to far right movements QAnon, America First, Three Percenters, and Groypers (as those who fly the America First and follow far right leader Nick Fuentes refer to themselves). While the two high profile groups, Oath Keepers and Proud Boys, kept their imagery visibility low, their presence and planning at the event is known. The audio analysis supports this as phrases used by members of the crowd reflect trained and organized action. These include directions given such as "cover your face, let's go," "we need to have this area completely occupied, it's an easy push forward," "push forward," and "fucking go, they need our help" (Groeger et al., 2021). These phrases stood out from other crowd exclamations like "Whoo," "Hell yeah," and those in the back of the crowd saying things like "they are storming the castle, they are going in, the patriots are

storming the castle" (Groeger et al., 2021). The phrase "patriots" was used repeatedly to refer to people in the crowd engaged in attack or by people referring to themselves as patriots because of their participation that day.

The use of term patriot and the historical imagery often associated with it among the far right, including the Betsy Ross flag and the Gadsden flag, reflect the far right's reverence for times before the current, more diverse era. It also represents the use of patriotic imagery to reaffirm the far right's claim to the ethnonational homelands. It is impossible to discern those in the crowd who were "normie" Trump supporters, as they are called by the far right, and those who were far right actors, but both are known to use patriotic imagery. Some of the flags that day became weapons as videos show individuals using flag poles to break into the building and beat and push back law enforcement (Groeger et al., 2021).

The results of the analysis also reveal the tension between far right groups that support and contain members of law enforcement and those who harbor antigovernment sentiments. Crowd treatment of law enforcement was a theme that ran through many of the videos. Some participants implored the crowd to respect the police while the videos also clearly showed the police being attacked by the crowds (Groeger et al., 2021). In some videos the crowd can heard defending those that attacked and entered the building, telling the police to leave them alone and that they are "good people" (Groeger et al., 2021).

The most visible far right group on January 6, 2021, were those pushing the American First ideology. This group is led by Nick Fuentes, likely the young man speaking on the video. In his speech he referenced the far right theme of the great replacement. While he did not speak those words, the substance of his talk reflected the idea (Groeger et al., 2021, video 340). He spoke with a crowd around and in front of him, many wearing AF hats and holding AF flags. The crowd facing him was filled with individuals filming the talk, at least one of which was posted to social media as it was happening. This video represents to best example of how cyberspace, physical space, and imagery combined into one dynamic.

January 6, 2021 was only one event of many frequented by the far right just over the last year. The use of social media by the participants, both videos and textual posts, during the events of that day provide a window into how the far right uses imagery in both offline and online spaces, and how those two spaces come together. As evidenced by the results and discussion above, the cyber and physical space more than intertwined, they became on and the same on January 6, 2021 at the United States Capitol building.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Research Question

This study began two years ago as an exploration of phenomena observed in the local community. Why were there so many flags and symbols around town, on yards, houses, and even vehicles? Additionally, what did it mean when they appeared to be removed, only to go back up a few days later? It happened so much that it begged the question: was something being communicated? This led to research into the far right and development of the research question: how do far right online and offline spaces work in tandem and how does imagery facilitate this process? The hypothesis was that the spaces work together, and imagery helps spur participation and solidarity.

Cyberspace, Physical Space, and Imagery

A visual and audio analysis of 100 videos posted to Parler by participants of the attack on the US Capitol on January 6, 2021, revealed that these two spaces not only were intertwined as previous research (Simi & Futrell, 2006) has shown, but the two spaces seemed to meld into one. The number of posts, just to Parler, not even including posts to other social media platforms, and the prolific use of imagery illustrated how the physical space being occupied by far right actors was concurrently existing in the virtual world. This analysis also

demonstrated the rift in the far right between those who support law enforcement and those who are antigovernment. Another important finding was the presence of American First pushing their anti-globalism, anti-immigrant ideology.

Study Limitations

This study has several limitations. The content under analysis was sourced from a third party, ProPublica. While ProPublica is a trusted public resource, this study was confined to videos ProPublica previously sorted and found relevant to the events of January 6, 2021. This analysis would have also benefitted from first person ethnographic work at the Capitol on January 6. That was beyond the scope of this paper however, and it could have been a dangerous undertaking. Another improvement would have been to interview and send surveys to participants to hear their perspective of events. This study was also conducted using non sophisticated computer equipment and software that affected the level of analysis possible. Advanced computer programs that can do image recognition would have improved the analysis.

Recommendations

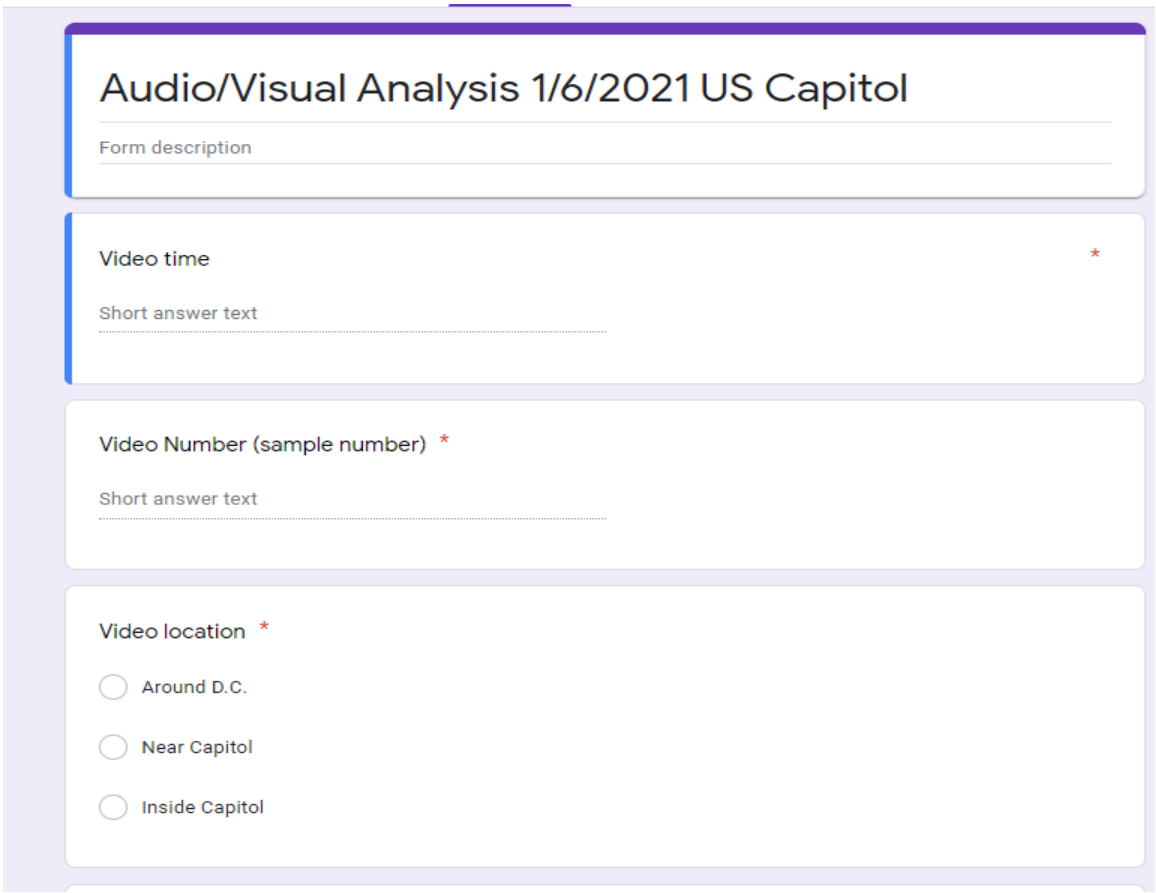
Given the research limitations discussed above, more research into this topic is essential. As extremism scholar Cynthia Miller-Idriss notes, “the visual nature of online spaces might suggest that their use will only accelerate in the years to come” (2020, p. 133). With the proliferation of websites that offer far

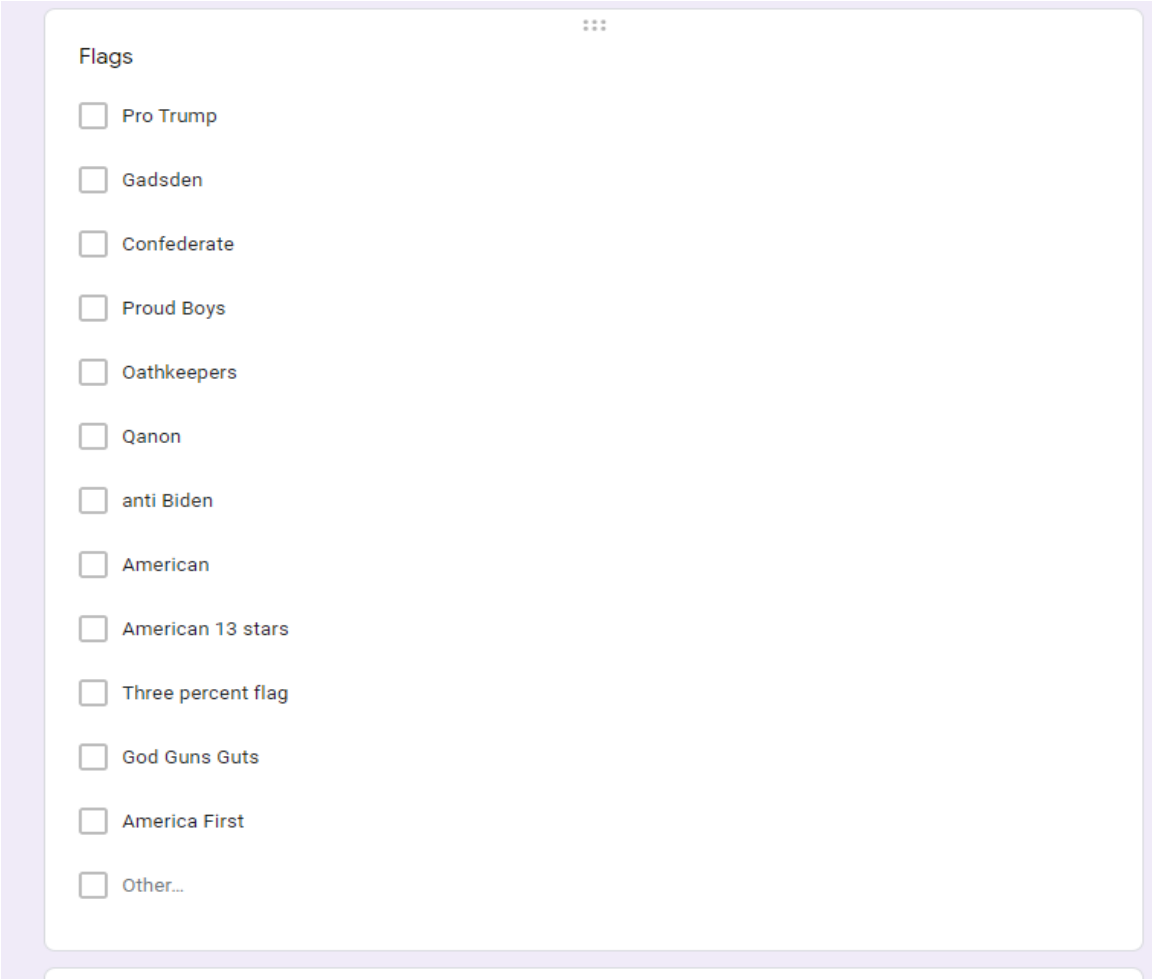
right imagery for sale, the use of social media platforms, including the creation of new platforms to host actors and groups who have been kicked from mainstream sites, and the continued political polarization in the United States, it is likely that more incidents will occur that will provide the opportunity for further analysis. Hopefully, the violence and threat to American democracy witnessed on January 6 will not be repeated. Recent research by J.M. Berger (2021), however, illustrates that violence from the far right might get worse. The threat from accelerationists is real and Berger finds a current theme among the far right is self-criticism: they are not doing enough, acceleration is key to create societal unrest and collapse (Berger, 2021). Also concerning is the participation of law enforcement and active duty members of the military, which seems to be a problem both in the United States and Germany. The U.S. military has taken a few steps to address the issue and Germany has been dealing with it for well over a year.

January 6, 2021, like Charlottesville in 2017, has led to some disfunction within far right groups. The alt-right took a hit after Charlottesville's Unite the Right Rally and the Oath Keepers and the Proud Boys appear to be negatively affected as a result of the events at the Capitol. Members of both groups have been arrested and it looks increasingly like some individuals may turn and provide evidence against their cohorts. Two important lessons learned from the recent uptick in far right scholarship, however, are the far right may lay low, but they do not disappear, and they have mastered the use of the internet.

APPENDIX A

GOOGLE FORM


Audio/Visual Analysis 1/6/2021 US Capitol
Form description
Video time *
Short answer text
Video Number (sample number) *
Short answer text
Video location *
Around D.C.
Near Capitol
Inside Capitol


Flags
Pro Trump
Gadsden
Confederate
Proud Boys
Oathkeepers
Qanon
anti Biden
American
American 13 stars
Three percent flag
God Guns Guts
America First
Other...

Patches/Pins

- [ ] Pro Trump
- [ ] Gadsden
- [ ] Confederate
- [ ] Proud Boys
- [ ] Oathkeepers
- [ ] Qanon
- [ ] anti Biden
- [ ] American
- [ ] American 13 stars
- [ ] Three percent flag
- [ ] America First (AF)
- [ ] Other...

Hats/Beanies

- [ ] Pro Trump
- [ ] Gadsden
- [ ] Confederate
- [ ] Proud Boys
- [ ] Oathkeepers
- [ ] Qanon
- [ ] anti Biden
- [ ] American
- [ ] American 13 stars
- [ ] Three percent flag
- [ ] Other...

Chants/Songs

- [ ] Trump
- [ ] stop the steal
- [ ] National Anthem
- [ ] America the Beautiful
- [ ] Qanon
- [ ] Fight for Trump
- [ ] Let us in
- [ ] Join us
- [ ] come with us
- [ ] all lives matter
- [ ] USA!
- [ ] We the people
- [ ] traitors
- [ ] hold the line
- [ ] Other...

Narration

- [ ] stop the steal
- [ ] storm the capitol
- [ ] trump won
- [ ] the storm
- [ ] This is our house
- [ ] Fight for trump
- [ ] Other...

APPENDIX B

SPREADSHEET OF RESPONSES

Timestamp	Video time	Video location	Flags	Shirts	Patches/Pins	Chants/Songs	Narration	Shirts	Patches/Pins	Hats/Beanies	Video Number (example number)
6/28/2021 11:14:07	sample	near Capitol	Trump, Gadsden, Confeder	Qanon							
6/28/2021 11:29:23	sample 2	in capitol building	Gadsden, Proud Boys, Oa	Qanon							
6/28/2021 12:14:51	12:05 pm	Around D.C.	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American			Fight for Trump			Pro Trump	Pro Trump	4
6/28/2021 12:22:19	12:16	Around D.C.	Pro Trump, Gadsden, Confederate, American							Pro Trump	5
6/28/2021 12:47:59	12:59 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, Oathkeepers, Three percent fl	American		stop the steal, Let us in, J	trump won, came	Qanon		Pro Trump, Qanon, Americ	12
6/28/2021 13:03:32	1:06 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, anti Biden, American				storm the capitol, This is our house, narrated by filmer: "People have t			Pro Trump, American	21
6/28/2021 13:11:52	1:07 pm	Around D.C.	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American				Trump speaking, video shows big screen of Trump high point "if you c			Pro Trump, American	24
6/28/2021 13:29:29	1:28 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, "sign stop the steal"			traitors, hold the line		American		Pro Trump, Qanon, group	47
6/28/2021 13:41:24	1:31 pm	Around D.C.	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American 13 stars, thin blue line, South Vietnam			USA!				Pro Trump, American	53
6/28/2021 13:49:25	1:34 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, anti Biden, American			hands up, don't shoot	"It's a fucking war zoned out here boys" "yo American			Pro Trump	59
6/28/2021 14:12:51	1:35 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American, America First			traitors, Fuck you				Pro Trump, Gadsden, Ame	61
6/28/2021 14:18:36	1:39 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, anti Biden, Three percent flag					Pro Trump, American		Pro Trump	64
6/28/2021 14:30:12	1:44 pm	Around D.C.	Pro Trump, Gadsden, Oathkeepers, American, Three percent flag, gun/second			National Anthem		Pro Trump		Pro Trump, Gadsden	67
6/28/2021 14:34:10	1:45 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, American					Pro Trump, Qanon		Pro Trump, American	69
6/28/2021 14:45:35	1:51 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American				video of Alex Jones, asks supporters of Trump to go to the other side			Pro Trump, American	79
6/28/2021 14:48:11	1:52 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American							Pro Trump	81
6/28/2021 14:55:33	1:58 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, anti Biden, American, American 13 stars, South Vietnam			stop the steal, We the people, one person repeating "fuck you!" another repeating "this is our ho				Pro Trump, American	89
6/28/2021 15:01:57	1:59 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, anti Biden, American			stop the steal, USA!				Pro Trump, American	93
6/28/2021 15:10:31	2:01 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, Qanon, American				storm the capitol,	Pro Trump, American		Pro Trump, American	100
6/28/2021 15:14:53	2:04 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, Qanon, anti Biden, American, American 13 stars			stop the steal		American		Pro Trump	107
6/28/2021 15:24:10	2:05 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American, guns/second amendment punisher/upside do			USA!	someone on a bull horn said, "do not throw		Three percent flag	Pro Trump	114
6/28/2021 15:30:51	2:06 pm	Around D.C.	Pro Trump, Gadsden, Qanon, American, American 13 stars, thin blue line				They are stormin	American			117
6/28/2021 15:35:49	2:06 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American				man on bicycle rides right in front of camera and yells, "Let's go! Get y			Pro Trump, American	117
6/28/2021 15:42:28	2:07	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American, American 13 stars, two upside down America			USA!	a man off camera advises people to advance "we need to have this ar			Pro Trump, American	122
6/28/2021 15:50:30	2:08 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American, American 13 stars			USA!, Do they hear us no	This is our house, as police take down man who is breaking windows			green beanie (with all blac	125
6/28/2021 16:17:32	2:09 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American, American 13 stars, Three percent flag, Americ			stop the steal, all lives ma	This is our house, "no more not today!" "they are breaching the capitol			Pro Trump, American, Am	129
6/28/2021 16:30:45	2:09 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American, American 13 stars, Three percent flag			USA!	lady directly in front of camera says, "guys, this isn't the only poison y			Pro Trump, American	134
6/28/2021 16:47:05	2:10 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American, stop the steal			stop the steal, USA!	"We're going bac	Qanon, American		Pro Trump, American	134
6/28/2021 16:51:03	2:10 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American				"They're teargassing us. They're teargassing patriots"			Pro Trump, American	136
6/28/2021 16:59:30	2:11 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, Confederate, American, Confederate with AR 15 and	"Come and Get it"			Today we fight. T	Pro Trump		Pro Trump	138
6/28/2021 17:06:27	2:12 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, Confederate, American			USA!				Pro Trump, American, Q S	142
6/28/2021 17:13:03	2:13	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, American							Pro Trump, American	147
6/28/2021 17:19:08	2:19 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, Qanon, American, Israeli							Pro Trump, American	161
6/28/2021 17:26:22	2:25 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, American, God Guns Guts			USA!	"They got the door open. They got the door open. They're in." "This is			Pro Trump	171
6/28/2021 17:28:56	2:28 pm	Around D.C.	Pro Trump, American							Pro Trump	180
6/28/2021 17:33:33	2:28	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, American			USA!				Pro Trump	181
6/28/2021 17:41:14	2:29 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American 13 stars, Three percent flag, South Vietnames			Man dressed in Revolutionary war gear playing snare drum				Pro Trump, American	186
6/28/2021 17:45:33	2:29 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, Qanon, American, Three percent flag							Pro Trump, American	189
6/28/2021 18:01:21	2:30 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, American, Black Voices for Trump							Pro Trump	191
6/28/2021 18:06:16	2:30	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, Confederate, American, Three percent flag, America First, Stop the Steal, Thin Blu			Whooo! Yeah! Ye	American			Pro Trump, American	193
6/28/2021 18:09:22	2:31 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, Confederate, Qanon, American, America First				"fucking go, they need our help!"			Pro Trump, American	196
6/28/2021 18:17:30	2:33 pm	Around D.C.	Pro Trump, American				man who said he was just tear gassed says, "I was born in Cuba, my p			Pro Trump, American	208
6/28/2021 18:22:02	2:34 pm	Inside Capitol	Pro Trump, American				"Where are the fucking traitors? Drag them out by their fucking hair." "			Pro Trump, American	209
6/28/2021 18:30:54	2:34	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American, American 13 stars, Stop the Steal, God, Guns			USA!, "Whose house?"	"Our House!"			Pro Trump	210
6/28/2021 18:34:36	2:34	Around D.C.	Pro Trump, American			USA!	"Forge the River" someone dressed as George Washington is carrying			Pro Trump	211
6/28/2021 18:38:24	2:34 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American, American 13 stars, Thin blue line;							Pro Trump, American	212
6/28/2021 18:45:09	2:35 pm	Inside Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American, Thin blue line			USA!	"You've paid for t	American		Pro Trump	215
6/28/2021 18:53:01	2:35 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American			National Anthem				Pro Trump, American	222
6/28/2021 18:57:19	2:36 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American, American 13 stars			stop the steal				Pro Trump, American	237
6/28/2021 19:05:45	2:39 pm	Around D.C.	Pro Trump, America First, several American first flags and a shirt				Honestly I think p	America First		Pro Trump	242
6/28/2021 19:09:36	2:42 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American				"They're kicking the door in, we're going in"			Pro Trump, American	254
6/28/2021 19:11:48	2:42 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, anti Biden, America First			USA!				Pro Trump	256
6/28/2021 19:17:33	2:42 pm	Inside Capitol	American, America 2nd Amendment			"Defend your Constitution	"1776!" "Heard that Antifa? Well, guess what, America showed up!"			Pro Trump	257
7/3/2021 12:28:40	2:43 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American							Pro Trump	260
7/3/2021 12:34:12	2:43 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American, Kekistan; POW							Pro Trump	261
7/3/2021 12:36:07	2:47 pm	Inside Capitol								Pro Trump	276
7/3/2021 12:46:45	2:49 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American 13 stars, Three percent flag				man says "We're going in!" "Come on, Let's go in!" a women responds			Pro Trump	285
7/3/2021 12:50:43	2:50 pm	Inside Capitol	Pro Trump, American				man says "The mayor just issued a citywide curfew six pm" Man off ca			Pro Trump	286
7/3/2021 13:03:52	2:50 pm	Inside Capitol	Pro Trump, American				"Were letting these guys walk right through us, no fear of us, let's see			Pro Trump	287
7/3/2021 13:19:25	2:51 pm	Inside Capitol	Pro Trump, American			stop the steal	White man who v	Pro Trump			292
7/3/2021 13:33:34	2:51 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, American				man in Trump 2020 hat self narrates his video "Well, Congress the ca			Pro Trump	292
7/3/2021 13:44:14	2:52 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, Confederate, Qanon, American, American 13 stars, Thre			stop the steal, USA!		American, American 13 st	America First (AF)	Pro Trump, American	297
7/3/2021 13:57:42	2:53 pm [1]	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, American, Kekistan;			God Bless America	A man pushes a	Stop the Steal		Pro Trump, American	301
7/3/2021 14:21:24	2:53 pm	Near Capitol	American					American		Pro Trump, Oathkeepers,	304
7/3/2021 14:27:18	2:55 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, Confederate, American, American 13 stars, South Vietna			crowd recited the pledge of Allegiance				Pro Trump, American	312
7/3/2021 14:31:18	3:01 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American					Pro Trump, American		Pro Trump, American	327
7/3/2021 14:40:54	3:01 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, Confederate, American, America First				women offscreen	Pro Trump		Pro Trump, American	329
7/3/2021 14:45:40	3:03 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, American, American 13 stars, Three percent flag, upside down Am			stop the steal, National Anthem				Pro Trump, American	335
7/3/2021 14:47:33	3:04 pm	Near Capitol						Pro Trump, American			339
7/3/2021 14:54:43	3:04 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American				woman in MAGA hat speaking directly into her camera "I'm live at the			Pro Trump	340
7/3/2021 15:01:52	3:05 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American, American 13 stars, 2nd amendment punisher;					Pro Trump		Pro Trump, American	342
7/3/2021 15:09:02	3:07 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, American, America First				video shows line	Pro Trump, America 1776		Pro Trump, Gadsden	347
7/3/2021 15:11:54	3:08 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American, American 13 stars			USA!				Pro Trump, American	347
7/3/2021 15:22:04	3:08 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American				man off camera says: "This is the crowd, they threw up a huge ass fla			Pro Trump, American	350
7/3/2021 15:26:18	3:09 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American							Pro Trump, American	351
7/3/2021 15:32:22	3:09 pm	Inside Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American			USA!				Pro Trump, American	354
7/3/2021 15:39:29	3:09 pm	Near Capitol	American			"push" the crowd is up	against riot police in a doorway		American	Pro Trump	354
7/3/2021 15:41:17	3:12 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, American							Pro Trump	359
7/3/2021 15:46:49	3:13 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American, American 13 stars			"Traitor Pence"				Pro Trump, Proud Boys, A	368
7/3/2021 15:49:33	3:16 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American 13 stars, Three percent flag, POW							Pro Trump, American	374
7/3/2021 16:10:02	3:19 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American, 2nd Amendment			Push them back! (crowd	yelling about struggle between officers and crowd at entryway)			Pro Trump, American	379
7/3/2021 16:54:39	3:20 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American			Let the cop go!				Pro Trump, American	385
7/3/2021 16:58:24	3:22 pm	Inside Capitol	Pro Trump, American			Fight for Trump				Pro Trump, American	389
7/3/2021 17:02:01	3:24 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, American, Three percent flag			USA!		Pro Trump, American		Pro Trump	393
7/3/2021 17:05:39	3:25 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, American			Q Shaman leads chant:	"Freedom!" crowd responds "Freedom!"			Pro Trump	399
7/3/2021 17:11:32	3:31	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American, America First				woman off camer	Pro Trump		Pro Trump, American	406
7/3/2021 17:14:50	3:32 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, American				man off camera says: "Hey those are good	American		Pro Trump	407
7/3/2021 17:21:04	3:35 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Qanon, American			Fight for Trump	man on camera: "So I just want to report to you guys what's happenin			Pro Trump, American	413
7/3/2021 17:26:31	3:41 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American				men behind the camera watching police walk down the steps from Ca			Pro Trump, American	420
7/3/2021 17:31:34	3:43 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American, Thin Blue Line				man in front of ca	Pro Trump		Pro Trump	428
7/3/2021 17:35:17	3:47 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, Qanon, American 13 stars			We the people!				Pro Trump, American	432
7/3/2021 17:37:27	3:49 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden							Pro Trump	437
7/3/2021 17:40:12	3:51 pm	Near Capitol	American, Thin Blue Line							Pro Trump	443
7/3/2021 17:43:09	3:53 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American							Pro Trump	449
7/3/2021 17:45:51	3:58 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American, American 13 stars							Pro Trump, American	458
7/3/2021 17:48:13	3:59 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American 13 stars, Three percent flag			USA!				Pro Trump	459
7/3/2021 17:52:58	4:01 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden				man on camera with bull horn: "My three kids are going to grow up in			Pro Trump, American	462
7/3/2021 17:55:58	4:02 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, Gadsden, American			Amazing Grace, first few	lines, then dies out, men behind camera remark that no one seemed to			Pro Trump, American	463
7/3/2021 17:59:36	4:08 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, American				Men speaking Spanish about Trump			Pro Trump	471
7/3/2021 18:02:56	4:09 pm	Around D.C.	American				man and woman off camera are watching from across the street and r			Pro Trump	472
7/3/2021 18:10:05	4:15 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, American			all folks matter		Gadsden		Pro Trump	472
7/3/2021 18:12:25	4:23 pm	Near Capitol	American				Police telling people to get down and move, a woman responds, "stop pushing us"				488
7/3/2021 18:16:09	4:26 pm	Near Capitol	Pro Trump, American				man Pastor Matt? with camera interviews another man who saw Ashli Babbett shot. Man explain				489

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