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Fielder, Grace E. and Catalano, Theresa, "Othering others: Right-wing populism in UK media discourse on “new” immigration" (2017). *Faculty Publications: Department of Teaching, Learning and Teacher Education*. 255.
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Othering others

Right-wing populism in UK media discourse on “new” immigration

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Abstract

Right wing populism is on the rise. Through the use of othering, right-wing groups delimit their own identities while excluding others. The purpose of this chapter is to shed light on how European mediated public spheres (such as reader responses to media discourse) constitute an important domain of identity articulation and struggle through the discursive construction of the ‘Other’. In this case, the others come from the Central and Eastern European countries that are perceived as newcomers to Western Europe due to the consecutive enlargements of the European Union. Specifically, this chapter provides an in-depth analysis of 236 reader comments responding to one online article from *The Telegraph* that discusses “new” immigration from Bulgaria and Romania to the U.K., a result of the lifting of work restrictions in 2014. Applying methods of Conversation Analysis and critical discourse analysis (including relevant EU history and background), we expose numerous levels of othering in the data (e.g. othering those who disagree with right-wing political views, othering the EU, othering non-native speakers, othering migrants/Roma) and demonstrate the various strategies that are used to accomplish this (e.g. argumentation strategies, perspectivization, etc.).

Keywords: othering, EU, Bulgaria, Romania, Roma, online reader comments

1. Introduction

Due to challenging economic conditions, as well as political and social discord, right-wing populism, which centers its discourse on othering and serves as a way in which the community can more effectively delimit its own identity, is on the rise in Europe and elsewhere. Incorporating a scholarly perspective from critical discourse studies which views discourse as both a consequence and vehicle for exerting power (Wodak and Meyer, 2001/2016) as well as the position that identity is constructed by participants in discourse (Grabill and Pigg, 2012),

this paper analyzes the pervasive othering strategies deployed in online discussion forums, specifically online comments that respond to a newspaper article on the lifting of work restrictions in the EU for Bulgarian and Romanian citizens in January 2014. These othering strategies are an important part of performing identity work online, what Benwell and Stokoe (2006) call “virtual identity”. While there are significant differences between face-to-face and computer mediated communication (CMC), participants in both modes engage in and perform identity in similar ways. Arguing that reader comments reflect the othering discourse typical of populist right-wing groups (Wodak, 2015; Wodak, KhosraviNik and Mral, 2013), we combine Conversation Analysis (CA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) to focus on the consumption and reproduction of these discourses by the reading public since discourse not only reflects the world around us but constructs it as well. The othering discourses in these comments range along a continuum from voicing intergroup bias to overtly racist comments. We ascribe to van Dijk’s definition of racism as “a social system of *domination*, that is of a specific kind of power of one group over another group, in our case of Europeans (‘whites’) over non-European peoples” (2005: 1–2). And we would argue that it is precisely the construction of who is ‘European’ that is at issue in this discussion forum. To add more nuance to our analysis, we follow Condor (2006: 2) who uses the broader term ‘prejudiced talk’ where “people present recognizably pejorative representations of nationally, ethnically, or racially defined others.” Such prejudiced discourse which caters to right-wing discourses, we will argue, foreshadowed UKIP’s (United Kingdom Independence Party) winning 24 out of 73 seats in the May 2014 European Parliament elections, which is more than either Labour (20) or Conservatives (19) were able to do (Volkery, 2014). This increase in popularity of UKIP has affected the Conservative-Liberal UK government’s strategies (specifically those of the Conservative Party – to which the *Telegraph* is attached) forcing them to accommodate the policies of UKIP and their populist agenda in the hopes of retaining or attracting votes (Wodak 2015: 88). Hence, the present paper will show how a discussion forum, specifically reader responses to a news article, constitutes a domain of identity articulation in which self and other are established, enforced and reinforced. In the course of the postings which we analyze as functioning as turn taking by extending Conversation Analysis to online discussions, the participants dialogically construct and co-construct progressively nested identities of self and other. As Wodak (2015: xi) articulates quite eloquently, the post-1989 collapse of the division between Western and Eastern Europe and the subsequent enlargement of the EU in 2004

led to a merging of the concepts of refugees, migrants and asylum seekers: an enemy image of *the ‘Other’* started to dominate political struggles and debates. This image has taken many local forms and shapes; it is a floating signifier, indeed an empty signifier which anybody can articulate for their political interests.

As we will demonstrate in our analysis, othering is a reflexive move with the floating signifier as target. In the next section, we define right-wing populism, and explain its relationship to othering in order to better understand why othering is a useful strategy in typical right-wing discourse such as that of our analysis.

2. Literature review

2.1 Right wing populism

Populism can be defined as “a general protest against the checks and balances introduced to prevent ‘the people’s’ direct rule” (Palinka, 2013: 3). Modern populism has been characterized by protest movements that express “disillusionment and disappointment with established systems” and aim for a better and more “real” democracy that truly represents “the people” (4). As Palinka notes,

Populism simplifies complex developments by looking for a culprit. As the enemy – the foreigner, the foreign culture – has already succeeded in breaking into the fortress of the nation state, someone must be responsible. The élites are the secondary ‘defining others’, responsible for the liberal democratic policies of accepting cultural diversity. (2013: 7)

It is this question of who belongs to “the people” and who does not, and the fact that populism assumes a type of self-evidence for the inclusion or exclusion from “the people” that leads to the connection of right-wing populism to othering. Othering is a recurring strategy of right wing populist discourse (Reisigl, 2013; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2015) in which members seek to differentiate “us” from “them” by first establishing a positive “us” and then showing how “they” are different, through the attribution of negative traits. Van Dijk (1997: 30) refers to this as “the ideological square” and argues that it is a common strategy in racist talk and text. Unfortunately, populist discourse does not just reach its supporters, but also affects mainstream political parties who must increasingly accommodate to “essentialized body politics in order to keep their electorate from voting for the far-right parties and their values” (Wodak, 2015: 72) which are based on othering. In our findings section, we explore how right-wing online commenters construct the “Other” in populist discourse, and use it as a powerful strategy to gain support. In addition, we illustrate how othering in reader comments differentiates self from others in order to reinforce and protect the self, hence it is not just about the “Other” but also about the self (Dervin, 2012).

2.2 Comment

Comment (used in the singular) is not just a way we express our opinion online; it is its own genre of communication. “It is social, meant to be seen by others, and reactive” (Reagle, 2015: 2). Referred to as “the bottom of the web”, comment is “easily seen but invisible and taken for granted” and people often prefer not to look into this “online reflecting glass of humanity” (Reagle, 2015: 3, 172). While many people choose to ignore the comments, we believe there is much to learn from them about ourselves and the ways that people seek to exploit the value of our social selves. Comment provides us with a sample of what some people think, and as a characteristic of contemporary life, comment “can inform, improve and shape people for the better or it can alienate, manipulate and shape people for the worse” (Reagle 2015: 185). Moreover, as we will demonstrate below, “comment-in-interaction” can be meaningfully analyzed using CA.

Much research has been done that examines online communities and the ways in which identities are shaped and public opinion is influenced in these spaces for digital discourse (Binns, 2012; Citron, 2013; Chovanec, and Paprota, this volume; Denzin, 1998; Grabill and Pigg, 2012; Hardacker, 2010; Sakki and Pettersson, 2015 to name a few). Studies such as Grabill and Pigg (2012) have examined interaction in online public forums and argue that these forums present methodological challenges for researchers because of the messy, non-linear ways in which participants engage. In addition, they posit that online forums provide unique argumentative spaces for the leveraging of identity as a form of rhetorical agency.

Those who do not hold traditional forms of expertise participate by performing identity in ways that extend beyond establishing individual credibility. These performances create argumentative space by shaping how the conversation unfolds and enables the exchange of information and knowledge

(Grabill and Piggs 2012: 101)

Hence, in these forums, group memberships can be ascribed, avowed, displayed and ignored, and identity can be leveraged to move conversations in a particular direction.

Focusing on the methodology used to analyze online forums, Denzin (2012) puts forward the method of instances. According to Psathas (1995: 50), “An instance of something is an occurrence ... an event whose features and structures can be examined to discover how it is organized.” Intersections between utterances occur when one commenter indirectly or directly refers to another utterance. These references are not always immediate or directly tied with what

1. Note the authors’ use of the term “conversation” for describing online forums.

just occurred in the thread, and often they refer to “an extended discourse that has developed around a set of topics.” In this case, the commenter is “indexically” referring to the larger system and utterances involved in this as well as their own experiences, which enlarges the frame of the discourse (Denzin, 2012: 110). The notion of intersection of utterances is particularly helpful for the purposes of our paper, in that it aids us in attempting to understand the course of the interactions “by observing what happens first, second, next, etc., by noticing what preceded it; and by examining what is actually done and said by the participants” (Psathas, 1995: 51) and it allows us to extract meaning from the responses one reader makes to another.

Another major area of research about online discourse and comment has focused on trolls and trolling. According to Binns (2012), the word ‘troll’ does not originate from the mythical fairy tale creature but rather from the domain of fishing. It refers to “a type of angling in which a lure is dragged through the water to provoke a feeding frenzy amongst the fish” (Binns, 2012: 547). Hardacker (2010: 237) defines a troll as someone who constructs the identity of sincerely wishing to be part of the group, while really aiming to cause disruption for their own amusement. This definition can be broadened to also include people who seek to influence the forum negatively. Reagle (2015) notes that trolls (through flame wars or virtual arguments) have caused a shift from deindividuation (which is when we lose a sense of ourselves and inhibition because we can’t see the people and the way we hurt them through our comments) to depersonalization, which is when morality shifts from a sense of self to a group and its norms. In addition, Reagle (2015) also notes that the world of comment today is different from the time of early likers who reviewed or commented for the love of it. Instead, it has become an increasingly tempting space for manipulators who capitalize on the fact that most comment readers have no idea the extent to which comment is manipulated for the writer’s monetary or political benefit. Interestingly, Reagle also notes that trolling “appears to be the province of men” (2015: 98). In comparison, if the commenter is a woman, this ‘raises one’s risk of cyber harassment’ and victims of cyber harassment are most often female (Citron, 2013: 2).

Sakki and Pettersson (2015) also studied the negative power of online discourse by examining how right-wing politicians in political blogs exploited the digital discursive tools provided by political blogging to create a sense of connectedness and mutual understanding between the reader and blogger and to convey othering in ways that did not hold them explicitly accountable. According to the authors, this combination of digital tools (such as inserting hyperlinks in order to distance the blogger from what is being said and dialog between the politician and readers) and discursive strategies that deny racism, make discourse in these blogs particularly powerful and convincing.

Another study relevant to this paper is Catalano and Fielder (2014). In this analysis, the authors demonstrated how various construal operations, metaphoric and metonymic conceptual blends, deictic positioning and proximization, revealed ideologies that are produced and reproduced by the text consumers of this same article on immigration. These ideologies reveal the view of Britain being contaminated by the EU which is in turn being (or has already been) contaminated by Romanians and Bulgarians. This idea of contamination was also found in the work of Paprota (this volume) who also examined reader comments in *The Telegraph* and compared them to similar discussions in *The Guardian*. In her chapter, Paprota found that Roma were “almost always represented as problematic, and are typically subject to explicit exclusion from among Eastern Europeans” and that often the *topos* of disease was invoked (aka, contamination), and led to a stronger othering of the group. Both Chovanec (this volume) and Paprota examined larger corpora of online reader comments regarding new immigration, and in particular, Roma. They both found local communities to be dissatisfied with recently arrived Roma and/or other Eastern European migrants. Furthermore, Chovanec found the reader comments (in both the UK and the Czech Republic) to discursively deprive the Roma of being linked to any specific locality, and thus emphasize the outgroup’s placelessness. Hence, what all three studies reveal is the way in which the Roma are de-territorialized and “construed as belonging neither in the target country of their migration (the UK) nor in the country from where they arrive (Central and Eastern Europe)” and that they are seen as contaminating (e.g., disease, crime) the places where they do live (Chovanec, this volume),

Thus, this chapter builds on Catalano and Fielder (2014) by using the same online comments to examine the role that reader response forums such as in *The Telegraph* play in the garnering of support for right-wing populism discourses and the formation and re-shaping of European identities through othering.

3. Methods

3.1 Data collection

The “moral panic” resulting from new immigration to the U.K. was initially brought to our attention in February of 2014 because of the outraged backlash in Bulgarian news sources. We then conducted a www.google.com search using search terms “Bulgaria and Romania”, “UK” and “work restriction lifted”. The final article chosen for analysis was selected on the basis of three criteria:

1. Topic: Work restriction lifted for Bulgaria and Romania. Effects on the UK.
2. Time period: January-February 2014
3. Comments: The article needed to contain a sufficient number of comments to make up a substantial corpus.

The article chosen for analysis is entitled “Number of Romanian and Bulgarian Workers Reaches Record High” (Barrett and Swinford, 2014) and was published in the UK online version of *The Telegraph* on 19 February, 2014. This one article elicited a total of 236 comments which we then analyzed by combining CA with CDA. *The Telegraph* is the name of the online version of the UK’s *Daily Telegraph*. The paper is known for its conservative tendencies and links to the Conservative Party and it wields significant influence over Conservative and right-wing activists (Curtis, 2006). Hence, it provides an ideal location to examine populist discourse regarding European identities as well as reader reaction to it. While the article itself is not the focal point of this study, but rather the text-consumer response in the online comments, we will first present a brief outline of the article, its tone and its topics in order to better understand the response that it generated.

Just below the headline, the lead of the article reads as follows:

Official data shows a 42 per cent surge in numbers from the two former Communist states during 2013, ahead of rule changes at start of January.

We want to draw attention to the use of the word “surge” which is part of the strategy of *proximation* and the characterization of Bulgaria and Romania as “former Communist states” which positions them on the outside as part of a former enemy and implicitly questions their qualifications for membership in the EU, which stands for Western European values. The article goes on to discuss the “steady increase” in the number of Romanian and Bulgarian workers in the UK, the “public anxiety” that the government is attempting to “quell” and how the UK benefits system must be “protected”. It also features a photograph of a crowded border control entry at an airport with many people in line waiting to enter the UK.

While studies such as Chovanec and Paprota (this volume, separate chapters) are similar to ours, they use large corpora to locate patterns and tendencies. Our chapter takes a different approach (which we believe is complementary to their important work) in looking very closely at responses to one article so that we can pay close attention to context. This attention to context and the chronological rhythm of the discourse allows us to qualitatively examine in depth the different strategies used and how they are used. This then permits us to see one way in which populist discourse builds momentum and shapes identities through online forums.

3.2 Data analysis

Data analysis begins with a close reading of the 263 comments by text-consumers in which salient elements (e.g., EUSSR, UKIP) and themes (e.g., othering people who disagree with right-wing discourse, non-native speakers) were highlighted and notes made in track changes. We then consider the intertextuality and interdiscursivity of the comments. The data was organized into themes related to the types of othering that occurred (e.g., othering of immigrants, Roma, people who disagree), and then we examined and explained the discursive strategies used to “other”, such as referential/nomination, predicational, argumentation, perspectivization (i.e. point of view), intensifying and mitigating strategies (Wodak and Meyer, 2001/2016: 33). Referential or nomination strategies represent the way in which one constructs and represents social actors; for example, ingroups and outgroups via membership categorization devices, metaphors and metonymies. Predicational strategies are stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative and positive traits in the form of linguistic predicates that aim to label social actors. Argumentation strategies (through the devices of topoi or fallacies) justify negative attributions (e.g. exclusion, discrimination) and question claims of truth, while perspectivization provides a way for speakers to express their involvement or distance in discourse and position their point of view. Finally, intensifying and mitigation strategies qualify and modify the epistemic status (how committed the speaker is to the truth) of a proposition and the speaker’s intention in producing the utterance (i.e. the illocutionary force). In addition, we examine strategies that allow commenters to present negative views of “outsiders” as acceptable while at the same time protecting the commenter from charges of racism and prejudice. These include “credibility-enhancing devices” such as the citation of authority, consensual and corroborative justifying, quantification and use of facts (Sakki and Pettersson, 2015: 2). We also look at the conversations in terms of how identities are formed and constituted through linguistic interaction – referred to as “identity-in-use” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005) – and how commenters’ and community identities are built through citations of authority, evidence and other arguments (Grabill and Pigg, 2012).

In the next section, the comments are organized chronologically in accordance with traditional CA practice in order to analyze conversational turns thereby providing a window into the dialogic nature of online social media chats. At the same time, we characterize these chronologically ordered comments by themes or strategies that appear to be particularly salient for specific groups of interactions so that we can explain the types of strategies used along the way. More importantly, we demonstrate how these strategies are used to “other” Romanians and Bulgarians immigrants (and consequently, Roma), and we connect

this not only to historical right-wing populism but also to its recent resurgence in Europe, and the use of trolls as persuasive vehicles for populist discourses on social media. To do this, we utilize Denzin's (2012) method of instances to frame our dialogic analysis. In doing so, we align ourselves with a growing number of scholars who argue that methods of Conversation Analysis can be adapted for analyzing asynchronous online discourse (Giles, 2016; Giles et al., 2015; Gibson, 2009; Stommel, 2008).

4. Findings

4.1 The Othering begins

Our analysis begins with the opening comment which immediately positions immigrants as the reason for inefficient social services:

(1) thecuttsman

No wonder it takes three weeks to get a doctor's appointment. [62 votes]²

This comment clearly responds to the underlying ideology of the original article which points out that the government is taking "decisive steps on welfare and immigration to ... protect the UK benefits system" (Barrett and Swinford, 2014). This argumentation strategy which incorporates the topos of burden (in the sense that UK citizens cannot get services because immigrants are using up all the resources, hence, immigrants as a burden on UK citizens) is a recurrent theme in our data, not surprisingly since Giles (2016: 2) notes that:

The OP, sometimes called the original post (e.g., Smithson et al., 2011), influences the discussion thread in a way that departs significantly from the opening exchanges in a spoken conversation. The opening contributor assigns a topic or theme to the thread to which he or she expects other members to adhere throughout, and, following the previous point about earlier thread material being permanently available, members generally do remain on topic.

2. One reason we have been including the number of "votes" is that the variation is indicative not just of how many people agree or disagree with a particular comment, but also serves as a kind of barometer of interest on the part of the audience. In other words, more people are reading (lurking) than posting. In addition, votes can also indicate appreciation of various argument devices.

And indeed the first response directly engages with the OP:

(2) Bannertree > thecuttsman

It takes three weeks to get a doctor's appointment for the following reasons:

1. The population is aging and healthcare provision has not increased to allow for the larger numbers of elderly.
2. The NHS is underfunded compared to other advanced countries.
3. The NHS is not very efficient.
4. Extra strain is put on the NHS because it is free at point of use. This causes abuses by people not keeping appointments as there is no downside for the patient who does not show up.

None of this has anything to do with do with EU migrants who come to the UK to work, and on the whole make fewer claims on public services than locals.

[4 votes]

In this response Bannertree positions himself as the "voice of reason" by providing facts to counter anti-immigrant comments. Note, however, that he receives only 4 votes in comparison to the first comment which received 62. The voting system (commenters can vote for a comment they like) is a digital tool that allows us to gauge the positive or negative reaction to comments by other viewers, who may be choosing not to post, but are engaging digitally with the discussion. Bou-Franch et al. (2012) use the term "polylogal" to characterize this multiplicity of participants at any given time in online communication. Giles (2016: 3) also argues that such communication is doubly articulated in the sense that

in addition to the discussants who are visibly contributing to the thread, there is an unseen audience consisting of other forum members (who are free to enter the thread if they so wish) as well as casual visitors, all of whom can be potentially addressed by the discussants.

Thus, the fluctuation in the number of votes provides us with a window into the construction of the online community, specifically, traces of the unseen audience who then evaluate posts and posters as "inside" or "outside" the imagined community. The drop from 62 votes to 4 votes is the equivalence of silence, or what Pomerantz (1984) termed a dispreference marker. Thus, Bannertree is positioned as an outsider by the voting audience and not surprisingly is othered through sarcasm in the next post.

(3) Frank.T. M. > Bannertree

You mean apart from those that use it, it's really basic maths, more people to be treated means you wait longer for treatment, do you see?

Less people here to use it, you get seen more quickly.

And tomorrow we move onto finger painting and our 1 times tables.

[48 votes]

Here Frank.T. M. positions Bannertree as a child in elementary school (or even kindergarten). He uses condescending “we” to imitate the tone of a teacher speaking to a pupil and equates the understanding of immigrants as burden to understanding basic maths (in American English “addition and subtraction”). In addition, the comment reveals the strategy of perspectivization, in which deictics such as “we” and “our” are used to distance Bannertree. Bannertree is not discouraged, but continues his argument of facts.

(4) Bannertree > Frank.T. M.

It is not basic maths. The EU immigrants in the UK contribute to its economy because they pay more in taxes than they use in benefits. Many of them work in the NHS, keeping it going for very little reward. They are of working age, and in work. This is the one category that is least likely to make any call on NHS services.

[3 votes]

Bannertree’s counter argument is not validated by the audience (only 3 votes), but rather countered with even more strident othering of immigrants using deictic distancing indexicals “those”, and “ours” which presupposes that these EU immigrants don’t belong. Using nomination, immigrants are depicted as beggars rather than workers, as in next response:

(5) disgusted of tunbridge wells > Bannertree

Like those begging outside our supermarkets? Frankly we’ve plenty of our own beggars.

[41 likes]

The next contributor, GreatBrithole, ramps up the rhetoric:

(6) *James Brokenshire, the immigration minister, said: “These figures show we are building an immigration system that works in the national interest.” Which figures show this?*

All that the coalition have done is to continue where Labour left off in engineering the complete destruction of everything that used to be good about this country. Their rhetoric does not match their actions at all and it’s quite clear that they are at war with the indigenous British people, financially, politically, psychologically and genocidally.

[123 votes]

This commentary exhibits the nostalgia for the “good old days” and identifies “indigenous British people” as the real nation in this imagined community. Here, the real “people” to whom the populism discourse is addressed, are explicitly named (hence, this is a nomination strategy), and given membership into the category of “us”. The use of the adverb “genocidally” intensifies the illocutionary force (i.e. the speaker’s intention in producing an utterance) and racial nature of his comments. Note too the overwhelming support of 123 votes which gives a clear indication of the sympathies of the unseen community.

4.2 Othering Bannertree

Bannertree deserves special mention because he consistently tries to argue facts and counter the othering discourse with reason, but he himself is constantly othered in various ways (see (3) above where he is addressed as if a schoolchild by Frank.T.M) which he persistently resists. Finlay (2007) refers to people such as Bannertree as “enemies within” in that they are ingroup members who do not share an extreme right ideology, and hence they are labeled as traitors that act to destroy their own people. By constructing Bannertree as betraying ordinary people, ingroup members can distance themselves from being labeled as racist. In the excerpts below Bannertree’s comments are discounted by other contributors not on the basis of the facts he presents, but on the basis of his purported political affiliation. Since he does not agree with the othering comments, he must be one of those elites who are responsible for the crisis. In the following comment, predication strategies are used attribute negative traits to Bannertree:

(7) afterglow > Bannertree

I can picture Bannertree at his desk in Labour’s London offices, defiantly typing any such rubbish in an attempt to push back the tide of public opinion that will overwhelm Labour in the May election.

[37 votes]

Bannertree then continues the conversation, refuting the stereotype regarding his political affiliation:

(8) Bannertree > afterglow

Did you read the article? It looks like you did not. I have never supported Labour in my life.

[1 vote]

onetimetry > Bannertree

It must have been the Liberals then.

[12 likes]

Then, EmilyEnso chimes in to expand the membership of others:

(9) EmilyEnso > afterglow

In fact all these Eastern Europeans get a vote in May and its on record they are organizing to get on the voting roll and mass vote for Labour. They don’t want any referendum and they want to continue in their invasion, occupation and legalized plunder.

[12 votes]

Emily Enso is probably a UKIP troll,³ or at least makes explicit the concerns that UK is being “taken over” by “others” (note the metaphors of WAR, as mentioned in Catalano and Fielder, 2014) and that EU immigrants are even voting for anti-British policies. This post gets at the root cause of one of the basic fears, namely that the UK government is being taken away from real British; it no longer represents “true” British interests.

Bannertree then attempts to “Other” GreatBrithole who joined in the discussion above (6) with commentary that positions Brits as strangers in their own land, but his attempt is met without much success except for a single contributor, BigJC, who stereotypes the other contributors. Even when GreatBrithole responds to this othering, the audience has lost interest in this thread as we can see by the fact that his lengthy post only got 2 votes.

(10) Bannertree > GreatBrithole

[...]

You write like an old fogey, I hope you are not.

[4 votes]

BigJC > Bannertree

The problem Bannertree is that the vast majority of contributors to this site are retired and/or elderly and are, by default, stuck in the past and resistant to change.

[1 vote]

Bannertree > BigJC

Unfortunately you are right. Not only are they stuck in the past, but it's a past that never existed.

[1 vote]

Above, Bannertree is calling out GreatBritHole with respect to his strategy of making false claims about the past. Wodak (2015) refers to this strategy as part of the “right-wing populist perpetuum mobile”. Included in this perpetual cycle are “rhetorical strategies which combine incompatible phenomena, make false claims sound innocent, deny the obvious, say the ‘unsayable’, and transcend the limits of the permissible” (p. 19). However, Bannertree pays the price for not letting GreatBrithole and others get away with false claims. Below GreatBrithole attempts to “Other” Bannertree as an “elite”, aligned with the Coalition which is equated to the EU, once again positioning him as the insider that is betraying his roots (Finlay, 2007). In addition, the invocation

3. In Catalano & Fielder (2014), the authors suggested that UKIP might have planted “trolls” on the site in order to plug their party for upcoming elections. This hypothesis was prompted by several instances of comments blatantly promoting UKIP such as the following:

mac78

If you really want to do something about the immigration mess, then you must get rid of the Tories who love immigrants, and vote UKIP.

of place (e.g. Do you live and work in London...) also assists in constructing Bannertree's identity as an "insider elite" and thus outside this online community (Grabill and Pigg 2012: 108). However, it seems nobody is listening any longer, perhaps because the community feels the exchange has become more personal rather than ideological.

- (11) GreatBrithole > Bannertree
Do you live and work in London as a professional propagandist/spin doctor for the EU/Coalition by any chance? [2 likes]

Bannertree > GreatBrithole then posts 4 separate responses of "No" without any votes (not clear if he re-posts in order to emphatically deny the accusation, to get a response out of GreatBrithole or to elicit at least one vote). He is being ignored and marginalized by both the seen and unseen community, and his "No" responses reveal that no one is ready or cares enough to respond again. The fact that he has been accused of being a propagandist/spin doctor for the EU is interesting as well, and reflects another aspect of Wodak's (2015) "perpetuum mobile" in what she calls the perpetrator-victim reversal. Hence, while posters who appear to be obvious UKIP supporters or trolls go unchallenged, it is Bannertree that is accused of being a political spin doctor. According to Wodak, perpetrator-victim reversal allows right-wing populist parties to set the agenda and distract people from other more important issues, e.g. perhaps the fact that many of the claims being made by right-wing commenters are false.

4.3 Othering the EU

After the back and forth between Bannertree and GreatBrithole has petered out, onetimetory posts something that gets the online community's attention:

- (12) onetimetory > Bannertree
NATO kept the peace in Europe not the EUSSR. [27 votes]
- Bannertree > onetimetory
Get the name right, it is the EU. The (former) USSR consisted of what is now Russia and the satellite countries under its control. Confusing the two shows that your grasp of facts is weak. [2 votes]
- Bob > Bannertree
He is clearly calling it the EUSSR to compare the EU state to the USSR. If you failed to see that I am truly worried about your intelligence. [49 votes]
- Bannertree > Bob
As there is no "EU state" it is his intelligence in question, not mine. [2 votes]

Here, we see an example of othering in which moral codes and inferiority are attached to difference (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012). Hall (1997) points out that this type of othering, in which difference is represented as negative, allows the majority group to “Other” those who differ for whatever reason (in this case, ideologically), which results in normalizing the majority group. Incivility such as this directly ties to othering but also normalizes incivility. Bannertree responds by reversing the accusations, but because the power distribution is not in his favor (he is outnumbered on the site by right-wing populists) this will not affect Bob’s identity negatively (note that Bannertree’s comment receives only 2 votes while Bob’s received 49). Next, there ensues a long somewhat pedantic discussion about whether the EU is a state or not to an apparently dwindling audience.

- (13) Guest > Bannertree
The EU is a state. It is in a state of corruption. [10 votes]
- Bannertree > Guest
And your proof is? [1 vote]
- Guest > Bannertree
The EUSSR is exactly what it is.
The basic EU, mixed with the USSR, now in Brussels.
But that’s ok – the USSR crumbled, and so will the EUSSR. [11 votes]
- Deleted comment.
- GreatBrithole > Guest
Never, of course. It’s a handy soundbite used to maintain the illusion that they are involved in managing a democratic society as opposed to managing human ownership on behalf of a hidden elite which is their true role. [49 votes]
- Guest
Farage and UKIP were right, then, not a surprise. [156 votes]

This latest post received the largest response thus far. This guest is presumably a UKIP troll, but what they had to say hit home for a lot of people, particularly for Eurosceptics who see a clear comparison between the powers of the European Union to that of the former Soviet Union.⁴ This provides an apt illustration of how the discourse regarding *The Telegraph* article and the lifting of work restrictions taps into the right-wing populist discourse that carried UKIP to victory in the May 2014 elections.

4. One cannot help but wonder whether this large response was an early indication of the unanticipated level of support for the so-called Brexit vote of June 23, 2016.

4.4 Migrants = Roma = Crime

The conversation now moves back toward providing credibility-enhancing devices that make othering of outsiders acceptable and protect the commenters from being seen as racist. Below, Sapporo posts this conspiracy theory about the reality of EU immigration into Britain and overtly others Roma:

(14) Sapporo

What about the Romanian non-workers? There are now large communities of mostly ethnic Roma in most cities in England. They have not come direct from Romania or Bulgaria, but have been living in other EU nations since these countries accession to the EU. Now that UK restrictions have been lifted, large numbers have descended on the UK, attracted by our generous benefits, charity sector and black market opportunities. The fact they come here from other EU nations allows the political/media elite to say direct migration from Romania and Bulgaria is low. [83 likes]

Conspiracy theories are an important piece of the right-wing populist toolkit, and the idea that Roma are coming to the UK to take all the benefits is a collective memory and nostalgia tactic which builds on media discourse that has historically described Roma as parasitic burdens leeching off the “ordinary people” (Finlay, 2007; Mols and Jetten, 2014; Wodak and Forchtner, 2014). Sapporo also confuses Romanian and Roma, although this confusion seems to be superficial. Note also the reappearance of the topos of burden argumentation strategy and the new connection made specifically to Roma rather than all immigrants. Additionally, the mention of the political/media elite constructs intellectuals/journalists as common enemies and is evidence of anti-intellectualism. This anti-intellectualism often correlates with an “arrogance of ignorance” in which common-sense and traditional conservative values are linked to aggressive exclusionary rhetoric (Wodak, 2015: 22). The comment that “large numbers” of Roma “have descended on the UK, attracted by our generous benefits” is a clear example of the type of rhetoric that goes hand in hand with anti-intellectualism. Below, we again see the use of perspectivization through deixis such as “they” and “us”, and the negative “us” who are “mugs” because “we” accept “most of the migrants”.

(15) Deleted Comment

Bob Evens > Guest (probably to deleted comment)
They want us in the EU as we are the mugs that take most of the migrants. The latest figures show we took far more than any other EU country. The true numbers are probably even higher as the government does not record the numbers. [44 votes]

The fallacy presented above is effective – but might surprise Germany, who is in actuality ranked first for accepting migrants while Britain is ranked 7th (“Europe’s migrant acceptance rates,” 2015). The next examples illustrate the argumentation strategy of logical deduction to justify immigration controls. Bob Evans takes a personal perspective and vouches for his assessment, producing yet another fallacy:

- (16) Bob Evans
 I have looked at the figures on migration and as far as I can tell there is a direct correlation between crime & the level migrants in an area
 Low numbers of migrants normally low crime levels, High levels of migrants high crime levels. [64 votes]

The responses to Bob Evans and their popularity/votes is telling, for the most part he is supported and those who disagree get relatively few votes.

- (17) Sydney Harbour-Bridge > Bob Evans
 Sort of, there is a correlation for certain types of crime and immigration. [5 votes]
- reindeer > Bob Evans
 Have to agree. The Court news in the local paper for this part of the country is stuffed with immigrant crimes – mostly alcohol-related sprees, shoplifting and muggings. Makes you proud to be a member of the EU – NOT! [31 votes]
- bpf1949 > Bob Evans
 Prove it if you can. [1 vote]

The above discourse is a glimpse into how false stereotypes and ideas spread and become stronger through online discussions (e.g. the empirically proven false idea that more immigration means more crime, cf. Catalano, 2013; Rumbaut and Ewing, 2007). This demonstrates how online commenting sites can be breeding grounds for discourse that feeds on hate and neglects the importance of facts.

4.5 Disclaimers

The next phase in the online conversation ramps up the rhetoric to a more racist tenor. In the following examples, there is explicit linking of immigration to the “dilution” of the population of “real” Brits (note the post by Guest on state-controlled family planning for the “indigenous”, i.e. British, links back to the earlier comment by GreatBrithole in which he mentions that Labour is at war with the “indigenous British people [...] genocidally”. This is also the point in the conversation where the scatological metaphors become more intense as part of argumentation strategies which claim that the situation is so extreme now that exclusionary policies are justified, if not required, as seen below:

- (18) Honky Fronky
 [...]

If there is a high immigration level of very poor nationals from third world countries like Romania and high emigration by rich natives taking their wealth with them, I shudder to think just how much closer to a third world sh*thole the UK is becoming. [35 votes]

reindeer
 Oh lovely! More Eu flotsam and jetsam. How much more of this can this country take! [33 votes]

anotherbigneil > reindeer
 NOT MUCH - AND IT IS DELIBERATE. [14 votes]

Guest
 I can see the Chinese policy of one family one child policy coming into play in the not too distant future! For the indigenous familys [sic] that would be of course!! [25 likes]

This last comment turns victims into aggressors and vice versa because the “indigenous familys” [sic] will supposedly suffer from one child policies imposed on them because of migrants. It also illustrates a revitalized founding myth which serves to legitimize the idea of a “pure people” who belong to a clearly defined nation state (Wodak, 2015: 37). This nation state belongs to the indigenous British (whoever that might be or however they might be defined) who should be privileged but are instead going to be disadvantaged by oppressive, communist-like policies of control.

According to Jiwani and Richardson (2011: 245, adapted from van Dijk, 1997), disclaimers are semantic maneuvers that combine the ideological square with denials (e.g. ‘I have nothing against immigrants but...’), concessions (e.g. ‘Of course *some* Muslims are tolerant, but ...’), apparent empathy (e.g. ‘Of course asylum seekers endure hardships but...’), ignorance (e.g. ‘Now, I don’t know all the facts but...’) reversal (e.g. ‘we are the real victims in this...’) or transfer (e.g. ‘of course *I* have nothing against them but my customers...’). The comments shown above clearly exhibit reversal (because it is the “indigenous people” who will supposedly suffer when a one child policy is enforced), while the comment below illustrates denial:

- (19) woodhouselad > maua07
 I’m p***ed off that when I walk around a street corner in town that I always bump into “Jonny Foreigner.” An increase in beggars especially women holding babies to their breast with one arm stretched out begging or the bloke with his bloody accordion making a racket. And my comment is’nt [sic] racist its [sic] fact. [16 votes]
- bpf1949
 Yes it is. [0 votes]
- rosierosierosie > bpf1949
 Naysaying isn’t valid argument. [3 likes]

In addition, as part of the denial of racism (e.g. “And my comment isn’t [sic] racist its [sic] fact”), woodhouse1ad uses “factuality” as a credibility-enhancing device by telling a story from his daily life. bpf1949 disagrees, but rosierosierosie defends woodhouse1ad’s racist disclaimer as not really racist. Then rosierosierosie contributes a racist disclaimer of her own in support of mauao7. Thus, differential treatment is justified as natural, and good for “the people”.

(20) rosierosierosie > mauao7

[...] If we Brits have to be robbed by the welfare system I would prefer it was fellow Brits that were doing the robbing not other countries who refuse to support their own poor. Our schools, hospitals and prisons are full up to bursting so we have the right to be concerned and demand a stop to this abuse of our economy. It’s not racist to want to protect your own people.

We would like to point out that although we have thus far characterized this othering discourse as “prejudiced talk” (Condor, 2006), the participants themselves have brought up the qualifier racist, which acknowledges that their posts could be perceived as racist.

4.6 Self-policing

In the next phase of the polylogue, text consumers argue over who has the right to contribute to the discussion and who does not, based on membership to the imagined community (Anderson, 2006) of “indigenous British people”. Bannertree has been challenged with respect to his views, but not his right to post. Now we see a different kind of othering when a non-British female participant Elena Urda attempts to join the conversation in response to a particularly offensive comment by a self-identified expat (whose right to post, however, is not challenged).

(21) limeyexpat

“Number of Romanian and Bulgarian migrant workers reaches record high” and here is a connected story: “Effluent has hit the affluent in Britain’s winter of woes” – <http://gulfnews.com/opinions/e> ... Just what we need another tide of human excrement from Central Europe, will it EVER cease? [18 votes]

Elena Urda > limeyexpat

You’re so narrow minded! what makes you think you’re a BETTER person than any other human being? Do you happen to have 2 pairs of brains or other organs inside you? Oh, wait! Maybe you never poop, is that it!?! [6 votes]

Above, metaphor is used to erase the humanity of Central Europeans AKA Roma by referring to them as a “tide of human excrement” and thus CONTAMINATED WATER. As noted in Catalano and Fielder (2014), metaphors such as these map

characteristics of water onto immigrants (e.g. “tide”) and frame Roma as inanimate beings without “motives, intentions and volition” (Hart 2010: 149; see also Santa Ana, 2002). The comparison of water, and more importantly, contaminated water to immigrants and in particular, Roma, is repeated throughout the data, and always with the same meaning: the immigrants are the water that is dangerous and we must stop “it” before “it” causes harm or damage. Zinken refers to these types of metaphors as “discourse metaphors” because they “point to a crucial nexus between language use and habitual analogies” (2007: 446), but also because they are a type of metaphor that transports “evaluative and narrative elements that draw a seemingly self-explanatory conclusion from a mini-story or scenario” (Musolff 2010: 158). In addition, discourse metaphors provide the frames the public needs to categorize complex and controversial issues such as the supposed overwhelming immigration that will result from the lifting of the work restriction. In the next post, Elena is promptly “outed” as non-British and othered with respect to her right to post.

- (22) EmilyEnso > Elena Urda
 So just which Non British country are you a native of Elena? [8 votes]
- Elena Urda > EmilyEnso irrelevant question, EMILY! does it give me a lack of brains if I am not from UK? [4 votes]
- EmilyEnso > Elena Urda
 Its very relevant when you come on here bad mouthing and insulting British people in their own country.
 Whats [sic] Hitler to do with it?
 Bad mouthing me now?
 So what is your background? [9 votes]

The issue of language is then raised as another form of othering in which linguistic competence plays an important gatekeeping role in maintaining ingroup membership:

- (23) slyblade > Bannertree
 Oh and by the way last time i was in A&E i couldn't understand a word that was spoken in the waiting room, until all the interrupters turned up. Funny that? [24 votes]

The above comment also utilizes perspectivization in this personal anecdote that “really happened” and “is true” and therefore proves the point that EU immigrants are monopolizing National Health Services as stated in the opening post. As mentioned above, Elena Urda was excluded from the right to participate since she was not living in Britain and was not British, while limeyexpat’s right is not challenged. The ensuing posts also other her as a non-native English

speaker and her non-native voice is silenced. It is therefore ironic that she is then criticized for her response to a post in Spanish and corrected for a stereotypical non-native spelling mistake that she did not even make.

- (24) Guest > Elena Urda
desaparecer. [get lost Span.] [1 vote]
- Elena Urda > Guest
I have no idea what you are typing there, Parnassus [2 votes]
- rosierosierosie > Elena Urda
If you wish to practice your English Elena you should go elsewhere as obviously it goes to pot when you get so emotional about perceived injusticeand it's chilly in the UK not chilli. Good luck in your exams. [6 votes]

The right to participate is also denied to meemo who is identified as not living in Britain:

- (25) meemo > johngt
“Stuff wot is scribed in the Daily Mail is written in the tavern and likely to be lies, distortions, and half truths”
William Shakespeare [3 votes]
- EmilyEnso > meemo
And what experience have you of British taverns – I understand you post from Europe?
Keep your ignorance at home. [11 votes]
- Comment Deleted

When self-identified Romanian Paul Suciu joins the discussion, however, he is not othered to the same degree. For the most part he primarily engages with Elena Urda and there are very few people following their thread until some comments are posted that are deleted by the moderators. We can assume that these comments were inflammatory, and at this point rosierosierosie joins in and demands to know how many “English beggars” there are in Romania. Paul points out that British live in Romania on far less money so they don’t have to work (which supports the earlier arguments of zerosum who is apparently British and living in Eastern Europe). What is interesting in the next exchange is that Guest originally curses Paul in Romanian, but is challenged by Elena who is then bombarded by a string (14 presumably by the same Guest, but impossible to verify) of non-English obscenities in various languages (apparently looked up on an internet site for swearwords) so that they would not get deleted by the moderator/censors. This is a clear example of “flaming” which can be defined as “online verbal aggression” (Laineste 2013: 31), but also “the communication of emotions ... that includes the use of profanity, insults, and other offensive or

hurtful statements” (Johnson, Cooper and Chin, 2008: 419). The commenters get away with hurling these profanities due to the fact that the terms were not recognized by the moderators as they were not in English. Flaming is used for a variety of reasons, including to get a rise out of other posters but it is also often a side effect of the anonymous nature of online commenting (Santana, 2011; Vajjala, 2014; see, however, McKee, 2002 who problematizes the definition of flaming). Paul, however, is subject to much less vitriolic othering perhaps due to the “inescapable gender dimension of online alienation and hate” in which females are much more likely to be victims (Reagle, 2015: 180) or the fact that his English proficiency is very high. In the next excerpts, Paul identifies himself as an elite intellectual (which he has been called by the other participants) and also clarifies his intentions for being on the site.

- (26) Guest > Paul Suciu
 My country. Get back to your own. [15 votes]
- Paul Suciu > Guest
 Still your country. Nobody is taking it away while you're in front of the PC. The politicians might get the best of it and you might get the brainwashing part, but it's still yours. :) [15 votes]
- Guest > Paul Suciu
 That's true; but when we are out, so are you. [5 votes]
- Paul Suciu > Guest
 Well, I kind off try to represent my interests as best as I can. And yours by the way by means of challenging the political rhetoric, otherwise we've got no chance in having a functional democracy. And I don't know you, but I hate ripping pavement stones and throwing Molotov cocktails. I have very fine hands and nice nails. [8 votes]

Above, Guest and Paul (through the metaphor of nation is a container) reify their identities as being in or out of the container using deixis to establish who the country belongs to and who is part of “we” the people. Paul then explains that he is on the site so he can challenge right-wing rhetoric in a democratic fashion and avoid violence. This final comment echoes Palinka’s recommendation that “the decisive answer to the challenge of the populist far right has to come from ‘the people’, from the citizens, from the voters” (2013: 21). Note too that Paul claims to represent both his own and his opponents’ interests since both parties should be included in a democracy. Furthermore, his response provides a glimpse into how right-wing ideologies can be countered and negotiated in on-line environments and underscores the need for more “Pauls” in the world that frequent right-wing sites so that they may indeed provide counter information to right-wing narratives. This example is also the first time an outsider has gotten more votes than one who others – although 8 versus 5 is hardly statistically

significant. Nonetheless perhaps this difference points to a willingness of at least some of the larger mass audience to hear a different perspective, or to lurkers that might have been afraid to comment, but share Paul's views. Note that Paul's inclusive reply includes "I" and "you" in "we" and elicits the following request from Sscooby1.

(27) Sscooby1 > Guest
Stay in... please

[1 vote]

The theme then turns to Brexit, referendum, and getting out of EU, at which point brokepensioner produces an iconic rant that others the non-British and lumps Labour in with the EU, again othering the insider elite. The current country is "outlandish" and he nostalgically constructs the nation as ancient when he refers to "standards we have fought for over the thousands of years." (cf. Chovanec, this volume, in which he analyses the "historical ascendancy to our land" argument in reader comments as a specific script of narrative othering):

(28) brokepensioner

I wonder if all our immigration problems have been encouraged by Labour, the EU and everything else to do with this outlandish Country we now live in. A classic act of deception by the above, to inflict so many foreigners into our system, as will grow out of all proportion, paid largely by benefits; and in the end lower all the standards we have fought for over the thousands of years. A sort of take over in reverse, by the future majority outnumbering the British in all aspects. Add this to the Labour led quangos who insist on bleeding people to death by increased Council Taxes, putting them on the streets by allowing birds to take precedence over humans; with all the resultant flooding, and the plot really does thicken. Ambition is tainted with avarice, loyalty to one's own Country risks going to zero, and all the time we are having to pay millions to be told what to do with our Borders, Welfare, Voting and a whole host of other petty-fogging stupid dictates from the EU. Enough is enough, we must have a referendum straight away, in order to get some discipline back into the U.K. and in particular the Houses of Parliament who seem to be content to pick up the pay cheque, plus allowances, and do not know what is or has happened to us. Remember all the bad points they have subject us to by inaction of the past, and the ones with any good ones should only be considered for your vote. It is high time for the UK to sort itself out, before we are names [sic] Europeans, and not British. I shall never be anything else than I was when I did my National Service. The Army book described me as British (English.) If that was good enough to serve my Queen and Country, then that is my right. No amount of legislation will change it.

Above, brokepensioner (whose pseudonym is also iconic for an aspect of his ideology and his self-presentation of a stranger in his own homeland) uses a plethora of discursive strategies such as intensification (e.g. “pay millions”, “Enough is enough”), nomination (e.g. foreigners), predication (e.g. insist on bleeding people to death), argumentation (e.g. “one’s own country risks going to zero”) and perspectivization (“my Queen and country”). In doing so, he connects the othering of the online comments to the political agenda of the original article, and most of the text consumers, including UKIP trolls, demonstrating eloquently exactly how othering and right-wing populism work together.

Our analysis will conclude with the final posting⁵ to this online discussion which quickly combines popular right-wing nativist ideologies, a revisionist view of history which occludes the role of “Caucasians” in creating problems for countries like Haiti and The Democratic Republic of the Congo and ultimately connects political and economic failure or success to genetic characteristics such as being “Caucasian” or “black” (note the capitalization of “Caucasian” but not “black”).

(29) Lee Pefley

It seems Britain is finally catching up with the U.S. insofar as the Caucasian population in America will soon be a minority and, if liberals have their way, will eventually have no share at all in cultural representation or policy making. Western Civilization is a Caucasian production, while Haiti and The Democratic Republic of the Congo are the results of black efforts, and Guatemala and Invertebrate Mexico are Hispanic realizations. One must suppose therefore that in the case of the U.S., liberals want the country to be less like Europe, or like Europe used to be, and more like sub-Saharan Africa and the failed world of Latin America. That shouldn’t be hard. To decline is much easier than to aspire. [1 vote]

5. Conclusion

In this paper we uncovered various types of othering in the data and we exposed the numerous discursive strategies used in right-wing populist discourses that capitalize on othering to persuade and excite voters (or garner future voters) as well as express their own identities. What we have tried to do is illustrate how both a CA and CDA approach to discourse analysis can be deployed in the analysis of an online discussion forum to reveal the various othering strategies (referential/ nomination, predicational, argumentation, perspectivization,

5. Since this post was made, no new comments have been posted on the site.

intensifying and mitigating) used by participants to position themselves and others in relation to each other and the “real world”. By treating this data as what Benwell and Stokoe (2006) call “speech-in-a-written-mode” we were able to analyze specific discursive moves in CMC postings as the equivalent of what CA terms turn exchanges. Our data show that othering is a pervasive strategy in this forum. While the opening post picks up the theme from the article that immigration is a burden on social services, a move that positions Bulgarians and Romanians as economically inferior to British, as soon as Bannertree contests this narrative, he as a participant is subjected to othering as an elite insider. By comparison, the othering of Elena Urdu, a self-identified Romanian, is even more vitriolic and deteriorates into obscenities which are not deleted by the mediator since they are not in English (and therefore have no “real” meaning). Overall over the course of the discussion forum the discourse escalates from what can be called “prejudiced talk” about nationality and ethnicity to explicitly racist discourse (clearly illustrated by the last posting before the discussion was closed). The othering strategies thus work hand in hand with the conceptual metaphors of contaminated space discussed in Catalano and Fielder (2014), since they are used to identify and categorize those who are “us” and those who are “them”. Although voices in the data (such as Elena Urdu and Paul Suciu) did stand up for Romanians/Bulgarians, no one contested the othering of Roma, which was largely done through the use of discourse metaphors that appear frequently and refer to the same meanings of contamination, parasites, burden and war (as noted in Catalano and Fielder, 2014). These discourse metaphors are important to recognize because they document a midway point on the “slippery slope” to entrenched and completely naturalized metaphors that become a conventional and unquestioned way of thinking about Roma that is always taken as fact.

In terms of right-wing populist discourse, it is our hope that by demonstrating exactly how the discourse capitalizes on othering for political gains, we can demystify propaganda and thus render it less powerful. In addition to raising consciousness as a strategy to combat populist discourses that end up harming minority populations, there must be political strategies with which to prevent them from gaining power. Although mainstream political parties have historically employed multiple strategies for defeating right-wing populists, Palinka (2013: 19) suggests that the most convincing long-term strategy is to “extinguish the preconditions of contemporary populism by satisfying the needs and fulfilling the demands” of “dissatisfied, frustrated, angry voters” since the success of populism is based on the lack of social and economic policies that guarantee a decent standard of living and social security. However, as long as members of society are tempted by xenophobic and racist rhetoric, right-wing populism will continue to live on.

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