

Anti-Semitic and Islamophobic
Discourse of the British Far-right on
Facebook

Doctoral Thesis

By

Shani Burke

Abstract

This thesis uses critical discursive psychology to analyse anti-Semitic and Islamophobic discourse on the Facebook pages of two far-right organisations: Britain First and the English Defence League. Using the Charlie Hebdo attack as a time frame, I examine how the far-right manage their identity and maintain rationality online, as well as how users on Facebook respond to the far-right. This thesis demonstrates how Britain First and the English Defence League present themselves as ‘reasonable’ in their anti-Semitic and anti-Islamic stance following the Charlie Hebdo shooting. Ultimately, I bring together the study of fascist discourse and political discourse on social media using critical discursive psychology, in a novel synthesis.

The Charlie Hebdo shooting and the shooting at the kosher supermarket in Paris in January 2015 (as well as other attacks by members of the Islamic State) have led to Muslims being seen as a threat to Britain, and thus Muslims have been exposed to Islamophobic attacks and racial abuse. The current climate is a challenging situation for the far-right, as they are presented with the dilemma of appearing as rational and even mainstream, whilst nevertheless adopting an anti-Islamic stance.

The analysis focuses on how Britain First and the English Defence League used the shooting at the Kosher supermarket to align with Jews in order to construct them as under threat from Islam, and promote its anti-Islamic stance. I also analyse visual communication used by Britain First to provide ‘evidence’ that Britain First supported Jewish communities. Discourse from Facebook users transitioned from supportive towards Jews, to questioning the benefits that Jews brought to Britain, and expressing Holocaust denial. Furthermore, I discuss how other far-right politicians in Europe such as Geert Wilders from the Dutch Party for Freedom, portrayed himself as a reasonable politician in the anti-Islamic stance he has taken in the wake of the Charlie Hebdo attack.

Findings are discussed in light of how the far-right communicate about the Charlie Hebdo shooting whilst maintaining a reasonable stance when projecting anti-Semitic and Islamophobic ideology, and how such discourse can encompass hate speech. I demonstrate how critical discursive psychology can be used to show how various conflicting social identities are constructed and interact with each other online. This thesis shows how the

far-right use aligning with Jews as means to present Muslims as problematic, and how such alignment has resulted in the marginalisation of both Jews and Muslims.

Keywords: Facebook, Far-right, Critical Discursive Psychology, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia

Acknowledgements

Firstly, to my supervisor, Professor Paul Drew. Thank you for taking me on and making sure I got this done. Your advice, kindness, and pearls of wisdom have been invaluable. I would also like to thank my second supervisor, Dr Cristian Tileagă, for your support and encouragement.

I thank Dr Simon Goodman, without whom I would not have got this far. Thank you for your support from day one, for giving me so many opportunities, and for still offering me guidance today. I would like to thank the staff in the Social Sciences department at Loughborough University for the teaching and research opportunities, particularly Professor Dominic Wring and Professor Sabina Mihelj. A special thanks to Professor Mick Billig and to Dr John Richardson for their inspiring work that has shaped my own research. To Deirdre Lombard and Denise Wade for always being there to help and have a friendly chat. I thank Loughborough University for awarding me the Glendonbrook Doctoral Scholarship to fund this PhD.

To my friends at Loughborough: Emily, Evi, Herminder, Tom, and my office buddy Kat, for being there to share a good old moan/board game/social/cocktail (delete as appropriate). To the DARGers for your enjoyable company and insightful comments on my data. And a thought for Mea and Sunida, whose 'cyber-support' kept me going. Thanks to Helen for the cocktail evenings and endless supplies of gin. To Katie, for your lifelong friendship and never failing to make me laugh.

To my siblings: Daniel, Leanne, Gemma and Ben. Four people I could not imagine my life without. To 'the boys', David and Jonah. Nothing got me through the hard times more than hearing about you reaching new milestones. And the new recruit Isaac, whose cuddles provided the best distraction from editing. Thanks to my fairy Godmother Jannette, for being just a message or a train journey away. Distance means nothing when you're faaamily. To the loving memory of my Grandparents, Mary-Anne, Patrick, Anne and Richard. I thank you for instilling in me the values of faith and hard work.

To my OH, Mirko: for helping me to become 'me' again, for endless cups of tea, and for being my lobster. What would I do without you?

Finally, this thesis is dedicated to Máthair agus Athair. I could not have persevered without your practical, financial, and emotional support, you have been my anchor. *Sometimes, I think you are me heart.*

Material based on the research undertaken for this thesis has been published in part as:

Burke, S. (2017). “Please protect the Jews”: Ideology and Concealment in the Britain First Solidarity Patrol. *Journal of Language, Aggression and Conflict* 5 (1), 134-155.

Table of Contents

Contents

Abstract	2
Acknowledgements.....	4
Table of Contents	6
1. Introduction	10
1.1 January 2015 Paris attacks: “Three Days of Terror”	10
1.2 Structure of the thesis.....	12
2. Literature Review	16
2.1 Introduction.....	16
2.2: The Far-Right in the UK	16
2.3 Summary	23
3. Discursive Psychology and the far-right.....	24
3.1 Introduction.....	24
3.2 Origins of Discursive Psychology.....	24
3.3 Critical Discursive Psychology	29
3.4 Discursive Research on Prejudice and Racism	31
3.5 Far-right Rhetoric	38
3.6 Anti-Semitism.....	40
3.7 Islamophobia.....	41
3.8 Summary	44
4: Computer-Mediated Communication and rationale for research.....	45
4.1 Introduction.....	45
4.2 Origins of Computer-Mediated Communication	45
4.3 Facebook	47
4.4 Far-right discourse on CMC.....	48
4.5 CMC and Extremist Discourse	49
4.6. Rational and Research Aims.....	51
5. Methodology and Data Collection	53
5.1 Introduction.....	53
5.2 Analytical Approach	54
5.3 Data Collection	61
5. 4 Procedure for data collection.....	66

5.5 Ethical Considerations	70
5.6 Summary	71
6. Ideology and Concealment in the Britain First Solidarity Patrol	72
6.1 Introduction.....	72
6.2 The Solidarity Patrol	73
6.3 Analytical Strategies	74
6.4 Political Correctness	82
6.5 Visual Analysis	84
6.6. Summary	88
7. “Please protect the Jews”: Responses from Facebook users to the Britain First Solidarity Patrol	90
7.1. Introduction.....	90
7.2 “What have Poor Jews ever done”: Showing Support for Jewish people.....	91
7.3 Comments from authors who identify themselves as Jewish.....	98
7.4 “Islam is the only religion Britain is attacking” Comments challenging the Solidarity Patrol	100
7.5 “Who cares about the Jews?” Comments displaying Anti-Semitic Discourse	104
7.5 Summary	110
8. Anti-Islamic Rhetoric in an Interview with Geert Wilders.....	111
8.1. Introduction.....	111
8.2 Summary	121
9. “You sick, twisted messes”: Interaction and Conflict in discussions about Auschwitz	122
9.1 Introduction.....	122
9.2 The construction of ‘sickness’ and ‘filth’ in discussions about Islam	124
9.3 Accusations of Inconsistency.....	128
9.4 Arguments about (un) Intelligence	129
9.5 Nazism	131
9.6 Devictimizing the victim (Holocaust Denial)	135
9.7. Summary	139
10. Conclusion	140
10.1 Introduction.....	140
10.2 Summary of findings and Discussion.....	141
10.3 A balanced depiction of Islam?	144
10.4 Modern Anti-Semitism	145
10.5 Limitations of research.....	146
10.6 Future research	148

10. 7 Concluding Remarks	149
11. References.....	151
Appendix A: Outline of Data Corpus	184
Appendix B: Transcription Symbols.....	203
Appendix C: Transcript of English Defence League Discussion	204

Tables and Figures

Figure 1-Britain First's Facebook Page	65
Figure 2-Solidarity patrol leaflet	84
Figure 3-Fransen's 'common bond' gesture.....	85
Figure 4-Fransen with a Jewish passer-by.....	86
Figure 5-Golding's anti-Taliban jacket.....	87

To Mum and Dad,
For all those times you said, “not long now”,
Go raibh maith agaibh

1. Introduction

“If the future remains uncertain, we know the past history of nationalism. And that should be sufficient to encourage a habit of watchful suspicion.”

— Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, pp. 177

This thesis examines how two far-right groups, Britain First and the English Defence League, communicate on the social networking website Facebook, how they construct their identities in an online environment, and manage accusations of racism and Islamophobia in the aftermath of the Charlie Hebdo attack. While increasing in popularity on social media, the far-right in the UK are nevertheless widely criticised for being racist and Islamophobic. Social networking websites have become a significant way for far-right parties to reach and communicate to a wider audience. Using the theoretical framework of critical discursive psychology, I investigate how Britain First and the English Defence League responded to the Charlie Hebdo attack. The purpose of this research is to critically analyse how the far-right portray anti-Semitic and Islamophobic ideologies on Facebook Pages, particularly how they manage opposition to Islam in the wake of a terrorist attack. While previous research has addressed how far-right parties use strategies to appear as reasonable and non-racist, this has not been examined during a crucial period, such as the aftermath of a terrorist attack.

1.1 January 2015 Paris attacks: “Three Days of Terror”

On 7th January 2015, two gunmen, brothers Saïd and Chérif Kouachi, shot ten people in the headquarters of the French satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo in Paris. During their getaway, the gunmen shot a police officer, and shot another police officer the following day on the street. The attack was allegedly motivated by Charlie Hebdo’s controversial caricature drawings of Muhammed in 2011 and 2012, which appeared to be mocking Islam (Watt, 2015). The gunmen were identified as belonging to an Al-Qaeda branch; Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula. Two days after the attack, a Kosher supermarket in Paris was subjected to an attack by Amedy Coulibaly, a close friend of the Kouachi brothers and a

member of ISIS. Four people were killed in the siege, all of them Jewish (Saul, 2015). The motive behind the attack was to defend Muslims, particularly Palestinians, and to demand that the Kouachi brothers be freed (they were simultaneously being held hostage by police at a print house). In the aftermath of the “Three days of terror”¹, millions of people expressed their solidarity with France over the attacks, and the slogan ‘Je Suis Charlie’ became an international symbol of solidarity and support (Mondon and Winter, 2017).

Other incidents in the UK such as the July 2005 London bombings and the killing of the British soldier Lee Rigby in May 2013 (Wright, Morris and Legge, 2013), have facilitated the construction in the (mass and social) media of a global ‘war on terror’, in which Arabs and Muslims are positioned as being a threat to Britain (Foner and Alba 2008; Wood and Finlay 2008). More recent attacks by members of the self-styled Islamic State (IS), such as those in Paris in November 2015 and subsequent attacks elsewhere in Europe such as the IS attacks at an airport in Belgium², continue to provide resources for the construction of Muslims as a (global) threat.

These terrorist attacks have fuelled even greater support for the far-right and led to ‘Islamophobia’ becoming a prominent issue in contemporary British society. There have been Islamophobic attacks in the United Kingdom, particularly on public transport and towards women who are more visible as Muslims, through wearing the hijab and the burqa, an example being the anti-Islamic verbal abuse towards a pregnant Muslim female that was caught on CCTV on a London bus (Troup Buchanan, 2015). The Charlie Hebdo attack and these subsequent terrorist attacks have encouraged far-right parties and organisations to focus on Muslims as a ‘problem’ in Britain, a problem described as the ‘Islamification’ of Britain (Richardson, 2011; Richardson and Wodak 2009a). The challenge for far-right parties and organisations in the UK has been to promote their fiercely anti-Islamic stance whilst appealing to the mainstream in British politics. These types of dilemmas for the far-right are not new, as will be discussed in more detail in chapters two and three.

¹ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-30708237>

² <http://www.latimes.com/world/europe/la-fg-brussels-airport-explosion-20160322-story.html>

1.2 Structure of the thesis

Chapter Two outlines the background to this thesis beginning with the history of the far-right in Britain. I provide an overview of far-right parties in Britain, past and present: the British Union of Fascists, the National Front, the British National Party, the English Defence League, and Britain First. The far-right has had some political success, for example the British National Party's success in local elections in 2004, but nonetheless remain marginalised in politics. The far-right historically have had to manage the dilemma of reaching out to the mainstream whilst maintaining their nativist values.

In Chapter Three, I will provide an overview of discursive psychology including the origins of this approach and how this approach developed from a critique of commonly used approaches in social psychology such as surveys. This will lead me to introduce my chosen analytical approach, critical discursive psychology. This has distinctions from discursive psychology, such as a critique of relativism as it is understood in discursive psychology. Following on from this, I discuss discursive research on racism and prejudice, and how these approaches addressed the 'weaknesses' of previous social psychological research on racism and prejudice. For example, the consideration that racist discourse can be flexible and the same individual can produce conflicting accounts (e.g. Potter and Wetherell, 1987). Discursive methods can be used to analyse both subtle forms of 'modern' racism, and more extreme language. In this chapter, I also cover the far-right's link to anti-Semitism, including features of anti-Semitic discourse such as conspiracy theories and Holocaust denial. I discuss the strategies used by far-right parties in the UK to distance itself from the anti-Semitic label, whilst still implicitly projecting anti-Semitic ideologies. I also discuss Islamophobia and the comparison to anti-Semitism during the 1st and 2nd World War, and how Islamophobia is somewhat seen as 'replacing' anti-Semitism. In today's socio-political climate, the significant issue related to prejudice is Islamophobia in many Western societies, particularly in the immediate aftermath of terrorist attacks mentioned earlier.

Chapter Four discusses computer-mediated communication, how the study of computer discourse developed, and what research has been conducted on Facebook so far. I conclude the chapter with the rationale for the research and the research aims. My work aims to build upon the historical dilemma of the strategies used by the far-right to remain rational

in dispersing their extreme ideologies, but also to examine this dilemma in the aftermath of a terrorist attack.

In Chapter Five, the method and data collection chapter covers the ontological positioning of my analytical framework. Critical discursive psychology is appropriate to studying political discourse due to the application of findings to wider social and historical contexts. I apply the principles of critical discursive psychology to the analysis of images and videos. I will consider other qualitative approaches such as Conversation Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis, and outline why critical discursive psychology is better suited to my research aims of strategies used to maintain rationality whilst marginalising groups. I will discuss the possibility that people will be less ‘guarded’ or cautious with their talk online, with a particular interest in whether the far-right would remain guarded in the same way that they do offline. I cover the procedure I have used for data capture, including the software that was used to collect data from three Facebook pages of far-right organisations: the British National Party (which was not presented in analytical chapters due to a notable drop in Facebook activity), the English Defence League, and Britain First. I address issues such as the problematic nature of collecting data from Facebook, one principal problem being that pages are frequently being updated with material being added and removed, so that complete representation is difficult to portray. I will end with an overview of the ethical considerations of this research and the steps taken to anonymise participants.

In this thesis, there are four analytical chapters that examine strategies used in the aftermath of the Charlie Hebdo attack to achieve anti-Islamic rhetoric. The first analytical chapter, Chapter Six, is an examination of Britain First’s ‘solidarity patrol’. Britain First patrolled on 31st January 2015, in Golders Green, an area of North London with a high Jewish population, to show support for the Jewish community following the ISIS attack at a Kosher supermarket in Paris. The analysis will focus on how Britain First projected a supportive message towards Jews, whilst the underlying message displays anti-Islamic rhetoric; my analysis draws upon the notion of ‘exoteric’ and ‘esoteric’ messages (Billig, 1982; see also ‘surface’ and ‘depth’ ideology, Billig, 1978). The chapter will encompass how political correctness was drawn upon as explanations for why authorities are not taking action against Islamic extremists. I will conclude the chapter with an analysis of the visual images used by Britain First in the video clip of the solidarity patrol, to both provide

‘evidence’ that they support Jewish communities and send coded messages to their supporters.

Chapter Seven is the second analytical chapter, where I examine the Facebook comments in response to Britain First’s solidarity patrol. I found that initial comments were showing support for and gratitude towards Britain First. There was also support from individuals who self-identified as being Jewish. However, comments progressively became anti-Semitic (e.g. by posing, rhetorically, the question, of what benefits Jews have brought to Britain). Individuals on Facebook used similar strategies used by Britain First, in terms of separating being Jewish and being British, and supporting Jews as means to display anti-Islamic discourse. Results are discussed in terms of how Britain First has managed to achieve anti-Islamic rhetoric whilst maintaining support from Facebook users.

Next, in Chapter Eight, I discuss a video posted by Britain First, of the Dutch politician and leader of the Party for Freedom, Geert Wilders, being interviewed by Jon Snow on Channel 4 news. Wilders was interviewed following a blog that he posted claiming that the Charlie Hebdo attackers were inspired by Islam. In this interview, Snow attempted to undermine Wilders’ position by claiming that his arguments are bringing about “a civil war”, as well as having parallels with the Nazi party. Wilders rejected Snow’s claims and maintained that he wants peace, but in order to achieve this there must be no Islamic presence in the Netherlands. Wilders maintained that his opposition is to Islam, and that he is not opposed to Muslims. The distinction of Islam as an extremist ideology and a Muslim as a person not necessarily affiliated with its extremist aspect is an important strategy used by politicians such as Wilders to enable them to disguise their anti-Islamic ideology to be able to appear as rational (Verkuyten, 2013). This enables Wilders to portray being in opposition to a belief system and not to a group of people.

My final analytical chapter, Chapter Nine, analyses a Facebook discussion in response to an English Defence League post that was posted the day after Holocaust Memorial Day (20 days after the Charlie Hebdo shooting). The English Defence League promoted a video of Auschwitz, saying that we “should never forget”. The discussion by Facebook users was related to the idea of ‘reopening’ concentration camps, in which to incarcerate Muslims. This chapter will show that the idea of “never forget” has been perverted by Facebook users into an extreme notion, yet has been constructed with the orientation to notions of logic and reasonability. Within this discussion instances of Holocaust Denial were

identified, which contain strategies such as devictimizing Jews in order to undermine Jews and downgrade the effects of the Holocaust.

In the final chapter, Chapter Ten, I will discuss the findings in relation to the research aims and the existing literature on far-right discourse. I summarise how Britain First and the English Defence League have used strategies such as aligning with Jews, and distinguishing between opposing Islam generally as a religion, and Muslims as individuals in order to present themselves as acceptable, legitimate organisations and thereby mainstream despite their anti-Islamic stance. This reflects former parties such as the National Front who managed a similar dilemma regarding the partial concealment of their anti-Semitic ideologies. However, one novel aspect of this thesis is that it will examine this dilemma not only on social media, but also in the immediate aftermath of a terrorist attack, when Islamophobia is more prominent in society. I will discuss the contribution that the thesis has made in terms of the application of CDP to the construction and interaction of various conflicting social identities on social media. I also address the strengths and limitations of using such a dynamic platform for data collection, and possibilities for future research that this thesis has opened. Ultimately, this research has generated further questions. For example, when such discourse crosses the boundary at being illegal hate speech and the potential implications of this, and the function of extreme discourse in today's rising use of social media.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with an introduction to the far-right parties in the UK, starting with the early far-right parties the British Union of Fascists and the National Front. I will discuss the dilemma that they had of appealing to the mainstream whilst keeping their underlying anti-Semitic ideologies. This will lead on to discuss the British National Party, how they formed and how its communication to audiences has progressed onto social media and the use of websites. The British National Party has a similar dilemma to the National Front that it needs to manage accusations of racism due to its anti-immigration stance. Finally, I will discuss two far-right organisations that are at the centre of this thesis, the English Defence League, and Britain First. These parties have the similar dilemma of maintaining their anti-Islamic values whilst appealing to the mainstream in this current climate.

2.2: The Far-Right in the UK

2. 2. 1 History of the far-right

Researchers have defined far-right parties as parties that distinguish themselves from mainstream political parties, have nativist values and are opposed to immigration (Hainsworth, 2000). Researchers such as Harris (1990: 73) argued that opposition to immigration progressed from anti-Semitism with immigrants replacing Jews as scapegoats for the perceived grievances and injustices of the 'native' populations: "The immigrant is a more visible, convenient, and effective target, and the immigration issue produces a more substantial opportunity for mobilisation".

Ignazi (1997: 301) suggested that some of the principles of far-right parties are similar to mainstream right-wing parties, for example concerning issues related to immigration, but it is how the issues are dealt with by parties where they differ. The far-right promote more extreme immigration policies when it comes to proposing rights and entitlements for immigrants that appear as 'racist' in comparison to a right-wing party's 'tough' stance on immigration i.e. mainstream parties would propose tougher immigration control, whilst far-right parties would aim to send immigrants back to countries of origin. Mudde (2010)

describes three features of populist radical right parties; 1) authoritarianism, the belief in a strict society, whereby violations are severely punished; 2) populism, the notion that society is separated into two groups: homogenous, 'pure' people, and the antagonistic, corrupt people; 3) nativism, the idea that places should only be inhabited by members of an indigenous group.

During the 1930's, the far-right in the UK were largely unsuccessful. The British Union of Fascists had little influence in local elections and no impact upon the 1935 general election, eventually being banned from government in 1940 (Eatwell, 2000). The National Front was formed in 1967 as a result of the union of several fascist organisations such as the British National Party and the Greater Britain Movement. The National Front gained more following in local elections rather than in general elections (Billig 1978; Eatwell, 2000). Their main policy was to return all immigrants who were not white to their home countries (Särilvik and Crewe, 1983). The far-right's lack of success continued during the leadership of Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990). Researchers suggested that this was due to Thatcher's harsh policies on immigration, which took some support away from the far-right (Taylor, 1993). Far-right parties generally portray immigrants and ethnic minorities to be of a threat (Richardson and Columbo, 2014). Researchers as well as political parties such as the Labour Party have argued that the increase in popularity for far-right parties has been due to perceived concern over issues such as asylum seeking and immigration, in the sense that asylum seekers and immigrants are blamed for economic difficulties (Bull and Simon-Vandenberg, 2014; Schuster and Solomos, 2004).

The white-nationalist party, the British National Party (BNP), emerged from the National Front, which gained popularity in the 1970's through its anti-Asian immigration policies (Särilvik and Crewe, 1983). The BNP formed in 1982 as a merge between the British Movement and the New National Front, (following from John Tyndall's departure as leader of the National Front in 1980, Engström, 2014). When the BNP first formed, the party was renowned for being an extremist political party promoting racial violence and Nazi ideology, until the leadership of Nick Griffin began in 1999 (Atton, 2006; Wood and Finlay, 2008). Tyndall's former position as an overt Nazi provided a possible explanation for his removal as leader of the BNP, as nationalists felt that the party were unable to appeal to mainstream voters (Eatwell, 2000). Tyndall had openly been a Nazi, a common explanation for why opponents subsequently labelled the BNP as a Nazi party. The BNP refute any continuity with the fascist policies of their former incarnation the National

Front, a strategy (i.e. refuting links with its past identity and policies) used by other far-right parties in Europe such as the French National Front (Wodak and Richardson, 2013).

Support for far-right parties in the UK increased in the early 2000s, as did their electoral success, particularly the British National Party (BNP). The BNP achieved electoral success in local areas of the UK (Rhodes, 2009) and thereby generated wider UK recognition and attention (Bull and Simon-Vandenberg, 2014). In the June 2004 elections (local councils, the London mayor and the London Assembly, and members of the European parliament), the BNP failed to win any seats in European Parliament, but had success in local elections, where it gained a further four seats in addition to the thirteen that the party gained in 2003 (Renton, 2005). Renton provided three explanations for the BNP's lack of success in EU parliamentary elections: the increase in Conservative voters, more publicity being given to the UK Independence Party, and the intervention of anti-fascism organisations. However, the BNP gained some respectability through its success in local areas such as Dagenham and Stoke-on-Trent, and becoming involved in local communities by electing local citizens as candidates (Rhodes, 2009). The BNP gained success in the European Parliament in 2008 but lost their seats in 2014 (Bull and Simon-Vandenberg, 2014). In the 2012 and 2013 local elections, the BNP won no seats and again failed to win any seats in the 2010 General Election, though it was successful locally in Burnley Council (Eatwell, 2003).

Despite its increase in popularity since the 2004 local elections, the BNP have been a marginalised party in politics, viewed negatively by the electorate and criticized for their anti-immigration and anti-Islamic ideologies. For example, the 2004 BBC documentary 'Secret Agent' showed hidden camera footage of Nick Griffin and several other BNP candidates condemning Islam and advocating violence towards Muslims (Rhodes, 2009). Griffin has also been prosecuted for incitement to racial hatred, when he expressed Holocaust denial (Richardson, 2011).

The far-right movement the English Defence league (EDL) are a street protest movement formed by Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (aka Tommy Robinson) in 2009. The EDL originated from "United People of Luton", an organisation set up in response to a demonstration by a local radical Islamist movement opposing the British army returning from Afghanistan and Iraq (Bartlett and Littler, 2013; Goodwin, Cutts and Jantin-Lapinski, 2014). Robinson left the EDL in October 2013, attributing his departure to the EDL being dominated by far-

right extremism. The EDL is linked to organised football hooligan groups with some members from football groups supporting the EDL (Brindle, 2016). Poll research from Bartlett and Littler (2013) found that 28% of EDL supporters are over the age of 30, and 30% were educated to college or university level, which contrasts with the stereotype that far-right supporters are young and uneducated. Goodwin *et al.* (2014) found similar results, concluding that far-right supporters tended to be more concerned about the economy than Islam, despite the EDL protesting primarily against Islamic extremism.

The EDL claims to differ from political parties such as the BNP insofar as it is multi-ethnic, and has 134 divisions consisting of both local and diverse groups. Local divisions are for areas across the UK, while diverse groups include a Sikh division, a Jewish division, and a Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender division (Allen, 2011; Oaten, 2014; Treadwell and Garland, 2011). As of 2016, the EDL has a Traveller division³. The EDL is supportive towards Jews, in contrast to the BNP, which has proposed that there is a Jewish conspiracy (see Chapter 3.6 for further discussion on conspiracy theories, see also Copsey 2008; Richardson, 2013a). As there is no formal membership structure or ‘joining’ process for the EDL, it is difficult to establish exactly how many ‘members’ or supporters there are (Kassimeris and Jackson, 2015). However, based on survey research, Bartlett and Littler (2013) established an approximate membership figure of around 25,000-35,000 members.

Britain First is the newest far-right political party founded in 2011, it is committed to maintaining Christianity in UK society and openly opposing Islam (as well as other political doctrines such as Marxism, Fascism and ‘political correctness’). Britain First describes itself on its Facebook Page as: “a patriotic political party. Here you can join forces with patriots like you!”⁴ Britain First has had several controversies in the media, and has been restrained legally through such measures as an attempted injunction to ban members of the party from entering Luton in February 2016⁵. Another controversy that Britain First is renowned for is ‘Christian Patrols’, during which members break into mosques, cause vandalism, and entered restaurants that sell Halal food to harass the owners for doing so (Withnall, 2015). Britain First gained further negative press in May 2016 when Paul Golding turned his back on Sadiq Kahn when he was elected London’s

³ <http://www.englishdefenceleague.org.uk/join-us/>

⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/britainfirstgb?fref=ts>

⁵ <https://www.britainfirst.org/off-to-the-high-court-again-a-message-from-britain-first-leader-paul-golding/>

first Muslim mayor⁶. Golding ran for London mayor alongside Kahn in the same election, coming in eighth place with 1.21% of the vote.⁷ Being of rather recent origin, there is currently little research into Britain First's methods and policies.

Far right extremism elsewhere in Europe has increased, judged by voting patterns (Richardson and Columbo, 2014). In the 2004 European parliamentary elections, the French National Front gained 10 percent of the vote, as well as an increase in votes in local elections during the same year (Atton, 2006). The French National Front have distanced themselves from the extreme far-right xenophobic image, with Marine Le Penn suspending her father Jean-Marie Le Penn from the party after his conduct seemed to overstep boundaries such as his belittling the Holocaust (BBC News, 2015). The popularity of the French National Front has increased steadily since Marine Le Penn became leader. The Dutch Party for Freedom was successful in the 2010 national elections, becoming the third largest party. Despite achieving less electoral successes, coming fourth in the 2014 European elections in the Netherlands, the party remains prominent in Dutch politics (Korteweg, 2013; Waterfield, 2014).

2. 2. 2 Far-right Communication

Historically, the dilemma of the far-right has been to uphold nativist nationalist values whilst simultaneously reaching out to the mass electorate in order to gain mainstream support. Billig (1978) argued that the far-right resolves this dilemma by partially concealing their ideologies to reach a mass audience, and phrasing propaganda for mass audiences differently in comparison to a party that would wish to have narrow support. Billig proposed that far-right parties such as the National Front which historically had underlying anti-Semitic ideologies, disguised their extremist views and rejected the fascist label, for example when talking about the party's origins, in an attempt to avoid drawing attention to any fascist or Nazi connections. The National Front adopted an "anti-Zionist stance" (Billig 1978:166) rather than an 'anti-Jewish' stance, which allowed it to maintain opposition to Jews without coming under attack for being anti-Semitic. This is similar to

⁶ <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/07/the-politics-of-fear-and-division-isnt-dead-quite-yet-in-sadiq-khans-london>

⁷ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/06/london-mayoral-election-results-what-time-will-the-votes-be-coun/>

how far-right parties today maintain opposition to Islamic extremists only, and not Muslims (discussed in more detail in the following chapter, section 3.6).

Research using parliamentary data has shown how the BNP used strategies to mask their underlying racist ideologies and portray themselves as a respectable political party (Atton, 2006); these strategies included contrasting its own principles with more extremist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, in order to appear to be more moderate and rational and thereby appealing to mainstream audiences (Goodman and Johnson, 2013). When Nick Griffin became leader of the BNP, the language used by the BNP became more moderate and legitimate in comparison to when John Tyndall was leader, despite the party still having underlying prejudicial policies when it came to immigration and asylum seekers (Copsey, 2004; Rhodes, 2009). This is in keeping with Billig's (1982:218) idea that political moderates attempt to present themselves as neutral in order to be able to take up more extreme positions and frame them as non-extreme:

"...this is that the image of fairness can be maintained by invoking the frightening image of extremism... The moderate then, as the situation demands, can assert the principle to be broken and can claim by the assertion a distinctive fairness from those extremes which do not uphold the principle at all".

The BNP has developed a media network that includes a website, blogs, and DVDs (Richardson, 2011). The BNP incorporated the Union Jack flag into their logo, and flags are frequently used in its images (Engström, 2014). The BNP's present logo is a heart with the Union Jack Flag, symbolising that 'Britishness' is at the heart of its ideology. This patriotic logo in turn excludes 'others' who are not British (McGlashan, 2013). The BNP uses its website frequently to communicate to members (Engström, 2014). Nick Griffin states on the official BNP website, (also on the BNP's official Facebook Page) that:

"Native British are now treated like second-class citizens in our own country, whilst asylum-seekers and immigrants are pushed to the front of the queue for housing, jobs and benefits"

"Towns and cities all over our beautiful country now resemble parts of Africa or Asia. British people have become a minority in many areas already, and within a few decades, we will become a minority across the country as a whole⁸".

⁸ <http://www.bnp.org.uk/introduction>.

The EDL are another far-right movement which attracts attention and causes controversy by virtue of its demonstrations across cities in the UK, including London, Leeds, Birmingham and Bradford (Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery, 2013). These demonstrations draw in large numbers and while the demonstrations are organised with permissions from local authorities etc. (Busher, 2013), they are nonetheless renowned for being aggressive and violent in nature (Oaten, 2014). Demonstrations often result in counter-demonstrations and arrests, particularly due to many of the areas in which demonstrations are held having high numbers of Muslims (which researchers argued is a strategy to bait a violent retaliation from Muslims, Copsey, 2010), and assaults towards local Asian businesses and properties (Kassermeris and Jackson, 2015). Despite the EDL arguing that the purpose of demonstrations is to campaign against issues such as Islamic extremism and not oppose all Muslims (Treadwell, 2012; Treadwell and Garland, 2011), this distinction can become blurred in cases where anti-Islamic chants take place (Garland and Treadwell 2010). Events such as the murder of the soldier Lee Rigby and terrorist attacks discussed earlier in the first chapter, have fuelled the EDL demonstrations even further and increased the numbers of attendees up to thousands (Quinn and Urquhart, 2013). Within 24 hours of Rigby's murder, the number of supporters of the EDL's official Facebook page had more than tripled (Goodwin, 2013). On the EDL's official website they state that they are "not racist, not violent, just no longer silent". The EDL mission statement (stated on both their official website and Facebook page) outlines⁹:

- 1) The English Defence League has risen from the English working class to act, lead and inspire in the struggle against global Islamification
- 2) The English Defence League stands for human rights
- 3) The English Defence League stands for democracy and the rule of law (including opposing sharia law)
- 4) The English Defence League educates the British public about Islam
- 5) The English Defence League respects English tradition
- 6) The English Defence League is international in outlook (working in solidarity with others around the world)

⁹ <http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/mission-statement/>.

The discussion in this chapter demonstrates that political communication today contains a variety of media including newspapers, TV, blogs, and social media, showing that political communication is shaped by the media (Krotz, 2014). Researchers in social psychology such as Tileagă (2013) have argued that there is a lack of focus of detailed analysis of the form and function of political discourse, i.e. how politicians use language to achieve strategies, and analysing the form of political communication. Discursive research methods are particularly appropriate to the study of politics because language is at the centre of politics, as Chilton and Schäffner (1997:206) conclude:

“Politics cannot be conducted without language, and is it probably the case that the use of language in the constitution of social groups leads to what we call “politics” in a broad sense”.

2.3 Summary

This chapter has considered the far-right, with a focus on the three current far-right parties that will be analysed in this thesis: 1) the British National Party; 2) the English Defence League; 3) Britain First. I have discussed how the parties became established in the UK and policies that have caused controversy, for example the English Defence League ‘anti-Islamic’ demonstrations, and Britain First ‘Christian patrols’. Despite controversies associated with their reputations for being Islamophobic, far-right parties and groups have increased in popularity both in the UK and elsewhere in Europe, projecting far-right communication and discourse into the spotlight and making it a vital research issue.

3. Discursive Psychology and the far-right

3.1 Introduction

Chapter three will cover the theoretical framework of Discursive Psychology, and how this method of analysis has been applied to far-right discourse. I begin with the work that influenced this approach; critiques of Chomskian linguistics and Wittgenstein's work on emotion in language. This chapter discusses how discursive psychology developed as an alternative approach to the study of 'attitudes' as something fixed and internal, and instead aims to examine racism and prejudice as something that is attended to in talk. This will lead onto critical discursive psychology specifically. Next, I will outline how a discursive approach can be applied to the study of prejudice discourse. This section will begin with the earlier more traditional approaches to studying prejudice as a cognitive phenomenon, which discursive approaches reject. Discursive psychologists regard prejudice as something that is attended to in discourse rather than being cognitive, and argue that prejudice can manifest in subtle and flexible ways, namely 'modern' racism. Discursive research can also examine more extreme, hostile forms of discourse. I will then discuss these issues specifically applied to the far-right, and how the far-right deal with the key issues of this thesis, anti-Semitism and Islamophobia. This includes research that has considered parallels between Islamophobia and anti-Semitism.

3.2 Origins of Discursive Psychology

Discursive Psychology (henceforth DP) examines how psychological discourse is utilised and oriented to by people in conversations, and how people talk about and socially construct emotions and reality (Shotter, 1993). Cognition and psychological phenomena are resources that are utilised in interaction, rather than being an internal state or an indication into peoples' minds. Therefore, in order to understand how individuals construct and orient to psychological attributes such as identity, we should look at how this is attended to in talk rather than the experimental study of cognitive processes (Edwards and Potter, 1992; Tileagă and Stokoe, 2016). DP focuses on what speakers accomplish in

interactions, rather than the cognitive states of individuals. While traditionally Psychology took language to be an indication of what is happening in peoples' minds, DP places language at the centre of the focus, thus challenging and unpacking the topics and investigative methods used in Psychology (Edwards and Potter, 2001). DP examines how people construct psychological phenomena, and how talk or text is socially positioned. As Potter and Hepburn (2007:161) argued, the aim is not to read peoples' minds, but to "look(s) for psychology in a completely different place". Using the example of attitudes (discussed in more detail below), rather than being viewed as cognitive, DP is concerned with how attitudes are constructed, and what such constructions are being used to do.

There are three approaches that influenced the development of DP: 1) Chomsky's work on linguistics; 2) Wittgenstein's theory of emotions; 3) Austin's speech act theory. One of the origins of DP is its critique of the work of Chomsky (1966), who investigated the grammatical features of language, and how language is a formal system used to represent the world. Language can be understood outside of the context within which it is used; indeed, Chomsky was not at all interested in the study of the use of language (which he regarded as mere 'language performance') and held that only decontextualized and fully grammatical sentences (such as "The cat sat on the mat") were worthy of linguistic investigation since such sentences were generated by the grammatical rules that underlay linguistic competence. Chomsky postulated that linguistic analysis could be based on intuitions, about well-formed sentences, as people know what is grammatically correct and what is not. DP on the other hand, argues that everyday interaction is regularly ungrammatical, and the focus on the underlying rules of grammar (those generative rules that account for well-formedness) alone ignores the significance of the details of language use in larger texts (Edwards, 2005), and of language use in interaction; for example there can be no account in Chomsky for the practices or rhetorical devices that speakers use, nor of the orderliness – often associated with the orientation to normative forms of language use – of the apparent mess of self-repair in talk (Drew, Walker and Ogden, 2012).

Another source of the theoretical framework of DP is Wittgenstein's (1953) analysis of emotions, that emotions are not private phenomena that occur in the minds of people, and uses the proof that we use words to describe emotions. How people use words is rooted in social activities, for example we learn how to use phrases such as "I am happy" by observing how others use the term, and learning the conventional relevant behaviours, such as smiling or laughing. Wittgenstein argued that language is not private, but a social,

public activity, and that meanings of words have public consensus. If people use language meaningfully, then there must be public ‘norms’ for how language is used. Thus, language cannot be about internal processes alone and must reflect the external environment. In order to understand how language is used, analysts should examine what people are doing with language when speaking, rather than looking for cognitive structures. DP is also grounded in Austin’s (1962) Speech Act Theory, which argued that language is not descriptive but performative. People use language to achieve social actions, such as blame, justify, and persuade and these ‘speech acts’ could not take place without language. To say something is to perform an action. For example, to say the phrase ‘I promise’ constitutes an action in that an agreement is being made, or to sentence someone to imprisonment is performing an action through saying the sentence itself.

DP examines how individuals construct their own representation of realities using speech (Taylor, 2001), and observes that truth is something that people try to accomplish, rather than an objective reality. This is a premise also emphasised by Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis (Edwards and Potter, 1992). The focus is on how individuals make sense of and organise their experiences, which is why ‘natural’ interaction is favoured as a data source (see chapter five, section 5.3 for further discussion). Rather than actions being a consequence of cognition, DP analyses the role that actions perform through talk and text. DP argues that when people are expressing attitudes, they are positioning themselves against an opposing attitude in a particular point of controversy. Therefore, an expression can be understood in terms of the view that is being opposed, as Billig (1996: 121) argued: “The meaning of discourse used in an argumentative context must be examined in terms of the contest between criticism and justification”.

Traditionally, social psychologists argued that attitudes were behavioural postures rooted in childhood, that someone’s attitudes were consistent with one another, and that they were resistant to change (Allport, 1935). By contrast, some social cognitive researchers have suggested that attitudes vary according to context, mood and beliefs (Wilson and Hodges, 1992), and that attitudes are assessed based on the time that they are judged and what information is accessible at the time (Schwarz and Strack, 1991). Likewise, self-categorization theory argued that identities are dependent on context (Oakes, Haslam, and Turner, 1994).

DP criticised the traditional method of measuring prejudicial attitudes using scales, because attitudes are not stable and can be affected by the context and environment. DP proposed that traditional approaches to the study of attitudes overlook social context (Potter and Wetherell, 1988; 1987). Contrary to traditional social psychological approaches, DP does not treat attitudes as stable entities, but variable expressions used interactionally and strategically by speakers. Attitudes are dependent on context, and are created and re-negotiated during discourse (Billig, 1991; Sherrard, 1997). However, there are cognitive researchers such as Wilson and Hodges (1992:37) who argued that attitudes can be context dependent:

“We have been struck by how easy it has been to get people to change their attitudes, in marked contrast to how unyielding people are in other kinds of social psychological studies. Our findings seem inconsistent with the vast literature on attitude change”.

Another critique from DP is the traditional definitions of prejudice, such as Allport's (1954:9) definition: “an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization”. Allport's definition emphasises the role of cognition in prejudice, according to which prejudicial treatment is justified on the grounds of belief. While traditional social psychological approaches such as Tajfel's (1969) argued that prejudice consists of cognitive processes, discursive researchers argue that such approaches are too artificial to study humans as social beings (Sherrard, 1997). However, while Allport emphasised prejudice to be “a problem of the individual” (Tileagă, 2015:3), Allport did acknowledge that society and culture can influence our judgement, and that despite residing in cognition, prejudice does have a historical context.

Research has examined how Social Identity and Self-categorisation theory adds to our understanding of political behaviour, such as the qualities that encompass strong leadership (Haslam, Reicher and Platow, 2010). Social Identity theory has been adapted by Reicher (1982) to account for crowd behaviour, and how a crowd is a social group with a perceived sense of common membership categories and group membership in order to achieve social power. Self-categorisation theory focuses on the processes through which people categorise themselves, with social identities, as group members, as well as psychological processes involved in categorisation (Sindic and Condor, 2014). Self-categorisation theory argues that categorisation is a fluid process, and context dependent in a similar argument to DP, but nonetheless internal rather than situated in discourse (Oakes and Haslam, 2001). Self-categorisation can be used to provide a foundation for political

action, so politicians construct social relations based on collective self-categories (Reicher and Hopkins, 2001). Social representations theory argues that categorisations are dynamic and constructed according to context, so that a strength of this theory is its exploration of the content of representations and cultures (Augoustinos, 2001). However, social representations theory has been criticised for failing to examine closely the process of how categorisations are constructed (Potter, 1996a).

Social cognitive researchers have argued that processes such as categorisation are stable and internal (Macrae and Bodenhausen, 2000). Discursive psychologists argued the contrary, on the grounds that categorization is a social accomplishment rather than a result of cognition, and that social cognitive approaches (e.g. Tajfel, 1981) simplified the purpose and function of categorization to reduce complexity. Social cognitive approaches overlook the content of prejudice discourse, and how that content reflects wider social contexts (Augoustinos and Reynolds, 2001). Rhetorical researchers such as Billig (2001) argued that in language about race, it is beneficial to analyse the categories that people use to depict ethnic groups, and to analyse particularly how categories and breaking taboos (the boundaries of conduct associated with categories) can be used for enjoyment between people. The focus is on what categories are used for, and studying the practises in which they are used. In this research, I will be taking the same stance as discursive psychologists, with the aim not to investigate whether someone is ‘really prejudice’, but to analyse prejudice in terms of how it is attended to in talk (Speer and Potter, 2000; Tileagă, 2005; 2015).

DP argues that language itself should be studied both in use and as part of interaction, focusing particularly on the use of language to empower and justify actions (Augoustinos and Every, 2007). This is termed the “action orientation” of talk by Edwards and Potter (1992:2). This involves looking at what is achieved through talk rather than what this tells us about individuals’ attitudes or psychological phenomena. As Edwards and Potter (1992: 28) stated:

” ...In saying and writing things, people perform social actions. The specific features of these actions are a product of constructing talk and text out of a range of styles, linguistic resources and rhetorical devices. Part of the interest of analysis is in this constructive process. Since talk and text are action orientated, versions are likely to show variability according to the different interactional contexts they are constructed to serve”.

Potter and Wetherell (1987) used Marsh's (1976) study that used attitude scales to highlight the problematic nature of scales. Marsh used an attitude scale to measure attitudes towards 'coloured immigrants'. The options of responses ran from 'completely sympathetic', to 'completely unsympathetic'. Marsh then split the responses into a scale containing categories such as 'very hostile', 'neutral', etc. Firstly, Potter and Wetherell highlighted the problematic nature of the term 'coloured immigrants', as there was no objective definition of this term, and the term could cover two separate groups of people. Secondly, there was no coherence between the move from 'completely sympathetic', to 'very hostile'. Finally, Potter and Wetherell concluded that the attitudes displayed by participants at a given moment in time may not be the same attitudes expressed at another point in time. Researchers argued that scales do not explain in depth why people hold particular attitudes (if they do), and fail to account for the variation that takes place in talk about race and prejudice (e.g. Lewis, 2005). Another criticism of surveys is that they are more of a self-reported measure rather than something that researchers can observe, particularly when it comes to research on prejudice and discrimination (Talakser, Fiske, and Chaiken, 2008). Surveys are not measures of 'actual' behaviour, as participants are merely ticking boxes of hypothetical responses; this is merely reading a report of someone's behaviour rather than observing their behaviour (Baumeister, Vohs and Funder, 2007).

Survey research on far-right supporters enable cross-cultural comparisons to be made between the attitudes of far-right supporters in different countries, (e.g. Mierina and Koroleva, 2015). Surveys can explore the causality of such far-right attitudes, evident for example in the links between economic hardship and attitudes towards immigrants (O'Connell, 2005). However, what is missing in this type of research is examining how supporters account for and justify their extreme views, and how identities and categories are constructed and re-constructed through discourse.

3.3 Critical Discursive Psychology

Discursive approaches are commonly deployed by critical psychologists (Gough, McFadden and McDonald 2013). As DP has become a well-established approach within social psychology (Edwards, 2012), it has led to the development of "sub-species" approaches (Billig, 2012: 414). The perspective that is most relevant to this research is critical discursive psychology, henceforth CDP (discussed in more detail in the fifth

chapter on method), which is an approach to analysis that builds upon the principles of DP, but with the addition of principles from Foucauldian discourse analysis, social constructionism, and critical realism (Potter, Edwards and Ashmore, 2002).

CDP researchers have developed a more distinct and complex position in critical psychology (e.g. Parker, 2002, see also Wetherell and Edley, 1999), which is critical of relativism. Relativism usually encompasses a social constructionist and discursive approach to breaking down texts and analysing them as stories about psychological phenomena, and critical psychologists ask why psychologists must separate moral and political judgments when we tell stories. Critical realism in contrast, links our moral and political judgments to our knowledge. Therefore, CDP uses critical realism to address how psychological facts are socially constructed in the present-day society, as well as considering the historical context behind psychology (Harré, 1983; Parker, 2002).

CDP has developed a post-structuralist approach, combining close analysis of attention to detail in discourse, with culture specific contexts and macro structures (Wetherell, 1998), as well as enquiry into the nature of discourse and how it functions in social practices, and the contradictory meanings it can produce (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). CDP is influenced by Wittgenstein's argument about the cultural specificity of psychological phenomena. However, Parker (2002) argues that Wittgenstein's argument lacks the concept of power, and we need to draw upon historical structures of power to complete Wittgenstein's argument.

CDP, in contrast to more traditional experimental approaches in psychology, draws upon theoretical frameworks outside of Psychology to contextualise discourse (Parker, 2002). The aim is to work with other disciplines in addition to social psychology, such as history (Wetherell, 2011). This would be an advantage, because, as Condor (1997: 140) argued, other disciplines turn to the expertise of psychologists to solve problems that are taking place within their own field:

“...to the extent that historians, social anthropologists, feminists, linguistics or social theorists want ‘us’ as collaborators, they want ‘us’ as *psychologists*. For they also look beyond the bounds of their disciplines for the solution to their own theoretical stalemates and disciplinary crises of authority”.

What makes CDP a ‘critical’ approach is the aim to reveal the role of discursive resources in the creation of ideology that shapes social and cultural relations (Tileagă 2007). In critical discourse studies, “critical” is defined as “making explicit the implicit relationship

between discourse, power and ideology, challenging surface meanings, and not taking anything for granted” (Unger, Wodak, and KhosraviNik 2016:3).

3.4 Discursive Research on Prejudice and Racism

Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, and Sanford’s (1950) theory of the authoritarian personality developed the idea that prejudice was due to certain personality traits such as antidemocratic views, which Adorno argued was the result of a harsh upbringing. The focus was on the association of prejudice and tolerance with the cognition of the individual, rather than the content of fascist ideology (Augoustinos and Tileagă, 2012). Adorno’s approach rested on the assumption that anti-Semitism lay in the minds of individuals with bigoted views. One of the ways in which this was measured, was through the Fascism scale. Criticisms of such approaches are that they oversimplify- and the authoritarian personality in particular- overlook the ambiguous strategies used by far-right parties to conceal their extreme ideologies (Billig, 1978). Tajfel’s (1981) theory on categorization set out to address the theory that prejudice can be a part of the process of ‘ordinary thinking’, and not just reside in specific, more extreme personality types. Tajfel proposed that prejudice can also be a part of inter-group relations, and manifest according to which group we do or not ‘belong’ to. The process of favouring one’s own in-group and negatively judging out-groups, is another part of the ‘ordinary’ process of stereotyping (Billig, 2002).

Traditionally, cognitive approaches in social psychology defined prejudice as a result of cognitive processes such as categorising and stereotyping (Ashmore and DelBoca, 1981). Prejudice has emotional determinants, with emotional prejudice more likely to result in discrimination than stereotyping (Talasker, Fiske, and Chaiken, 2008). Traditional social cognitive approaches such as Fiske and Taylor’s (1991) did not account for the subtle and complex nature of phenomena such as racism, and argued that for stereotyping and categorisations which are complex phenomena, traditional approaches relied on cognitive concepts to oversimplify these ideas (see O’Doherty and Lecouter, 2007 for further critique). Allport (1954) similarly discussed that the function of categorisation was to simplify complex cognitive processes due to people having limited abilities of processing information, this applies to ethnic categorization (i.e. stereotyping) as well as other types

of information processing such as categorising objects. Prejudice is a natural outcome of categorical processing.

Researchers argue that cognitive approaches lack explanation of how prejudicial attitudes can vary so quickly according to cultural change (Rapley, 2001). Rather than trying to construct definitions of race and prejudice, discursive research focuses on how speakers from majority groups use linguistic resources to make sense of such issues and construct ideas through interaction. Discursive research methods explore how individuals construct talk about controversial issues such as migration, asylum seekers and race, including how speakers account for and justify their support for harsh treatment towards minority groups (Augoustinos and Every, 2007; Figgou and Condor, 2006).

DP views racism as a form of interactive communication and a social practice in everyday society, situated in language and discourse rather than in the minds of individuals. In social psychological literature, there has been a tendency to blur the terms ‘prejudice’ and ‘racism’. One distinction is that while prejudice is an individual process, racism conveys societal norms (Augoustinos and Reynolds, 2001). Rather than creating concrete definitions of terms, discursive research investigates how racist views and discriminatory actions are produced by speakers and legitimised through discourse (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). Discursive psychologists defined features of prejudiced discourse as: “Discourse that denies, rationalizes and excuses the dehumanization and marginalization of, and discrimination against, minority out-groups” (Every and Augoustinos, 2007:412). Rather than being an internal state, prejudice is something that is attended to and constructed through discourse (Edwards, 2003).

One of the early discursive studies on prejudice was conducted by Wetherell and Potter (1992), who found variation in accounts of Pākehā (white) peoples’ talk in discussions about indigenous Māori and Polynesian populations in New Zealand. Wetherell and Potter identified competing and overlapping discourses about culture. Culture was described as a ‘heritage’, positioning Māori as a protected people, but the notion of Māori people behaving badly due to being marginalised from their cultural group was also expressed by the same individuals. This study created opportunities to research attitudes as flexible and evaluative (Tileagă, 2013), and argued that racism should not be analysed in terms of how factual its claims are. However, researchers such as Billig (1995; 1996) argued that individuals can be consistent when it comes to the display of political views, because they

are seen as advocates of that particular view to the public. Particularly when taking a stance on an issue of controversy, speakers feel the need to maintain a consistent stance (Condor, Tileagă and Billig, 2013). Another early study on prejudice discourse was conducted by van Dijk (1984), who examined discourse from interviews with white Dutch majority group members; the topic of minorities living in the Netherlands emerged in the interview. van Dijk demonstrated that majority group members work strategically to achieve positive self-presentation when talking about minority group members, for example, interviewees presenting themselves as rational citizens.

Discursive research has shown that racist discourse is ambiguous, as well as flexible and changeable (Augoustinos and Every, 2007; Wetherell and Potter, 1992). Racism is not static, and the same individual can display varying opinions in the same discursive account (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). Talk surrounding race occurs spontaneously in everyday discourse, and is related to the specific context in which the talk occurs (Condor, 2006). Recent discursive research examined how the terms ‘racism’ and ‘prejudice’ can be used interchangeably in discourse, particularly in discourses of denial (Augoustinos and Every, 2007, see below for further discussion). Goodman and Rowe (2014) identified the use of a hierarchy, where racism was the most extreme form of opposition to an out-group, and prejudice less severe than racism, and therefore more acceptable. Goodman and Rowe showed how in online discussions about gypsies, prejudice was placed into a hierarchy: prejudice based on hearsay was unacceptable, but prejudice based on personal experiences was acceptable. Therefore, Goodman and Rowe suggested that there is a taboo against racism towards Gypsies, but not a taboo against prejudice.

Discursive psychological approaches focus on the variation that takes place in talk about race and prejudice, for example the notion that people attempt to deny that they are prejudiced whilst making statements that could be considered prejudicial. This has been termed ‘the norm against prejudice’ by Billig (1988:95). Research has shown that the reason for this is that openly prejudicial expressions have become taboo, and prejudice is associated with irrationality. This is oriented to in several ways in everyday discourse, but a prominent strategy is use of disclaimers e.g. “I’m not prejudiced, but...” (Billig, *et al.* 1988: 112) see also, “I’m not racist, but...” (van Dijk, 1992; Hewitt and Stokes, 1975). Disclaimers are the means by which speakers orient to their understanding that what they are about to express could be problematic, and usually signal the expression of racist views

(van Dijk, 2000). This norm has been found to be a generalizable discursive strategy in the context of asylum and race research (Goodman, 2008a).

Research suggests that the norm against prejudice is criticised and constructed as problematic by those accused of racism, as Goodman (2010) has shown in asylum debates, that making accusations of racism to opponents of asylum has become taboo. This is because researchers now argue that accusations of racism have negative connotations and are a form of censorship. Therefore, people manage their position by avoiding making accusations of racism so as not to be seen as stifling free speech. Accusations of racism are seen as more problematic by recipients of accusations than racism itself, as the person making accusations is seen as being racist and intolerant towards majority groups (van Dijk, 1992). Therefore, people who make accusations of racism are open to being criticised for being unfair. This is due to accusations being too extreme for what van Dijk (1992:88) termed “modern” racism. Similar findings have emerged from asylum research, with speakers in support of asylum seeking rhetorically distancing themselves from the position of someone who makes accusations of racism, as people who accused opponents of being racist were open to accusations of “playing the race card”, and suppressing debate (Lewis 2005:40).

Goodman and Burke (2010; 2011) found evidence in focus group discussions supporting the norm against prejudice about asylum seekers, as participants argued in a cautious manner that opposition to asylum was racist. However, other participants constructed accusations of racism towards opponents of asylum as an unreasonable act, and instead justified peoples’ opposition to asylum on three non-racist grounds: 1) economic factors; 2) religious grounds and the association of asylum seekers with terrorism; 3) asylum seekers’ lack of integration into British society. Goodman and Burke found the same speakers presenting the notion that it is more difficult for people who are white to oppose asylum without being accused of being racist, and that it is easier for people from ethnic minorities to oppose asylum seekers. This orients to the idea that the norm against prejudice victimises people from majority groups (van Dijk, 1992). Similarly, Burke and Goodman (2012) identified opponents of immigration on Facebook discussions linking the taboo against prejudice with censorship, by arguing that they were being victimized and branded as racist and as Nazis for their opposition to immigration.

Every and Augoustinos (2007) outlined four strategies used by politicians in the common asylum debate about whether opposition to asylum is racist. These strategies were used to argue both that opposition to asylum is racist, and to disclaim that opposition to asylum is not racist. These strategies were: 1) the use of categorical generalisations; 2) comparing differential treatment of asylum seekers to ‘illegal’ immigrants 3); talk surrounding national sovereignty; 4) talk about cultural differences. The avoidance of race talk when discussing potentially race related issues, is termed discursive deracialisation. This is defined by Goodman and Burke (2011: 112) as: “where speakers try to ensure that their opposition to out-groups is attributed to reasons other than race”.

3.4.1. Modern Racism

van Dijk (1992) has distinguished between ‘old’ racism, and ‘modern’ racism’. Old racism is explicit racism by people who are white directed towards people who are not white, based on a belief that white people are superior due to biological factors, examples being apartheid in South Africa and during slavery. The purpose of old racism is to distinguish between different groups in order to show that there is a racial hierarchy (Neocleous, 1997). By contrast, modern racism is subtler and deemed more ‘socially acceptable’:

“...The more 'modern', subtle and indirect forms of ethnic or racial inequality, and especially the 'racism', or rather 'ethnicism' based on constructions of cultural difference and incompatibility, is seldom characterized as 'racism', but at most as xenophobia, and more often than not, as legitimate cultural self-defence” (van Dijk,1992:93).

van Dijk (2000) argued, however, that modern racism is just as marginalising towards minority groups as that of old racism, because group members use rhetorical devices to legitimise harsh treatment of and exclusion towards minority members. Discursive researchers conclude that the ambiguous and subtle nature of racism means that it has become far more difficult to define the term ‘racism’ (Every and Augoustinos, 2007). This is shown in experimental social psychology as there are various constructs such as ‘subtle prejudice’ (Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995), a more indirect form of prejudice in contrast to ‘blatant prejudice’, and ‘aversive racism’ (Dovidio and Gaertner, 2000), the notion that people regard themselves as not racist but still display discrimination in subtle forms, for example in employment decisions (Pearson, Dovidio and Gaertner, 2009).

A dominant feature of van Dijk's notion of modern racism is the denial of racism by majority group members, so hostility towards minority groups is attributed to reasons other than racism. Modern racism rejects the segregationist principles of traditional racism (Augoustinos and Every, 2010; Augoustinos, Tuffin and Rapley, 1999; Walker, 2001), so speakers strategically work to deny racism when discussing racial issues, as prejudice is viewed as being irrational (Edwards, 2003). van Dijk (1992:88) indicated that the purpose of the denial of racism is to maintain "positive self-presentation", and showed how modern racist discourse has features such as denials and disclaimers. This suggests that speakers are aware that negative talk about minority groups could be breaking social norms, and so promote racism without appearing to have racist tendencies. However, recent research has shown how accusations of racism were also managed cautiously or delicately by minority group members such as asylum seekers, suggesting the emergence of a new denial strategy in racist discourse (Kirkwood, 2012; Kirkwood, McKinlay and McVittie, 2013; see also Goodman, Burke, Liebling and Zadasa, 2014).

The distinction between old and modern racism has been criticized for being too simplistic, and for ignoring the idea that racism can have multiple forms (Walker, 2001). Augoustinos and Every (2007; see also Rapley, 2001) highlighted that increasing social taboos against openly expressing racism has led to the development of discursive strategies to present potentially prejudicial arguments as reasonable and not prejudice. These strategies included mitigation (i.e. toning down or lessening), justifying harsh treatment, and victim blaming (van Dijk, 1992). Such strategies have been found to downplay racist treatment, in part through speakers representing themselves as reasonable (Augoustinos, *et al.*, 1999).

Augoustinos and Every (2007) identified five strategies in discourse to deny prejudice:

- 1) Outright denial, for example the use of disclaimers (see as discussed above, pp. 33).
- 2) Grounding views as reflecting the external world. This is when arguments are based on rationality, and can be used alongside disclaimers. Capdevila and Callaghan (2008) demonstrated how the UK conservative party argued that their anti-immigration policies were "not racist, but common sense".
- 3) Positive self-presentation and negative other presentation, where speakers present themselves as being fair, and 'the other' as being unfair.

- 4) Discursive deracialisation, as discussed earlier (pp. 35).
- 5) Liberal arguments for illiberal ends. This is when the circular argument is used that opposition to groups such as immigrants are to prevent extremists and the far-right from gaining control (see Goodman, 2008b).

Verkuyten (2005) conducted research in the Netherlands, showing how participants made the argument that ethnic minorities were too sensitive to racism, a strategy used to downplay the seriousness of racism. Participants instead constructed racism as based on the perception of and by ethnic minorities rather than Dutch people being racist. Another strategy used in race talk is to draw upon historical narratives in such a way to rationalise opposition to ethnic minorities (Augoustinos *et al.*, 1999), but it has been argued that drawing upon historical accounts is not constructive when discussing race, for example, Augoustinos, Hastie and Wright (2011) argued that apologising for past injustices is a discursive practise, which is complex and managed delicately in an attempt to avoid controversy. Condor (2006b) detailed how prejudiced discourse can be achieved as a collaborative accomplishment, so that potentially prejudicial statements are defended not only by the speaker but also by other individuals in the conversation.

While those traditional methods in social psychology that have been outlined here are effective ways to apply understanding of prejudice to everyday behaviour, they do not address, to any significant extent, more extreme types of prejudice, and other aspects of prejudice that should be considered, such as ideological and motivational factors (Billig, 2002). This is of interest to this research because prior research has shown aggressive and hostile language to be used on Facebook (Burke and Goodman, 2012). However, as has been discussed, political parties have more scope to be seen communicating in what might be considered to be a politer manner in order to appeal more broadly to potential supporters.

Researchers such as Guerin (2003) argued that the function of racist language is to maintain group cohesion and social relationships, rather than to promote racism. This is one factor to explain the difficulty of combating racist talk, as it would affect group cohesion. Researchers have highlighted how accusations of racism tend to close debate and set up resistance on both sides (Every and Augoustinos 2007). For example, Guerin proposed that people should find ways of engaging in debate about the issues of asylum seeking without ending discussions.

Research from Perez (2013) challenged the notion that explicit racist talk in public is declining, and found that stand-up comedy students used rhetorical strategies to present racial stereotypes as humorous rather than offensive. However, the students who were white learnt to avoid engaging in overt jokes about race, as well as denial strategies in order to be able to engage in racial commentary. Students from ethnic minorities on the other hand, engaged in racial stereotyping in an unguarded manner, a form of negative self-presentation. These findings are similar to that of Goodman and Burke, who showed that people argued that it was easier for people from ethnic minorities to oppose asylum seekers. Billig's (2001) analysis of racist websites in support of the KKK demonstrated that the strategic use of humour and the disclaimer of 'just being a joke' allows the boundaries surrounding racist discourse to be broken, and protects speakers from being challenged when racist discourse is rooted in humour. Extreme racist language was portrayed as being for the intention of enjoyment or to entertain, rather than reflecting hatred for a particular group.

3.5 Far-right Rhetoric

For politicians in particular, it is damaging to be viewed as being racist (Bull and Simon-Vandenberg, 2014). As discussed earlier, the National Front disguised their extremist views and underlying anti-Semitic ideologies (Billig, 1978; Eatwell, 2000), arguing that they were not anti-Semitic as their approach was not based on emotional factors; they defined anti-Semitism as extreme behaviour and insults, and publicly condemned acts of violence towards Jews therefore managed their position as not being outright anti-Semitic. Nazi leaders also denied accusations of racism and disguised their anti-Semitic messages using parasite metaphors (Musolff, 2013).

Far-right politicians frequently attempt to present themselves as reasonable, prone to false accusations of racism, supporting Billig's (1988) notion of the taboo on prejudice. Billig (2001) argued that extreme right-wing groups sought legitimacy by openly claiming to have democratic values, but privately distributing a more extreme message to supporters. McGlashan (2013) found that European far-right parties legitimise racist policies through focusing on the cultural and economic impact of racism. Research has also identified how the BNP used various strategies to mask its underlying fascist ideologies, such as using moderate language (Carter, 2005; Copsey, 2004).

Much of the early research on far-right parties used methods such as content analysis of the speeches and writings of dictators such as Hitler (Eckhardt 1965) and Mussolini (Eckhardt, 1968). However, content analysis of far-right discourse failed to offer a detailed exploration of the reasoning and ideologies of the far-right (Billig, 1978). A discursive analysis of the BNP manifestos revealed that the party used language referring to 'in-group' categories to describe British people, such as "indigenous people" (Edwards, 2012; Goodman and Johnson, 2013). This term evoked imagery of white British people, although Nick Griffin denied that this is what he meant when he used this term and constructed a parallel with indigenous populations in New Zealand and North America. As (Bull and Simon-Vandenberg (2014) showed, Griffin has associated the term 'indigenous' with threatened cultures, and thus this parallel is a strategy by Griffin to draw upon the victimisation of white people. The accusation that the 'indigenous' majority of Britain are victims of anti-white racism orients to the norm against prejudice, as Griffin avoids being seen as directly persecuting ethnic minorities (Wood and Finlay, 2008). Research has showed that as a concept, 'indigenous' is used to legitimise racist policies (Williams and Law, 2012).

Copsey (2007:61; see also 2004) termed 'Fascism Recalibration' to describe how the BNP attempted to reject the fascist label and promote more contemporary ideologies, by shifting the focus from concerns about race to more localised concerns for British citizens, including issues such as resources and local issues in communities. This has shown to have been effective in providing the BNP with a sense of respectability, as Rhodes (2009) found that BNP voters were mostly influenced by the BNP's focus on local issues. Billig (1978) similarly showed that in the far-right magazine, 'Spearhead', anti-Semitic ideology was expressed as being rooted in economic factors.

Another strategy used by the BNP to justify opposition to minority groups such as Muslims is to base opposition on the groups' own prejudices, such as opposing Islam based on its apparent intolerances, a strategy also used by Dutch politician Geert Wilders (Verkuyten, 2013). Atton (2006) analysed the BNP's official website, and identified how 'white racism' was structured by the BNP as a common practice by ethnic minorities, using examples such as vandalism and assault committed by ethnic minorities to support this idea. White people were constructed as a repressed 'other', under threat from ethnic minorities. In this way, racism towards ethnic minorities was constructed as a reasonable reaction to a perceived racist treatment, indeed victimization, by the 'other'. This

paralleled earlier work by Billig (1995) who argued how early far-right parties claimed that they were acting out of defence and not attacking particular groups of people. Atton (2006) also showed how the BNP website drew upon the idea that the members of the BNP were ordinary everyday people, who did not express racist views. Research carried out in the Netherlands (Rooyackers and Verkuyten, 2012) similarly found that Geert Wilders constructed himself as being a politician who was realistic and responsible, as well as group oriented.

3.6 Anti-Semitism

Historians such as Holmes (1979) define anti-Semitism as an intrinsic, irrational hostility towards Jews, characterised by perceptions of economic competition and cultural differences (Tilles, 2015). For some researchers, 'anti-Semitism' is a term that is used in a broad sense, to describe negative reactions either felt or expressed towards Jews (Cesarani, 1994).

Melley (2000) defines conspiracy theory as an intense fear of an external force that controls individuals. Nefes (2014) proposed that conspiracy theories are usually explained as power relations manipulated by a certain individual. Conspiracy theories are regarded as the most common form of anti-Semitism (Cohn, 1967) with ideas such as Jews plotting to dominate the world (Cohn, 1957; Byford and Billig, 2001). The characteristics of conspiracy theories include there being a secret Jewish government, and Jews have secret domination over international banking (Cohn, 1967; Richardson, 2013b).

Conspiracy theories are a notion largely not accepted within mainstream Western politics today, but have historically been intrinsic to the far-right in the UK, going back to the early parties such as the British Union of Fascists, in disseminating their ideologies of a conspiracy theory that Jews has political and financial power over Britain (Stocker, 2015). One of its members AK Chesterton, advocated there being a Jewish conspiracy (Copsey, 2008). Conspiracy theories were also emerging by far-right parties such as the BNP to encourage hostility towards Muslims (Wood and Finlay, 2008). Events such as shootings can lead to the prevalence of conspiracy theories, as uncertainty and fear is heightened (Eyerman, 2011).

An extreme form of anti-Semitism is Holocaust denial, the theory that the historical account of the Holocaust is either exaggerated or incorrect, for example denial of the

extent of the mass murders (Griffin, 2015). Holocaust denial is considered a manifestation of hate speech as it targets a specific ethnic and religious group (Wodak, 2015b).

Characteristics of Holocaust denial include the denial of gas chambers being used.

Holocaust denial is a criminal offence in some countries in Europe such as Austria, Germany and Poland. Thus, as Wodak (ibid) has highlighted, speakers commonly imply Holocaust denial rather than outright deny it, in order to avoid persecution. As will be discussed further in chapters seven and nine, anti-Semitism and Holocaust denial still occur, in this case on social media, and sometimes concurrently with Islamophobia.

Far-right parties such as the BNP distances itself from the fascist label, and takes on a more 'neo-fascist' position that orients to contemporary issues, a process that Copsey (2008:82) termed "fascism re-calibrated (see section 3.5)". Researchers argue that contemporary anti-Semitism today includes hostility towards Zionism (Klug, 2013).

3.7 Islamophobia

Researchers argue that the rise in Islamophobia mirrors anti-Semitism in Britain during the 1st and 2nd World Wars (Klug, 2014; Linehan, 2012), and that the treatment of Muslims by far-right parties is similar to how Nazi parties treated Jews. For example, during the 2nd World War, the Jewish method of slaughtering animals, Schechita, was criticised for being cruel, much in the same way that Halal is commonly criticised today. Sajid (2005:31) has termed this parallel as "a new word for an old fear". Such comparisons have led to the perception that Islamophobia has somewhat 'replaced' anti-Semitism, and that anti-Semitism is no longer a prominent issue in contemporary political discourse (Wodak, 2015a).

The focus of this thesis is the current dilemma the far-right face, posed by being accused of being Islamophobic whilst still trying to attract supporters. However, Islamophobia is increasing in Britain, and leads to more support for far-right political parties. Bleich (2011:1581) defines Islamophobia as "indiscriminate negative attitudes or emotions directed at Islam or Muslims". Researchers have pointed out that this definition does not make a distinction between opposing the religion and opposing individuals, and that a definition that addresses hate and/or racism would be more accurate (Halliday, 1999). Muslims are perceived as a threat to Britain (Foner and Alba, 2008), particularly after the July 2005 London bombings (Richardson, 2011; Wood and Finlay, 2008), and more recent

terrorist attacks elsewhere in Europe, as covered in the first chapter. Muslims have been exposed to attacks and “street racism” in Britain (Richardson, 2004:23).

There is debate over whether Muslims can integrate into British society and researchers such as Amiraux (2016) argued that the visible ‘otherness’ of Muslims has driven public concern. An issue that is particularly contentious in the British press (and indeed in France) is female Muslims wearing the hijab and burqa (Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery, 2013), with regards to whether this is worn as choice or forced upon women. This is likely to be because women are more ‘visible’ as Muslims (Deaux and Greenwood, 2013). Elsewhere in Europe, Geert Wilders has treated the hijab as a symbol of ‘Islamic threat’ (Korteweg, 2013; see also Ekman, 2015). The construction of female Muslims as under threat due to gender inequality is one of the strategies used to argue against allowing Islam a ‘space’ and physical presence in society (Törnberg and Törnberg, 2016).

In newspapers Muslims are portrayed negatively, for example Richardson (2004) discussed four common themes argued in newspapers regarding Muslims: 1) Muslims as a military threat, 2) the association of Islam with terrorism, 3), Muslims as a threat to democracy, and 4), Muslims as a threat to society and sexism. Richardson has shown that newspapers engage in three processes to construct Muslims negatively: 1), separation, 2) differentiation, and 3) cultural deviance. Muslims are frequently portrayed in the British press as coming to Britain to claim benefits (Baker *et al.*, 2013). Most research on Islamophobia focuses largely on how Muslims are represented in the press media, rather than other types of media such as social networking websites, although research is emerging on how Muslims are the target of hatred on Internet blogs (Törnberg and Törnberg, 2016).

While the far-right parties have in the past focused on proposing harsh immigration policies (Goodman and Speer, 2007), more recently, their focus has been on what the BNP termed the ‘Islamification’ of Britain (Richardson and Wodak, 2009a), which the BNP claimed is a result of an increase in immigration in Britain (Kassimeris and Jackson, 2015). This is arguably to shift the focus of far-right parties from being historically anti-Semitic (Hafez, 2014), as well as making it easier for modern far-right politicians to distance themselves from historical anti-Semitic positions. One strategy is to draw parallels between Islam and the Nazis (Hafez, 2014). Surveys show that British peoples’ attitudes towards Muslims in general have been negative (Baker *et al.*, 2013), regarding

Islam as a threat to Europe and resulting in measures to curb multi-culturalism such as the banning of the hijab in France (Fekete, 2004; Zúquete, 2008).

Richardson and Columbo (2014) explored how female Muslims are used in anti-immigration arguments by far-right parties, in particular the BNP which argued that British women need to be 'defended' against becoming Muslim. The BNP constructed Muslims as 'anti-white racists', and used the Qur'an as evidence for the notion that Muslims want to take over Britain. Following the July 2005 London bombings, the BNP used this event to claim that all members of the Islamic faith (and not just extremists) are terrorists, and therefore a threat to Britain and undeserving of British citizenship (Wood and Finlay, 2008). In addition to Muslims, the BNP constructed those individuals who believe in a multicultural Britain as being a threat to Britain (ibid, 2008).

The EDL projected warnings of 'Islamization', constructing Muslims as a threat to British identity and security. The EDL claims that rather than being racist, Islamophobia is a rational reaction to Islamic extremism in the UK (Kassimeris and Jackson, 2015). Far-right organisations such as the EDL argue that they aim to campaign against Islamic extremism only, rather than all Muslims (Treadwell 2012, Treadwell and Garland 2011). The distinction between opposing Islam as a religion and not opposing Muslims as people is also utilised by Geert Wilders (Verkuyten, 2013). Such discourse has led to some researchers arguing that there needs to be a distinction between Islamophobia and 'Muslimophobia' (Cheng, 2015), and that the concept of Islamophobia (such as the definition outlined at the start of section 3.6) conflates all Muslims as members of one nation of Islam rather than recognising that Muslims can belong to various divisions (Afshar, 2012).

Researchers such as Jones (2011) argued that Islamophobia has worsened (i.e. increased) since the September 11th attack on the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre in New York, as well as attacks against Muslims living in Britain (although other religious groups such as Sikhs have also been targeted, see Richardson, 2004). For example, Richardson (2008) outlined how the BNP leaflets were visually organised to construct Muslims as violent and problematic, with 'problems' on one side, and their proposed solutions on the other side. The function of Islamophobic images can be to elicit stereotypes when protesting issues such as building new mosques.

3.8 Summary

In this chapter, I have set the scene for the use of my chosen analytical approach, critical discursive psychology. This included the origins of discursive psychology. I have considered the traditional approaches in social psychology, and how these are less beneficial for the consideration of variable discourse. I have covered discursive research on the topics of prejudice and racism, and highlighted that racism is a complex issue to research, as there are various definitions of racism, from subtle forms of racism, to more extreme, hostile discourse. Finally, I discussed the far-right's historical fascist stance, and how far-right parties avoid being labelled as anti-Semitic today. The chapter concluded by showing how critical discursive research has been used to uncover the far-right's common dilemma of attempting to look reasonable and non-racist despite their underlying extreme ideologies. In today's current climate, this can be seen starkly in the case of Islamophobia.

4: Computer-Mediated Communication and rationale for research

4.1 Introduction

Computer mediated communication refers to how people communicate via digital communication and networking, most commonly computers and more recently smartphones (Herring and Androutsopolous, 2015). In this chapter I will outline how the study of computer discourse developed from two models: the social presence model, and the reduced social cues model. I will examine prior research on Facebook, which mostly encompasses research on the personality traits of Facebook users, and will lead onto research that addressed how far-right organisations and supporters use Facebook. I will discuss extremist discourse, as computer-mediated communication has played a role in the dissemination of extremist discourse and hate speech, for example the likelihood of anonymity. Finally, I will conclude by introducing the rationale for conducting my research and my research aims.

4.2 Origins of Computer-Mediated Communication

Research on Computer-mediated communication (henceforth CMC) has generally investigated how people interact with each other and patterns in how people talk to each other online, including paralinguistic features, such as emoticons of smiley faces etc. (Garcia and Jacobs, 1999). CMC refers to text communication through computers, such as email, instant messaging and blogs (Hollingshead, 2001). CMC provides a rich, unlimited platform in which to observe interaction. As highlighted by Ardévol and Gómez-Cruz (2014:504):

“The Internet is an open, flexible and everyday more wide-spread technology, changing with its design, uses and appropriations. It is a global communication system along with different digital technologies that crosses transnational practices but whose meanings are locally negotiated by every cultural agent”.

Approaches to CMC arose from two models: the social presence theory, and the reduced social cues approach. The social presence theory is based on the early work of Short, Williams and Christie (1976) who researched face-to-face interaction and telecommunication. This theory proposed that effective communication was dependent on the level of social presence, i.e. how aware one is that there are other people present during communication. Research using CMC considers social presence in terms of how people choose to represent themselves online and how they relate to other individuals online. However, the Reduced Social Cues approach (Kiesler, Siegel, and McGuire, 1984; McGuire, Kiesler, and Siegel, 1987), argued that a lack of non-verbal cues in online communication can lead to more uninhibited communication. Subsequent research suggested that para-linguistic features such as ‘emoticons’ are emerging in CMC, which can overcome such behaviour and give indications of non-verbal communication that are important indicators during face-to-face conversation (Giles, Stommel, Paulus, Lester, and Reed, 2015; Krohn, 2004).

The model of CMC (Kiesler, 1986; Kiesler *et al.* 1984) proposed that due to the lack of face-to-face cues present in CMC, this is more likely to lead to group polarisation, and ‘flaming’, which refers to aggressive and hostile forms of communication (Bomberger, 2004). Language is likely to be less inhibited because users are less identifiable (Postmes, Spears and Lea, 1998). This concept can also be applicable to politicians, who are scrutinised when they appear on other media such as television, as they are not only heard, but are seen too (Bull, 2012). Online newspapers such as The New York Times can have strict moderation policies such as registering and verifying identity before being allowed to leave posts, and offensive comments can be removed (Hughey and Daniels, 2013). Despite this, Goodman (2007) examined discussions on UK local news forums about asylum seekers, and showed that supporters of asylum seeking used terms such as ‘loving family’ which normalised asylum seekers, whilst opponents of asylum seekers used animalistic and dehumanising terms to describe asylum seekers, such as ‘breeding family’.

One of the benefits of studying CMC is demonstrated by applying Billig (1991)’s argument that an individual supporting a particular position is also arguing against the counter position. This is based on the premise from DP that expressing views involves criticising and justifying, so when a person makes a claim about their view, they are taking a stance and undermining potential counter arguments at the same time (see also Billig, 1996). When people are arguing their viewpoint, they are not only justifying their own

view, but anticipating and rebutting opposing arguments. Less attention has been given to political discourse in CMC and how this may be shaped by online environments, though recently there has been an increase in the publication of research using critical and discourse analytic methods exploring online interaction (e.g. Burke and Goodman, 2012; Goodman and Rowe, 2014; Snejder and te Molder 2004).

4.3 Facebook

Social networking websites such as Facebook have become an important platform for people to present themselves (Anderson, Fagan, Woodnutt, and Chamorro-Prezmuzic, 2012). On social networking websites, people share content and information in a virtual community or network. The use of social media has increased and influenced how people communicate with family and friends. Additionally, as will be discussed in the following chapter, Facebook is a multi-modal platform with a variety of forms of communication that can be researched, such as images, slogans, and emoticons. Communication on social media can lead to forms of unacceptable social practises such as hate speech. Researchers such as Albert and Salam (2013) suggested that social media is a discursive system that reflects social practises such as Cyberbullying. Smith and Brecher (2010) argue that social media provides the communication networks necessary for effective social action. There is a need for novel approaches to investigate the phenomena of social media due to its multi-modality. These social acts such as online hate speech and cyber bullying can have effects such as coercion and victimization.

Facebook is not an anonymous environment because users are required to give their real and full name to sign up (Facebook, 2013a), although the likelihood that there are false Facebook profiles being created to impersonate other users cannot be overlooked (Krombholz, Merkl and Weippl, 2012). This means that users are held more accountable for their actions, and therefore are more likely to adhere to social norms (Zhao, Grasmak and Martin, 2008). However, Burke and Goodman (2012) demonstrated that people can nevertheless engage more easily in racist interactions, and that online there is both a lack of orientation towards the norm against prejudice as well as a lack of the taboo against making accusations of racism. Facebook is a significant medium for analysis because it is an international brand with users from across the globe. The implication of Facebook being international is that values and forms of discourse that are acceptable in one society or culture can be 'exported' into a different setting and be viewed by another culture where

the values are not acceptable. An example of this can be seen in political discourse offline, when BBC political editor Laura Kuenssberg questioned Donald Trump at the joint press conference with British Prime Minister Theresa May. Kuenssberg raised the issue of Trump's belief over what is acceptable in the US, may not be considered as acceptable in the UK¹⁰. Additionally, networks and communications on Facebook are current and beneficial to social science research regarding political debates.

Most of the rather limited qualitative research addressing discussions on Facebook has measured individual behaviours and personality traits of Facebook users, rather than examining closely users' discourse and reasoning. Research has frequently used quantitative methods, for example, Carpenter (2012) used surveys to measure levels of narcissism in Facebook users (see also Nadkarni and Hofman, 2012), and Gerstenfeld, Grant and Chaing (2003), used content analysis on extremist websites. Researchers such as Schafer (2002) pointed out the problematic nature of content analysis, due to the inability to determine the size of the population using the internet. Another limitation is that most research conducted on Facebook focused on university students as a sample population (Ellison, Steinfield and Lampe, 2007), although this is perhaps not surprising as Facebook was begun as a social networking website exclusively for university students (see methodology chapter five for further discussion).

4.4 Far-right discourse on CMC

Political parties in general have started to use the internet as a forum to communicate their messages, for example by circulating advertisement posters (Burgess, 2011). The internet was particularly influential among people under the age of 35 for gaining information about the 2010 General Election (Mortimore, Cleary and Mludzinski, 2011), and generally has opened more ways for political parties and activists to disseminate content, and provide a wider platform to influence peoples' views about political issues (Tileagă 2013). The internet allowed for political campaigns to grow at all levels through official webpages, and social media such as Facebook and Twitter, to reach audiences who may not necessarily watch political TV programmes or read newspapers- whilst an added advantage is that it is a cheap form of communicating (Trent and Friedenber, 2007). For

¹⁰ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/01/27/laura-kuenssbergs-stern-questioning-donald-trump-angers-presidents/>

all these reasons the internet has enabled newer and less popular political parties or political groupings to advertise and compete with more established parties (Chadwick, 2006).

Before the internet, resources used by far-right parties to disseminate their messages to audiences was limited, although the BNP campaigned heavily through ‘traditional’ media such as the distribution of leaflets and canvassing throughout local areas (Rhodes, 2009; Richardson, 2008). The internet has become a significant medium of communication for far-right parties to be able to set up websites and communicate to a wider audience and gain more supporters (Atton, 2006; Fekete, 2012; Gerstensfeld *et al.*, 2003), particularly among extremist groups, due to its advantage of being easier to avoid regulation and law enforcements (Tateo, 2005).

Far-right parties such as the BNP have recently recognised the advantage of using the internet to gain further support, illustrated for instance by the BNP’s official website which contains links to its Facebook Page, Twitter account and BNPTV channel (Copsey, 2007). The BNPTV channel is also accessible on YouTube.¹¹ Additionally, the BNP has an online shop, with videos taken from (offline) broadcast media available to download, and a mailing list for people to sign up to (Atton, 2006). There is a lack of analytical research on right-wing internet media, with the exception of Atton (2006), who analysed the BNP’s official website, noting that it did not provide opportunities for discussion and sharing of ideas between individuals. Despite prior research investigating how far-right parties challenge accusations of racism, this research has been parliamentary or media data (e.g. Goodman and Johnson, 2013; Rhodes, 2009).

4.5 CMC and Extremist Discourse

Extremist organisations are defined as those that reject multiculturalism and position ethnic minorities as inferior to white superiority, indeed supremacy (Roderick, 2016), advocating extreme actions, such as the extermination of groups of people (Finlay, 2007). CMC is an appealing medium for communication for extremist organisations, due to the less regulated nature of the internet (Gerstenfeld *et al.*, 2003), although on websites such as

¹¹ <https://www.youtube.com/user/bnptv>

Facebook, organisations are required to adhere to certain terms and conditions (Ben-David and Matamoros Fernández, 2016).

Members of extremist groups can offer each other social support (Kaplan and Weinberg, 1998) and share information in a way that is unregulated by the government and rules that apply to more conventional news media (Dobratz and Shanks Meile, 1997). Researchers such as Gerstenfeld *et al.* (2003) and Schafer (2002) argued that for extremist organisations, the internet is an easier (e.g. more accessible) way to debate and disseminate to audiences and recruit new supporters, due to peoples' anonymity not being compromised. Prior to the introduction of CMC and social media, extremist organisations had limited resources to disseminate their messages. De Koster and Houtman (2008) interviewed members from the extreme right-wing website Stormfront¹², and found that individuals who were stigmatized offline for being right-wing found the website to be a source of support, and expressed the website as more of a community in comparison to those who did not experience stigmatisation.

Gerstenfeld *et al.* (2003) identified that extremist websites can contain several multimedia elements, and the internet can be used to reach and influence widespread. This supports early work by McDonald (1999) who found that white supremacist websites used techniques of foot-in-the-door persuasion (e.g. disclaimers, outlining of objectives) to recruit new supporters. Kaplan and Weinberg (1998) claimed that groups can use the internet to make themselves appear more socially and politically acceptable. Gerstenfeld *et al.* (2003) also found several extremist websites that contained claims not to be racist or hate groups, in keeping with research conducted on offline media identifying how the BNP used strategies to claim not to be a racist party (Goodman and Johnson, 2013). Gerstenfeld *et al.* also found that some extremist groups proclaimed the Freedom of Expression law in support of their right to say whatever they wanted. Wetherell and Potter (1992) similarly found that individual rights and equality arguments are strategies not only used in anti-racist discourse, but also in racist discourse itself.

¹² <http://www.stormfront.org/forum/f22/>

4.6. Rational and Research Aims

An area of research that has received little attention is how the far-right use social media as a multi-media platform to communicate. This research aims to address far-right discourse on the multiple forms of communication available on Facebook, and how these features contribute to portraying anti-Islamic rhetoric. This includes text, images, videos, and other Facebook features such as emoticons. Specifically, there is a lack of research addressing visual communication of the far-right, with much of the research focusing on the BNP only (Engström, 2014; Richardson, 2011; Richardson and Wodak, 2009a; 2009b), and on printed materials rather than online.

What this research also analyses that the prior research did not address, is how the far-right communicate following a specific terrorist attack. In the wake of a terrorist attack, the dilemma that the far-right have is even more crucial - there is the opportunity to attract more supporters (e.g. people who are seeking reassurance after a terrorist attack), yet there is still the need to maintain rationality. I am also interested in how individuals respond to the far-right and whether they manage the same dilemma of appearing rational in anti-Islamic rhetoric. Thus, this thesis will make an original contribution by using critical discursive psychology to analyse fascist discourse on social media in the aftermath of a terrorist attack.

The aims of the current research are to use critical discursive psychology to analyse (with the analytical chapters that each aim addresses in brackets):

- 1) The discursive devices used by the far-right to represent their views on Facebook about Islam in an attempt to broaden appeal and support, and compete with mainstream parties (chapters six, eight and nine).
- 2) The discursive devices used by the far-right to portray the condemnation of Islam as 'reasonable' and rational on Facebook during the aftermath of the Charlie Hebdo attack (chapters six and eight).
- 3) The response by Facebook users to far-right Facebook posts, and the discursive strategies used by Facebook users when both rebutting and supporting the far-right (chapters seven and nine).

In this chapter I have covered computer-mediated communication, and showed that much of research on Facebook has been quantitative and addressed personality characteristics of those who espouse far-right views and opinions, rather than the discourse and reasoning through which they express those views. I have discussed research that has examined far-right and extremist discourse on CMC, particularly on social media. Finally, I have outlined the aims of my research, the particular research questions around which my research has focused.

5. Methodology and Data Collection

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I described the aims of my research, which was to critically analyse the discourse of far-right and far-right supporters on Facebook pages, with a focus on how the far-right maintain rationality in anti-Islamic rhetoric. To do this, I used the theoretical framework of critical discursive psychology (Wetherell and Edley, 1999) to analyse Facebook posts by far-right groups, and discussions by Facebook users in response to far-right posts. This chapter will describe my methods for data collection and my methodological framework, as well as explaining how my research came to focus specifically on the event of the Charlie Hebdo attack.

I start by outlining the epistemological position of my analytical approach, critical discursive psychology (henceforth CDP). I then explain how this approach can be applied to a multi-modal setting such as Facebook (focusing specifically on visual communication), and the benefits the approach has for my research specifically which includes considering how findings reflect wider historical and social patterns. There are three strategies at the centre of CDP that I will outline; 1) Subject positions; 2) Ideological dilemmas; 3) Interpretative repertoires. Section 5.2 explains the nature of computer-mediated communication and the advantages of using a naturalistic platform for data collection. Section 5.2.1 provides background information about the social networking website Facebook, and specifically Facebook pages. In section 5.3, I describe the process of data collection from the Facebook pages of three far-right groups; 1) the English defence league, 2) the British national party, and 3) Britain First. I include a summary of the Facebook pages from which data were collected, information about when the pages were started on Facebook, and how many 'likes' each page has. I will then outline the extracts that were chosen for final analysis. Finally, in section 5.4, I discuss the ethical considerations and issues that arose during data collection.

5.2 Analytical Approach

5.2.1 Ontological Position of Critical Discursive Psychology

Researchers from a critical discursive psychological perspective (e.g. Parker, 2002) argued that approaches such as Foucauldian discourse analysis that attempted to engage with issues of power and political discourse, overlooked how individuals actively construct their own identities. Critical discursive psychology is an approach that suits my research aims because analysis identities is an aspect that I am interested in, for example how people construct their own identities in order to marginalise and ‘other’ groups. CDP uses the same social constructionist ontological position that discursive psychology (DP) holds, i.e. that we socially construct our own realities. However, DP in contrast to CDP, adopts a relativist stance in that the notion of facts are treated as culture specific categories used within a social setting and do not say anything about psychological reality (Edwards, 1997). As discussed in more depth later in this chapter, CDP aims to understand and analyse discursive practises, and apply them to wider social and cultural contexts.

5. 2.2 Critical Discursive Psychology

Similarly to DP, CDP has the premise that internal states are situated in social activity, so it is beneficial to study discourse in practise. The focus is on the “action orientation” of talk or text (Edwards and Potter, 1992:2), meaning that analysts focus on what actions people are achieving through talk, e.g. making or defending accusations, rather than looking at what this tells us about what people think. This focus on action makes CDP a suitable method for analysing talk surrounding controversial issues, as the focus can be on how individuals justify the harsh treatment of minority groups by placing blame, or constructing opposition to minority groups as a rational action (Augoustinos and Every, 2007).

Other qualitative methods in Psychology such as phenomenological approaches attempt to predict consistent interpretation and meaning in participants’ accounts. CDP in contrast, embraces the inconsistency and variation that takes place in discourse to examine the different fragments of meanings in an account. This is useful for accounting for the subtlety that takes place in contemporary race discourse. The variation that takes place in discourse is what Billig *et al.* (1988) refer to as the ‘dilemmatic’ nature of talk.

CDP differs from DP, as it argues that discourse reflects not only the context, but broader patterns of collective understanding (i.e. the possibility that findings can reflect global contexts), for example, local expressions of racist discourse may reflect broader patterns of racism in society, in that participants and speakers may draw upon terms that have history behind those terms (Wetherell, 2003). This is what Wetherell (1998:405) referred to as “the social and political consequences of discursive patterning”. CDP embraces contexts where identities and positions are carried forward from other conversations, meaning that analysts considering the detail of the discourse without overlooking the broad context (Wetherell and Edley, 1999, see also KhosraviNik, forthcoming). Considering the historical and wider context is useful not only for research on the far-right generally, but particularly in this research the key is to examine how the far-right manage their identity and position at a controversial time such as the Charlie Hebdo attack. Historically, far-right parties such as the National Front simultaneously promoted anti-Semitic ideologies. What will be shown in the analytical chapters is a far-right party aligning with the same community that historically the far-right opposed. Therefore, this places the findings of my research in a novel context. It allows me to show new ways that identities are formed, and how aligning with Jews allows the far-right to oppose the lesser ‘other’ of Islam.

In CDP, the critical element of the approach means that we can also analyse discourse in wider contexts such as historical or political, and consider how history and culture affects discourse as well as the practical implications of the research findings (see Unger, Wodak and KhosraviNik, 2016). CDP focuses on the formation of identities and interaction, and the interactional work that is performed through discursive accounts (Wetherell, 1998). CDP argues that individuals are active in constructing their own identities against larger social contexts. However, there can be tensions between the construction of identities, and identities being challenged by others if they are seen as negative (Taylor 2005; 2006).

Unlike more conversational approaches to DP, where the focus is on more institutional everyday settings such as police interviews (e.g. Stokoe and Edwards, 2007) and interaction in healthcare settings (e.g. Antaki, 2013), CDP focuses on how discourse takes place within wider social and political settings (e.g. Tileagă, 2011). While Conversation Analysis focuses on the immediate interactional features and linguistic strategies such as gaining applause from audience (Atkinson, 1984), CDP adopts the Foucauldian outlook of considering the wider context of discourse, and the form of argumentation (Billig, 1991). Scholars such as Schegloff (1997: 183) argued that close examination of language results

in more complex understandings, while attempting to globalise findings and arguments ignores the details of a single episode and rejects ‘binding’ more closely to the data itself. In response to this, Billig (1999) criticised the common practise in Conversation Analysis of naming and identifying participants, yet not including the consideration of any other background or context. Considering this, I aim to anonymise participants and focus on how participants construct themselves and their own context, rather than concentrate on whether it is their ‘real’ identity.

CDP fulfils my aim of examining how the far-right justified and constructed opposition to Muslims in the wake of the Charlie Hebdo attack. CDP attempts to capture the paradoxical relationship between discourse and the individual (Edley, 2001). Applications of CDP extend to not just speech and writing, but non-verbal communication and images (Parker, 2002), which is why this approach is beneficial for a multi-modal setting such as Facebook pages that contains visual communication such as images and videos. Whilst previous research has addressed how the English Defence League use Facebook (Allen, 2011), this has been quantitative in nature, e.g. using surveys (Bartlett and Littler, 2013); there is a lack of research addressing how other far-right parties use Facebook to disseminate their ideologies to a wider audience. It is important to address this, as far-right parties are using social networking more to communicate ideologies, and share other aspects of media such as images and videos.

Other approaches such as Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g. van Dijk, 1992; 1993a), argue that discourse has underlying cognitions in terms of mental representations of knowledge, as opposed to CDP which focuses on cultural representations. Another focus of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the construction of power and inequalities in discourse (Fairclough, 2010; van Dijk, 2001), while the aim of this research is to focus on how inequalities are justified rather than created. Another aspect of CDA is that the starting point is the moral stance of the researcher (i.e. ‘the problem’), rather than letting problems arise out of the data. While my research addresses a ‘problem’ in the form of how groups are marginalised in the aftermath of the Charlie Hebdo attack, it was the turn in events during data collection that led the analytical direction of research, i.e. my approach is ‘data driven’. Additionally, critiques of CDA such as Finlayson (2004) noted that in CDA there is a lack of context when analysing arguments, which as I have highlighted, is significant for my research.

Some researchers argue that rather than being a method as such, DP forms what Tileagă (2013: 136) described as an “epistemological turn”, where the focus is on treating language as a social practise, rather than having a presumption about what discourse ‘really means’. Billig (1998: 43) also argued that discursive analysis “is more than following procedures for collecting and categorising discursive data; it involves a theoretical way of understanding the nature of discourse and the nature of psychological phenomena”. This means that in order to conduct research, the analyst must not have presumptions about underlying attitudes behind discourse, but instead adopt the theoretical assumptions of their analytical approach and work with those assumptions. Wetherell and Edley (1999:337) provided a framework of questions of which they asked of their data, when they used CDP to analyse masculinity:

“How are the norms [of hegemonic masculinity] conveyed, through what routes, and in what ways are they enacted by men in their daily lives? What are the norms? Are they the same in every social situation? ... How is hegemony conveyed interactionally and practically in mundane life? How do men conform to an ideal and turn themselves into complicit or resistant types, without anyone ever managing to exactly embody that ideal?”

CDP focuses on “the highly occasioned and situated nature of subject positions and the importance of accountability rather than "discourse" per se in fuelling the take up of positions in talk” (Wetherell, 1998:394). This involves how identities are formed in interaction and accomplished by speakers. Additionally, the process of analysing discourse in contexts other than the context being examined (as discussed above), considering identities and positions that may have been carried over from other conversations (Wetherell and Edley, 1998).

Analysis involved reading data repeatedly in order to gain a sense of familiarity about the overall content. Billig (1998: 47) described “intuitive hunches” as the first stage of analysis, which Billig argued arises out of theoretical understanding of the premises of the approach. I then organised these “intuitive hunches” around potential themes and instances. I indexed material in terms of topics, and focused on how similar topics were discussed and posted by different pages. The discourse surrounding the Charlie Hebdo shooting and how the far-right communicated about this event was a prominent topic, so I focused on data that occurred around the time of the events surrounding the Charlie Hebdo attack. This material and potential extracts were indexed in terms of actions (e.g. aligning with the Jewish community, distinguishing between opposing Islam as an ideology and

Muslims as people); this is what Potter and Wetherell (1987: 168) termed “organizational features”. Features and patterns of interest were then noted, and narratives were constructed surrounding these interesting features and chosen extracts. This stage of writing more refined existences of discourse involved revisiting the data, and examining more closely the similarities and contradictions across the data corpus.

Three elements that are at the centre of analysis in CDP and were the ‘analytic tools’ for this research are; 1) Subject Positions; 2) Ideological Dilemmas; 3) Interpretative Repertoires (additional strategies will be discussed in individual analytical chapters). Subject Positions refer to how people are drawn into identities, and categories that are made salient (Edley, 2001). In CDP, this relates back to the importance of the relationship between the discourse and the individual (Wetherell, 1998). CDP can be used to examine how identity is mobilized through discourse (Antaki, Condor and Levine 1996), and the discursive resources used to construct and negotiate multiple identities (Potter, 2012). Subject positions are especially key for my research as construction of identities and categories is a key strategy in ‘othering’ groups.

Ideological Dilemmas explain how contradicting ideas are managed within the same account (Billig *et al.*, 1988). Not only are Ideological Dilemmas studied in terms of how they are used rhetorically for a particular purpose, but in terms of their wider cultural implications (Edley, 2001). These dilemmas are particularly significant in contentious discourse such as political discourse, where people may be working to manage their own position. Ideological Dilemmas are key to my analysis for examining how the far-right manage appearing reasonable whilst maintaining the portrayal of their Islamophobic views.

Interpretative Repertoires are an index of ideas or terms used to construct concepts (Edwards and Potter, 1992). Interpretative Repertoires are defined as “a lexicon or register of terms and metaphors drawn upon to characterize and evaluate action and events” (Potter and Wetherell, 1987:138) and “the building blocks of conversation” (Edley, 2001: 198), because they provide coherent ways of talking, and a base for shared cultural understanding in a community. Interpretative repertoires can be shared amongst individuals in groups in order to achieve social actions (Goodman, 2008b), and emphasise the role of humans in the development of language. As well as how Interpretative Repertoires are deployed locally, in CDP the focus is on wider social implications of

Interpretative Repertoires and the functions they serve in constructing identities (Edley, 2001). Thus, I examined how the same interpretative repertoires were drawn upon by both far-right groups and Facebook users, and whether similar devices were utilised by former far-right parties in the UK.

5. 2. 3 Visual Communication

In addition to text and spoken discourse, this research also encompassed analysing visual communication i.e. images and videos. There are additional visual communicative forms relevant to Facebook that cannot be overlooked: tagging' someone in a post or comment which means that users are notified if their name has been 'tagged' in a photo or post; a tag means that the photo or post will feature on their profile (explained in more detail in chapter seven), 'liking' a post, and the use of emoticons. Arguments against investigating visual media include the ambiguous nature of images and that they can have multiple meanings, so interpretation will not be stable or related to any spoken accounts (Reavey and Johnson, 2008). However, the use of images and analysing visual rhetoric has increased in social sciences (Reavey, 2011; Richardson and Columbo, 2014), and researchers recognise that language is not an isolated phenomenon (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001). Goffman's (1979a) early work on gender advertisements discussed the various functions that images can carry, from providing information for medical books, to complementing a human-interest story. Goffman explored how men and women were displayed in advertisements, for example through where they were positioned, and aspects such as elevation to symbolise status.

Language should be considered within the context of which it is embedded, with other resources such as images (O' Halloran, 2004). Much of the criticism of visual analysis is directed towards participants generating and interpreting their own images, rather than images that are pre-existing to research for other purposes, for example political discourse (Buckingham, 2009). Images are important for identities and representing how we construct ourselves and others (Blair, 2004; Richardson and Wodak, 2009a). Examining visuals in political discourse is of importance, as political campaigns rarely contain text alone (McGlashan, 2013). Researchers such as Richardson and Wodak (2009a) argued that images can argue and defend standpoints, and when linguistic content is analysed in combination with images, visual standpoints can be appreciated.

As well as examining the function of language and images as separate elements, researchers argue for the function and meaning of both textual and pictorial representations as semiotic resources to provide an integrated approach to analysis (O' Halloran, 2004). Researchers argued that there is scope for visual analysis in research on identity construction and their representation to critically examine identities (Howarth, 2011). As Goodwin (2000: 158) argued:

“it quickly becomes apparent that visual phenomena can only be investigated by taking into account a diverse set of semiotic resources and meaning-making practices that participants deploy to build the social worlds that they inhabit and constitute through ongoing processes of action”.

While approaches such as Conversation Analysis consider visual semiotics such as gaze, hand gestures and their contribution to the sequence of talk in interaction, as well as the visual interaction between actors (e.g. Goodwin 1995; Mondada, 2014), this is more appropriate for analysing the visual aspects of social actions such as requesting. I am interested in how the visuals are chosen and portrayed by the far-right and users on Facebook, and what purpose they serve, rather than visual semiotics as such. Discursive analysis of images focuses on how images produce social practises e.g. an ‘us and them’ binary construction, and how images can construct accounts of the social world (Rose, 2012). For example, how Britain First chose to film individuals that are recognisable as belonging to the Hasidic Jewish sect based on their religious clothing, in order to provide evidence that they support Jewish communities.

To date, the application of CDP specifically to visual discourse is lacking. I apply the *principles* of CDP to visual discourse, which involves considering whether a stereotype or prejudice is disseminated. Discursive features such as subject positions can be examined, for example who is in the image (if a person is portrayed), where they are positioned in the image, and what actions they are performing. Analysis can also focus on whether individuals in images are constructed into identities and whether this in turn draws the audience into a subject position i.e. can the audience relate to what is happening in the image, or whether the image addresses the audience in a particular manner. The aim is to focus on processes and communicative strategies, and what is accomplished using different components of images and the messages in the images. As well as examining language and images separately, I focus on how both language and images work together as semiotic resources, in order to provide an integrated analysis (see O' Halloran, 2004), for example how spoken discourse and visuals jointly create meaning.

5.3 Data Collection

The internet is a key source of data collection for discursive methods, due to the extent to which social issues are articulated online (Mautner, 2005). The internet means that the far-right's means of effectively communicating has extended, and media such as political debates and other forms of communication can easily be retrieved on the internet by members of the public (Condor, Tileagă, And Billig, 2013). The internet is cheap and easily accessible, and can reach international audiences (Ferber, 1998). Traditionally, DP has argued that talk-in-interaction is the default mode of communication (Edwards and Potter, 2005), because during conversation people build meaning together in sequences of naturally occurring talk. However, approaches such as Herring's (2007) computer-mediated discourse analysis have applied the principles of DP to examine the interaction in emails and internet posts, and as such it can be argued that DP can be used to analyse the interactions that take place on social networking websites.

This project employed a naturalistic data collection method, in so far as the data existed prior to research and is therefore not "researcher provoked" (Augoustinos, Tuffin, and Every, 2005:321; see also Potter, 1997). This is of importance to my research, as I am interested in how the far-right communicate in a less contrived environment, as well as how users on Facebook respond to less contrived far-right discourse. The other benefits of using naturalistic data are that it avoids the researcher's influence, and captures interaction as it happens, which allows for the analysis of the complexity of naturalistic situations (Wiggins and Potter, 2008). The internet can provide a source of naturally occurring data on a large scale (Lamerichs and te Molder, 2003). Online discussions are also beneficial to gain access to everyday conversations that are easier to obtain than for example, telephone conversations (Potter, 2012), as there is access to the social settings such as forums already set up to discuss political issues, rather than setting up more contrived situations for people to talk about these issues verbally (e.g. face-to-face, focus groups).

Social networking websites allow multiple modes of communication such as verbal and visual to be synthesised. Websites such as Facebook have a wide scope for people to communicate visually, as there is the opportunity to post images and videos both to profiles and community pages (Reavey, 2011). More recently, social media has been a platform for people to access news and institutional communication instantly and provide commentary (KhosraviNik, forthcoming). This gives my research the additional benefit of

considering not only the content of the visual communication itself, but how that is being responded to by other users on Facebook. As stated by Seargeant and Tagg (2013: 4):

“Participation and interaction, with the result that the content of what is developed and shared on the internet is as much a product of participation as it is of traditional creative and publishing/broadcasting processes”.

The benefits of using CMC for data collection are firstly, that CMC evens out status differences that can occur in face-to-face interaction (Postmes, *et al.*, 1998). Secondly, part of the data consists of discourse from “ordinary, everyday” people (Lynn and Lea 2003:429) who write comments in response to posts, in addition to the posts left by the administrators of the official Facebook pages. “Ordinary people” in this instance means people who are not politicians and do not have any social or political power. This is of significance for my research, as part of the objective is to explore the responses to far-right discourse, for example how people on Facebook construct or defend accusations that far-right organisations are racist or Islamophobic. Users online are less likely to be guarded of accusations of racism or Islamophobia as they are under less public scrutiny and do not have to manage their position the same way a public figure or politician needs to (Edwards and Potter, 1992; Goodman, 2007). Traditionally, critical social psychological research focusing on discourse about controversial topics examined parliamentary or television debates (e.g. Augoustinos and Every, 2007), where public and political figures were more likely to be guarded with their language. It was anticipated that the posts left by the far-right would be more cautious as they have to manage their position more carefully, so studying both politicians’ and members of the public’s discourse means that there is the added benefit of a mixture of both guarded and extreme discourse.

Coffey (2004) suggested that anonymity affects level and tone of discourse when sensitive issues are being discussed online, as anonymity can promote deeper conversation and could lead to people making harsher criticisms. Researchers argued that CMC can lead to more extreme language in comparison to face-to-face settings, leading to the phenomenon of ‘flaming’ (e.g. Bomberger, 2004) where people exchange arguments and insults. Despite this, Postmes *et al.* (1998) argued that the lack of visual cues in an online environment leads to a greater social awareness, and researchers such as Kushin and Kitchener (2009) have found that people can engage in polite discussions about issues such as politics in CMC. Kushin and Kitchener suggest that this may be because social

networking sites such as Facebook reduce anonymity as names and photographs are shown.

Burke and Goodman (2012) found extreme race talk related to Nazis being used in Facebook discussions by supporters of asylum to challenge opposition as racist, and opponents expressed support for Hitler in their opposition to asylum. However, Burke and Goodman also found speakers orienting to the norm against prejudice by presenting the notion of being discriminated against and labelled a Nazi for opposing asylum seekers. This suggests that more extreme use of language takes place when asylum is debated online, and opposing asylum appears to be less problematic online. This implies that the internet helps to facilitate taboos on explicit language. The internet has allowed extreme language such as Holocaust denial to take place (Webb, 2015), which will be examined further in chapter nine, section 9.6. In contrast with the norm against prejudice, Miller (1993) suggested that people whose views are in the majority are more likely to be forthright in expressing their views. However, Fozdar and Pederson (2013) challenged this notion, and found online blogs about asylum that contained racist views being directly and openly challenged by supporters of asylum. Specifically, for critical research, internet discourse allows for the examination of how meanings and social phenomena are constructed in a virtual space, along with how discourses are produced, reproduced, and defended (Stainton-Rogers, 2009).

Facebook was founded in 2004 by Mark Zuckerberg, and was initially a social networking website exclusively for students from Harvard University. Eventually, Facebook became available for anyone who attended a university to join (Facebook, 2013a). In 2006, Facebook became accessible to anyone over the age of 13 who had an email address, to sign up for free (Facebook, 2013b). As of June 2015, Facebook has 1.49 billion monthly active users, and 968 million users who log in daily (Facebook, 2015a). I chose to collect data from Facebook as this has become a significant platform to discuss political issues in a social media setting, and provides a large enough corpus of data for the research. Facebook was used prominently in the 2010 general election for providing links to the political parties, and a link to the official website that enabled people to register to vote (Charles, 2014; Watson, 2011).

Facebook users can create their own profile, with a profile photo (this is a passport size photo which appears in the top left corner of their individual profile), and a cover photo (a

banner type photo along the top of their profile. Users can share photos, his or her personal details and interests, and write statuses. A status is written in a box at the top of a user's homepage that says, 'what's on your mind?' Upon writing in the box, this text disappears to enable a user to share their 'status update'. Users are also able to link to other users' profiles by creating a network of 'friends', and can communicate to their 'friends' through comments, private messages, and pressing the 'like' button; a 'like' button is a way of expressing interest or support, similar to saying "yeah" or nodding in agreement to a statement. (Zhao, Grasmuck, and Martin, 2008). Another feature on Facebook is the option to 'share' posts, which mean reposting a post onto one's own timeline, or someone else's.

5. 3. 1 Facebook Pages

As well as individual profiles, it is now possible for organisations to set up a page on Facebook in order to communicate with and answer queries from customers or service users, and Facebook users can show their support for the organisation by 'liking' the page (Anderson, *et al.*, 2012). Facebook pages can also be used by professionals and organizations to advertise and share information to members (Christiane Meier, 2014). Facebook pages are a significant and advantageous form of communication for far-right parties and movements as it is free both to set up and use. Recently the far-right have started to use digital and social media (Engström, 2014). The EDL has a prominence on Facebook (Garland and Treadwell, 2010), as they use it as a platform to promote their demonstrations, with various links to local division Facebook pages (see chapter two for more information about EDL demonstrations). There are various EDL Facebook support pages for local areas, meaning that showing support for the EDL is easy and accessible (Allen, 2011). I chose to collect data from the main EDL Facebook page, as this is the Facebook page that is advertised on the EDL's website with a link provided.

On pages, users can share updates, stories, links to other websites, and images (Facebook, 2013c). Users who are interested in the content or wish to show appreciation for the page can choose to press the 'like' button, and the 'like' will feature on their personal Facebook profile. They will then receive updates from the page on their Facebook homepage newsfeed. As Facebook pages are public, anyone with a Facebook account can comment, like or share any of the content without pressing 'like', thus, choosing to 'like' a page is making a statement about affiliating to that particular organisation.

The layout of a Facebook page (see Figure 1.) is similar to a Facebook profile; the cover photo is at the top and the profile photo in to the bottom left of the cover photo, both of which can be clicked on to be viewed in full size. When opening Facebook pages, the Timeline is visible, which displays the posts in descending chronological order. If an organisation has chosen to 'pin' a post, this post will permanently be at the top of the timeline. There is an 'about' Section, containing information such as when the page was set up, a short biography of the organisation, contact details, and links to other websites (often the organisation's official website). There is a tab to access photos, as well as other features such as future events taking place (this is on a drop-down menu that can be seen upon pressing 'More').



Figure 1-Britain First's Facebook Page

Posted on Britain First's official Facebook Page at <https://www.facebook.com/OfficialBritainFirst/> on 7th September 2015

Communication on Facebook pages is asynchronous, which means that users do not need to be online at the same time in order to communicate, and therefore there can be a delay in responses to previous messages (Burke and Goodman, 2012; Chadwick, 2006).

Facebook users can also press the 'like' button to other users' comments, and the author of the comment will be notified if the 'like' button has been pressed in response to one of their comments. Facebook pages also contain images that have been added by individuals, as well as by the administrators of that page.

When users leave posts or photos on Facebook pages, the post shows the profile photo and name of the individual who has written the post. Both the photo and name carry a hyperlink to the individual's profile page, so that other Facebook users can access the public information on their profile page from comments they have left, and therefore users can be more accountable for their comments depending on the privacy settings of their own Facebook profile. While most websites such as news websites have the option to remove offensive comments, e.g. comments of a racist nature (Hughey and Daniels, 2013), Facebook comments and offensive materials are removed if they are reported by Facebook users through the report button, (a report button is on all Facebook posts, photos and videos), or deleted by the page administrators. This means that the level of the acceptability of posts is determined by individual users on Facebook (Ben-David and Matamoros Fernández, 2016), and content can be reported with minimal investment of time or effort (Oboler, 2013). Users can be banned from pages by Facebook administrators, which means they can no longer access or communicate on the page, which is the same as to 'block' someone (Facebook, 2015b). A recent report by Oboler (2013) showed that much of the content reported to Facebook, including posts containing anti-Semitic material, was not deemed to be a violation of Facebook's terms and policies regarding hate speech and therefore not removed from Facebook.

5. 4 Procedure for data collection

5.4.1 Far-right Pages

Data was collected from three official far-right Facebook pages; the far-right movement English Defence League¹³ (EDL), and the far-right political parties the British National Party¹⁴ (BNP), Britain First¹⁵ (See chapter two for an overview of each organisation). The pages were selected on the basis that they were the official Facebook pages of the three most prominent far-right organisations in the UK at the time of data collection. The pages were sourced from the link provided on each organisation's official website in order to ensure that I was sourcing from the official Facebook page. If one was to type the organisation into the Facebook search engine, more than one page would appear, some of

¹³ <https://www.facebook.com/pages/EDL-English-Defence-League/238696516197018>

¹⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/OfficialBritishNationalParty>

¹⁵ <https://www.facebook.com/britainfirstgb?fref=ts>

which would be ‘unofficial’ and not created by or linked to the official organisation. The EDL in particular has various Facebook pages for each of its local divisions, but has one main Facebook Page.

The pages contained regular updates commenting on what was happening in the news and significant events, for example the child sexual exploitation scandal in Rotherham reported in August 2014¹⁶, and the Charlie Hebdo attack in Paris in January 2015. The EDL use their Facebook page frequently to promote upcoming demonstrations, and often change their cover photo to advertise the upcoming demonstration. While Facebook has been described as “semi-public” (KhosravaNik, forthcoming; Sveningsson Elm, 2009) in the sense that membership is required to sign up, however, content can be public or private according to individual privacy settings. It was decided to access content that was public only. As the three official pages can be accessed from the parties’ official websites, this means that their Facebook page contents are visible to an internet user who does not have a Facebook account. Below is information about how long each Page has been on Facebook, how many posts, images and videos were collected from each page, and how many ‘likes’ each Page had by the time data collection had ceased, to give a sense of how popular and how much activity each page has:

Name of page	Year the page joined Facebook	Number of likes	Number of Posts	Number of images	Number of videos
English Defence League	2011	183, 091	143	127	5
British National Party	2009	188, 752	18	86	2
Britain First	2013	673, 974	12	96	3

Table 1-Date and no of 'likes' as of March 2015

¹⁶ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-south-yorkshire-28934963>

5.4.2 Capturing Data

For the purpose of data collection, a Facebook profile was created to search for and collect from far-right pages. The profile contained an anonymised name, and had no personal information about myself or pictures. Pages were liked and covertly observed, I did not engage in any participation or discussion with any other Facebook members (see Ethical Considerations in section 5.5). Covert observation is beneficial as researchers such as Bartlett and Littler (2013:3) argue that:

“only through the lens of activism can academics and policymakers arrive at a more concrete understanding of far right movements such as the EDL, which have formerly been described as both ‘complex’ and ‘amorphous’”.

Firstly, the Facebook posts and images were captured using the computer software Awesome Screenshot™, which was downloaded from Google Chrome. This software allowed me to capture Facebook screenshots as they appeared on the page, save them as PDF files, label them, and annotate them to assist with analysis. Aspects of the page can also be covered up, for example names and photos in order to make authors anonymous. Videos were recorded using ‘liteCam’™, a similar screen capture programme that captures and records videos online. Lyrics and speech in videos were transcribed verbatim, and then in more detail using Jeffersonian transcription conventions (2004; see appendix B for a list of transcription symbols used). Data were collected between March 2014 and February 2015. Data were captured daily as frequently as possible throughout the day. Data were stored electronically on a password protected computer, and printed copies were stored in locked files in an office at Loughborough University. As the project focuses on how the far-right responded to the events surrounding the Charlie Hebdo attack, these posts are from January-February 2015 (note that the British National party had a notable reduction in posts following Griffin’s bankruptcy and subsequent departure in July 2014, and thus, are not included in the final analysis).

One of the challenges of using Facebook for data collection is that texts on Facebook pages were frequently disappearing as a result of either being deleted, or members deactivating their Facebook account. It became apparent during data collection that some comments had already been deleted before I could capture them. This was evident from two ways: the administrators of the page leaving posts announcing that a post of a fascist

nature had been deleted or that a user had been removed from the page, or users directly replying to other users who did not appear to be present in the discussion.

5.4.3 Selection of Extracts

The selection of extracts presented has been purposefully selective in order to represent the issues that I am focusing on i.e., the aftermath of the Charlie Hebdo attack (see appendix A for an outline of the full data corpus). The extracts encompass a combination of video footage, Facebook discussions, and Facebook posts. This includes the following, in chronological order:

1. A post by the English Defence League from 16th January titled ‘Islamists are just 21st century fascists’, with an image of Osama bin Laden beside an image of Adolf Hitler.
2. A video posted by Britain First on 17th January 2015, of an interview on Channel 4 news with the Dutch far-right politician Geert Wilders. The video is 3:45 minutes long.
3. Comments to the Britain First video of the Geert Wilders interview, 384 comments in total.
4. A post by the English Defence League from 28th January titled ‘70 years After Its liberation, A Drone Captures the Auschwitz we Should Never Forget’. The post contained a link to a video of a drone capturing the concentration camp.
5. Facebook comments left in response to the Auschwitz post, 59 comments in total.
6. A video posted by Britain First on 31st January 2015, of Britain First on a ‘solidarity patrol’ in Golders Green, London to show support for the Jewish community following the Charlie Hebdo attack. The video is 6:03 minutes long.
7. Facebook comments that were left in response to the solidarity patrol, 436 comments in total.

The aim is not to provide a representative sample of far-right responses to terrorist attacks, but to draw upon a selection that represent the key strategies used by Britain First and the English Defence League. Thus, the order of analytical chapters is not chronological by post, but is organised to give a reflection of each of the key strategies:

- 1) Ideology and concealment in the Britain First solidarity patrol.
- 2) Examining the transition from supportive comments towards Jews to anti-Semitic discourse in Facebook comments to the solidarity patrol.
- 3) Anti-Islamic rhetoric in the interview with Geert Wilders.
- 4) Interaction and conflict in discussions surrounding the idea of ‘reopening’ concentration camps.

Secondly, the aim is to examine how the far-right responded to and maintained opposition to Islam during the events surrounding the Charlie Hebdo attack, rather than to provide an overview of far-right discourse in general. All posts in the analysis are presented as they appeared on Facebook, so spelling and grammatical errors remain. Another reason to present posts uncensored is so that the discourse is conveyed as extreme as it appeared on Facebook. To censor offensive terms would be as Billig (2001:12) described: “modifying this hatefulness”.

5. 5 Ethical Considerations

The research was conducted in coherence with Loughborough University’s Ethical Guidelines and the British Psychological Society’s Ethical Principles for conducting Research with Human Participants (2009) and the Ethics Guidelines for Internet-mediated Research (2013). Ethical approval was granted from Loughborough University’s Ethics Committee after completion of an Ethical Clearance Checklist. The purpose of this checklist is to ensure that research involving human participants complies with the Ethics Committee’s guidelines. After completion of the checklist, the Ethics Committee requested that I confirmed with the IT services of Loughborough University that the research complied with the University’s IT regulations. Following from this, the IT services confirmed that the research complied with all regulations. The Ethics Committee advised to use a fully anonymised email address and Facebook account, which I confirmed that I had done with the Ethics Committee by sending screenshots of my Facebook profile, which was found to be satisfactory. Profile pictures of participants have been anonymised unless the picture is an avatar. Names have been omitted with the pseudonym P (‘participant’) followed by a number, to assist with analysis (e.g. P1).

5.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have described my method and procedure of collecting data from Facebook. I have outlined my analytical approach of critical discursive psychology, and discussed the benefits of why this approach is suitable to analyse both textual and visual data, such as the application of findings to reflect wider social and historical contexts. I have discussed why Facebook is valuable as a naturalistic and rich source of data. I outlined how the data were collected from far-right pages and the challenges that I faced with the 'open-ended' nature of Facebook. This led onto the selection of extracts chosen for the analysis that reflected the current climate of the Charlie Hebdo attack. Finally, I addressed the ethical implications of my research and how I adhered to ethical principles.

6. Ideology and Concealment in the Britain First Solidarity Patrol

6.1 Introduction

The solidarity patrol video was posted on Britain First's Facebook Page on 31st January 2015, 22 days after the ISIS shooting in the Kosher supermarket in Paris, and after media reports of anti-Semitic attacks in the UK. The video was also posted on Britain First's website. Britain First was patrolling in Golders Green, North London, the purpose of which was, ostensibly, to offer support to Jewish communities after the shooting in the Kosher supermarket in Paris. The caption to the video reads: "These patrols are in response to a steep rise in Islamic hostility and attacks directed at the Jewish community in Britain"¹⁷. Britain First are thereby implying that Muslims are responsible for the anti-Semitic attacks that followed the Charlie Hebdo shooting.

In this chapter, I focus on how Britain First on the surface show support for the Jewish community in order to appear as reasonable. Towards the end of the video, it emerges that the solidarity patrol is less about supporting Jews, and more about opposing Islam. This is shown through discourse about political correctness. I also analyse how Britain First visually communicate in the video that they are supporting the Jewish community. Results are discussed in light of how Britain First achieves anti-Islamic rhetoric whilst maintaining support from the mainstream.

In the solidarity patrol, Britain First aims to show that it is supporting British Jews (who Golding and Fransen refer to in the video as "the Jewish community") who are presented as being under threat from Islam (this strategy of presenting Jews as under threat was seen on several far-right posts in addition to the solidarity patrol). Britain First is managing the tension and ideological dilemma (Billig *et al.*, 1988) of showing support for the Jewish community whilst maintaining its far-right position. This was the first patrol of its kind executed by Britain First, prior to this Britain First had been on 'Christian patrols', where they broke into mosques or harassed Muslims in factories and restaurants to protest against

¹⁷ <https://www.britainfirst.org/solidarity-patrol/>.

issues such as selling Halal food (see chapter two, 2.2). This anti-Islamic patrol is being disguised by Britain First as a patrol to show solidarity to the Jewish community and leave the audience to make the link between anti-Semitic attacks and opposing Islam. Britain First is targeting Islam, but only indirectly, in contrast to other far-right movements such as the English Defence League, which holds violent and aggressive anti-Islamic demonstrations (Garland and Treadwell, 2010).

Solidarity is defined by Rorty (1989) as the reference to a 'we' type community in order to protect others. This is in keeping with Billig's (1982: 229-230, see also Richardson, 2011) discussion of 'esoteric' and 'exoteric' messages (also referred to as 'surface' and 'depth' ideology, Billig, 1978). Exoteric messages are those articulated to appeal to the mass audience (i.e. non-supporters), using non-specialist language and often expressing failures of 'the system'. Here this is the more outward messages from Britain First of solidarity towards the Jewish community. Esoteric messages are the underlying ideologies of groups, and thus, new members only are initially exposed to exoteric messages. The same concept was utilised by the Nazi party using euphemisms and metaphors in the discourse that they circulated to the public (Griffin, 2015).

6.2 The Solidarity Patrol

The solidarity patrol took place in Golders Green, an area in North London with a large Jewish population. Britain First filmed its members handing out leaflets, occasionally to people who appear to belong to the Hasidic Jewish community in Golders Green (see figure 4 in this chapter). Jayda Fransen (Britain First's deputy leader), standing in front of the camera, began by expressing "heartbreak" over Jews fleeing from Britain because of an increase in anti-Semitic attacks in Britain (which Fransen linked to the Charlie Hebdo attack). Throughout Fransen's account there were shots of newspaper clippings such as the Daily Mail outlining anti-Semitic attacks committed by Muslims. Paul Golding (the leader of Britain First) then talked about protecting the Jewish community, and claimed that nothing is being done to protect Jews from Islamic extremism due to "political correctness". Again, there are screenshots of news headlines, for example an article from the BBC news with the heading "Jewish fears for safety in wake of Paris attacks".

The opening of the video was set out like a generic, third party news report on a busy street, in order to appear natural and unscripted. Paul Golding began behind the camera filming Fransen, possibly to break the stereotype of Britain First being typical far-right

members; at this point he was acting like an unrelated media member. Jayda Fransen was in front of the camera (and in contrast to Golding, was not made salient as a member by wearing Britain First merchandise). The video is a contrived performance of acting reasonable. Each time there was a two-part construction of telling the audience where they were, and why they were there. Both Fransen and Golding started their accounts by saying “we are here in Golders Green” (lines 5, 38). This is to emphasise the length of time that Britain First spent patrolling in Golders Green, and the sky gets progressively darker as the video goes on. Both Golding and Fransen gave separate accounts from each other, with no reference back to each other’s accounts.

The location as Golders Green is recognisable, as the war memorial is visible behind Fransen and Golding whenever they speak to the camera. Britain First did not explicitly explain the link between Golders Green and the Jewish community, but Britain First need to justify why, as a far-right party, they were in an area with a high Jewish population. Britain First made it salient that they are protecting the Jewish community in Golders Green. This is a strategy of linking places to a religion, using Golders Green as a resource to identify Jewish communities. There was no explicit mention of the ISIS attack on the Kosher supermarket in Paris, with the focus being on protecting the Jewish community after a series of reports of anti-Semitic attacks in the UK.

6.3 Analytical Strategies

In this chapter I focus on three strategies: 1) Identity construction; 2) Us and them; and 3) Footing. Firstly, I examine the identity work surrounding Britain First supporters helping people like ‘us’, and how identities such as ‘us’ and ‘them’ are constructed in this context. This is in line with previous research examining the construction of asylum seekers as ‘just like us’ (Masocha, 2015), which in turns challenges the counter-position that asylum seekers are different to ‘us’ and therefore a threat (Capdevila and Callaghan, 2008).

Another analytical focus is the formation of the ‘us and them’ interpretative repertoire (Lynn and Lea 2003: 437), in which a binary opposition is created of a group being different to ‘us’, usually on cultural grounds and an out-group is constructed as the ‘other’ (Masocha, 2015). This is in line with van Dijk’s (1995) notion of ‘us versus them’, in which ‘they’ are associated with negative attributes and threatening the identity and values of ‘us’. Construction of ‘the other’ can be related to structures of power and reinforce inequality between groups (Dyers and Wankah, 2012). The separation of ‘us and them’

allows the speaker to shift agency and responsibility; for example, the problem of integration in a community can either be attributed to those inside or outside of a community. (Kirkwood, McKinlay and McVittie, 2014).

Finally, I will show how Britain First use ‘footing’ to speak on behalf of Jews. Footing is defined as "the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance" (Goffman, 1979b; 1981:128). This means that in the suitable context, speakers can shift their alignment to speak on behalf of other people.

To start with, Fransen introduces the leaflets and the purpose of the Solidarity patrol:

Extract One, Jayda Fransen

1. we’re out on a Britain First SolidARITY patrol (.) now this is in response to
2. what many of you will have seen has been covered by: a lot of the media recently
3. (.) um and they’re reporting that there is a err significant ri:se in anti-Semitism in
4. the UK which is actually causing the Jewish community to feel that they have to
5. flee Britain (.) ah and ((places hand on chest)) this is absolutely heart-breaking
6. >y know< we don’t want a peaceful community to be run out of of Britain

Fransen begins by constructing an appeal to common knowledge (2) about the shooting at the kosher supermarket, something that people “will have seen”, without explicitly referring to the attack. Fransen refers to “many of you”, suggesting that Britain First has a high number of supporters and people who will be viewing the video. This also excludes Muslims and Jews as audience members, and implies that the video is not intended to be viewed by Muslims or Jews. Fransen attributes the negative report as coming from the media, implying that Fransen has not heard personally about any anti-Semitic attacks, the negative news is not coming from Fransen directly (Drew, 2006). Muslims are constructed as causing a problem: Jews wanting to flee Britain. The seriousness of this matter is emphasised through Fransen’s use of the word “actually” (4). The use of the extreme case formulations (Pomerantz, 1986) “significant rise” and “flee” (3, 5) indicates the magnitude of the problem, that Jews are fearful and being forced out of Britain. This type of imagery

invokes an asylum seeker type identity and constructs Jews as a vulnerable group, fearful of facing persecution from Islamic extremists.

Fransen is footing on behalf of Jews to show acknowledgment for how Jews feel. Fransen shows empathy, using phrases such as “we don’t want” (6), invoking the ‘us and them’ interpretative repertoire (Lynn and Lea, 2003) by collectively stating what Britain First, as a Christian organisation, want for another religious community. This empathy and looking out for the Jewish community allows opposition to Islam to take place, as Fransen is opposing Islam not for herself, but for the good of another community. This is a form of positive self-presentation (van Dijk, 1992) where Fransen presents herself in a positive light against an evil ‘other’. Fransen does not elaborate or discuss Islam at great length, and glosses over events by saying “you know” (6) quickly which distances herself from opposing Islam. Starting off by using neutral language means that Britain First can draw people in before they say contentious statements. Starting with Fransen may have been effective because as a female she is less stereotypical as a far-right member compared to Paul Golding, especially as he is well known for being a far-right politician and former councillor of the British National Party.¹⁸

Fransen continues after being prompted by Golding’s question:

Extract Two, Jayda Fransen

1. PG: Run out of Britain by whom?
2. JF: ↑Run out of Britain by Islamic extremists- now this is a direct err response by
3. the Jewish community um in the wake↑ of the Charlie Hebdo attacks (.) since
4. then um we’ve seen lots of coverage in the media but there’s been a- a real
5. difficult feel amongst the Jewish community that they have expressed that
6. they don’t feel ↓ welcome they don’t feel safe because of Islamic extremists
7. threatening their communities now we’re talking about a peaceful people the
8. Jewish community who haven’t caused any harm we don’t hear of any

¹⁸ <http://www.kentlive.news/bnp-candidate-wins-seat-district-council-time/story-12019965-detail/story.html>

9. ((Fransen gestures quotation marks using her hands)) Jewish extremism yet
10. these people are being forced out of their homes out of the streets and out of
11. this country (.) so we're here this evening just to show our solidarity and our
12. support for the Jewish community

At this point Fransen holds Islamic extremists responsible for Jews wanting to flee Britain, a response that is prompted by Golding's question. Fransen then jumps to her next sentence rapidly. At the mention of Islamic extremists (2), the camera pans out and shoots to a newspaper shot, of a Daily Mail article titled "I'm going to go Jew bashing": what teenage thug texted friend before Muslim thugs beat up Orthodox Jewish man 'in protest against conflict in Palestine'. This image works to avoid Fransen making a face-to-face accusation to the camera about Islamic extremists, and allows the newspaper headline to describe the situation in a more explicit manner. Fransen then provides a general gloss over the consequences of the Charlie Hebdo attack on the Jewish community ("a difficult feel", line 5).

The denial that there are no Jewish extremists is a subtle way to suggest that there are Muslim extremists. The use of the word "welcome" (6) constructs Jews as unhappy in their own country.

Fransen invokes a three-part list (10-11) of how Jews are being persecuted by Islamic extremists. This construction progressively upgrades from local to national persecution to construct how Jewish people are being persecuted: 1) forced out of their homes, 2) forced off the streets and 3) forced out of "this" country. Note how the ownership has been removed after "their homes", and no sense of ownership is attached to "the streets" or "this country". This makes the British citizenship of British Jews seem less significant, and this concealed support for Jews is a strategy used by Britain First to reach out to the mainstream, yet not lose their original followers.

Fransen is again footing on behalf of the Jewish community by reporting what Jews have "expressed" (5). Fransen constructs the solidarity patrol as acting on behalf of a vulnerable minority. Fransen refers to Jews as "they", providing a generic construction of all Jews as feeling the same way. Fransen ends this account by saying that Britain First is here "just"

to show solidarity and support (11), implying that there is no other agenda behind the solidarity patrol other than to protect the Jewish community. This justification for Britain First's recent support towards the Jewish community is necessary given the far-right's historical anti-Semitic outlook.

Golding goes on to question Fransen about the response from Jewish people in Golders Green. Fransen describes the positive response, and draws Christians and Jews together as communities that have been and are currently victims at the hands of Islam:

Extract Three, Jayda Fransen

1. As a Christian organisation we know <very well> the effects that this
2. Islamic extremism can have on both the two religions >I mean< Christians are
3. are no strangers to persecution at the hands of Islamic extremists and so you
4. know we have that common bond ((Fransen gestures with hands)) and we just
5. want them to know that they're not alone and we don't want them fleeing
6. Britain

Fransen here makes a general reference and glosses over historical events. Phrases such as "common bond" (4) are attempts to build a bridge with the Jewish community. Fransen is empathising with the Jewish community by providing a parallel account of persecution towards Christians from Islamic extremism. This provides extra support for the Jewish community and their own experiences of suffering, as well as positioning Islam as incompatible with other religions (see Wood and Finlay, 2008). The subject position of Britain First as a Christian organisation serves the purpose of presenting anti-Islamic arguments, as Britain First can argue that it is preserving its own traditional religious practises, rather than opposing Islam (Kamenova and Pingaud, forthcoming).

The use of "this" (1) when Fransen talks about Islamic extremism has negative connotations, a form of 'othering' a group as not one of 'us' (Jackson, 2013). Again, we see phrases such as "you know", an appeal to common knowledge and presenting the idea of Christians and Jews having a common bond as common knowledge. The use of the word "just" (4) is used again to emphasise that there is no other motive for Britain First being there.

So far, we have seen Fransen show solidarity with Jews and present the solidarity patrol as just about showing support for Jewish communities, while showing separation from the Jewish community in two ways: 1) the expression that Jews want to flee Britain is only seen from the media and not from Jews telling Britain First directly, 2) the removal of ownership from Jews to Britain. When Golding appears in front of the camera later, we start to see the real agenda behind the solidarity patrol. Golding begins by emphasising Islam being the cause of anti-Semitism:

Extract Four, Paul Golding

1. Right we're here in Golders Green in North London the reason we've come to
2. this particular neighbourhood err is a series of media reports that have been in
3. the press recently regarding err a huge rise especially after the Charlie Hebdo
4. attacks in anti-Semitic hostility err towards the Jewish community by Islam by
5. the Islamic extremist movement in this country

While the link to being in Golders Green and supporting the Jewish community is still not explicitly explained at this point, Golding implies that they have chosen “this particular neighbourhood” for a specific reason, which he attributes to the media, referring to a “series” (2) in order to construct the problem as ongoing. This is a similar attribution made by Fransen earlier, as constructing the bad news as coming from the media, rather than from Golding directly. Golding uses an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986) when describing “the huge rise” in anti-Semitism (3), but is hesitant when doing so, saying “err”, in a similar way to when he refers to the Jewish community in the following extract. In lines 4-5 there is a self-repaired upgrade from “Islam” to “Islamic extremist movement”. This is used to juxtapose Islam as an extremist movement with the ‘vulnerable’ Jewish community, and polarise the two religions.

Golding continues with his account as to why the patrol is taking place:

Extract Five, Paul Golding

1. some err (.) many many Jews in the media have said that they're leaving this
2. country err we're talking here about a small minority in this country that's come

3. under sustained attack and for reasons of political correctness the media the
4. politicians the authorities are not taking decisive action we've come here today
5. with our solidarity patrol leaflets and we've given out hundreds of these here in
6. Golders Green err especially to various err (.) Orthodox Jews and err various
7. Jewish groups that are around this area we've given this out because at the end of
8. it it says (.) ((points to leaflet)) >you know< if you're facing hostility from Islamic
9. extremists and the Police do nothing the authorities do nothing err because they
10. turn a blind eye for reasons of political correctness then ring Britain First and we
11. will either pressurise the authorities or we will come dow-down and take action
12. against Islamic extremist we're here primarily because (.) err a minority in this
13. country just like the Sikhs ↑ just like the Hindus are facing hostility from Islamic
14. extremism and quite frankly these people are born here they're British they
15. ↑contribute to our Society and we are not gonna ↑have the authorities turning a
16. blind eye just like they do with our ↓people to sustained attacks sustained
17. hostility to their community putting them under pressure

Here Golding indicates that the reason for the patrol has shifted, from Fransen constructing them as “just” (extract two, line eleven, extract four, line four) being there for solidarity, to Golding constructing it as that is why they are there “primarily” (12). This suggests that there are secondary causes for the patrol, which shows more of a political agenda with the patrol being about opposition to Islam; although in both accounts Fransen and Golding attribute the media as feeding this information. Note that Golding is now addressing the audience directly, referring to “you” suggesting that the message in the solidarity patrol is directed at Britain First supporters rather than Jews.

Golding describes the Jewish community both as a “small minority” (2), and also refers to “many, many Jews” (1) who have been attacked. This contrast allows Golding to emphasise that Jews are an ethnic minority in Britain whilst nonetheless a high number are

reporting leaving Britain. The gloss over numbers enables Golding to justify his patrol without having to provide concrete figures or evidence. Golding refers to Jews saying “in the media” (1) that they wish to leave the UK, suggesting that Golding has not been in direct contact with any Jews who have said this. The latter statement has a self-repair of “some” to “many many” in order to upgrade the exaggeration, and make the risk being posed (i.e. Jews leaving the UK) more serious. The quantity of Jewish people being victimised shifts according to Golding’s account. At line 12 there is hesitation with the use of “err” around mentioning Jews, and an attempt to show awareness of different Jewish divisions, yet being cautious not to be offensive (“Orthodox Jews and err various Jewish groups”, 6-7). This is similar to the delicacy that is used when discussing issues related to race (e.g. Goodman and Burke, 2010; 2011). Golding is attempting to differentiate between Orthodox and other sectors of Judaism, as a way of showing respect and orienting away from the typical anti-Semitic outlook of far-right groups.

Golding constructs a three-part list of why Britain First supports Jews (14-15). 1) They are born here, 2) They are British, 3) They contribute to society. Golding starts this list with “quite frankly” (14), which is used to show that Golding is aware of the problematic nature of the contentious statement that he is about to say. This list represents the totality in chronological order of why Jews are accepted, beginning with being born in Britain and progressing onto contributing to British society. This in turn implicitly indicates that Muslims in contrast, are none of these three things. There is conflict between the construction of Jews as ethnic minorities, yet still being British and valuable to British society. This is how Britain First achieves supporting Jews yet maintain its distance from Jews. Fransen in her account positions Britain First as a Christian organisation, however, Golding’s account here refers to other religious communities who are “born here”, which starts to show that Britain First’s agenda lies with British-born people.

Golding draws upon other religious communities and shows solidarity with minority groups. This is used to orient away from the stereotype that far-right groups support ‘white only’ groups, and that Britain First does have connections with other non-white groups; however, the point is made salient that Britain First’s agenda lies with British, Christian people. There is rhetorical work around who the minority is and who the majority is. Even though it is not explicitly said, it is implied that Britain First and Christians are the majority. The term “these people” (14) allows Golding to be non-descriptive when talking about religious groups (Jackson, 2013). This strategy has been identified by van Dijk

(1984) as a way of avoiding mentioning specific groups. “These people” appears to be a version of the contrastive ‘us’ and ‘them’. Golding is doing moral work by fighting for other groups and not himself, as he is not defending his own people, but other groups. Britain First is using the example of other religions to illustrate the problematic nature of Muslims (Kassemeris and Jackson, 2015), aligning with other ethnic minorities in order to present all groups as being under threat from Islam. This makes Golding less accountable for taking action against Muslims, as he is protecting a greater cause at his own risk, and even at the expense of ‘his own people’ being attacked.

The term “our people” (16) is a three-part construction of an ‘us and them’ interpretative repertoire. Two of these are “us groups”, Christians and Jews, the third group, “them”, is Muslims. Christians are helping out another “us” group. This constructs Christians and Jews as being somewhat together and having common ground. Golding is drawing upon the prejudice that Muslims have towards other religious groups to justify prejudice towards Muslims (see Goodman, 2008b).

6. 4 Political Correctness

Political Correctness is a common idea regarding the concealment of the truth about Islam, mostly by the media (Ekman, 2015).

Golding makes an accusation twice that Jews are being victimised due to “political correctness” (3, 10). At line 45 Golding constructs a three-part list of who is orienting to this political correctness by not appearing prejudice by opposing Islam: 1) the media, 2) politicians 3) authorities, which leaves no one else significant that people (and Jews) can turn to. The list escalates up to more responsible group of people in terms of protecting the public. This works to display Britain First as severing ties with all three, and therefore as neutral and someone to turn to. The Britain First phone number appears on the screen at various points during the video, and on line 10 Golding instructs viewers to ring Britain First, constructing Britain First as a charitable organisation that can help people. This works to draw the viewer into the position of also being in danger from Islamic extremism. Here Golding is orienting to the reason why the authorities are remaining silent over extremist Islam and although Golding keeps his account vague, it is made salient that political correctness is a negative concept; where the authorities are not taking action in order to avoid appearing prejudicial. The use of “turning a blind eye” (10) implies that people are not facing up to the truth about Islamic extremism, and that Britain First is

being censored by people who are in support of Islam. Golding is orienting to the common ‘norm against prejudice’, that it is problematic to oppose Islam due to potential accusations of Islamophobia.

Political correctness is used as a reason for showing support for Muslims. It is constructed as a negative concept and often discussed in a vague manner in order to avoid being undermined (Edwards and Potter, 1992). Political correctness is often constructed by the far-right as a danger, and this allows the speaker to display a distorted version of reality, and construct being victimized as a result of this political correctness without having to state exactly how they are being victimized. Britain First uses political correctness as a tool to justify the anti-Islamic patrols, and uses strategies to avoid discussing its historically violent patrols. When Golding refers to the Britain First leaflet, he starts with saying “it says” (8). Here he is distancing himself from the message in the leaflet, possibly because it is of a threatening nature; he also uses the phrase “you know” (8) to suggest that he is not spelling out what action they will take. Golding emphasises the message through pointing to the leaflet.

The term “take action” (11) implies an ambiguous threat and potentially causing harm to Golding’s perception of people who are Islamic extremists, at this point his presentation as reasonable and making sacrifices for a greater good waiver. Golding is constructing a positive self-presentation whilst talking about minority groups (van Dijk, 1984). Golding is being careful not to be self-incriminating, as he is being vague and not explicitly saying how Britain First will take action as this has potentially negative consequences. This is where CDP is beneficial to analyse such discourse, as the historical violence of Britain First’s Christian patrols are an indication as to why Golding is being vague about ‘taking action’. This is similar to research by Bull and Simon-Vandenberg (2014), who identified that the far-right party the BNP portrayed implicit and vague messages, but with clear suggestions over its (anti-immigration) stance, also what Wodak (2009: 215) referred to as “calculated ambivalence”.

Here we have seen from Golding’s account, that the solidarity patrol is more about opposing Islam than about showing support for Jewish communities. Golding has drawn upon the common far-right interpretative repertoires of political correctness to ‘explain’ why authorities are not taking action against Islamic extremism. Now I turn to examine the visual communication shown throughout the video in more detail.

6.5 Visual Analysis

Britain First uses visual communication to support the notion that they are in solidarity with the Jewish community. There are four points at which Britain First make use of visual evidence: 1) the use of the solidarity patrol leaflet with symbols, 2) indicating a “common bond” with the Jewish community using hand gestures, 3) handing out leaflets to people recognisable as belonging to the Hasidic Jewish sect, 4) the use of coded messages through symbols on Golding’s clothing.

6.5.1 Fransen displays the leaflet

Jayda Fransen at the beginning of the video (0:16) explains where Britain First is patrolling, and that they are out distributing leaflets:



Figure 2-Solidarity patrol leaflet

Screenshot taken from video posted on Britain First’s official Facebook page at <https://www.facebook.com/OfficialBritainFirst/videos/712233078921956/> on 31st January 2015

Fransen shows the leaflet to the camera to ensure that the viewer can see the full leaflet-providing pictorial evidence. The leaflet indicates a link between Muslims and Nazis.

There are three parts to the images on the bottom of the leaflet that provide this link; 1) burqa 2) mosque, 3) swastika, all of which are crossed out and positioned as unacceptable. The swastika is ambiguous as to what Britain First are opposing, but suggests that Britain First are portraying Muslims as Nazis. This in turn constructs Britain First as the opposite of Nazis, arguing against a common stereotype that is often invoked about far-right members (Burke and Goodman, 2012). Note the Israeli flag is also visible, another symbol to represent Britain First's support towards the Jewish community. Portraying the Israeli flag is an orientation towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, suggesting support for Israel and thus further emphasises the separation of both Jews and Britain First from Muslims. . The leaflets are in black and white, giving them a timeless, serious depiction.

6.5.2 Fransen's Common Bond gesture

Next (2:16; see also extract three, line four), Fransen uses a hand gesture at the point of mentioning this "common bond" between Christians and Jews, and places her hands together and taps them twice to symbolise this bond:



Figure 3-Fransen's 'common bond' gesture

Screenshot taken from video posted on Britain First's official Facebook page at <https://www.facebook.com/OfficialBritainFirst/videos/712233078921956/> on 31st January 2015

During Fransen's account, she is building up Britain First's solidarity towards the Jewish community, and reflecting upon its own suffering as Christians, drawing upon its experiences as a Christian community. Christians have been where Jews are now. This works to put the two religions together in contrast with Islam, yet keeps Britain First separate from Jews by invoking an 'us' identity; Christians have been constructed as an in-group category. The text for the telephone number and website for Britain First appear at this point on the screen, further emphasising that Britain First is an organisation that Jews can 'turn to'.

During Golding's account (3:36), the camera makes visually salient someone who is unambiguously recognisable as belonging to a Hasidic Jewish community:

6.5.3 Fransen with an Individual recognisable as Jewish



Figure 4-Fransen with a Jewish passer-by

Screenshot taken from video posted on Britain First's official Facebook page at <https://www.facebook.com/OfficialBritainFirst/videos/712233078921956/> on 31st January 2015

This image shows the importance of visual evidence in this video, and is used to provide pictorial evidence that Britain First supports various divisions of the Jewish community. While it looks as though Fransen is about to hand over a leaflet, the camera does not portray the individual taking the leaflet. So while this image provides ‘evidence’ that Britain First is supporting Jews, there is no evidence to suggest how this support has been received (this is discussed further in the following chapter, particularly section 7.3). The individual is not standing particularly close to Fransen, suggesting he is on the move.

6.5.4 Golding’s coded message: The anti-Taliban jacket

Also of interest is that Golding is wearing an anti-Taliban jacket:



Figure 5-Golding's anti-Taliban jacket

Screenshot taken from video posted on Britain First’s official Facebook page at <https://www.facebook.com/OfficialBritainFirst/videos/712233078921956/> on 31st January 2015

This is a form of dog whistling to Britain First supporters about the agenda behind the solidarity patrol. This refers to the use of esoteric messages to reveal to supporters that Britain First's motives are to oppose Islam. In a similar way that the National Front used 'Zionism' as a code word for Jews in their anti-Semitic ideologies, Britain First are using 'Taliban Hunter' jackets as a euphemism for anti-Islamic rhetoric (Billig, 1978; Richardson, 2011). There is a post in the data corpus on the Britain First Facebook Page from 16th January 2015 advertising the jacket as official Britain First merchandise, so the jacket is also being worn as a form of branding/product placement (note also Golding positioning the leaflet so that it is visible to the camera).

This section has examined the visual communication used by Britain First in the solidarity patrol. I have showed that the leaflet was used to imply a link between Islam and Nazis, in turn constructing Britain First as anti-fascists. I also discussed Fransen's physical symbolism of a "common bond" to emphasise solidarity between Christians and Jews. Thirdly, I demonstrated Britain First's use of individuals recognisably belonging to the Hassidic Jewish sect. Finally, I showed that visual communication can also be used to portray esoteric messages to Britain First followers, as to the anti-Islamic nature of the solidarity patrol.

6.6. Summary

In this chapter I have outlined how Britain First is using the concept of solidarity and protecting Jews, in order to make their anti-Islamic rhetoric convincing and seem reasonable. Jayda Fransen constructed Christians and Jews as both being under threat from Islamic extremism, while Paul Golding used the notion of political correctness to construct authorities as irrational for not taking action against Islamic extremism. As well as this, Britain First used visual communication both to provide evidence that it supports Jews, and to portray coded messages to its supporters (for example, through Golding wearing an 'anti-Taliban' jacket).

Britain First constructed Jews as vulnerable through footing, in order to highlight the perceived dangers of Islamic extremism. Britain First on the surface appears to be reasonable in the patrol, but is using strategies to enable Britain First to not alienate itself from its supporters. This anti-Islamic patrol is being covered up by Britain First as a patrol to show solidarity to the Jewish community. The account in the solidarity patrol portrays a rejection of the classic historical anti-Semitic ideology that researchers such as Billig

(1978) have identified in far-right parties such as the National Front who disguised their extremist views and reject the fascist label, despite having underlying anti-Semitic, racist ideologies (Billig, 1978; Eatwell, 2000). In this case, Britain First sent out a prejudicial message whilst concealing it as that, using Jews to justify anti-Islamic rhetoric. Nonetheless, the next chapter which examines the comments to the video shows that the solidarity patrol was presented as convincing by Facebook users.

7. “Please protect the Jews”: Responses from Facebook users to the Britain First Solidarity Patrol

7. 1. Introduction

As discussed in the previous analytical chapter, in the solidarity patrol, (where Britain First patrolled in Golders Green, North London, to show support for the Jewish community after the shooting in the Kosher supermarket in Paris) Britain First portrayed the vulnerability of Jews who were being victimised by Islamic extremists.. The result of this portrayal has transitioned to anti-Semitic discourse by Facebook users. The first comment to the solidarity patrol video started on the same day, one minute after the video was posted onto Facebook (31.1.15). The final comments were posted on the 14th February: a total of 436 comments made in response to the solidarity patrol were analysed.

The first comments congratulated Britain First and displayed support for Jews, some of which were posted by users who identified themselves as being Jewish, and who also expressed gratitude towards Britain First. Authors on Facebook shifted their footing to report how Jews feel and oriented to the idea that Jews will be grateful towards Britain First for the solidarity patrol. This was at the detriment of Muslims who were marginalised by other Facebook users. The strategies used to separate Jews from British people are utilised, in keeping with the strategies used by Britain First in the solidarity patrol. These comments demonstrate that some authors displayed being convinced by the message in the video. Next, I examine comments posted by users who identified themselves as Jewish, and who also expressed gratitude towards Britain First. There are some extracts that show that some Facebook users did challenge Britain First, but nonetheless this was displayed in a delicate way and through the use of humour.

Following on from this, progressively over the next fourteen days the comments became more hostile towards Jews. Debates arose about the benefits that Jews bring to the UK, with authors drawing upon perceived historical evidence for support as well as anti-

Semitic rhetoric (such rhetoric shares features with anti-immigrant and/or nativist rhetoric). What is similar about this chapter to the solidarity patrol itself as shown in the previous chapter, is that eventually the focus turned away from the Charlie Hebdo attack and the shooting in the kosher supermarket. Note that offline, the solidarity patrol was not well received, with Jewish communities being warned to stay away from Britain First.¹⁹

In this analysis, I focus on such strategies as Goffman's (1979; 1981) notion of 'footing', whereby in the suitable context, speakers can shift their alignment to speak on behalf of other people (see previous analytical chapter). I focus on the identity work surrounding Britain First supporters helping people like 'us', as discussed in the previous analytical chapter. I also show how emoticons can be used to express either support, or display humour and make accounts light hearted. Extracts have been numbered according to where they appear in the corpus (ordered chronologically ascending by date).

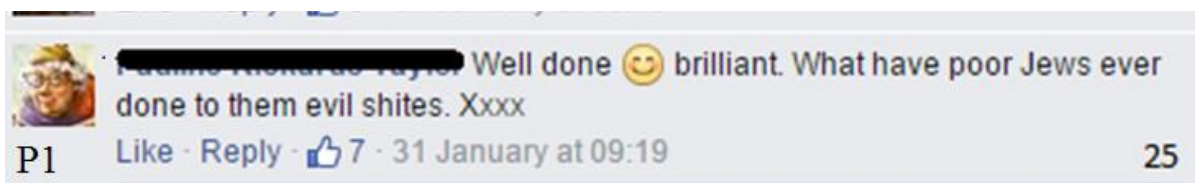
7.2 “What have Poor Jews ever done”: Showing Support for Jewish people

In the early comments to the video, viewers displayed signs of being convinced by the message in the solidarity patrol. Comments were often written in an informal and affectionate manner towards Britain First (e.g., ending a comment with kisses), with authors shifting their footing (Goffman, 1981), to talk about how Jewish people feel. The focus is the vulnerability of the “Jewish community” and the threat to Jews from Islam. This involves a construction that separates Jews from 'us', the British, thereby invoking an 'us versus them' interpretative repertoire and marginalising Jews. These authors mirrored Britain First's inclusive and exclusive discursive strategy of forming an alignment with an ethnic minority, who are like 'us', thus using Jews being in danger to justify constructing Muslims as an out-group. Some authors distanced themselves from actively supporting Jewish communities, and instead pleaded that Britain First continue to do so on their behalf.

Extract one directly mentioned the vulnerability of Jews:

¹⁹ <http://www.timesofisrael.com/british-jews-say-no-thanks-to-nationalist-groups-support/>

Extract One

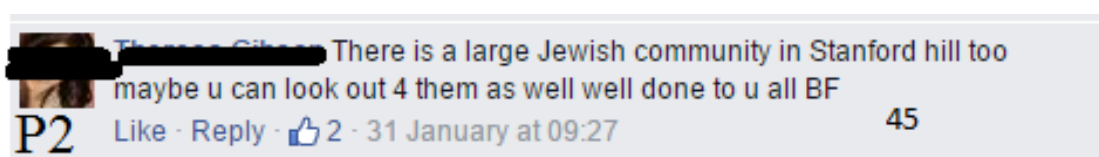


The first part of this comment has three components: 1) “Well done”; 2) the smiley face; and 3) “brilliant”. The “Xxxx” which are used as kisses to end the account, along with the smiley emoticon work to make the account affectionate and thus less formal, with P1 visually expressing pleasure at the video. The account is forming an affiliation with Britain First and has a friendly tone, thus drawing Britain First into the position of friends of P1. The term “poor” works to place Jews into a category of being vulnerable. Note that P1’s interrogative construction of “what have poor Jews ever done” is used to make a declaration rather than ask a question, and is a form of complaining on someone else’s behalf (Drew and Walker, 2009).

The vulnerability of Jews is implied through the juxtaposition with “evil” Islamic extremists. The term “evil shites” is cohesive with the ‘us versus them’ construction. The use of “shites” does not explicitly mention Islamic extremists or Muslims, yet the categorisation provides no distinction between the two. “Evil shites” provides a generalisation through concealment of Islamic extremists and Muslims as being in the same category. Thus, the derogatory term downgrades and objectifies Muslims, as well as presents them as dirty. The category construction of Jews as “poor” positions Jews as an out-group along with Muslims also being constructed as an out-group. This juxtaposition constructs Jews as being under threat from Islam, and Muslims causing Jews to be fearful.

The next extract demonstrates that not only did the viewer show agreement with the solidarity patrol, but also inserted their own suggestion for Britain First to widen the support beyond Golders Green to other Jewish communities:

Extract Two

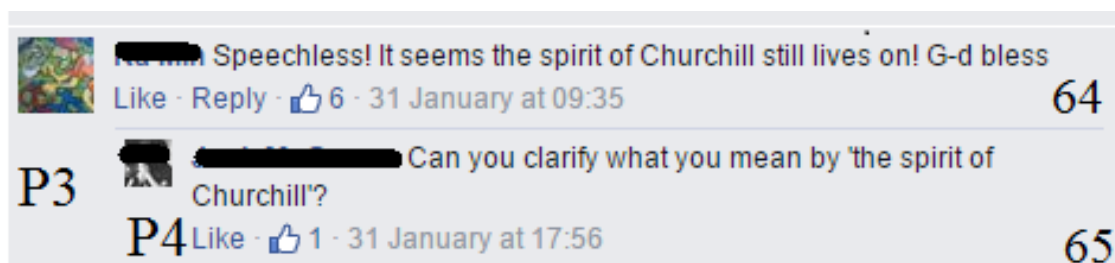


Here P2 constructs a link between location and a religious community (Drew, 1978). Note that P2 herself uses the term “Jewish community”, though of course Jewish identity displays a complex hybridity between religion, ethnicity, race, history, memory and more; so, from a Jewish perspective, “a large Jewish community” might be considered an oversimplification tending already to a form of othering – note also that P2 refers to “them”. This is the only point where the link between being in Golders Green and showing support for Jewish communities is made salient, particularly through using the term “too”.

P2 is referring to (but has misspelt) Stamford Hill in North London, an area with a large Hasidic Jewish community. This comment shows that people are giving accounts of being convinced by the video. P2 addresses Britain First as BF; using an abbreviation rather than the full name mitigates the nationalist connotations of Britain First as a far-right political party. The abbreviation also emphasises P2’s friendliness in an environment where cues such as eye contact and nodding are absent (e.g. Fozdar and Pederson, 2013).

The next extract is different in terms of showing support in an ambiguous way, making a comparison with Churchill:

Extract Three



Here we see an enthusiastic, patriotic comparison of Britain First with Churchill, along with the implication that Britain First will ‘save’ Jews. This positions Britain First as a mainstream political party rather than a far-right party. The comparison implies something significant is taking place that parallels with that of World War Two. The way that P3 has written ‘G-d’ is similar to the Jewish custom of avoiding using ‘God’ by full name. This is a possible indication that P3 is either Jewish, or aligning with Jews as Britain First were doing.

The response by P4 is a criticism of P3 in the form of an Interrogative question asking for clarification (which is not provided by P3). This suggests that P4 is sceptical that Churchill

would be in support of Britain First's cause. This is the only instance where an author asks for clarification, making this explicit through quoting what P3 has said.

Following this, the comments continued down the line of supporting and thanking Britain First:

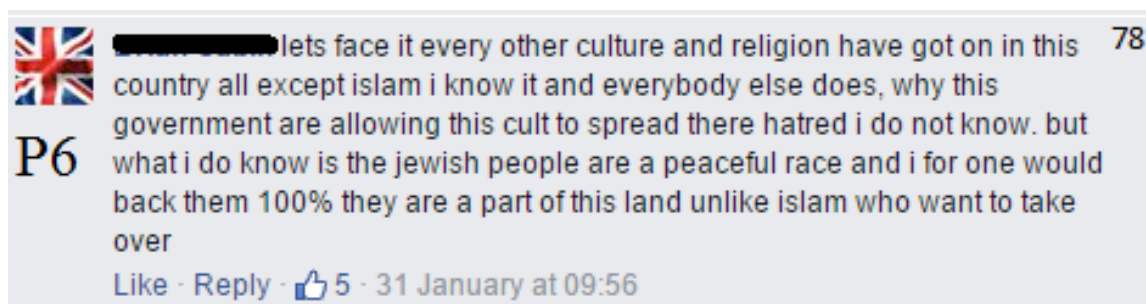
Extract Four



Here P5 changes his footing to speak on behalf of “the jewish comunity”, (sic) presenting the Jewish community as being in debt and grateful to Britain First for the solidarity patrol. An extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986) is invoked that Britain First helping the Jewish community will have long term effects, and the notion that the event will have historical importance in terms of Jews actively appreciating Britain First's cause. Note P5 directly addresses Britain First by name as with extract two (comment number 45). Britain First has been ‘tagged’ in this post (shown by the text in blue), meaning that Facebook users reading this comment can click on Britain First's, name, and will be taken to the Britain First Facebook page. Britain First will have received a Facebook notification about this comment. This suggests that P5 intended to directly draw Britain First's attention to the comment, and be seen to be actively showing support for Britain First.

Next is a comment comparing Jews and Muslims:

Extract Five



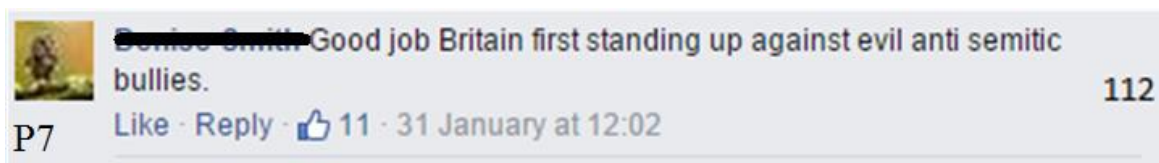
P6 uses the argument that Islam is the only religion that is not getting on with other religions, and thus is the cause of the problem. “Everybody else does” is an appeal to

common knowledge (Edwards and Potter, 1992) to add credibility to P6’s argument. This change of footing to speak on behalf of others means that P6 cannot be held personally accountable for the view that he/she expressed. The use of “lets face it” (sic) suggests that the problematic character of Islam is obvious, but people are not opening their eyes to the issue.

Islam is presented as a threat and a problematic cult (rather than a religion), that is trying to take over. Constructing Jews as a “peaceful race” serves to heighten the contrast between Jews and the aggression and threat associated with the problematic “cult” of Islam. Note the user’s profile picture of the United Kingdom flag, displaying a patriotic emblem to represent their British identity (refer to chapter two, section 2.2, for a discussion on the British National Party’s ‘patriotic’ union jack logo).

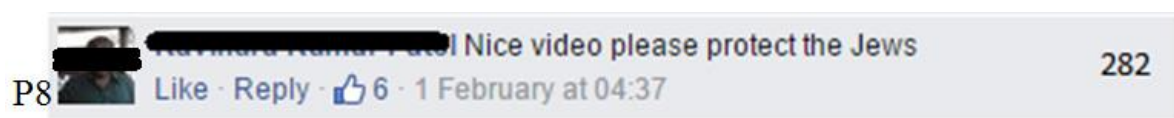
The next three extracts presented Jews as vulnerable at the hands of Islamic extremism:

Extract Six



P7 positions Islam as threatening and bullying Jews, again addressing Britain First by its name. The construction of Islamic extremism/Muslims as anti-Semitic underlies P7’s use of the term “evil”. As with extract one, there is no distinction between Islamic extremism and Muslims, and P7 is drawing both into one generic categorisation of “anti semitic bullies” (sic). The reference to “evil anti semitic” (sic) has a substantial impact, as anti-Semitic is a term that carries historical significance. ‘Anti-Semitic’ is also a reference to the idea that Muslims are specifically targeting Jews over other groups. Jews are thereby being constructed by P7 as needing assistance in “standing up” to Islam.

Extract Seven



This statement demonstrates that Britain First has successfully constructed themselves as ‘protectors’ of Jews, who are in danger at the hands of Islamic extremists, and that there is

something that Britain First can actively do to keep Jewish communities safe. The term “protect” implies that Jews are vulnerable, again emphasising the construction of Jews as the good ‘other’. By pleading that Britain First protects Jews, P8 identifies Britain First as being the only source of support for Jews.

Extract Eight



This extract shows that the opposition to Muslims is escalating. P9 begins with an outline of what Jews don’t do, creating a contrast between Jews and Islamic extremists. This indirect accusation uses strategic concealment, and the use of “this religion” implies that the contrast is with another religion-Islam.

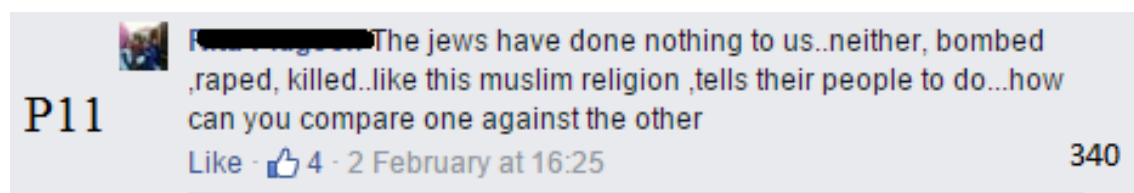
. The use of “this religion” allows P9 to distance him/herself from and not affiliate closely with Jews, whilst nevertheless emphatically align with a religion that he/she has named at the start of his/her account. Again, we see the use of dots, indicating that there is more that could be said about this issue, particularly in the case of P9 where he/she has mentioned “beheadings”. The use of dots in this case allows P9 to refer to common knowledge events such as the murder of Lee Rigby, without explicitly stating so, reflecting, as discussed earlier, the events that have led to the perception that Muslims are a threat to Britain.

The response to the first comment (comment 139) begins with “oh yes”; displaying emphatic agreement and treating P9’s statement as being obvious and self-evident. P10 then explicitly refers to Muslims, positioning P9’s indirect contrast as referring to Muslims. The statement is formed as though P9 had asked a question, and is a similar strategy as saying ‘of course’ in an emphatic manner (see Heritage, 1998). An extreme case formulation is used through referring to “ww3”. P10 in comment 139 refers to the more generalised identity of “muslims” (sic) rather than ‘Islam’ or ‘Islamic extremism’, which suggests that it is less problematic to oppose Muslims in an online setting. This

could be due to users being less accountable online than in other settings where individuals are more likely to be guarded with how they talk about other groups (e.g. Augoustinos and Every, 2007). Similar findings have been reported by Burke and Goodman (2012), who found that users online found it less problematic to oppose asylum seekers in comparison to politicians and individuals in face to face settings.

The next extract challenged previous comments that were making comparisons between Muslims and Jews:

Extract Nine



This statement responds to debates surrounding the “damage” that Jews have done to Britain (see comments in section 7.5). P11 invokes his/her own three-part (Jefferson, 1990) criteria of what counts as damage: 1; bombing, 2; raping 3; killing. P11 criticises the action of comparing Jews to Muslims, yet imposes his/her own comparison by stating what Jews don’t do in comparison to what Muslims do, in a similar manner to extract eight (comment 138). This comparison of constructing Muslims as violent ‘others’ has become a common interpretative repertoire across all of the analytical chapters, and encompasses a feature of a genre (Blitvich, 2010).

Referring to the religion as Muslim rather than Islam invokes a personal attack towards individuals rather than the religion generally, as research has shown that politicians make the distinction between opposing the religion and not Muslims as individuals to appear more reasonable when making anti-Islamic arguments (Verkuyten, 2013). This suggests that it is less problematic to oppose Muslims as individuals online than it is in face to face settings. There is a conflation of “muslim” (sic) and “religion”, implying that the lines between individuals and religion have been blurred. There is some orientation to the religion being problematic in terms of ‘telling people what to do’. We see the use of “this” used to emphasise hostility (Jackson, 2013). The notion that Jews have not done anything to “us” constructs Jews as inherently different to and isolated from British people, but not causing trouble. This again separates being Jewish and being British into two different

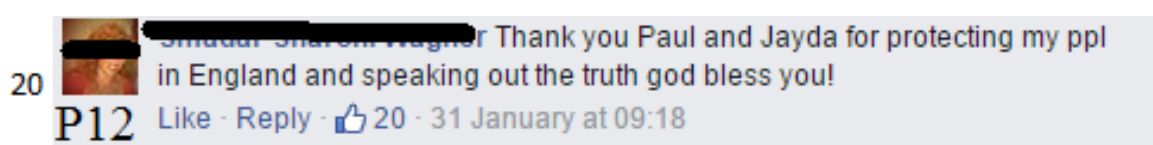
identities, and works to present Jews as impassive; again, we see the formation of ‘us versus them’.

This section has explored comments in support of the solidarity patrol, displaying affiliation with Jews and agreement with Britain First’s cause. These extracts differ from the solidarity patrol itself in that Britain First emphasised that they are a Christian organisation, and that Christians have also faced persecution at the hands of Islamic extremism. These comments do not orient to Britain First being a Christian organisation, focusing only on Jews being under threat.

The next section highlights how support for Britain First also came from people who identified themselves as Jewish. Comments have the same friendliness and exaggerated nature as those in the previous section, and some authors used the same strategy of separating being Jewish from being British.

7.3 Comments from authors who identify themselves as Jewish

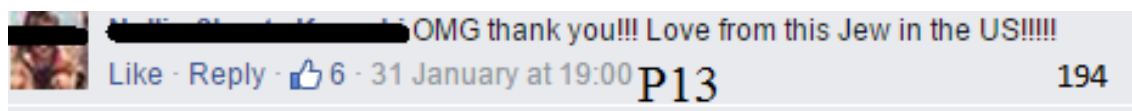
Extract Ten



P12 is using the rhetorical technique of separating him/herself from Britain First by constructing him/herself as inclusive with Jews and using the term “my ppl” (sic). This emphasises that P12 has the ‘right’ to speak as a representative of Jews thus exerting an epistemic kind of authority (See Sacks, 1992, on the use of categories of groups used by group members and ‘outsiders’). This is a similar strategy to that used by Britain First, distinguishing between and thereby separating Jews from British people. Despite the separation between P12 and Britain First, the use of exclamation marks indicates excitement and addressing Paul Golding and Jayda Fransen by their first names invokes a sense of familiarity.

We see similar strategies used in the following extract:

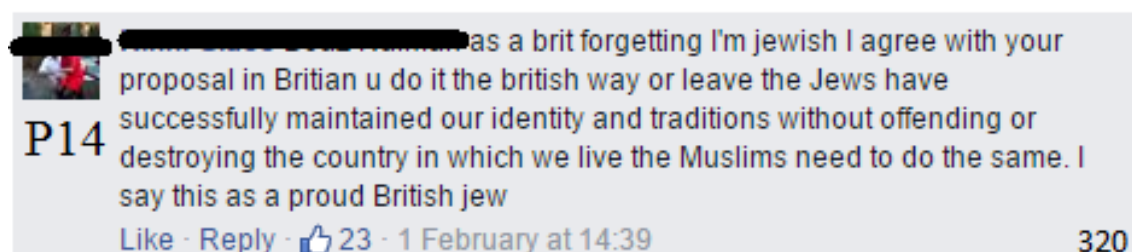
Extract Eleven



Here P13 discloses him/herself as being Jewish (although note that unlike the other posts, the author has stated that they are from outside of the UK). The account is emphasised using the hyperbolically ecstatic OMG (“Oh my God”) and triple exclamation marks. As has been seen before in previous comments supporting Jews, the account is more informal and friendly. While the exclamation marks and the expression of gratitude and love make this account affiliative towards Britain First, the account is less affiliative than the posts in the first section where authors ‘tag’ Britain First in their posts, so that other Facebook users can click on the link and be taken to Britain First’s Facebook homepage (refer to extract four for an explanation of ‘tagging’).

The following extract used some of the same strategies used by Britain First to differentiate being Jewish from being British, although at the end of his/her account, P14 self-categorised as “a proud British Jew”:

Extract Twelve



This comment is addressing another user on Facebook, who had expressed the opinion that British laws and values should be enforced in ‘Sharia zones’ (discussion not included in this analysis). P14 has taken what was a statement about Islam, and shifted the focus to be about Jews keeping their values and customs separate. P14 is using the common strategy identified in this thesis, of making his/her account about Muslims rather than Islam or Islamic extremists. P14 begins self-disclosing him/herself as Jewish, and separating the subject position of a British Jew, into two parts of Jewish and British. P14 rejects the Jewish label (perhaps orienting to the idea that ‘Jewish’ is an ‘othered’ category) and

emphasises his/her British identity, but the account ends by integrating the two into the subject position of “proud British jew” (sic).

The ‘us and them’ interpretative repertoire (Lynn and Lea 2003; van Dijk, 1995) is drawn upon by the author through keeping Jewish traditions separate from British culture.

“Forgetting I’m Jewish” may be an orientation to P14 wanting to be identified and listened to as a British person rather than a Jewish person. This orients to the notion from Britain First (chapter six, extract two) that being Jewish and British are separate and shows that the identity distinction between being Jewish and being British is made by a Jewish individual. However, P14 switches between “the Jews” (distancing him/herself from the Jewish identity) and “our identity”, he/she switches back and forth between Jewish and British, showing the complex relationship between being British and being Jewish.

In this section, I have discussed how authors who identify themselves as Jewish respond to the solidarity patrol. The authors displayed gratitude towards Britain First, and used similar strategies such as invoking the category of Jews as strangers (e.g. extract ten, comment 20), and differentiating between being Jewish and being British (e.g. extract twelve, comment 320).

Next, I will present two extracts that showed opposition to Britain First’s cause, but nonetheless humour and rhetorical delicacy was utilised in the accounts suggesting that arguing against Britain First is not easy to accomplish:

7.4 “Islam is the only religion Britain is attacking”

Comments challenging the Solidarity Patrol

Extract Thirteen

P15  Well done Britain First,dont let the Islamics drive ANYONE from our streets or from OUR country.
Like · Reply ·  4 · 31 January at 09:27 46


P16  Lmao many "Islamics" were born in this country so they are also THEIR streets and this is also THEIR country!! Stupid talk like this only incites hatred and division !
Like ·  3 · 1 February at 12:35 · Edited 47

Here is a challenge to a comment that displayed an orientation to the notion of people conflating Muslims with “Islamics”. Another strategy here that has already been seen in this chapter is addressing Britain First by its name. The use of “ANYONE” implies that P15 is not just supporting Jews specifically. There is an upgrade to “OUR country”, emphasising the ownership and reinforcing the ‘us and them’ construction between British people and Islam. Again, we see a generic term of ‘Islamics’ being used to draw all Muslims into the same category.

P16 constructs his/her argument using humour (Lmao means “Laughing my ass off”) and disputing the notion that Muslims are not British. The use of LMAO implies that P16 is constructing P15’s argument as laughable and not to be taken seriously. P16 repeats “Islamics” in quotation marks to imply that this category construction has been used incorrectly, and to avoid being associated with the category construction him/herself. Note the use of capitals of “THEIR” for the repetition of both “THEIR streets” and “THEIR country”. P16 orients to and challenges the common phrase used by far-right organisations, “our streets”, although this is primarily associated with the English Defence League rather than Britain First. This suggests that P16 does not make any distinction between the two far-right organisations. P16 is using capitals to visually emphasise this repetition, and possibly to provoke supporters of Britain First. P16 is using the idea of entitlement and orienting to the notion that there are British born Muslims. The use of “stupid talk” refers to the common notion that far-right views are constructed as having a lack of intelligence (Burke and Goodman, 2012). The use of “only” has similar effects to ‘just’, criticising the idea of opposing Muslims as being baseless (Goodman and Burke, 2010).

The same commentator challenges the notion from another author that Islam is attacking Britain:

Extract Fourteen



The screenshot shows three Facebook comments. The first comment, from user P17, has a profile picture of a person with a beard and is partially redacted. The second comment, from user P18, has a profile picture of a globe. The third comment, from user P16, has a profile picture of a person with a beard. Each comment includes a timestamp, a like count, and a reply count.

P17 [Redacted] So you support one religion but not Islam blah blah blah !! Absolutely right !! Islam is the only religion attacking Britain in case people haven't noticed ??
Like · Reply · 12 · 31 January at 09:31 53

P18 [Redacted] London bombings
Like · 1 · 1 February at 07:33 54

P16 [Redacted] PMSFL could look at this the other way in that Islam is the only religion Britain is attacking 😊 can't go around attacking and bullying people based on their religion and not expect them to retaliate?
Like · 3 · 1 February at 12:39 55

Here we see P17 presenting a common idea that people are not ‘noticing’ the issue of Islam (see chapter nine, section 9.3 for additional discussion on this). The use of ‘so’ as a preface is to indicate that this is a type of reported speech. There is a contrast drawn upon that a religion, Islam, is attacking a country, Britain. This contrast works to orient to the idea that there are no British born Muslims. P18 also inserts the July 2005 London bombings as ‘evidence’ that Islam is attacking Britain. This comment is addressed to another Facebook user who has not participated in this discussion.

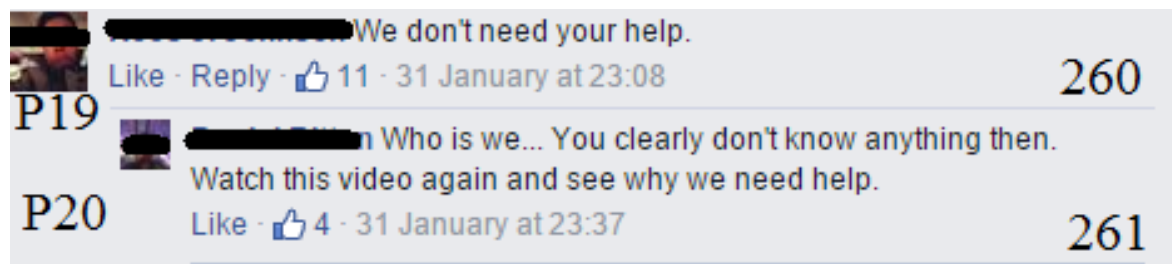
P16 uses hedging language to begin with, using “could”, as well as ending this account with a question mark. P16’s account is positioned as a suggestion rather than a declaration. Note P16’s use of a winking emoticon, and again the use of humour to mock through using an acronym, PMSFL (“Pissed myself fucking laughing”) to soften the accusation and perhaps prevent P16 from being challenged, but there is also the possibility that P16 is again provoking Britain First supporters. P16 is constructing Britain First as laughable, challenging Britain First’s attempts to come across as reasonable. P16 uses a rhetorical question, delicately implying that people who are anti-Islamic are somewhat accountable for the Charlie Hebdo attack.

The acronym ‘PMSFL’ is upgraded from P16’s last use of an acronym (‘LMAO’) in terms of level of laughter being expressed. These are the only two accounts in this paper that contain acronyms related to humour. There is some orientation to the problematic nature of Islam, in the author’s description of “retaliate”. Islam is being constructed as violent but not entirely accountable, as Britain somewhat deserves the violence for provoking

Muslims. P16 is somewhat admitting the problematic nature of Islam that has been claimed, recategorizing them as “retaliating” rather than “attacking”. P16 is orienting to Moufahim and Humphrey’s notion of a “moral inversion” (2015: 85), whereby opponents argue that the group that they are intolerant of engage in similar intolerant behaviours, in order to justify opposition. Note also P16 refers to the religion “Islam”, rather than making his/her account about individual people (i.e. Muslims), suggesting that there can be some delicacy surrounding making arguments online about religions rather than individuals belonging to a religious group.

Some of the comments challenging the patrol were from people who identified themselves as Jewish:

Extract Fifteen



The image shows a screenshot of two social media comments. The first comment, labeled P19, is from a user whose profile picture is obscured by a black box. The text of the comment is "We don't need your help." Below the text are the interaction options "Like · Reply ·" followed by a thumbs-up icon and the number "11", and the timestamp "31 January at 23:08". The number "260" is displayed on the right side of the comment. The second comment, labeled P20, is from a user whose profile picture is also obscured by a black box. The text of the comment is "Who is we... You clearly don't know anything then. Watch this video again and see why we need help." Below the text are the interaction options "Like ·" followed by a thumbs-up icon and the number "4", and the timestamp "31 January at 23:37". The number "261" is displayed on the right side of the comment.

This is the only point where someone identifying as Jewish disagreed with the solidarity patrol. P19 talks directly to Britain First, shown through “your help”. P19’s account reflects the reaction to the solidarity patrol offline, where Jews were advised to avoid Britain First’s offer of “help”. Here we see two authors identifying themselves as Jewish (through using the collective term “we”). P19 is challenging the construction that Jewish people are vulnerable at the hands of Islamic extremists. P20 asks “who is we”, disputing P19’s argument that Jews do not need help. This constructs all Jews as needing help from Britain First, and criticises P19 for speaking on behalf of Jews. The use of “clearly” constructs this idea as common knowledge and indefinite. P20 constructs opposition to Britain First as due to a lack of awareness and understanding, so this works to make the blame lie with P19 and not with Britain First. There is no offer of any evidence to convince P19, other than through repetition of watching the video again; P20 is not dealing with the substance of the solidarity patrol.

Here I have examined extracts that showed opposition to Britain First and to anti-Islamic accounts. The criticism contained the use of laughter and hedging language, suggesting

that it is not easy to criticise Britain First (or support Islam) even in an online setting. We also saw opposition from a Facebook user appearing to be Jewish, suggesting that there was some resistance to the solidarity patrol from Jews.

Next, we see the transition from comments being pro-Jewish and contrasting Jews with ‘evil’ Muslims, to now being anti-Semitic. Comments questioned the contribution that Jews brought to Britain, and what Jews have done for ‘us’, British people. We also see orientation to the solidarity patrol video being a cover up. The topic remains focused on Jews and the distinction between Jews and Christians, but not on either Islam or the Charlie Hebdo attack.

7.5 “Who cares about the Jews?” Comments displaying Anti-Semitic Discourse

The following extract challenged a comment supporting Jews:

Extract Sixteen



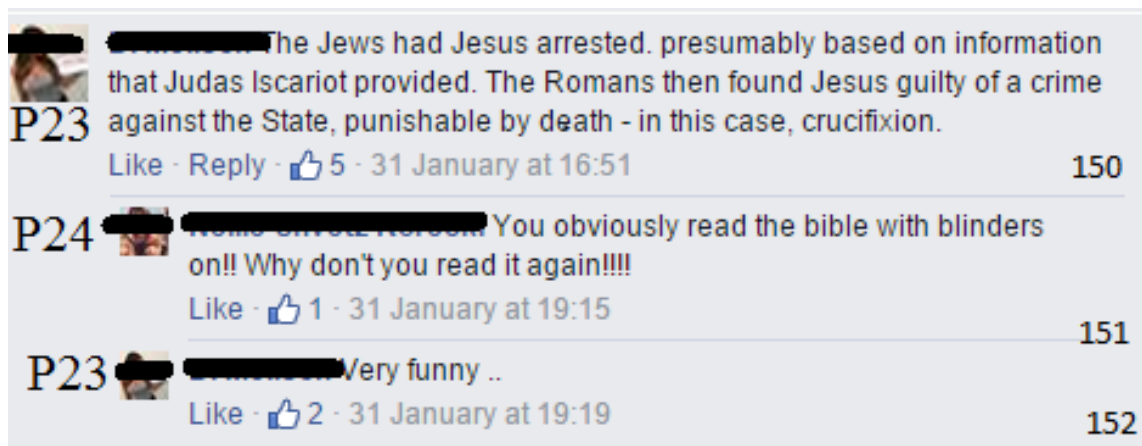
Comment 141 implicitly appeals to the ‘us versus them’ interpretative repertoire, separating Jews from Christians, but also aligning with ‘peaceful’ Jews to emphasise Muslims as the aggressors (see van Dijk, 1995). The statement “never bothered us” constructs Jews as people who are potentially problematic, but choose not to be a problem. Jews are peaceful, but still not ‘us’. The term “bothered” implies that Jews have not integrated with Christians in Britain, but that it might be problematic for them to do so, since the negative connotations of the term that one ‘might have been bothered’ (i.e. there was something that might have bothered the author). P21 is dealing with the ideological dilemma (Billig *et al.*, 1988) of constructing a positive case for Jews without directly

aligning with Jews. Again, we see the author addressing Britain First by its name, and tagging Britain First, meaning that Britain First will have received a notification on Facebook that they have been tagged in the post. Note that while comment 141 can be classified alongside the posts in section 7.2, the comment of interest here is 142 in terms of displaying anti-Semitic discourse in disagreement with the author of comment 141.

The interrogative used by P22 in comment 142 highlights the moment of transition; prior to this comment talk had been about the vulnerability of Jews, but at this point we see a direct challenge to this notion and the introduction to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in which the Jewish people (Israel) are cast, again implicitly, as the aggressor. Comment 142 reveals the first construction of Jews as ‘not peaceful’, using the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as ‘evidence’. This question is used to mock P21 and provides a gloss over historical events, as well as an anti-Zionist statement. This is similar to a strategy used by the British far-right political party the National Front during the 1970’s, who argued that they were ‘anti-Zionist’; this allowed them to make anti-Jewish arguments without being accused of being anti-Semitic (Billig, 1978). The use of dots implies that there is more to be said on the issue, which does not need to be said or made explicit. Despite P22 explicitly challenging the idea that Jews are peaceful, the use of dots means that P22 can avoid giving specific examples of why Jews are not “peaceful people”.

The next comment in opposition to Jews is different to the previous comment in that P23 invokes historical ‘evidence’ in the Bible:

Extract Seventeen



P23 constructs Jews as being a problem, referring to an account given in the Bible, and thus presenting Jews as an exclusionary group based on religious differences. Unlike the

previous comment (142 in extract sixteen), comment 150 is an example of an anti-Semitic argument that is given from a Christian perspective. P23 provides a ‘factual’, chronological account of Jesus’ crucifixion. Jews are constructed as assailants, contrary to earlier extracts where they have been portrayed as victims, although note that P23 places further ‘blame’ onto the Romans for Jesus’ crucifixion. Britain First presents itself as a Christian organisation, so this author’s account is in line with Britain First’s Christian principles (although note that P23 does not acknowledge that Jesus was Jewish). This also allows P23 to distance him/herself from making a direct oppositional statement about Jews.

P24 in comment 151 uses multiple exclamation marks to represent disbelief, and the author uses the metaphor of the first author in comment 150 being “blind” to emphasise P23’s ignorance. P24 confirms the first author’s inferences as being based on the Bible, despite P23 not referring to the Bible, suggesting that there is a common knowledge repertoire of Britain First supporters (and thus Christians) being familiar with the Bible. P24 in comment 151 is making an indirect inference to being sceptical. P23 deals with the accusation (comment 152) and manages his/her own position through treating the second author’s response as an intention to be humorous and not serious.

Next, we see oppositional comments towards Jews that conveyed scepticism about the contribution that Jews have made to Britain:

Extract Eighteen



The screenshot shows a vertical list of four comments on a social media platform. Each comment includes a profile picture, a redacted name, the text of the comment, interaction options (Like, Reply, thumbs up), a timestamp, and a numerical value (likely likes or replies).

Comment ID	Text	Interaction	Timestamp	Value
P25	██████████ We'll just ignore how much damage the Jews have caused us over time..?	Like · Reply · 9	1 February at 18:49	336
P26	██████████ Give me a few examples (cue the conspiracy theories)...	Like · 7	1 February at 21:39	337
P27	██████████ ██████████ the permian extinction and the asteroid that killed the dinosaurs	Like · 6	1 February at 23:14	338
P28	██████████ ██████████ Here we go, right-wing fuckjobs arguing amongst themselves	Like · 2	2 February at 13:45	339

P25 in comment 336 displays irony by structuring a declaration into an interrogative question. P25's accusation towards Jews is made in the form of a rhetorical question, and thus constructs the notion of 'ignoring damage' to be unreasonable. The notion of Jews causing "us" damage invokes an 'us and them' distinction. Again, the use of the word "damage" shows that a transition has taken place, from Jews being constructed as victims, to now being shown as the aggressors. The use of dots before the question mark indicates that there is more that could be said, whilst the dots allow the author to be ambiguous and avoid elaborating about the "damage" that Jews have done. There is also the use of "just", implying that something is unreasonable (Goodman and Burke, 2010), in this case ignoring the damage that Jews have caused is displaying an unreasonable action. The account is about "Jews" as people rather than 'Judaism' as a religion, in a similar way to the construction of opposition towards Muslims as people rather than the religion, discussed in extract eight. P26 in comment 337 engages with P25, asking for clarification in order to challenge P25 (this clarification is not provided). P26 orients to P25 expressing conspiracy theories, a common anti-Semitic construction. Note how P26 uses dots in a similar way to the first author, this time to indicate pauses, providing P25 with a "cue" to provide an answer.

P27 (comment 338) responds to the "cue" by constructing a pre-emptive response to the original post. P27 mocks the first author's question by drawing upon conspiracy theories about extinction rather than Jewish conspiracy theories. The use of absurdity creates consensus and humour amongst P26 and P27 (Antaki, 2004), to suggest that oppositional arguments towards Jews are not taken seriously. P26 and P27 are building their accounts together, using humour and the anticipation of conspiracy theories. As conspiracy theories are a standard anti-Semitic argument and encompass the feature of a genre (e.g. Byford and Billig, 2001; Richardson, 2013b), both authors anticipated the next development in this genre.

P28 in comment 339 attempted to draw attention to the anti-Semitic comments by the other authors, by tagging another Facebook user (who has not posted on here) who would have then received a notification about this post. P28 insults P25 in comment 336 through using an upgraded form of the term 'nut job'. P28 distances him/herself from, and dismisses, the right-wing category, and associates being right-wing with being crazy (similar findings have shown the notion of being a far-right supporter to be linked with lack of intelligence, Burke and Goodman, 2012).

In the following extract the author oriented to the idea that the solidarity patrol is a cover up to promote Britain First rather than to show support for the Jewish community:

Extract Nineteen



P29 implies that the video is a cover, a kind of disguise for the real purpose of the solidarity patrol, indicating that the patrol is about promoting Britain First's publicity rather than showing support for Jews. While Britain First promotes anti-Islamic rhetoric by showing support for Jews, P29 shifts this rhetoric and implies that Jews are being used as an excuse to help Britain First's cause. Note that P29's first comment (number 309) generates three likes, while the second comment (number 311) does not generate any likes, suggesting that the first comment was more popular. The comment could be taken as sarcasm, but nonetheless P30 has asked for further clarification, suggesting that it has been understood by other users on Facebook as being sincere. Additionally, the application of critical discursive psychology means that the interest does not lie with whether authors 'really mean' what they say, but what actions such statements achieve. This account shows that while some users claim to be convinced by the solidarity patrol, other users orient to it being a cover up to generate anti-Islamic rhetoric. This extract shows that standing up for the Jewish community has not lost Britain First its supporters, even if Facebook users are not convinced by the message in the solidarity patrol.

The final extract is from the discussion towards the end of the comments, about who Britain First will 'target' next:

Extract Twenty



P31 begins with an insult towards Britain First as a violent organisation that threatens minority groups. The use of the interrogative question is an explicit threat that Jews will be “next”, after Muslims. P23 orients to the idea that Britain First targets Muslims, rather than Islamic extremists. ‘Dealing’ in quotation marks implies a challenge to the argument used by the far-right, that Muslims are problematic.

P32 in comment 386 explicitly expresses what P31 implicitly suggested, and adds Jews to the threat. This is written one line down from the first two statements, which has a similar effect to a ‘pause’ or ‘punchline’. Note that both authors refer to “the Muslims” and “the Jews”, a form of othering that has already been seen in the solidarity patrol and in extract seven in this chapter. P31 is orienting to (and glossing over) a common historical anti-Semitic outlook from the far-right that Jews exert control over “Western policy”, an implicit orientation to the idea of Jewish conspiracy theories (see Stocker, 2015). P32 (comment 386) asking the original author if they are ‘scared’ appears to be mocking P31’s accusation towards Britain First.

The extracts in this section have shown opposition towards Jews, invoking historical and religious “evidence”, standard constructions of anti-Semitic discourse. We have seen an author orient to idea that the solidarity patrol’s objective is to use the Jewish community to promote good publicity (extract nineteen), and the final extract showed a complex combination of opposition to Britain First through using threats and orientation to common anti-Semitic arguments.

7.5 Summary

In this chapter I have analysed the responses to the Britain First solidarity patrol by Facebook users, and the discursive construction in those responses of in-groups and out-groups. I have demonstrated that comments began by supporting both Jews and Britain First's cause, although Facebook users differentiated being Jewish from being British (i.e. Jewish identity from British identity). This construction has nativist connotations, and works to present Jews as outsiders, as not a part of Britain. The supportive comments suggest that Facebook users exhibited concern that Jews are vulnerable and under threat from Islam, and thus Britain First supporters are displaying anti-Islamic rhetoric. Next, I focused on extracts from authors who were Jewish, and used similar strategies as those seen in the first section in terms of expressing gratitude towards Britain First for the solidarity patrol. Thirdly, there was a minority of Facebook users challenging Britain First, although in a seemingly indirect or delicate manner through the use of humour. This suggests that it is not easy to criticise anti-Islamic arguments head on. Finally, I discussed the comments that transitioned to disagreement with supporting Jews. This shows that anti-Islamic rhetoric from Britain First has shifted to anti-Semitic discourse and debates about the contribution that Jews bring to Britain.

What is novel about these discussions, and perhaps the solidarity patrol itself, is that the focus is made to turn away from the Charlie Hebdo shooting and the attack at the Kosher supermarket in Paris, despite the solidarity patrol being a result of both attacks. Britain First aimed to oppose Muslims through their solidarity patrol, which they achieved with the collateral benefit, to them, of simultaneously generating anti-Semitic discourse, by leaving commentators to draw their own conclusions. Without having to directly attack or condemn either minority group, the effect of the Facebook responses to Britain First's 'solidarity patrol' is to have targeted both groups in a string of Facebook posts, and to have generated hatred towards both in the wake of the Charlie Hebdo attack. The identity of 'victim' in that attack is transformed through Britain First's patrol and the Facebook responses to it.

8. Anti-Islamic Rhetoric in an Interview with Geert Wilders

8. 1. Introduction

On 17th January 2014, ten days after the Charlie Hebdo attack, Britain First posted a video of Jon Snow on Channel 4 news interviewing the Dutch far-right politician and leader of the Party for Freedom, Geert Wilders. Wilders was interviewed regarding a video blog where he stated that the Charlie Hebdo attackers were inspired by Islam. Britain First posted the video with the caption “Geert Wilders on the Islamic terror attacks in Paris and how to combat Islam²⁰”.

Like Britain First, Wilders is a controversial figure. Wilders has previously caused a storm in the media through his anti-Islamic video uploaded onto YouTube called *Fitna*, which contained verses from the Qur’an, shown alongside video footage of terrorist attacks such as the September 11th terrorist attacks on the twin towers in New York (van Zoonen, Vis, and Mihelj, 2010). The backlash of this included street protests, and reached news coverage at an international level. Wilders aimed to show the video in European parliaments, and was banned from entering to UK in 2009 to show this film at the House of Lords (Vossen, 2014). Wilders has also proposed controversial practises such as the legal ban of the Qur’an, and placing a tax on wearing the hijab (Verkuyten, 2014). This chapter draws upon how Wilders uses anti-Islamic rhetoric (in a reasonable manner) to try to persuade the audience that there should not be any Islam in the Netherlands.

The previous two analytical chapters have examined how Britain First aligned with the Jewish community in order to make Islam appear to be problematic and a threat to the UK. This chapter will look other strategies used by Britain First and Geert Wilders to portray anti-Islamic rhetoric. I examine how Geert Wilders attempts to appear as a reasonable politician following the Charlie Hebdo attack, focusing on the notion of peace and

20

<https://www.facebook.com/OfficialBritainFirst/videos/vb.300455573433044/703320569813207/?type=2&theater>

maintaining his opposition to Islam and not Muslims. While initially the introduction revolves around the Charlie Hebdo attack, the focus of the topic turns to Wilder's opposition to Islam, and how Snow sets up a parallel between Wilders' party and the Nazi party in Germany. I am interested in how Wilders rejects this parallel and makes himself appear to be rational despite Snow's pursuit of controversy. The main strategy used by Wilders to make himself appear reasonable is through maintaining his opposition towards Islam as a religion, and not towards Muslims as people.

Posting this video of Wilders is a strategy by Britain First to portray the far-right in Europe in a positive light following the Charlie Hebdo attack. Britain First are footing (Goffman, 1979b) to display Islam as problematic and show that successful politicians in other countries express Islam as a problem. Britain First are calling on the far-right from other countries for support, and Geert Wilders is saying what Britain First are not able to say. It is likely that Britain First could not get away with saying what Wilders is stating, as a newer, less successful party in comparison to the Party for Freedom.

Snow begins by briefly introducing why he is interviewing Wilders, and gives an account of his first question to Wilders:

Extract One

1. JS: Hh: today in a ↑video blog the leader of the far-right Dutch freedom party
2. Geert Wilders said of the Paris attack (.) these killers are inspired by Islam↓
3. well a little earlier I spoke to him↓: hh and I started by asking him if he wanted
4. peace in Holland↑ despite anti-Islamic (ref) rhetoric↑

Snow begins his account in a neutral manner, referring to the "Paris attack" (2), rather than naming any links with Islam or terrorism. This is typical of Western interviewers, generally avoid arguing with or criticising the interviewee's opinion (Heritage and Roth, 1995). Note here how Snow gives a polarised account of two opposites, of the possibility that Wilders wants peace, despite having an anti-Islamist stance. Snow orients to the idea that Wilders does not want peace due to his opposition to Islam. We see the use of 'these killers' to denote a negative category construction (it is not known whether Wilders used

the term “these killers” himself in his video blog, as no link is provided on the Facebook page and the video blog itself is not shown in the video clip).

However, Wilders’ answer to Snow orients to the notion of wanting peace:

Extract Two

1. GW: Of course I want peace and in order to have peace we have to fight the
2. Islamization of our societies once again not fight (.) all the Muslims that would
3. be ridiculous I’m not even suggesting that but we should fight to have more
4. (Islam) in our society and when it come to Jihadis hh: we should either jail
5. them or send them packing hh: (.) one of the biggest mistake our
6. governments and the United Kingdom in the Netherlands in France in
7. Germany make is that they when people want to leave for Syria to (wage)
8. Jihad: hh that we do not let them go we jail ↑them but we let them stay in
9. our countries to make it unsafe and what I suggest is let them all go when
10. they make an atrocity it’s better to do it in Syria than in the United Kingdom or
11. in the Netherlands but never let them come back let’s get in charge of our
12. own border control again and never let them return ↓

Wilders begins by resisting Snow’s claims and presenting the notion of wanting peace as self-evident and common sense. “Of course” (1) is an appeal to common knowledge, a strategy used by Wilders to present himself as a reasonable and normal person, constructing peace as a common moral value shared by everyone. Here Wilders sets up a paradoxical disclaimer that mirrors Snow’s polarised account (1), presenting the desire for peace, but the need for violence in order to achieve peace. The ‘us and them’ interpretative repertoire is invoked (Lynn and Lea, 2003), using terms such as “our societies” on line 2 and “we” throughout his account, bringing his own country and other countries together against Islam. The use of “we” is also highlighted as being a part of banal nationalism by

Billig (1995: 144), which he describes as “the daily deixis of little words”. It is not only Wilders who has to fight, it is his country and the other countries that he lists (France, Germany, and the United Kingdom). This therefore makes all the countries accountable for the ‘problem’ of Islam, and are also to blame for the problem, which prevents Wilders from being accountable for placing blame onto Muslims. Wilders draws together the United Kingdom and the Netherlands into the same position of countries that have the common problem (6), caused by “them”, Syria, and thus Islam.

Wilders achieves his position as a reasonable person by constructing the opposition to all Muslims as “ridiculous” (3), and his desire for a greater good, which is peace. This in turn makes Snow’s accusations that he is against Muslims as unreasonable. Wilders manages his opposition to Islam by showing that he is not “even suggesting” (3), not even the lowest intensity of persuasion is being incurred. Similarly, on line 9 when he states “what I suggest”, the statement is of low intensity in terms of proposing a demand in order to maintain his position as reasonable. Wilders implies that countries are not currently being democratic by not letting people leave for Syria to join the Jihad. Wilders is constructing himself as having legitimate concerns about safety and being liberal by allowing people to leave for Syria. His orientation to freedom of movement constructs him as a rational politician, but he imposes his own restrictions of not letting people who leave for Syria return. This implies that his concerns lie with his own country being safe. There are categories being invoked in order to draw a distinction between Muslims, Islam as a religion, and Jihadists. Note Wilders’ category construction of “Islamization” (2), a negative concept to highlight a process of a gradual negative change in terms of the increase of Islam in society.

Following on from this, Snow sets up his next question in an oppositional manner:

Extract Three

1. JS: And do you accept that as an elected politician saying the things that you’re
2. doing that (.) (exactly) stokes the fires of hatred and brings about precisely the
3. civil war that you claim is already under way ↓

The “and” at the start of Snow’s prefaced question (Heritage and Sorjonen, 1994), indicates that this question is being set up in anticipation of an argument; it is a loaded

question. Through using the term “do you accept that”, Jon Snow is making a presumption of being correct emphasised through terms such as “precisely” (2), along with the anticipation that Geert Wilders’ response will not be of strong protest. There is underling hostility to Snow’s question, however, this is more of an open question and less hostile in comparison to a question such as ‘do you not accept that’. Nonetheless Snow is undermining Wilders’ position as a competent politician.

Snow uses the subject position of an “elected politician” (1), this works to give Wilders more stake to manage and makes it more difficult for Wilders to be accountable for what he is saying (in comparison to Britain First, a party who does not have “elected politicians”). If Wilders was not a politician, what he is saying may be less problematic. Snow uses a powerful hell-like metaphor of “fires of hatred” (2), to symbolise Wilders opposition to Islam and exclusionary policies, and in turn present Wilders as a threat.

The next extract shows how Wilders deals with Snow’s question, by attempting to appear as a reasonable politician, before Snow makes the comparison between Wilders’ party and the Nazi party in Germany:

Extract Four

1. GW: Both is not true (.) I have nothing with hate you might (.) not like it but we
2. are the biggest party in all the polls in the Netherlands for already half a year
3. >erm< you are very far away from the reality at least ↑ in the Netherlands sir I
4. don’t blame you for that but people don’t like hate people don’t like war I
5. want peace but I want it on my own terms and I want it with less Islam as
6. possible
7. JS: Geert Wilders (.) the National Socialist party in Germany was the most popular
8. party in Germany and what did that bring us but th-the desecration of Jews the
9. hatred of Jews and eventually the gassing ↑ of Jews ↓ and that surely is the
10. kind of parallel in Europe we need to steer clear of

Wilders begins by contrasting Snow's claims. Wilders attempts to appear as reasonable and engages with Snow whilst denying Snow's ideas, which makes Snow look unreasonable. Wilders is setting up his account as merely a difference of opinion between himself and Snow. The term "you might not like it" (1) orients to a suggestion that Wilders is not popular with the media in the UK. Wilders states that he does not blame Snow for his views (3-4), which shows understanding towards Snow whilst still maintaining that he is correct. Wilders is attempting to pull out Snow's credentials from beneath him and position himself as the expert on the matter. Wilders refers to Snow as "sir", keeping himself distanced from Snow and his account formal. Wilders constructs Snow as ignorant of the situation in the Netherlands (which he describes in a vague manner) and thus removed from the context. Snow is constructed as someone who does not know what he is talking about. Wilders is shifting position from earlier and now separating the UK and the Netherlands. This also works to provide subtle caveats about the situation of terrorism in the Netherlands.

Wilders draws upon polls as evidence of his popularity (2), a strategy of positive self-presentation (van Dijk, 1992), which in turn presents Snow's claims as unfair; that his party has a high number of supporters although he is not specific about which polls he is referring to. His use of "half a year" (2) emphasises that the party's success began before the Charlie Hebdo attack and thus is not related to the event, which makes his party seem more credible and defends his own anti-Islamic stance. Rooyackers and Verkuyten (2012) have shown that Wilders presents himself as a realistic and responsible politician, with group oriented policies. Here this is shown through Wilders using terms such as "people don't like hate" (4), but does this in a hedging manner by saying terms such as "at least" (3). Wilders is footing on behalf of his supporters being in opposition to Islam, this works to place the blame onto Muslims for being the ones with hatred, and not Wilders. Wilders is acting on behalf of others as well as himself, indicating that he has the support of his followers, and therefore can distance himself from what he is saying. Wilders also makes a disclaimer (4-5) of wanting peace, but peace on his terms, orienting to a controversial dictator-like position. Drawing upon ideas of peace allows Wilders' controversial comment to be taken as acceptable, that he wants as less Islam as possible. This is still an attempt to sound reasonable, using "as possible" (5).

Snow uses what Wilders says about his party being successful in polls against him to set up the parallel between Wilders' party and the Nazi party. Snow switches "biggest party"

to the term “popular” (6). Snow uses this to make a comparison with the Nazi party, who were also the most popular party in their own country, as an illustrative example to emphasise his argument about the consequences of Wilders’ anti-Islamic stance. Snow also uses the similarity of both parties being in Europe. Both are drawing upon similar types of factual evidence to make their accounts credible, but the implications of what it means to be popular differs among the two speakers, with Snow’s use of the word having negative connotations.

By Snow addressing Wilders by his name, this indicates Snow’s shift in topic (Clayman, 2010) and indicates that Jon Snow is setting up a challenge towards Wilders. There is a self-repair (7) just before Snow makes the parallel, suggesting an awareness of the problematic nature of making this parallel. Snow avoids directly mentioning Nazis or Hitler, and only refers to the political party name “National Socialist party” (6). This is a form of rhetorical delicacy, similar to the hesitation that Golding showed in the Britain First solidarity patrol when mentioning Jews and different divisions of the Jewish religion. This somewhat normalises the accusation, in order to make the parallel between Wilders and the Nazi party more realistic. Snow also compares the parties only, rather than a more personal comparison between Wilders and Hitler. Snow invokes a three-part list (Jefferson, 1990) to show the escalation of the treatment by the Nazi party towards Jews; 1) desecration, 2) hatred and 3) gassing, indicating the finality of the situation. Note that Snow constructs the opposition to people (Jews) rather than the religion (Judaism). Snow forms a collective identity and constructs Europe as also affected by using the term “us” (7), despite Wilders’ shift in position in comparison to the previous extract, and keeps the account about the Netherlands only.

Wilders responds to this parallel and makes himself appear as reasonable by maintaining his opposition to the religion of Islam and not people (i.e. Muslims), unlike Snow’s description of the Nazis’ opposition to Jews:

Extract Five

1. GW: Well that’s a very sick (.) parallel which is totally not eh valid here I have a
2. problem with Islam not with Muslims I told you already if people abide by
3. our rule of la:w and by our civil society they are welcome to stay but I don’t

4. want no more Islam we have even more mosques almost in the Netherlands
5. than churches I don't want that we have our own our own culture which is
6. based on Christianity and Judaism on Humanism and we are not Islamic
7. countries

Wilders explicitly denies Snow's comparison of his party being similar to the Nazi party, the criticism of Snow's parallel (and refusal to accept) is shown through a "well" preface (1). Wilders' denial is a standard discursive strategy for dealing with a negative accusation, particularly in situations related to accusations of racism or prejudice (Wetherell and Potter, 1992; van Dijk, 1992). Wilders is orienting to the common knowledge notion that being drawn into the same category as Nazis is offensive, emphasised through his use of the term "sick parallel" (1). Wilders presents his opposition to Islam as downgraded, in the form of a "problem" (2), this is a passive word in comparison to Snow's descriptions of the opposition to Jews as "desecration". However, Wilders' position shifts, as earlier in extract four he says he wants as least Islam as possible (line 5), whereas here he upgrades to state that he wants no more Islam (4). This is different to his group orientation earlier as his account is more about what he wants and less about his group orientation. Wilders also switches Snow's account about Europe, and turns the situation back onto the Netherlands (4).

Wilders manages to make his account reasonable and resist accusations of prejudice by separating and constructing his opposition to Islam and not Muslims on line 2 (suggesting that he is accepting of Muslims as long as they do not practise Islam). He keeps this construction consistent in two ways; firstly, through emphasising that he is repeating his reference of being in opposition to Islam a second time-this also constructs Wilders as being somewhat victimised as he is not being listened to, secondly by referring to the religions Christianity, Judaism and Humanism and not the people who practise the religions. Wilders refers to "people" abiding by laws (3), rather than referring to any religious groups. This is an attempt to make himself appear not anti-Islamic; although Muslims are implied as he immediately switches back to talking about his opposition to Islam. This distinction between Islam and Muslims also slips when he refers to "mosques" (4), which blurs the separation between religion and people. This is a similar strategy to

constructing Islam as a political ideology rather than a world religion (Carr, 2006). The use of “if people abide by our rule of law” (3) also implies that laws are currently not being abided by. His reference to “civil society” (3) orients to a democratic country, emphasising his position as a respectable politician.

Wilders is constructing himself as someone who is respectful of other religions, and therefore distance himself from the Nazi label. Note his inclusion of Judaism, further emphasising his difference to the Nazi party and therefore resisting Snow’s comparison. Wilders’ insertion of Humanism (completing a three-part list, Jefferson, 1990) shifts the issue of opposition to Islam being opposition to a culture and not to a religion. This is similar to the strategy of discursive deracialisation, the removal of race when justifying opposition to minority groups (Goodman and Burke, 2011). In this instance, Wilders is distancing himself from being in opposition to religion and possible accusations of Islamophobia by making his opposition about culture; he explicitly orients to “our own culture” (5). Again, as we see in other examples in the data, Christianity and Judaism are being drawn into same category, as being separate to Muslims. Using phrases such as “welcome” (3) invokes the idea that all Muslims are outsiders, here as guests in the Netherlands (the same strategy used by Britain First to refer to Jews as “welcome” in their solidarity patrol).

Following on from this, Jon Snow changes the topic, perhaps showing acceptance that this line of questioning has drawn to a close. Snow instead makes a comparison between Wilders and Nigel Farage (then leader of the United Kingdom Independence Party)’s views.

Extract Six

1. JS: Well err I-last night on this programme Nigel Farage of the UKIP party
2. described what was happening eh within our society as eh fifth column (.) that
3. was working away against the interests of the state (.) um eh is that exactly
4. how you see it↑
5. GW: I’m not so so much blaming um the-the so called fifth column I am blaming
6. the politicians who let that happen I can understand hh: that people from the

7. middle East (.) from poor countries that they want to come to our free
8. westernised countries but it's not possible we cannot do that we cannot
9. afford it and it brings a lot trouble=

Snow repeats Wilders' well-preface as before, and follows this with a declarative question, emphasised through the rising intonation at the end of line 4 (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik, 1985). Snow is implying that Wilders and Farage as politicians share the same outlook, emphasised by Snow's use of the word "exactly" (3). Snow provides contextual information about Farage's claims in order to provide a basis to ask Wilders about his position. Snow uses footing (Goffman, 1979; 1981) to construct the opinion as coming from another politician with a similar stance as Wilders.

Wilders detaches from placing blame onto Muslims or Islam and any kind of conspiracy talk that Snow is implying, similar to extract four where he is distancing himself from placing blame onto Snow. Wilders places blame onto "the politicians" (6) which distances himself from being accountable for the problem. This emphasises Wilder's claim that he does not have a problem with Muslims. Wilders also does not address the specific point of whether he agrees with Farage, suggesting that he is resisting the comparison. Wilders here is managing the ideological dilemma (Billig *et al.*, 1988) of constructing an understanding of and empathy for why people come to Westernised countries for economic reasons, but at the same time constructing Western countries as being unable to take the financial burden. This is similar to van Dijk's (1993b) argument of a 'firm but fair' approach to immigration, a strategy that allows opposition to another group seem rational. Wilders again uses the collective term "we" so that all Western countries are accountable for the burden; Wilders switches position from earlier and now makes all Western countries responsible, not just the Netherlands. Again, Wilders is displaying an understanding of something, yet constructing his way as the correct way. Here we see another use of discursive deracialisation, with Wilders basing his opposition to Islam on economic factors rather than race or religion.

8.2 Summary

In this account, I have examined a video posted by Britain First of Geert Wilders, a far-right politician renowned for causing controversy in his anti-Islamic views. I show how Wilders presented himself as a reasonable politician who emphasised the importance of peace, despite Jon Snow's parallel between Wilders' anti-Islamic rhetoric after the Charlie Hebdo attack with that of the Nazis' treatment towards the Jews during the Second World War. I have discussed how Snow used Wilders' own claims against him in order to make this parallel, and how Wilders defended this parallel (and managed his anti-Islamic position) by separating his opposition to a religion rather than to people. This in turn, made Wilders' anti-Islamic rhetoric seem more rational.

9. “You sick, twisted messes”:

Interaction and Conflict in discussions about Auschwitz

9.1 Introduction

On 28th January 2015, the day after Holocaust Memorial Day and the 70th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, the English Defence League (EDL) shared a video on their Facebook page entitled ‘70 years After Its liberation, A Drone Captures the Auschwitz we Should Never Forget’. The video was originally produced by the BBC news, and was posted on the website ‘Israeli video network’²¹. The video is 2.29 minutes long, and begins with a view of the railway tracks leading into Auschwitz-Birkenau, and then shows the entrance to Auschwitz. The drone films over the empty concentration camp, with subtitles explaining each feature. The video has no audio commentary, with music only.

The EDL shared the video from the ‘Israeli video network’ website. The EDL did not post a caption with the video so have not left their own commentary about Auschwitz, nonetheless their stance is made explicit both through sharing the video, and from the source of which they took the video. This is similar to the strategies used by other far-right parties to distance themselves from the label that they are fascist (Wood and Finlay, 2008). The Facebook post of the video generated fifty-nine comments in response over a twenty-four-hour period. Most of the extracts presented in this chapter are from the fifty-nine comments to the video. The other extracts are from comments to a post by the English Defence League titled ‘Islamists are just 21st century fascists’, and comments to the Britain First video of the Geert Wilders interview (see previous analytical chapter).

In the first posts, it was found that the idea of reopening concentration camps escalates straightaway, with users on Facebook building on the idea collaboratively. Unlike the Facebook responses to the solidarity patrol where comments progressively became hostile

²¹ <http://www.israelvideonetwork.com/70-years-after-its-liberation-a-drone-captures-the-auschwitz-we-should-never-forget/>

(see chapter seven) here there is immediate conflict between users over whether the reopening of concentration camps is ‘good’ or ‘bad’. Another difference between this chapter and the chapter on the solidarity patrol is that authors posted more frequently to argue with other Facebook users, whereas in response to the solidarity patrol, authors rarely posted more than once. However, what is similar between these two chapters is the discussion taking a transition from being anti-Muslim, to being anti-Semitic.

Users employ reasoning in these discussions over reopening concentration camps and putting a twist on what it means to “never forget”. My focus is on rhetorical devices used in such reasoning. Here I will discuss five different tropes of reasoning. Firstly, I cover the construction of opposing the idea as ‘sick’, as well as how discussion between Facebook users can escalate. Secondly, I examine an extract that uses inconsistency as an accusation, i.e. how an author can say this but not say that. Thirdly, I address strategies in arguments such as contesting someone else’s position through arguments about lack of intelligence. Fourthly, the construction of Muslims as ‘the new Nazis’, as well as expressing support for Hitler. Finally, I look at ‘devictimizing the victim’, which encompasses comments displaying Holocaust denial and the idea that Jews were responsible for their own fate. I will demonstrate how these tropes can be utilised in either a positive or a negative way. What I am going to explicate is how logic and reasoning is used on both sides of a debate, even when Facebook users display violent, visceral expressions of hatred. This has been shown to be a common strategy between two groups in conflict, whereby members try to persuade the opposing side that their position is a reasonable one (Finlay, 2014).

The first comment was in direct response to the video, where the idea began of reopening concentration camps to put Muslims in them. Following this, fourteen comments were left in response to the first comment rather than the video (i.e. users have pressed ‘reply’ underneath that comment and not ‘reply’ underneath the video). Thus, a discussion was taking place independently to that of the comments left for the video. After this, the comments were left in direct response to the video, thus are separate from the discussion about reopening concentration camps (see appendix C for the full transcript of comments).

Firstly, I examine the construction of ‘sickness’, to medicalise perceived ‘negative’ opinions. The accusation of another Facebook user being sick is used to say that the view is so extreme, the individual expressing the view must be sick. This works to present the accused as not reasonable in their opinions.

9.2 The construction of ‘sickness’ and ‘filth’ in discussions about Islam

Extract One

The first extract shows an argument escalating following the most popular and replied to comment. P1 starts with the construction of ‘reopening’ concentration camps to place Muslims in them (In P5’s second comment, he is addressing P1 by name):



The screenshot shows a Facebook comment thread with seven comments. The comments are as follows:

- Comment 1:** [Redacted] They should open it again & put muslims in there!
Like · Reply · 38 · 28 January at 11:30
- P1:** Hide 14 Replies
- P2:** [Redacted] Excellent idea
Like · 4 · 28 January at 13:23
- P3:** [Redacted] Really?!
You sick , twisted messes.
Like · 28 January at 14:56 · Edited
- P1:** [Redacted] NO, many muslims are sick & twisted. That is why we need to get rid of them! If you don't agree with that, you clearly support these terrorists!
Like · 6 · 28 January at 15:00
- P4:** [Redacted] I can be a commander of that facility
Like · 3 · 28 January at 17:31
- P5:** [Redacted] Maybe you should be put in there too [Redacted]?
Like · 28 January at 17:57
- P1:** [Redacted] Why? I am not a terrorist....unlike many muslims!
Like · 1 · 28 January at 18:22

The logic in this discussion parallels with the strategies used by Britain First that were discussed in the first analytical chapter on the solidarity patrol, whereby supporting Jews has been used as a resource to portray anti-Islamic discourse. Thus, in a similar way to how Britain First used the shooting at the Kosher supermarket in Paris as an opportunity to express anti-Muslim statements, the EDL have used Holocaust Memorial Day as an opportunity to do the same.

There is not only an agreement token offered by P2, but an escalation and upgrade of the notion being an “excellent idea” as well as three ‘thumbs up’ emoticons to indicate

approval. P1 later downgrades putting Muslims in concentration camps, to putting the “many muslims” (sic) who are terrorists in concentration camps. This shifts the focus onto only the ‘problematic’ Muslims who are terrorists, rather than constructing a generalisation that all Muslims should be put into concentration camps.

We start to see conflict and the construction of sickness at P3’s comment. There is a two-part construction of a moral category which starts with “sick, twisted” by P3, which is then constructed into a two-part subject position of “sick and twisted” by P1. This is an example of how ‘sickness’ can be constructed as either supporting Muslims, or being opposed to Muslims. P5’s suggestion of putting P1 into a gas chamber upgrades the disapproval by switching who should be placed into concentration camps. P1 reverses the sickness onto “many muslims”, and draws upon the construction that supporting Muslims implies that you are not ‘us’ but are ‘one of them’, and that is problematic. This is constructed as a causal ‘if x, then y’ construction (see Reisigl and Wodak, 2001), emphasised as common knowledge through using “clearly” i.e., if you support Muslims you “clearly” support terrorists.

The next extract is from later in the same discussion, with an accusation of someone who is perceived to be Muslim (based on either his/her name or profile picture) as “filthy” (P23, whom the author addresses by name). The comments in between comments 48 and 53 have been omitted, and are presented later in this chapter in extract fifteen:

Extract Two



P28 replies to P23’s representation of the Holocaust, and presents the notion of Christian terrorist as absurd. P28 positions himself as a Christian (and thus offended by P23’s comment), shown through the use of “my religion”. The construction of this idea is presented as so outrageous, that P23 is positioned as being on drugs, i.e. this account could not be presented reasonably when of sound mind. Further emphasis of the absurdity of

P23's comment is shown through P28 using four question marks. This accusation is presented informally through P28's use of "mate". P28 constructs P23 as a Muslims (a construction seemingly based on P23's name or profile picture) and draws upon the 'us and them' distinction (Lynn and Lea, 2003) between Christianity and Islam by referring to "my religion", and using derogatory language that orients to the prophet Muhammad's marriage to a six-year-old girl. P28 also accuses P23 of 'daring' to make the comparison, yet inserts their own comparison between Islam and Christianity. This presents P23 as more entitled to make the comparison between Christianity and Islam (see extract fifteen in this chapter for further discussion on P23's comment).

Similar strategies have been found elsewhere on the English Defence League's Facebook posts (with different authors). The following extract was taken from an EDL post, dated 16th January 2015 (thus still in the aftermath of the Charlie Hebdo attack), referring to Islamists as "20th century fascists":

Extract Three



Here P1 expresses that there is only one "difference" between Islamic extremists and fascists. We then see the implication of Muslims being positioned in derogatory manner through the subject position of "filthy Arabs", Arabs being synonymous with 'Muslims'. Derogatory language is used by P2 towards P1. P1 is positioned as a Christian by P2, implied through the symbolism of "cross worshipper". This term also has affiliation to ISIS, as "cross-worshipper" is a derogatory term used by ISIS to describe Christians (Morris, 2016: 59). P3 confirms this association and orientation to Islam through the indication that P2 worships "a paedophile", again a reference to the prophet Muhammad that was also seen in the previous extract. Again, we see the use of "filth" to describe someone perceived to be Muslim, but "filth" is also used by the individual opposing the

support towards Nazis. This keeps to the back and forth construction that we saw in extract one of repeating terms in an argument. This extract also shares features with the Nazism trope in section 4, in that P1 argues the idea that the Nazis could have prevented terrorism, as well as the downplayed construction of Germans as “pretty cool”. This use of language subtly others Germans, as it constructs all Germans as Nazis.

The trope of sickness was identified in the interview with Jon Snow of Channel 4 and the Dutch far-right politician Geert Wilders, an interview that was posted on the Britain First Facebook Page (and discussed in chapter eight):

Extract Four

1. JS: Geert Wilders (.) the National Socialist party in Germany (.) was the most
2. popular party in Germany and what did that bring us but th-the desecration of
3. Jews↑ the hatred of Jews↑ and eventually the gassing of Jews↓ and that
4. surely is the kind of parallel in Europe we need to steer clear of
5. GW: Well that’s a very sick parallel which is totally not eh valid here I have a
6. problem with Islam not with Muslims I told you already if people abide by our
7. rule of la:w and by our civil society they are welcome to stay but I don’t want
8. no more Islam we have even more mosques almost in the Netherlands than
9. churches don’t want that we have our own our own culture which is based on
10. Christianity on Judaism on Humanism and we are not Islamic countries↑

This extract is different to the others in that the one being accused is using the construction of sickness, i.e. the accusation that Jon Snow makes of Wilder’s party having parallels with the Nazi party is sick, rather than the idea that opposition to Islam is sick. Wilders explicitly disagrees with Snow’s accusation, and refuses to accept the parallel. Wilders emphasises that his distinction between opposing Islam and not Muslims has been made salient already (5). Wilders presents offence at the parallel between his party and the Nazi party. This is in line with research on taboos on making accusations of racism, that it is problematic to accuse someone of being racist or being a Nazi (Burke and Goodman,

2012; Goodman, 2010). Wilders distances himself from the Nazi label by emphasising Judaism as one of the religions that is “acceptable” (10), as well as collectively expressing what people want using “we”. Wilders also uses strategies to emphasise his inclusiveness through mentioning his acceptance of humanism (10).

This section has examined the construction of ‘sickness’ in opposing arguments about Muslims, as well as insults that individuals perceived to be Muslims are “filthy”. Next, I identify the trope of inconsistency; accusations of how an author can say x, but not say y. The following extract is taken from comments to the Geert Wilders interview. The author corrects him/herself for saying that the notion of killing Muslims is “wrong”. While only one extract features in this section, this is a significant and common rhetorical device used elsewhere, as will be seen in extract six in the subsequent section.

9.3 Accusations of Inconsistency

Extract Five



The screenshot shows a comment thread with four entries:

- P1:** [Profile picture] Correct me if I'm wrong, but did he basically say for them to take their murderous rampage some place else, just not in my backyard?
Like · Reply · 17 January at 17:05
- P2:** [Profile picture] Jew shite make Sooooooo. You do want it in your backyard?
Like · 1 · 17 January at 20:25
- P3:** [Profile picture] get real
Like · 17 January at 22:44
- P1:** [Profile picture] Don't get me wrong, I think they should all be shot. But if you just move the vermin to another place where they can multiply, they'll come back in even greater numbers.
Like · 1 · 17 January at 23:42

Here P1 deals with an accusation that he/she is tolerant of Islam. P1 allows for debate to take place and room for disagreement, by stating “correct me if I’m wrong”. P1 manages the ideological dilemma of wanting to get rid of Muslims whilst maintaining rationality. P1 uses “just” twice to highlight when notions are unreasonable (Goodman and Burke, 2010): the notion that Geert Wilders “just” doesn’t want Muslims “in my backyard”, and “just” moving Muslims to another place is as unreasonable as having Muslims here. P2

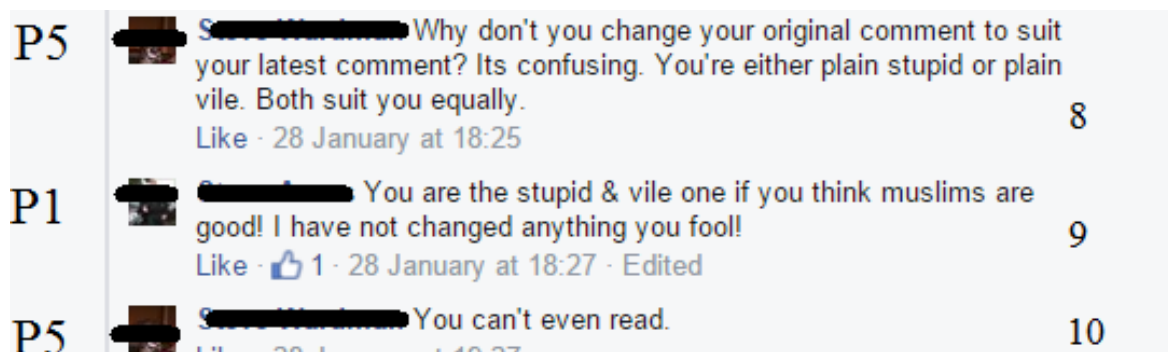
uses an interrogative question in order to accuse P1 of being tolerant of Islam, as well as criticising this tolerance. P3 uses a common idea that is used by other authors (e.g. see extract nine), that people who are not opposed to Islam need to either ‘wake up’, or in this case “get real”. P1 deals with this dilemma through violent imagery directed towards “all” Muslims. P1 uses derogatory metaphors to dehumanise Muslims as pests and as animalistic, such as “vermin”, and “multiply” (Goodman, 2007; Sakki, Hakoköngäs and Pettersson, 2017).

This extract has examined an accusation of being inconsistent in opposition to Muslims, and how the accused dealt with such accusations. In the next section, users draw upon arguments surrounding a lack of intellect and intelligence to explain why people are in opposition to Muslims.

9. 4 Arguments about (un) Intelligence

The next extract is a continuation of the argument over reopening concentration camps (see extract one). This time, authors who were against the idea of reopening concentration camps drew upon insults and the notion that authors who created this idea are stupid:

Extract Six



P5’s first comment suggests that P1 should have implied that terrorist be placed into concentration camps, rather than Muslims. This positions P5 as reasonable on both sides of the debate as he/she tolerates Muslims, but does not tolerate terrorists. So, the notion of reopening concentration camps is still being utilised. Here we see an exchange of insults, in the form of a contrasting notion that authors are “plain stupid or plain vile”, which P1 has again repeated and constructed into a two-part category of “stupid and vile”, as well as the additional insult of “fool”. The exchange has a similar back and forth argumentative structure to extract one where the trope is being used on both sides of the debate. P1

appears not to address the notion of changing his/her comment (mistaking the suggestion that he/she *should* change his comment for the accusation that he/she *has* changed his comment), an error which again leads to P5 drawing upon the lack of intelligence argument, the accusation “can’t even read” implies that P1 does not even have the most basic of intellect.

Finally, in this section, we see opponents of the idea of reopening concentration camps having a discussion, one of whom (P5) was part of the discussion in earlier comments, e.g. extract six:

Extract Seven



Here Facebook users are contesting the other authors’ position through drawing upon arguments and metaphors surrounding lack of intelligence. This extract shares features with the Nazism trope, as P13 makes parallels between opponents of Islam and Nazis. The exaggerated use of “hmmmm”, suggests that P13 is implying that those in support of the idea of reopening concentration camps are the ones who are parallel to Nazis not Muslims, and that this does not need saying outright. Note that this is done in a delicate way in comparison to the explicit parallels between Muslims and Nazis that have been shown. The use of “this lot” refers to the Facebook users in support of reusing concentration camps in a derogatory and generalised way. The authors draw upon agreement tokens and P14 addresses P13 by name, showing alignment with P13.



Following this, P15 directly replies to this comment, showing that he/she has changed his stance over reopening Auschwitz. P15 had previously posted in this discussion that the reopening of concentration camps was “a good idea”. P15 agrees that there is a lack of understanding about the issue, although uses hedging words such as “probably” and “quite” so is not totally affiliating with this view. P15 then turns to express an angry post wishing to burn Auschwitz. This anger is emphasised using staccato (...) to depict short fragments of disconnected sentences. P15 denotes emotive expressions and empathy for victims of the Holocaust.

This trope examined the use of insults in discussions about putting Muslims into concentration camps, particularly insults that focus on the idea that people who are against Muslims lack intellectual capacity (which did lead to one Facebook user changing their stance). In the same thread of comments, we see the co-categorisation of Muslims as ‘the new Nazis’ in addition to being terrorists. On the other side of this construction, we have the notion that Nazism is a positive idea, to enable the reopening of concentration camps for Muslims. This can be paired with the notion that it is a shame that Hitler is no longer here.

9.5 Nazism

The following extract is a continuation of the debate about putting Muslims in concentration camps, carrying on from the comments from extract one over who is and who isn’t ‘twisted’. In this extract, we also see support for Hitler:

Extract Eight

P6	 Only one problem the Hitler is dead!! but the great idea!! burn all the scum bags in one large oven Like ·  1 · 29 January at 20:58	13
P7	 Twisted would be to tolerate them anymore Like · 29 January at 23:53	14
P8	 The islamists are the new Nazis. Simply repatriate them back to their homelands so they can practice their voodoo crap and leave the rest of us in peace! Like ·  1 · Yesterday at 14:04	15

Here we see further support in the discussion that was started in extract one about reopening concentration camps for Muslims, with an upgrade to it being a “great idea”. P6

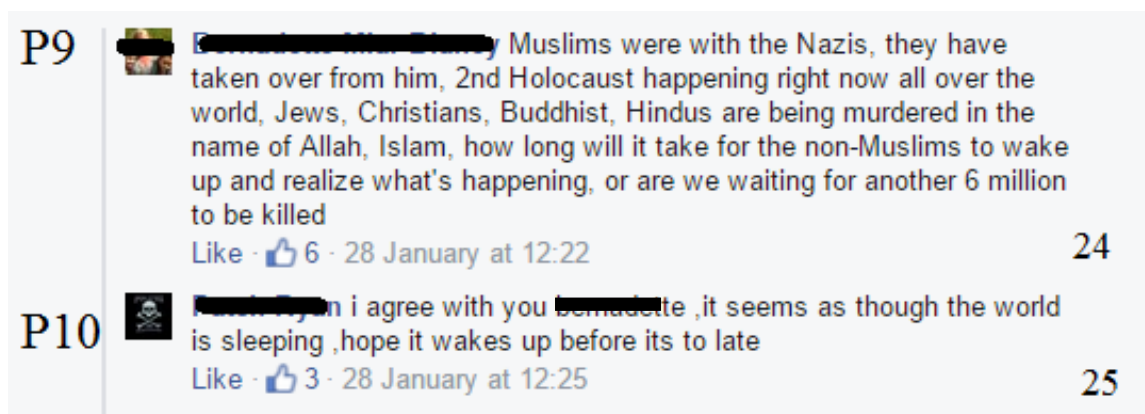
constructs Hitler's death as being the only drawback to this notion of reusing concentration camps. P6 uses the common metaphor of "one large oven" to refer to gas chambers. This has connotations of genocide, and whilst Muslims are not mentioned, the notion of killing all Muslims at once is implied. P7 is reversing the previous use of the term 'twisted', (as seen as extract one) whereby 'twisted' had been to support the idea of reopening concentration camps (this overlaps with features in the first trope of 'sickness'). P7 constructs the notion that to be twisted means to support Muslims referring to Muslims as "them" suggesting that the term 'Muslims' does not need to be explicitly said, and again draws upon the notion that Muslims are intolerable.

Next, we see the use of the subject position of two categories put together, that Islamists are 'the new Nazis'. However, P8 has several strategies to downgrade the hostility that has been identified so far in this discussion. Firstly, P8 refers to "islamists" (sic), so the opposition is not generalised towards all Muslims as was seen in extract one in this chapter, but now towards Islamists and the Islamic State. Similar distinctions between opposing Islamic extremism and not Muslims have been identified in the discourse of politicians such as Geert Wilders to appear as reasonable (e.g. Verkuyten, 2005). Secondly, P8 softens the violence that has been used by previous authors by using the term "repatriate" i.e. to send away rather than to kill. However, this does construct Islamists as outsiders to the UK, overlooking the notion that Islamic extremists have come from Britain (e.g. the London 2005 bombings, where three of the four suicide bombers were British born²²). Thirdly, P8 uses the idea of practising "Voodoo" which positions Islam as a dark, violent cult rather than a religion, in contrast to the 'peaceful us'. This is a strategy to position Islamists as the violent ones, rather than the author. Despite Muslims being 'the new Nazis', and thus the incarcerators, they are still positioned as ideal to be prisoners in concentration camps and are simultaneously being categories as two subject positions.

At the same time as the discussion about reopening concentration camps was taking place, comments were being left in response to the video displaying the idea of Muslims being the New Nazis.

²² <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2005/jul/13/july7.uksecurity6>

Extract Nine



P9 is drawing upon the metaphor of being asleep, and that people need to ‘wake up’ and face up to the ongoing global problem of Muslims. P9 adds to the construction of Muslims as fascist and ‘the new Nazis’ by referring to a “2nd Holocaust” and as Muslims taking over from Hitler-this is placed as common knowledge in two ways: 1) through referring to Hitler as “him”, and the reference to “another 6 million”-the figure of how many Jews were killed in the Holocaust²³. In addition to this, P9 constructs Muslims as historically aligned with the Nazis. P9 uses the strategy of storytelling (De Fina, Schiffrin, and Bamberg, 2006) to express who is being killed “right now” by Muslims. This in turn draws upon the idea that nothing is being done about it. This is used to present the identities and religions that P9 aligns with, as well as construct Muslims as powerful and harmful. P9 draws upon the statistic of how many Jews died during the Holocaust, as an implicit threat that the same will happen again.

P10 replies with explicit agreement and addresses P9 by name, this allows for sequentially which is useful for online settings where visual continuation cues are absent (Fozdar and Pederson, 2013). P10 inserts an additional opinion using the same notion of the world being asleep, and again uses implicit threats, although somewhat softer than P9’s threat in the form of ‘hoping’ that this won’t happen.

The construction of Muslims as ‘the new Nazis’ continued:

²³ <http://www.auschwitz.dk/Docu/Faq.htm>

Extract Ten



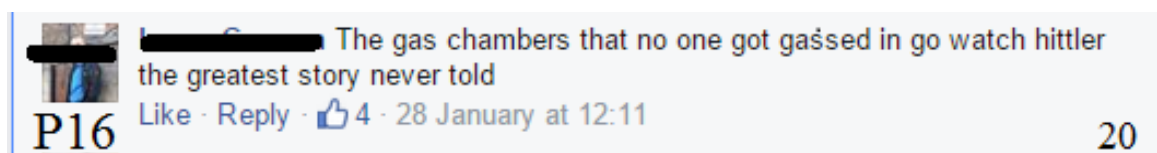
Here we see a similar subject position of fascist “Islamic Nazis” and again the notion of a second Holocaust which people are not facing up to (note the use of capital letters for “Islamic Nazis”, constructing this as a noun). “Nobody talks about” is orienting to the idea of ‘political correctness’, this theory has been discussed in chapter six on the solidarity patrol, that people do not speak up about Islamic extremism due to fear of being accused of Islamophobia. P12 adds an agreement token, and shifts the account from being about ‘Islamic Nazis’, to being about Muslims as ‘the New Nazis’, again with capital letters making this a noun. This shows that the distinction between Islamic extremists and Muslims can be blurred. P12 starts with the idea of eradicating Muslims, then shifts position, highlighted through the use of “well”, to downgrade the idea of eradicating the religion not the people. This presents P12 as reasonable by suggesting the lowest intensity of action.

This section focused on the construction of Muslims and Islamists as ‘the new Nazis’, as well as the construction of Nazism and fascism as synonymous. In the final trope, I examine a common feature of anti-Semitic discourse, Holocaust denial. In some of these accounts Holocaust Denial is implied rather than explicitly denied, for example, devictimizing Jews as being responsible for their own fate, and orienting to the idea that ‘it wasn’t just Jews’.

9. 6 Devictimizing the victim (Holocaust Denial)

The first comment denies the use of gas chambers:

Extract Eleven



This Holocaust denial is done in an indirect way by drawing upon media for support. The denial of the existence of gas chambers is a common feature of Holocaust denial (Cohen-Almagor 2016). P16 is directing readers to a documentary by Dennis Wise (which has been banned in several countries) that outlines ‘proof’ that the Holocaust did not exist²⁴. This signposting to a documentary works to ensure that P16’s claims don’t appear to be unfounded. P16 avoids mentioning Jews and instead refers to “no one” being gassed, a strategy to avoid being labelled anti-Semitic. This contrasts with previous findings that Facebook users expressed outright support for gas chambers, with no attempt to make accounts seem reasonable or reject the Nazi label (Burke and Goodman, 2012).

Another common strategy in Holocaust denial is denial over the scale of murders that took place:

Extract Twelve



Here P17 orients to the caption in the video which states “An estimated 1.6 million people were killed at Auschwitz”. P17 constructs the figure of 1.6 million as being a lie (possibly

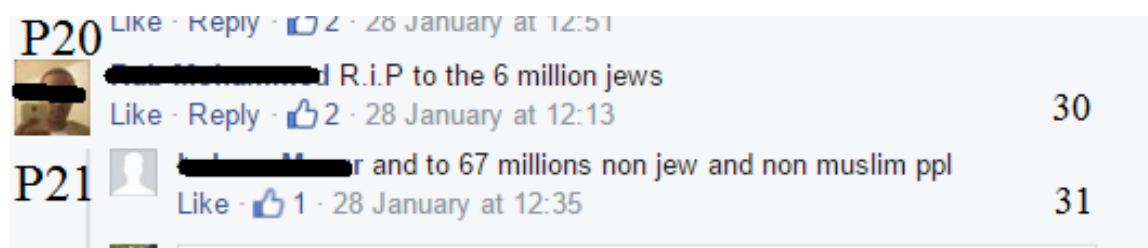
²⁴ http://www.jewishjournal.com/israelife/item/holocaust_denial_becoming_scarily_reliable

confusing this with the well-known figure of six million Jews who were murdered during the Holocaust). P17 displays the common Holocaust denial of the scale of people murdered, and orients to the idea that this figure frequently changes (Wodak, 2015b). “Oh” is used to indicate a change of state token (Heritage, 1984), used to imply that P17 has received new information, and there is now a change in what is common knowledge. This is further shown through using the word “now”, implying that the figure of people killed has changed. Note that the author also refers to “the Jews”, a form of othering that has been seen in extracts in previous chapters.

P18 constructs P17’s account as that of confusion over the 1.6 million being how many people were killed in the Holocaust, rather than in Auschwitz alone. P18 corrects the first author’s ‘mistake’, constructing this as common knowledge and using dots at the end of his/her statement, indicating that nothing more needs to be said; this could be a strategy to imply that this fact is obvious, or avoidance of directly saying that P17 has oriented to Holocaust denial. The term “Jew Hater” is used by P19, another way of calling P17 anti-Semitic. This accusation could be a strategy to by P19 to the common stereotype that far-right supporters are associated with anti-Semitism.

Next we see an extract displaying the common anti-Semitic argument that ‘it wasn’t just Jews’:

Extract Thirteen



The use of numbers has been identified as a common strategy to persuade and add reliability due to their preciseness (van Dijk, 1988), and has been found to be frequently used on Facebook to create a sense of panic (Orrù, 2014). Both authors cite figures without referencing any sources, implying that these figures are common knowledge (the 6 million figure has been used frequently on this thread of comments, referring to the number of Jews killed during the Holocaust, Cohen-Almagor, 2016).

P21 contests P20’s position by adding a significantly larger figure of people killed who were not Jewish (or Muslim). This devictimizes Jews by diminishing the harm caused as well as undermining Jews, features of anti-Semitic discourse. The use of ‘non muslim’ (sic) is another way to marginalise Muslims, implying that Muslims were not affected by the Holocaust, and again drawing upon the construction of Muslims as in alliance with Nazis.

The following extract devictimizes Jews by downgrading the effects of the Holocaust:

Extract Fourteen

The screenshot shows a social media comment thread with three entries. Each entry includes a profile picture, a name, a comment, and a like count.

- P22:** Profile picture of a person with a beard. Comment: "Its alot less than what has been done an still going on on the Genocide of the America's of 1st Nations by the invaders and I am sick to death of jews crying about a few yrs of the 2nd WW our Genocide started in 1490,s to the present with only 4 million Fullbloods left and we have fought for our lives over this time, jews didn't they just did what they were told 50 Guards could guard thousands easily walking or in trains to there deaths was it stupidity or no guts roll over an die instead of fighting back maybe a few hundred would die over powering guards but thousands would have survived stop crying jews there are people's always worse off than you...." Like count: 55. Timestamp: 28 January at 12:52.
- P19:** Profile picture of a person with a beard. Comment: "Shame on you Jew Hater." Like count: 56. Timestamp: 28 January at 15:55.
- P5:** Profile picture of a person with a beard. Comment: "Everyone is entitled to their own opinions. Even when they're as stupid as his." Like count: 57. Timestamp: 28 January at 18:04.

P22 draws upon the genocide of Native Americans and uses the figure of how many “Fullbloods” Native Americans are left, in order to contrast this with the Holocaust. This account downgrades the effects of the Holocaust through using normalising terms such as “few years” and “crying”, as well as Jews “just” doing what they were told. Jews are positioned as in control of their own destiny, i.e. have been devictimised. This places the blame of the Holocaust onto Jews and positions Jews as weak. P18 constructs his theory as reasonable by suggesting that at least “a few hundred” would still have died during the Holocaust and this means that P22 does not deny the Holocaust altogether. Strategies such as the construction of Jews as exaggerating the effects of the Holocaust are manifestations of Holocaust denial (Cohen-Almagor, 2016). There is an ‘us and them’ distinction used, of the idea that there are people worse off than Jews, yet the author highlights the plight of ‘us’, a form of differentiating the self (Lynn and Lea, 2003). This strategy allows P22 to

show concern for people belonging to his own ‘us’ group, native “Fullbloods”, whilst maintaining an anti-Semitic argument. This constructs the ‘us’ group as having worse hardship.

In response, we see the “shame on you Jew Hater” comment again. P5 (who has posted numerous times before arguing against reopening the concentration camps, see extracts one and six) responds and accepts the first author’s view, and invokes the freedom of speech argument to present him/herself as reasonable and tolerant to differing views. The support for freedom of speech then allows P5 to make his subsequent insulting comment.

Other extracts include strategies such as contesting someone else’s position through using facts and figures, or information about the Historical background of Auschwitz. The following extract was a part of the discussion taking place in extract two:

Extract Fifteen



The screenshot shows a social media thread with three comments. The first comment, from a user with a profile picture of a person in a white cap, states: "The christian white terrorists killed 6 million innocent Jewish". It has 1 like and was posted on 28 January at 11:18, with a score of 48. The second comment, from user P24, responds: "You are so wrong. In Auschwitz were closed mostly Polish ppl so most of ppl killed there were Christians. Jewish were closed in Birkenau. Second thing You are wrong about is Hitler and his religion. He was raised in a Christian family but when he grew up he was referring to the religion of reluctance up to hostility as his subordinates so you can't consider them as a Christians if they didn't themselves as one of us. You should get to know facts before saying bullsh...". It has 13 likes, was posted on 28 January at 13:00, and was edited, with a score of 49. The third comment, from user P25, states: "Don't be such egocentric Jews. In the Second World War were murdered millions of Slavs (~15mln), Jews (~6mln), Chinese (~20mln) and ppl of other nationalities.". It has 1 like and was posted on 28 January at 12:48, with a score of 50.

P24 disagrees with the first user’s claim, presenting his/her own claims as factual, as well as the notion that mostly Christians were killed in Auschwitz. Note that P24’s accusation that the original author does not know “facts” is also relevant to the trope of (un) intelligence in section three. P24 is removing Christians as being responsible for the consequences of Auschwitz by removing Hitler’s Christian identity, and aligning Hitler with Muslims. P24 draws upon the common ‘us’ Christians versus ‘them’ Muslims and Nazis. This further emphasises the construction of Muslims as ‘the New Nazis’ and gives

this idea a Historical basis. Note P25 adding figures in parenthesis to bolster their argument that it wasn't 'just Jews'.

The final trope has examined the notion that victims are responsible for their own fate, i.e. the victim has become devictimized. Strategies in this trope include Holocaust denial, undermining the effects of the Holocaust on Jews, as well as the idea that Jews 'could have done more'.

9.7. Summary

In this chapter I have discussed the responses on Facebook to the video about the 70th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, and that 'we should never forget' Auschwitz. This has been discussed in five tropes. Firstly, conflict between users showing support for reopening concentration camps for Muslims and those opposing this idea, with a focus on who is 'sick', as well as Muslims being positioned as "filthy". Secondly, accusations of inconsistency, i.e. how can you say this and not say that. Thirdly, opponents arguing against ideas through contesting someone's intelligence. Fourthly, the co-construction of Muslims as the 'new Nazis'. Finally, comments displaying Holocaust denial and devictimising Jews. This involved denial of three types: 1) the use of gas chambers; 2) denial over the scale of people murdered; and 3) orienting to the notion that 'it wasn't just Jews'. In each trope we see some form of conflict and escalation over ideas.

Concentration camps being a negative phenomenon is displayed as common knowledge, but nonetheless constructed as suitable to be reopened for Muslims, with logic and reasoning applied to this extreme idea. The caption on the video reads "we should never forget", and users on Facebook have perverted this notion of "never forget" by promoting the idea of reusing concentration camps. The effects of the Holocaust can be belittled, a manifestation of anti-Semitic discourse. Again, this is constructed with reasoning, for example, that Jews are at fault for their own fate. While Holocaust denial is considered a manifestation of Hate Speech (Wodak, 2015b), such statements are still left on Facebook unreported, despite researchers arguing that reporting racist content to Facebook requires little effort (Oboler, 2013). However, comments can be challenged even on a far-right page, and we have seen from extract seven that a user did change his/her stance.

10. Conclusion

10. 1 Introduction

“Had Donald Trump said the things he said during the campaign eight years ago—about banning Muslims, about Mexicans, about the disabled, about women—his Republican opponents, faith leaders, academia would have denounced him and there would be no way around those voices. Now, through Facebook and Twitter, you can get around them. There is social permission for this kind of discourse. Plus, through the same social media, you can find people who agree with you, who validate these thoughts and opinions. This creates a whole new permission structure, a sense of social affirmation for what was once thought unthinkable. This is a foundational change.”

David Simas, Obama’s political director, 2016²⁵

My research has been important for identifying how, in the aftermath of a terrorist attack, groups can be ‘othered’ as not ‘one of us’ and marginalised by the far-right and far-right supporters on social media. Brexit, as well as the election of Donald Trump, show just how social media can be utilised by politicians not only in the aftermath of events but during campaigns. Social media can also be used as means to express reactions to political outcomes.

Britain First has taken over as the main far-right political party in the UK, and at the time of writing this chapter at the end of 2016, have just over 1.5 million likes on their Facebook page, overshadowing the BNP’s current 200,000 likes. Britain First are still ineffective in political terms (see chapter two where I discuss Paul Golding’s unsuccessful London mayoral campaign). This may be due to the perceived ‘success’ of the outcome of ‘Brexit’ in June 2016. However, I have shown that even if the far-right are politically unsuccessful, they have prominence and influence on a social media platform. This has built upon research by (Atton, 2006) who identified that the internet is a useful tool for the far-right to gain supporters, but research had not yet examined how social media can facilitate discussion between far-right supporters (and opponents).

²⁵ <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/11/28/obama-reckons-with-a-trump-presidency>

This research examined how two far-right organisations, Britain First and the English Defence League (EDL), communicated on Facebook about Islam and protecting Jews, whilst maintaining being ‘reasonable’ in their anti-Islamic views. I focused on how both organisations managed opposition to Islam in the wake of the Charlie Hebdo attack, including the alignment with the Jewish community who are presented as being ‘in danger’ from Islamic extremists. I also focused on how Facebook users displayed anti-Semitic and Islamophobic views following the terrorist attack. The British National Party’s (BNP) activities and success dropped significantly following Griffin’s bankruptcy and exit in July 2014. Currently, Griffin is no longer chairman of the BNP and the party do not currently have any councillors (Cobain, 2016). The lack of activity on Facebook meant that the BNP did not feature in the final analysis.

10.2 Summary of findings and Discussion

In the first analytical chapter, I examined a video posted by Britain First on its Facebook page, of their ‘solidarity patrol’. Britain First patrolled through Golders Green to show support for Jewish communities following the shooting at the Koshers supermarket in Paris in January 2015, and constructed Jews as being in danger at the hands of Islamic extremism. Britain First was distinguishing itself from the anti-Semitic positions of its predecessors the British National Party and the National Front, by emphasising explicit, direct support for Jews, although as previous research shows, both the National Front (Billig, 1978) and the BNP (Carter, 2005; Goodman and Johnson, 2013) used strategies to avoid being labelled anti-Semitic such as using moderate language Britain First also used visual ‘evidence’ to further emphasise that it showed support for Jews, as well to communicate subtle messages to its supporters e.g. Golding’s anti-Taliban jacket. However, Britain First still used rhetorical devices to construct Jews as the ‘other’. Britain First simultaneously showed explicit support for Jews whilst constructing Jews as different from ‘us’, the British. This means that Britain First on the surface appears as though it supports the Jewish community, yet maintains its separation from Jews. The findings identified in this chapter support research by (Verkuyten, 2013) who discussed the finding that far-right politicians base opposition to Muslims on the apparent intolerances of the religion of Islam. Here, Britain First is framing its opposition to Muslims based on the perceived prejudice that Muslims have towards Jews, and drawing upon in-group categories such as “our people”, in a similar way to the BNP using categories such as

“indigenous people” to (Edward 2012; Goodman and Johnson, 2013) exclude ‘others’ who are not British.

Britain First had to manage the dilemma that is common for far-right organisations, of appealing to the mainstream without presenting ideas that will lose its original supporters, a dilemma that historically far-right parties in the UK have had to manage (see Billig, 1978). Britain First is sending out a prejudicial message whilst positioning itself as a tolerant benefactor for the “good” outsider (i.e. Jews) in order to appear reasonable in its anti-Islamic stance. Prior research (e.g. Lynn and Lea, 2003; Masocha 2005) has found that the ‘us and them’ distinction was used in order to negatively present a ‘them’ group (e.g. asylum seekers) as undeserving of support. In the case of this research, British Jews have been constructed as another ‘us’ group alongside Christians, in order to present Jews in a positive light for the purpose of gaining social capital for Britain First. The construction allows for Jews to appear to be receiving support from Britain First, whilst Britain First can still remain distanced and from Jews.

The Jewish community are constructed as people who need protection and to be looked after due to being isolated and marginalised by Muslims, Britain First are being on the side of the ‘underdog’. The identity work of aligning with an ethnic minority that are like “us”, constructs both Jews and Britain First as being under threat from the aggressor of Islam. Whilst showing support for the Jewish community and separating being Jewish from being British, this works to make a distinction that Jews are not the same as Britain First, and works to do the opposite of what Britain First claimed that it was setting out not to do, which was to marginalise the Jewish community.

Secondly, I focused on the Facebook comments on Britain First’s Facebook page in response to the solidarity patrol. I analysed a range of comments, from those that were supportive towards Jews, to comments that took an anti-Semitic turn. The comments in support of Jews mirrored the strategies used by Britain First, such as the separation of being British and being Jewish. The anti-Semitic comments had common features of anti-Semitic rhetoric, such as anti-Zionist statements, and using the Bible as ‘evidence’. In the solidarity patrol itself, Britain First used the ISIS attack on the Koshers supermarket to present Jews as being in danger, for which Britain First blamed Muslims.

A minority of comments showed support for Muslims, albeit in a delicate manner. This suggests that it is difficult to combat Islamophobic arguments directly, and is similar to the

argument by Goodman (2010) that criticising racist arguments is difficult due to facing accusations of censorship. This analysis has shown that the response by Facebook users has been contrary to Britain First's attempt to align with Jews, and resulted in the display of anti-Semitic discourse. The overall result is that Britain First has not only achieved its objective of anti-Islamic discourse, but another possible objective which was to categorise Jews as non-British. This has resulted in the marginalisation of Jews by users on Facebook.

Next, I discussed another video posted by Britain First on their Facebook page in January 2015, of an interview on Channel 4 news with the Dutch far-right politician Geert Wilders. I showed how Wilders tried to appear as a reasonable politician in the wake of the Charlie Hebdo attack, and dealt with the accusation from the interviewer Jon Snow, that Wilders' opposition to Islam paralleled with that of the treatment of Jews by the Nazi party. Wilders resisted this accusation by making a clear distinction between opposing Islam as a religion, and opposing Muslims as people, a finding also identified by Verkuyten, 2013). This is in keeping with research that has shown that distinguishing between opposing ideologies and opposing individuals is a strategy to resist receiving accusations of prejudice (ibid, 2013).

The distinction between opposing a religion and opposing people gives support to the suggestion that there needs to be a definition which protects Muslims from discrimination, for example, 'Muslimophobia' (Cheng, 2015). In both the Wilders interview and the solidarity patrol, discourse transgressed away from the context of the Charlie Hebdo attack, and focused on the problematic nature of minority groups. Wilders, at the time of writing, has been convicted of inciting discrimination against Moroccans living in the Netherlands²⁶, yet his party the Dutch Party for Freedom, is a strong contender for the general election in the Netherlands in March 2017. Wilders communicating via a video blog demonstrates that he aimed to reach a mass audience using a variety of media platforms, and his popularity as a politician indicates that Wilders' anti-Islamic rhetoric is not losing him followers.

Finally, I discussed comments to a video posted by the EDL on the 70th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz that "we should never forget". This chapter addressed my research aim to examine how Facebook users showed both opposition to and support for the far-

²⁶ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/18/dutch-far-right-leader-geert-wilders-goes-on-trial-for-inciting-hatred>

right. I showed how the comments to the Facebook post created a construction of reopening concentration camps for Muslims ‘the new Nazis’, as not only a logical idea, but an “excellent” idea. The notion of Islam being linked to Nazis has been identified as a strategy used by far-right parties to avoid being labelled as anti-Semitic (Hafez, 2014). Not only was reason used in these arguments, but the notion of being ‘sick’ by other Facebook users. This contrasts with other research that has identified that anti-Islamic comments were not challenged on the EDL message boards, whereas in this research comments were contested by Facebook users (Cleland, Anderson and Aldridge-Deacon, 2017).

The construction of bringing back gas chambers has previously been identified on Facebook discussions about asylum seekers (Burke and Goodman, 2012). I also examined Facebook users denying or belittling the effects of the Holocaust, thus ‘devictimizing the victim’. Facebook users oriented to common Jewish conspiracy theories such as disputing the number of Jews murdered at Auschwitz (Cohn, 1967; Richardson, 2013b). While researchers argued that Islamophobia has somewhat ‘replaced’ anti-Semitism (Wodak, 2015a) my research has shown that anti-Semitism is still an important issue in contemporary political discourse, in this case on social media.

10.3 A balanced depiction of Islam?

The application of critical discursive psychology to social media discourse has uncovered that Britain First and the English Defence League focused on the apparent tackling of anti-Semitism in order to win support from Jews. However, what the far-right initially presented on their Facebook pages as pro-Jewish (without initially mentioning Muslims), has taken a transition by Facebook users to not only anti-Islamic, but also anti-Semitic rhetoric. This transition from support for Jews to opposition to Islam is a new finding.

The analysis has shown how one religious group (Jews) can be used as means to achieve opposition to another religious group (Muslims). I have also discussed how various conflicting social identities (i.e. Muslims, Jews, British and Islamic extremists) can be constructed in online interaction. In prior research by Rhodes (2009) it was shown how the British National Party gained support by constructing opposition to immigration as being about concern for British citizens. Now Britain First have built upon on this strategy to also show concern for other groups that they do not consider as ‘British’, to look more reasonable by extending their concern for people who are not ‘us’, but still ‘affected’ by Islam.

There appears to be discrepancy between the EDL's public image that they are only against Islamic extremism (Treadwell, 2012; Treadwell and Garland, 2011) with the discourse that we have seen from their supporters on their Facebook page. As discussed in the first chapter, the EDL's aims include to educate the British public about Islam, which incorporates the promotion of a "balanced depiction of Islam as a religion and ideology"²⁷. Based on the findings identified in the analysis, users on Facebook have twisted the meaning of such aims, for example to promote Muslims as 'the new Nazis', and deserving of being killed in concentration camps.

While previous research has shown that politicians are cautious to appear to oppose Islam as an ideology and not Muslims as individuals (see Wood and Finlay, 2008), in this research Islamic extremists and Muslims were found to be synonymous and used interchangeably on Facebook. Britain First did not name 'Muslims' in the solidarity patrol, but Facebook posters recognised that opposition to Muslims was implied. Another example was seen in chapter seven, extract eight. Even though the first author did not directly mention Muslims and implied Islam by stating what the Jewish community 'don't do', the concealing strategies used were confirmed by the following speaker who then directly mentioned "Oh yes its the muslims" (sic).

10. 4 Modern Anti-Semitism

Atton's (2006) research on parliamentary data showed that the BNP used strategies to mask its underlying racist ideologies and present itself as reasonable. Similar strategies have been identified here by Britain First, on social media. While the BNP distanced itself from organisations such as the Ku Klux Klan in order to avoid being positioned as racist, Britain First distanced itself from the anti-Semitic position.

This thesis has shown that logic and reasoning is used not only by far-right parties, but by users on Facebook and supports previous research that found that Islamophobia was presented as a rational reaction to Islamic extremism in the UK (Kassimeris and Jackson, 2015), and here has been disguised as an expressed concern for Jewish communities. Individuals on Facebook used reason in their arguments of why we should get rid of Muslims, whilst politicians, publicly, are maintaining that they are not opposed to Muslims. This suggests that far-right supporters can express on social media what the far-

²⁷ <http://www.englishdefenceleague.org.uk/mission-statement/>

right cannot, that is the underlying, more extreme messages. The far-right cannot express such extreme messages due to the need to maintain a portrayal of rationality and appeal to the mainstream. Social media discourse can reinforce the binary opposition of ‘us and them’, and the ‘othering’ of Muslims (Kamenova and Pingaud, forthcoming).

I have demonstrated how violent ideologies can be normalised by users on Facebook, whilst the far-right used more subtle strategies to marginalise groups. As Richardson (2011) showed, the new and emerging ‘exoteric’ messages being used by the far-right to communicate to the mass only camouflage the underlying ‘esoteric’ fascist message being dispersed to their supporters. Britain First demonstrated Billig’s (1982:218) notion of politicians attempting to present their extreme positions as non-extreme. There are some similarities between anti-Semitism during the Nazi era and today (Kovács and Szilágyi, 2013), in this case the use of concealed messages to supporters, and belittling the effects of the Holocaust. Far-right parties have rebranded the same ideas, in the form of a more “uncontroversial nationalism” (McGlashan, 2013; Richardson and Wodak, 2013), what Copsey (2008:82) termed “fascism re-calibrated”.

10. 5 Limitations of research

There are several challenges posed related to the use of the internet for data collection regarding the nature of the internet, and the access to data: 1) The dynamic and changing nature of the internet, 2) the disappearance of texts and 3) the international scope of social networking (see Mautner, 2005). All three of these factors make analysing social media discourse a complex procedure. The first two challenges refer to what Pink (2007: 202) termed the “open-endedness” of representation. Unlike other forms of data such as parliamentary or mass media data, material can be regularly updated or removed, so that the representation of interaction can never be complete.

The third challenge describes how with discursive methods it is simply not possible to present all the data on which analysis is based (Potter 1988). This means that replication of findings would not be possible, which some researchers argue is more important than discourse analysts claim (Abrams and Hogg, 2002). For example, we should examine the extent to which racist discourse in one context prevails in other contexts. Potter (1996b) argued that discourse analysts ensure the validity of findings in other ways, for example, rather than omitting data that does not ‘fit’ the story being told by the researcher, analysts examine cases that deviate away from the pattern being examined, which, rather than

disconfirms the pattern, can show the genuine nature of the pattern. Potter also argued that insights from new studies can both build upon and use the knowledge of earlier work, for example, discursive devices such as extreme case formulations. This new research then adds to the adequacy of previous work. Additionally, I argue that with the use of CDP, these findings do reflect wider contexts outside of research, especially patterns of the social and historical context of the far-right in the UK. This will be discussed further in the concluding remarks.

Another criticism of discursive methods is that there is no 'formal' strategy for the systematic selection of texts being shown, so it is not transparent what is being represented and what is not being represented (Zajonc, 1989). This research does analyse a small selection of data, but I have met my objective of collecting all of the naturally occurring data that centred around a period of time i.e. the Charlie Hebdo shooting. My research has been data driven, in the sense that I have examined fascist discourse as it has emerged following a terrorist attack, which is representative of how online fascist discourse takes place. What this thesis has presented is a selection of extracts that show striking themes that have contributed to the analysis of far-right discourse. With naturally occurring data, there is also the issue of not being able to ask for clarification as you would from 'live participants', but researchers such as Jowett (2015) argued that it is how ambiguous comments are responded to and made sense of that give us insight rather than what the comments 'really mean'. Naturally occurring data also avoids the interviewer imposing their own categories and assumptions the same way they may do when conducting an interview (Potter, 1996b).

Researchers such as Goodings and Brown (2011) acknowledged the difficulty of applying DP to social networking pages due to the discussion not always directly responding to the previous message. However, I have shown that there can be smooth transition in interaction and logic applied to arguments around a single idea. In chapter seven, there was a transgression taking place from supportive discourse towards Jews, to anti-Semitic rhetoric. Chapter nine showed escalation in conflict over the idea of 'reopening' concentration camps. In both chapters a transition took place from Islamophobic discussion, to anti-Semitic discussion. These findings can be used to make the argument that Facebook discourse is not as disordered as Goodings and Brown claimed.

10. 6 Future research

Despite the limitations that have been discussed, this thesis has opened multiple avenues for future research that this thesis has not been able to address: policies regarding the legality of online hate speech, and interventions and strategies to combat hate speech and prejudice discourse. Firstly, the aim of my research did not address policies on hate speech. For example, what is categorised as illegal hate speech on social media. Future research investigating hate speech could build upon this research. This could include analysing what counts as hate speech on social media and thus illegal, using a multi-disciplinary, mixed methods approach. This could also address the limitations that have been identified in this thesis. For example, what are the effects of hate speech on those being targeted, and could social media be used as a tool for marginalised groups and victims of hate speech to communicate and share support (Gerstenfeld *et al.* 2003).

Another avenue for future research is to identify interventions to prejudice discourse and hate speech. One of the benefits of free speech is that people can freely leave counter arguments to prejudice discourse. Fozdar (2008:530) used the term “duelling discourses” to describe how racist and anti-racist discourse are directly in opposition to each other online. An idea would be to investigate counter-racist strategies, which usually take place in the form of corrections or humorous put-downs to the argument that racist discourse is ‘just a joke’ (see Billig, 2001; Perez, 2013). As research has found that accusations of racism can stifle debate and lead to resistance on both sides (Every and Augoustinos 2007), this becomes a circular argument of both parties issuing accusations with a vested interest in protecting self from receiving potential accusations. This supports the argument by Billig (1991) that specific accounts are designed to counter competing alternative arguments. Every (2013) found that anti-racism Facebook pages were used to circulate and expose Australian racist material with the intention of racist discourse being censored in future. This could be an emerging anti-racism strategy.

As discussed in chapter three, one of the problems with counter-arguments over racism is developing effective anti-racist practises without abruptly stifling conversation or making accusations of racism, both of which have been identified as being damaging for anti-racists (Goodman, 2014). If people feel under attack they may not listen or respond to anti-racism arguments (Pederson, Paradies, Hartley, and Dunn, 2011). Rather than stifling debate or constructing arguments such as a lack of intelligence, anti-racist arguments could

focus on highlighting the benefits of diversity in Britain and raising cultural awareness. Another problem with anti-racist discourse is the number of different definitions of terms such as racism and Islamophobia, therefore the difficulty is constructing counter-arguments to challenge specific definitions (Every and Augoustinos 2007). However, opposing far-right extremism does require knowledge of the structure of arguments used by the far-right in order to develop effective counter-arguments (Wood and Finlay, 2008), which is why my research is of importance.

10. 7 Concluding Remarks

What has emerged from the discourse of far-right Facebook pages is that it is not Islamic extremists being targeted, as the far-right try to uphold, but ordinary, everyday Muslims as well as Jews. The support towards Jews has been used to present Islam as dangerous to British society. The consequences of such discourse do not lie just within the boundaries of social media. Unger, Wodak and KhosraviNik (2016) argued that the online world should not be treated as independent from the ‘offline’ world, and that the social context behind internet discourse needs to be considered:

“we view the participatory Web as part of a media apparatus which is used by individuals in society, hence we do not treat digitally mediated texts as part of a “virtual” world that is separate from the physical world and “reality”, despite acknowledging that digitally- mediated contexts have specific features that may affect our analyses” (Unger *et al.*, 2016).

At the time of writing, MPs are suggesting that Britain First should be listed as a terrorist organisation following the murder of Labour MP Jo Cox by white supremacist Thomas Mair²⁸, with researchers suggesting that the media is putting too much emphasis on Islamic extremism, and not enough on far-right extremism (Abbas, 2017). The possible connection of this murder to Britain First due to Mair shouting “put Britain First” during the killing, has left Britain First in yet another damaging position. Golding at the time of writing, has temporarily stood down as leader²⁹. It may be that Britain First in the future are a redundant ‘predecessor’ far-right party, as was witnessed with the BNP during data collection. But what has been shown, is that the scope of this research has implications outside of social

²⁸ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/britain-first-terrorist-organisation-listed-lousie-haigh-jo-cox-thomas-mair-labour-mp-a7439036.html>

²⁹ <https://www.britainfirst.org/jayda-fransen-temporarily-assumes-leadership-of-britain-first/>

media. The interest of CDP does not just lie with online communication, but the consequences of the discourse itself, as KhosravaNik (forthcoming: 5) argues: “We are not only interested in what happens in media per se but in how it may shape and influence social and political sphere of our life worlds.”

Previous research has shown that anonymity can lead to extreme language online (Bomberger, 2004; Burke and Goodman 2012) and it used to be that Facebook discourse was under less public scrutiny in comparison to media discourse. Politicians do not have that anonymity, yet the now elected president of the United States Donald Trump demonstrates the frequent use of extreme language online. While previous research (Billig 1982) proposed that politicians present themselves as neutral in order to be able to frame extreme discourse as non-extreme, yet Donald Trump has shown the contrary; that a politician can portray hate speech and still be popular. Such discourse (for example, Islamophobic rhetoric) has filtered into the mainstream, with it no longer being just a feature of far-right discourse. With Trump’s Twitter account having 19.9 million followers at the time of writing (a figure that is steadily increasing)³⁰, the question can be asked whether Trump would be President without the power of social media; a figure that can be popular whilst simultaneously being accused of being fascist. Trump’s election and the result of Brexit only provide more groups that will be marginalised; marginalisation that is filtering into mainstream political discourse.

³⁰ <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump?lang=en>

11. References

- Abbas, T. (2017). Ethnicity and Politics in Contextualising Far Right and Islamist Extremism. *Perspectives on Terrorism* 11 (3), 54-61.
- Abrams, D., and Hogg, M. A. (2002). The Context of Discourse. In I. Parker (Ed.), *Critical Discursive Psychology* (pp. 172-179). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswick, E., Levinson, D.J., and Sanford, R. N. (1950). *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Afshar, H. (2012). The Politics of Fear: What does it mean to those who are Otherized and Feared? *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36 (1), 9-27.
- Albert, C. S., and Salam, A. F. (2013). Critical Discourse Analysis: Toward Theories in Social Media. *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Americas Conference on Information Systems, Chicago, Illinois*. August 15-17, 2013.
- Allen, C. (2011). Opposing Islamification or Promoting Islamophobia? Understanding the English Defence League. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 45 (4), 279-294. doi: 10.1080/0031322X.2011.585014.
- Allport, G. W. (1935). Attitudes. In C. Murchison (Ed.) *A handbook of social psychology* (pp 798-844). Worcester, MA: Clark University Press.
- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor.
- Amirault, V. (2016) Visibility, transparency and gossip: How did the religion of some (Muslims) become the public concern of others?. *Critical Research on Religion* 4 (1), 37-56.
- Anderson, B., Fagan, P., Woodnutt, T., and Chamorro-Prezmuzic, T. (2012). Facebook Psychology: Popular Questions Answered by Research. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture*, 1 (1), 23-37. doi: 10.1037/a0026452.

- Antaki, C. (2004). The Uses of Absurdity. In H. van den Berg, M. Wetherell, and H. Houtkoop- Steenstra (Eds.) *Analysing Race Talk: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on the Research Interview* (pp.85-102). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Antaki, C. (2013). Two Conversational Practices for encouraging Adults with Intellectual Disabilities to reflect on their Activities. *Journal of Intellectual Disability Research*, 57 (6), 580-588. doi: 10.1111/j.1365-2788.2012.01572. x.
- Antaki, C., Condor, S., Levine, M. (1996). Social Identities in talk: Speakers' own Orientations. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 35 (4), 473-492. doi:10.1111/j.2044-8309.1996.tb01109. x.
- Ardévol, E., and Gómez-Cruz, E. (2014). Digital Ethnography and Media Practises. *The International Encyclopaedia of Media Studies: Research Methods in Media Studies*, 7 (4), 498-515. doi: 10.1002/9781444361506.wbiems193.
- Ashmore, R., and DelBoca, F. (1981). Conceptual approaches to Stereotypes and Stereotyping. In D. Hamilton (Ed.). *Cognitive Processes in Stereotyping and Intergroup Behaviour* (pp. 1-36). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Atkinson, J. M. (1984). *Our Masters' Voices: The Language and Body Language of Politics*. London: Methuen.
- Atton, C. (2006). Far-right Media on the Internet: Culture, Discourse and Power. *New Media and Society*, 8 (4), 573-587. doi: 10.1177/1461444806065653.
- Augoustinos, M. (2001). Social Categorization: Towards theoretical Integration. In K. Deaux, and G. Philogene (Eds.) *Representations of the Social: Bridging Theoretical Traditions* (pp. 201-216). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Augoustinos, M., and Every, D. (2007). The Language of 'Race' and Prejudice: A Discourse of Denial, Reason, and Liberal-practical Politics. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 26 (2), 123–141. doi: 10.1177/0261927X07300075.
- Augoustinos, M., and Every, D. (2010). Accusations and Denials of Racism: Managing Moral Accountability in Public Discourse. *Discourse and Society*, 21 (3), 251-256. doi: 10.1177/0957926509360650.

- Augoustinos, M., Hastie, B., and Wright, M. (2011). Apologizing for historical Injustice: Emotion, Truth and Identity in Political Discourse. *Discourse and Society*, 22 (5), 507-531. doi: 10.1177/0957926511405573.
- Augoustinos, M., and Reynolds, K. J. (2001). *Understanding Prejudice, Racism and Social Conflict*. London: Sage.
- Augoustinos, M. and Tileagă, C. (2012). Twenty five Years of Discursive Psychology. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 51 (3), 405-412. doi: 10.1111/j.2044-8309.2012.02096. x.
- Augoustinos, M., Tuffin, K., and Rapley, M. (1999). Genocide or Failure to Gel? Racism, History, and Nationalism in Australian Talk. *Discourse and Society*, 10 (3), 351-378. doi: 10.1177/0957926599010003004.
- Augoustinos, M., Tuffin, K. and Every, D. (2005). New Racism, Meritocracy and Individualism: Constraining Affirmative Action in Education. *Discourse and Society*, 16 (3), 315-340. doi: 10.1177/0957926505051168.
- Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to do Things with Words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C., KhosraviNik, M., Kryzanowski, M., McEnery, T. (2008). A Useful Methodological Synergy? Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics to Examine Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press. *Discourse and Society*, 19 (3), 273-306. doi: 10.1177/0957926508088962.
- Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C., McEnery, T. (2013). *Discourse Analysis and Media Attitudes. The Representation of Islam in the British Press*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bartlett, J., and Littler, M. (2013). Inside the EDL. Populist Politics in a Digital Age. Retrieved from <https://www.counterextremism.org/resources/details/id/78/inside-the-edl-populist%20politics-in-a-digital-age>.
- Baumeister, R., Vohs, K., and Funder, D. (2007). Psychology as the Science of Self-reports and Finger Movements. *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 2 (4) 396-403.

- BBC News (2015, 4th May). France National Front: Jean-Marie Le Pen suspended.
Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-32585531>.
- Ben-David, A., and Matamoros Fernández, A. (2016). Hate Speech and Covert Discrimination on Social Media: Monitoring the Facebook Pages of Extreme-Right Political Parties in Spain. *International Journal of Communication* 10, 167-1193.
- Billig, M. (1978). *Fascists: A Social Psychological View of the National Front*. London: Academic Press.
- Billig, M. (1982). *Ideology and Social Psychology: Extremism, Moderation and Contradiction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Billig, M. (1988). The Notion of “Prejudice”: Some Rhetorical and Ideological Aspects. *Text*, 8 (1-2), 91-110.
- Billig, M. (1991). *Ideology and Opinions. Studies in Rhetorical Psychology*. London: Sage.
- Billig, M. (1995). *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage.
- Billig, M. (1996). *Arguing and Thinking: A Rhetorical approach to Social Psychology*. (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Billig, M. (1998). Rhetorical and Discursive Analysis: How Families talk about the Royal Family. In N. Hayes (Ed.) *Doing Qualitative Analysis in Psychology* (pp 39-54). East Sussex: Taylor and Francis Ltd.
- Billig, M. (1999). Whose Terms? Whose Ordinairness? Rhetoric and Ideology in Conversation Analysis. *Discourse and Society* 10 (4), 543-558. doi: 10.1177/0957926599010004005.
- Billig, M. (2001). Humour and Hatred: The Racist Jokes of the Ku Klux Klan. *Discourse and Society*, 12 (3), 267-289. doi: 10.1177/0957926501012003001.
- Billig, M. (2002). Henri Tajfel’s ‘Cognitive Aspects of Prejudice’ and the Psychology of Bigotry. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 41 (2), 171-188.
doi:10.1348/014466602760060165.

- Billig, M. (2012). Undisciplined Beginnings, Academic Success, and Discursive Psychology. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 51, 413-424. doi: 10.1111/j.2044-8309.2011.02086. x.
- Billig, M., Condor, S., Edwards, D., Gane, M., Middleton, D., and Radley, A. (1988). *Ideological Dilemmas: A Social Psychology of Everyday Thinking*. London: Sage.
- Bleich, E. (2011). What Is Islamophobia and How Much Is There? Theorizing and Measuring an Emerging Comparative Concept. *American Behavioural Scientist* 55 (12), 1581–1600.
- Blitvich, P. (2010). A Genre Approach to the Study of Im-politeness. *International Review of Pragmatics* 2, 46-94.
- Bomberger, A. (2004). Ranting about Race: Crushed Eggshells in Computer-mediated Communication. *Computers and Composition* 21 (2), 197–216.
- Brindle, A. (2016). Cancer has nothing on Islam: A Study of Discourses by Group Elite and Supporters of the English Defence League. *Critical Discourse Studies* 13 (4), 444-459. doi:10.1080/17405904.2016.1169196.
- British Psychological Society (2009). *Code of Human Research Ethics*. Leicester: British Psychological Society.
- British Psychological Society (2013). *Ethics Guidelines for Internet-mediated Research*. Leicester: British Psychological Society.
- Bull, P. (2012) 'The Microanalysis of Political Discourse'. *Philologia Hispalensis* 26 (12), 79-93.
- Bull, P. And Simon-Vandenberg, A. (2014). Equivocation and Doublespeak in Far Right-wing Discourse: An Analysis of Nick Griffin's Performance on BBC's Question Time. *Text and Talk* 34 (1), 1-22. doi: 10.1515/text-2013-0035.

- Burgess, C. (2011). 'This Election will be won by People Not Posters'. In D. Wring, R. Mortimore, and S. Atkinson (Eds.). *Political Communication in Britain* (pp 181-197). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Burke, S., and Goodman, S. (2012). "Bring Back Hitler's Gas Chambers": Asylum Seeking, Nazis and Facebook: A Discursive Analysis. *Discourse and Society*, 23 (1), 19-33. doi: 10.1177/0957926511431036.
- Busher, J. (2013). Anti-Muslim populism in the UK: The development of the English Defence League. In H. Giusto, S. Rizzo, and D. Kitching (eds.). *The Changing Faces of Populism: Systemic Challengers in Europe & the US* (pp. 165-179). Brussels: FEPS.
- Byford, J., and Billig, M. (2001). The Emergence of Antisemitic Conspiracy Theories in Yugoslavia during the War with NATO. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 35(4), 50–63.
- Capdevila, R., and Callaghan, J. (2008). 'It's not racist. It's Common Sense'. A Critical Analysis of Political Discourse around Asylum and Immigration in the UK. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 18 (1), 1-16. doi: 10.1002/casp.904.
- Carpenter, C. J. (2012). Narcissism on Facebook: Self-Promotional and Anti-Social Behaviour. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 52 (4), 482-486. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2011.11.011>.
- Carr, M. (2006). "You Are Now Entering Eurabia." *Race and Class* 48 (1), 1–22. doi: 10.1177/0306396806066636.
- Carter, E. (2005). *The Extreme Right in Western Europe: Success or Failure?* Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Cesarani, D. (1994). The Study of Antisemitism in Britain: Trends and Perspectives. In Brown, M. (Ed.) *Approaches to Antisemitism* (pp.249-275). New York: International Centre for the University Teaching of Jewish Civilization.
- Chadwick, A. (2006). *Internet Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press. Charles, A. (2014). *Interactivity 2*. Oxford: Peter Lang Ltd.

- Cheng, J. (2015). Islamophobia, Muslimophobia or Racism? Parliamentary Discourses on Islam and Muslims in Debates on the Minaret Ban in Switzerland. *Discourse and Society* 26 (5) 562-568. doi: 10.1177/0957926515581157.
- Chilton, P., and Schäffner, C. (1997). Discourse and Politics. In T. van Dijk (Ed.) *Discourse as Social Interaction* (pp. 206-231). London: Sage.
- Chomsky, N. (1966). *Cartesian Linguistics: A Chapter in the History of Rationalist Thought*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Christiane Meier, D. (2014). Doctor-Patient Relationship in a Digitalised World. In L. Kramp, N. Carpentier, A. Hepp, I. Trivundža, H. Nieminen, R. Kunelius, T. Olsson, E. Sundin, and R. Kilborn (Eds.), *Media Practise and Everyday Agency in Europe* (pp. 114-126). ECREA: Bremen.
- Clayman, S. (2010). Address Terms in the Service of Other Actions: The Case of News Interview Talk. *Discourse and Communication* 4, 161-183.
- Cleland, J., Anderson, C., and Aldridge-Deacon, J. (2017). Islamophobia, war and non-Muslims as victims: an analysis of online discourse on an English Defence League message board. *Ethnic and Racial Studies Online*, 1-17.
- Cobain, I. (2016, 24th November). Britain's Far right in 2016: Fractured, unpredictable, dispirited... and violent. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/24/britains-far-right-in-2016-fractured-unpredictable-dispirited-and-violent>.
- Coffey, B. (2004). 'Destroy the Scum, and then neuter their Families': The Web Forum as a Vehicle for Community Discourse?' *Social Science Journal*, 41 (1), 1-14.
- Cohen-Almagor, R. (2016). Facebook and Holocaust Denial. *Justice*, 57, 10-16.
- Cohn, N. (1957). *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World Conspiracy and The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. London: Secker and Warburg.
- Cohn, N. (1967). *Warrant for genocide: The myth of the Jewish world conspiracy and the Protocol of the Elders of Zion*. New York and Evanston, IL: Harper & Row.

- Condor, S. (1997). And So Say All of Us? Some Thoughts on ‘Experiential Democratization’ as an Aim for Critical Social Psychologists. In T. Ibáñez and L. Ibáñez (Eds.). *Critical Social Psychology* (pp. 111-146). London: Sage.
- Condor, S. (2006a). Public Prejudice as Collaborative Accomplishment: Towards a Dialogic Social Psychology of Racism. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, 16* (1), 1-18. doi:10.1002/casp.845.
- Condor, S. (2006b). Temporality and Collectivity: Diversity, History and the Rhetorical Construction of National Entitativity. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 45* (4), 657-682.
- Condor, S., Tileagă, C., And Billig, M. (2013) Political Rhetoric. In L. Huddy, D. O’Sears, and J. S. Levy (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology* (2nd ed.) (pp. 262-300). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Copsey, N. (2004). *Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party and the Quest for Legitimacy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Copsey, N. (2007). Changing Course or Changing Clothes? Reflections on the Ideological Evolution of the British National Party 1996-2006. *Patterns of Prejudice, 41* (1), 61-82.
- Copsey, N. (2008). *Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party and the Quest for Legitimacy* (2nd ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Copsey, N. (2010). The English Defence League: Challenging our country and our values of social inclusion, fairness and equality. *Faith Matters*. Retrieved from <http://faithmatters.org/images/stories/fm-reports/english-defense-league-report.pdf>.
- Deaux, K., and Greenwood, R. M. (2013). Crossing Borders: Intersectional Excursions into Gender and Immigration. In K. M. Ryan, and N. R. Branscombe (Eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Gender and Psychology* (pp. 234-251). Sage Productions Ltd.
- De Fina, A., Schiffrin, D., and Bamberg, M. (2006). *Discourse and Identity*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

- De Koster, W., and Houtman, D. (2008). 'Stormfront is like a Second Home to me'. *Information, Communication and Society*, 11 (8), 1155-1176. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13691180802266665>.
- Dobratz, B.A., & Shanks-Meile, S.L. (1997). *The White Separatist Movement in the United States*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.
- Dovidio, J. F., and Samuel L. G. (2000). Aversive Racism and Selection Decisions. *Psychological Science* 11 (4), 315-31. doi: 10.1111/1467-9280.00262.
- Drew, P. (1978). Accusations: The occasioned use of Members' Knowledge of "Religious Geography" in describing Events. *Sociology* 12 (1), 1-22.
- Drew, P. (2006). When Documents 'Speak': Documents, Language and Interaction. In Drew, P., Raymond, G., and Weinberg, D. (Eds.) *Talk and Interaction in Social Research Methods* (pp. 63-80). London: Sage.
- Drew, P., and Walker, T. (2009). Going too far: Complaining, escalating and disaffiliation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 41 (12), 2400-2414. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2008.09.046.
- Drew, P., Walker, T. and Ogden, R. (2012) Self-repair and Action Construction. In Hayashi, M., Raymond, G. and Sidnell, J. (Eds.), *Conversational Repair and Human Understanding*. Cambridge University Press: 71-94.
- Dyers, C., and Wankah, F.J. (2012). 'Us' and 'Them': The Discursive Construction of 'the Other' in Greenmarket Square, Cape Town. *Language and Intercultural Communication* 12 (3), 230-247. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2012.659186>.
- Eatwell, R. (2000). The Extreme Right and British Exceptionalism: The Primacy of Politics. In Hainsworth, P. (Ed.) *The Politics of the Extreme Right* (pp. 172-192). London: Biddles Ltd.
- Eatwell, R. (2003). *Western Democracies and the New Extreme Right Challenge*. London: Routledge.
- Eckhardt, W. (1965). War Propaganda, Welfare Values and Political Ideologies. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 9 (3), 345-358.

- Eckhardt, W. (1968). The Values of Fascism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 24 (1), 89-104. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-4560.1968.tb01470.x.
- Edley, N. (2001). Analysing Masculinity: Interpretative Repertoires, Ideological Dilemmas and Subject Positions. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor, and S. Yates, (Eds.) *Discourse as Data. A Guide to Analysis* (pp.189-228). London: Sage.
- Edwards, D. (1997). Structure and Function in the Analysis of Everyday Narratives. *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 7 (1-4), 139-146. doi: 10.1075/jnlh.7.16str.
- Edwards, D. (2003). Analysing Racial Discourse: The Discursive Psychology of Mind World Relation-ships. In H. Van den Berg, M. Wetherell and H. Houtkoop-Steenstra (Ed.) *Analysing Race Talk: Multidisciplinary Approaches to the Interview* (pp.31-38). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Edwards, D. (2005). Discursive Psychology. In K. L. Fitch and R. E. Sanders (Eds.) *Handbook of Language and Social Interaction* (pp.257-273). New Jersey: Erlbaum.
- Edwards, D. (2012). Discursive and Scientific Psychology. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 51, 425-435. doi: 10.1111/j.2044-8309.2012.02103.x.
- Edwards, D. and Potter, J. (1992). *Discursive Psychology*. London: Sage.
- Edwards, D. and Potter, J. (2001) 'Discursive psychology', in A. McHoul and M. Rapley (Eds.) *How to Analyse Talk in Institutional Settings: A Casebook of Methods* (pp.12-24). London and New York: Continuum International.
- Edwards, D., and Potter, J. (2005). Discursive Psychology, Mental States and Descriptions. In: H. te Molder and Potter, J. (Eds.) *Conversation and Cognition* (pp. 241-259). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Edwards, G. (2012). A Comparative Discourse Analysis of the Construction of 'In-groups' in the 2005 and 2010 Manifestos of the British National Party. *Discourse and Society*, 23 (3), 245-258. doi: 10.1177/0957926511433477.
- Ekman, M. (2015). Online Islamophobia and the Politics of Fear: Manufacturing the Green Scare. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38 (11), 1986-2002. doi:10.1080/01419870.2015.1021264.

- Ellison, N. B., Steinfield, C., and Lampe, C. (2007). The Benefits of Facebook “Friends”: Social Capital and College Students’ Use of Online Social Network Sites. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 12 (4), 1143-1168. doi: 0.1111/j.1083-6101.2007.00367.x
- Engström, R. (2014). The Online Visual Group Formation of the Far Right: A Cognitive-Historical Case Study of the British National Party. *Public Journal of Semiotics* 6 (1), 1-21.
- Every, D. (2013). ‘Shame on you?’ The Language, Practise and Consequences of Shame and Shaming in Asylum Seeker Advocacy. *Discourse and Society*, 24, 667-686. doi: 10.1177/0957926513486223.
- Every, D. and Augoustinos, M. (2007). Constructions of Racism in the Australian Parliamentary Debates. *Discourse and Society*, 18 (4), 411-436. doi: 10.1177/0957926507077427.
- Eyerman, R. (2011). *The Cultural Sociology of Political Assassination: From MLK and RFK to Fortuyn and Van Gogh*. United States: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Facebook (2013a). Facebook’s Name Policy. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/help/292517374180078>.
- Facebook (2013b). Newsroom. Key Facts. Retrieved from <https://newsroom.fb.com/KeyFacts>.
- Facebook (2013c). Get Started on Facebook. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/help/210644045634222>.
- Facebook (2015a). News room. Our Mission. Retrieved from <http://newsroom.fb.com/company-info/>.
- Facebook (2015b). How do I ban someone from my Page? Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/help/185897171460026>.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. New York: Routledge.

- Fekete, L. (2004). Anti-Muslim Racism and the European Security State. *Race and Class*, 6 (1), 3-29. doi: 10.1177/0306396804045512.
- Fekete, L. (2012). Pedlars of Hate: The Violent Impact of the European Far Right. *Institute of Race Relations*. Available from <http://www.irr.org.uk/wpcontent/uploads/2012/06/PedlarsofHate.pdf>.
- Fenster, M. (1999). *Conspiracy Theory: Secrecy and Power in American Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1999.
- Ferber, A. L. (1998). *White Man Falling*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Figgou, L., and Condor, S. (2006). Irrational Categorization, National Intolerance, and Reasonable Discrimination: Lay Representations of Prejudice and Racism. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 45 (2), 219-243. doi: 10.1348/014466605X40770.
- Finlay, W. M. L. (2007). The Propaganda of Extreme Hostility: Denunciation and the Regulation of the group. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 46. 323-341. doi: 10.1348/014466606X113615.
- Finlay, W. M. L. (2014). Denunciation and the Construction of Norms in Group Conflict: Examples from an Al-Qaeda-supporting Group. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 53, 691-710. doi:10.1111/bjso.12052
- Finlayson, A. (2004). Political Science, Political Ideas and Rhetoric. *Economy and Society*, 33 (4), 528-549. doi: 10.1080/0308514042000285279.
- Fiske, S. T., and Taylor, S. E. (1991). *Social Cognition*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Foner, N., and Alba, R. (2008). Immigrant religion in the US and Western Europe: Bridge or Barrier to Inclusion? *International Migration Review* 42 (2), 360–392. doi: 10.1111/j.1747-7379.2008.00128.x.
- Fozdar F. (2008). Duelling Discourses, Shared Weapons: Rhetorical Techniques used to Challenge Racist Arguments. *Discourse and Society*, 19 (4), 529–547. doi: 10.1177/0957926508089942.

- Fozdar, F., and Pederson, A. (2013). Diablogging about Asylum Seekers: Building a Counter-Hegemonic Discourse. *Discourse and Communication*, 7 (4), 371-388. doi: 10.1177/1750481313494497.
- Garcia, A. C., and Jacobs, J. B. (1999). The Eyes of the Beholder: Understanding the Turn-taking System in Quasi-Synchronous Computer-mediated Communication. *Language and Social Interaction* 32 (4), 337-367. doi: 10.1207/S15327973rls3204_2.
- Garland, J. and Treadwell, J. (2010). ‘No surrender to the Taliban!’: Football hooliganism, Islamophobia and the rise of the English Defence League’. *In British Criminology Conference*. Retrieved from http://britsocrim.org/new/volume10/2010_Garland_Treadwell.pdf.
- Gerstenfeld, P. B., Grant, D. R., and Chiang, C. (2003). Hate Online: A Content Analysis of Extremist Internet Sites. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 3 (1), 29–44. doi: 10.1111/j.1530-2415.2003.00013.x.
- Giles, D., Stommel, W., Paulus, T., Lester, J., and Reed, D. (2015). Microanalysis of Online Data: The methodological development of “digital CA”. *Discourse, Context and Media* 7, 45-51. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2014.12.002>.
- Goffman, E. (1979a). *Gender Advertisements*. London: Macmillan.
- Goffman, E. (1979b). Footing. *Semiotica*, 25, 1-29.
- Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of Talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Goodings, L. and Brown, S. D. (2011). Textuality and Visuality in MySpace Communication. In P. Reavey (Ed.) *Visual Methods in Psychology: Using and Interpreting Images in Qualitative Research* (pp.87-102). London: Routledge.
- Goodman, S. (2007). Constructing Asylum Seeking Families. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines*, 1 (1), 36-50.
- Goodman, S. (2008a). The Generalizability of Discursive Research. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 5 (4), 265-275. doi: 10.1080/14780880802465890.

- Goodman, S. (2008b). Justifying the Harsh Treatment of Asylum Seekers on the Grounds of Social Cohesion. *Annual Review of Critical Psychology*, 6, 110-124.
- Goodman, S. (2010). 'It's Not Racist to Impose Limits on Immigration': Constructing the Boundaries of Racism in the Asylum and Immigration Debate. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines*, 4 (1), 1-17.
- Goodman, S. (2014). Developing an Understanding of Race Talk. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 8 (4), 147-155. doi: 10.1111/spc3.12095
- Goodman, S., and Burke, S. (2010). 'Oh You Don't Want Asylum Seekers, Oh You're just racist': A Discursive Analysis of Discussions about whether it's Racist to Oppose Asylum Seeking. *Discourse and Society*, 21 (3), 325-340. doi: 10.1177/0957926509360743.
- Goodman, S. and Burke, S. (2011). Discursive Deracialisation in Talk about Asylum Seeking. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 21 (2), 111-123. doi: 10.1002/casp.1065.
- Goodman, S., Burke, S., Liebling, H. and Zadasa, D. (2014). 'I'm not Happy, but I'm ok' How Asylum Seekers Manage Talk about Difficulties in Their Host Country. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 11 (1), 19-34. doi:10.1080/17405904.2013.836114.
- Goodman, S., and Johnson, A. J. (2013). Strategies used by the Far Right to Counter Accusations of Racism. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines* 6 (2), 97-113.
- Goodman, S. and Rowe, L. (2014). 'Maybe it is Prejudice...but it is NOT Racism': Negotiating Racism in Discussion Forums about Gypsies. *Discourse and Society*, 25 (1), 32-46. doi: 10.1177/0957926513508856.
- Goodman, S. and Speer, S. (2007). Category Use in the Construction of Asylum Seekers. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 4 (2), 165-185. doi: 10.1080/17405900701464832.
- Goodwin, C. (1995). Co-constructing Meaning in Conversations with an Aphasic Man. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 28 (3), 233-260.

- Goodwin, M. (2013, 23rd May). Woolwich attack and the far right: Three points to consider when the dust settles. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/may/23/woolwich-attack-far-right-three-points>.
- Goodwin, M., Cutts, D., and Janta-Lapinski, J. (2014). Economic Losers, Protestors, Islamophobes or Xenophobes? Predicting Public Support for a Counter-Jihad Movement. *Political Studies* 64 (1), 4-26. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.12159>.
- Gough, B., McFadden, M., and McDonald, M. (2013). *Critical Social Psychology: An Introduction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Griffin, R. (2015). ‘Lingua Quarti Imperii’: The Euphemistic Tradition of the Extreme Right. In M. Feldman and P. Jackson (Eds.) *Doublespeak the Rhetoric of the Far right since 1945* (pp. 39-59). Stuttgart, Germany: Ibidem.
- Groh, D. (1987). The Temptation of Conspiracy Theory, or: Why Do Bad Things Happen To Good People? In C. F. Graumann & S. Moscovici (Eds.) *Changing Conceptions of Conspiracy* (pp.1–37). New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Guerin, B. (2003). Combating Prejudice and Racism: New Interventions from a Functional Analysis of Racist Language. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 13 (1), 29–45. doi: 10.1002/casp.699.
- Hafez, F. (2014). Shifting borders: Islamophobia as common ground for building pan European right-wing unity. *Patterns of Prejudice* 48 (5) 479-499. doi: 10.1080/0031322x.2014.965877.
- Hainsworth, P. (2000). *The Politics of the Extreme Right*. London: Biddles Ltd.
- Halliday, F. (1999). ‘Islamophobia’ Reconsidered. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (5), 892-902.
- Harré, R. (1983). *Personal Being: A theory for Individual Psychology*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Harris, G. (1990). *The Dark Side of Europe: The Extreme Right Today*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

- Haslam, S. A, Reicher, S. D. and Platow, M. J. (2010). *The New Psychology of Leadership*. Hove: Psychology Press.
- Heritage, J. (1984). A Change of State Token and Aspects of Its Sequential Placement. In J. Atkinson and J. Heritage (Eds.) *Structures of Social Action* (pp. 299-345). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heritage, J. (1998). Oh-Prefaced Responses to Inquiry. *Language in Society* 27:291-334.
- Heritage, J., and Roth, A. (1995). Grammar and Institution: Questions and Questioning in the Broadcast News Interview. *Research on Language and Interaction* 28 (1), 1-60.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15327973rlsi2801_1.
- Heritage, J., and Sorjonen, M. (1994). Constituting and Maintaining Activities across Sequences: And-Prefacing as a Feature of Question Design. *Language in Society* 23 (1), 1-29.
- Herring, S. C. (2007). A Faceted Classification Scheme for Computer-mediated Discourse. *Language@Internet* 4. Available from <http://www.languageatinternet.de/articles/2007>.
- Herring, S. C. and Androustopolous, J. (2015). Computer-Mediated Discourse 2.0. In Tannen, D., Hamilton, H., and Schiffrin, D. (Eds.) *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 127-151). London: Wiley.
- Hewitt, J. P., and Stokes, R. (1975). Disclaimers. *American Sociological Review*, 40 (1), 1-11.
- Hollingshead, A. B. (2001). Communication Technologies, the Internet and Group Research. In M. B. Brewer, and M. Hewstone, (Eds.) *Applied Social Psychology* (pp. 301-317). Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Holmes, C. *Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Howarth, C. (2011). Towards a Visual Social Psychology of Identity and Representation. In P. Reavey (Ed.) *Visual Methods in Psychology: Using and Interpreting Images in Qualitative Research* (pp.241-254). London: Routledge.

- Hughey, M. W., and Daniels, J. (2013). Racist Comments at Online News Sites: A Methodological Dilemma for Discourse Analysis. *Media Culture Society*, 35 (3), 332-347. doi: 10.1177/0163443712472089.
- Ignazi, P. (1997). New Challenges: Post-materialism and the Extreme right. In Heywood, P. and M. Rhodes (Eds.) *Developments in West European Politics* (pp. 300-319). Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Jackson, C. (2013). 'Why do these peoples' Opinions matter?' Positioning Known Referents as Unnameable Others. *Discourse Studies*, 15 (3), 299-317.
- Jefferson, G. (1990). List Construction as a Task and Resource. In G. Psathas (Ed.) *Interaction Competence* (pp.63-92). Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Jefferson, G. (2004). Glossary of Transcript Symbols with an Introduction. In G. H. Lerner (Ed.), *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation* (pp: 13-31). Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
- Johnson, A., and Goodman, S. (2013). Reversing Racism and the Elite Conspiracy: Strategies used by the British National Party Leader in Response to Hostile Media Appearances. *Discourse, Context and Media*, 2 (3), 156-164.
- Jones, R. B. (2011). Intolerable Intolerance: Toxic Xenophobia and Pedagogy of Resistance. *The High School Journal* 95, (1), Fall 2011.
- Jowett, A. (2015). A Case for Using Online Discussion Forums in Critical Psychological Research. *Qualitative research in Psychology* 12 (3), 287-297.
- Kamenova, D. and Pingaud, E. (forthcoming). Anti-migration and Islamophobia: Web Populism and Targeting the "Easiest Other". In M. Pajnik and B Sauer (Eds.). *Populism and the Web. Communicative Practises of Parties and Movements in Europe*. London: Routledge.
- Kaplan, J., and Weinberg, L. (1998). *The Emergence of a Euro-American Radical Right*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

- Kassimeris, G., and Jackson, L (2015). The Ideology and Discourse of the English Defence League: 'Not Racist, Not Violent, Just No Longer Silent'. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 17 (1), 171-188. doi: 10.1111/1467-856X.12036.
- KhosraviNik, M. (forthcoming) Social Media Critical Discourse Studies (SM-CDS). In J. Flowerdrew, and J. Richardson (Eds.) *Handbook of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge.
- Kiesler, S. (1986). The Hidden Messages in Computer Networks. *Harvard Business Review Jan-Feb*, 46-58.
- Kiesler, S., Siegel, J., And McGuire, T. (1984). Social Psychological Aspects of Computer-Mediated Communications. *American Psychologist* 39 10, 1123-1134.
- Kirkwood, S. (2012). Negotiating the Dilemmas of claiming Asylum: A Discursive Analysis of Interviews with Refugees on Life in Scotland. *eSharp, Special Issue: The 1951 UN Refugee Convention - 60 Years On*, 87-112.
- Kirkwood, S., McKinlay, A., and McVittie, C. (2013). 'They're more than Animals': Refugees' accounts of Racially Motivated Violence. *The British Journal of Social Psychology* 52, (4), 747-762. doi: 10.1111/bjso.12007.
- Kirkwood, S., McKinlay, A., and McVittie, C. (2014). 'Some People It's Very Difficult to Trust': Attributions of Agency and Accountability in Practitioners' Talk about Integration. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* 24 (5), 376-389. doi: 10.1002/casp.2178.
- Klug, B. (2013). Interrogating 'New anti-Semitism'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36 (3), 468-482.
- Klug, B. (2014). The Limits of Analogy: Comparing Islamophobia and Antisemitism. *Patterns of Prejudice* 48 (5), 442-459. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0031322X.2014.964498>.
- Korteweg, A. C. (2013). The 'Headrag Tax': Impossible Laws and their Symbolic and Material Consequences. *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture* 19 (6), 759-774. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2013.842674>.

- Kováč, A., and Szilágyi, A. (2013). Variations on a Theme. In R. Wodak, and J. E. Richardson, (Eds.) *Analysing Fascist Discourse* (pp.203-227). New York: Routledge.
- Kress, G., and Van Leeuwen, T. (2001). *Multimodal Discourse*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Krohn, F. (2004). A Generational Approach to Using Emoticons as Nonverbal Communication. *Journal of Technical Writing and Communication*, 34 (4), 321-328. doi: 10.2190/9EQH-DE81-CWG1-QLL9.
- Krombholz, K., Merkl, D., and Weippl, E. (2012). Fake Identities in Social Media: A Case Study on the Sustainability of the Facebook Business Model. *Journal of Service Science Research* 4 (2), 175-212. doi: 10.1007/s12927-012-0008-z.
- Krotz, F. (2014). From a Social Worlds Perspective to the Analysis of Mediatized Worlds. In L. Kramp, N. Carpentier, A. Hepp, I. Trivundža, H. Nieminen, R. Kunelius, T. Olsson, E. Sundin, and R. Kilborn (Eds.) *Media Practise and Everyday Agency in Europe* (pp. 69-82). Bremen: ECREA.
- Kushin, M., and Kitchener K. (2009). Getting Political on Network Sites: Exploring Online Political Discourse on Facebook. *First Monday* 14 (11). <http://www.firstmonday.dk/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/2645/2350>.
- Lamerichs, J., & te Molder, H. F. M. (2003). Computer-mediated Communication: From a Cognitive to a Discursive Model. *New Media and Society* 5 (4), 451–473.
- Lewis, M. (2005). *Asylum: Understanding Public Attitudes*. London: IPPR.
- Linehan, T. (2012). Comparing Antisemitism, Islamophobia, and Asylophobia: The British Case. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 12(2), 366–386. doi: 10.1111/j.1754-9469.2012.01161.x.
- Lynn, N., and Lea, S. (2003). ‘A Phantom Menace and the New Apartheid’: The Social Construction of Asylum-Seekers in the United Kingdom. *Discourse and Society*, 14 (4), 425-452. doi: 10.1177/0957926503014004002.
- Macrae, C. N., and Bodenhausen G. V. (2000). Social Cognition: Thinking categorically about others. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 51, 93–120.

doi: 10.1146/annurev.psych.51.1.93.

- Marsh, A. (1976). Who Hates the Blacks? *New Society* 23, 649-652.
- Masocha, S. (2015). Construction of the 'other' in Social Workers' Discourses of Asylum Seekers. *Journal of Social Work* 15 (6), 569-585.
- Mautner, G. (2005). Time to get wired: Using Web-based Corpora in Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse and Society*, 16 (6), 809-828. doi: 10.1177/0957926505056661.
- McDonald, M. (1999). CyberHate: Extending Persuasive Techniques of Low Credibility Sources to the World Wide Web. In D. W. Schumann, and E. Thorson (Eds.) *Advertising and the World Wide Web* (pp. 149-157). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- McGlashan, M. (2013). The Branding of European Nationalism: Perpetuation and Novelty in Racist Symbolism. In R. Wodak, and J. E. Richardson (Eds.) *Analysing Fascist Discourse* (pp. 297-314). New York: Routledge.
- McGuire, T, Kielser, S., and Siegel, J. (1987). Group and Computer Mediated Discussion Effects in Risk Decision Making. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 52 (5), 917-930.
- Melley, T. (2000). *Empire of Conspiracy: The Culture of Paranoia in Postwar America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Mieriņa, I., Koroļeva, I. (2015). Support for Far Right Ideology and Anti-migrant Attitudes among Youth in Europe: A Comparative Analysis. *The Sociological Review* 63 (2), 183-205. doi: 10.1111/1467-954X.12268.
- Miller, C. (1993). Majority and Minority Perceptions of Consensus and Recommendations for resolving Conflicts about Land Use Regulation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 19 (4), 389–398. doi: 10.1177/0146167293194004.
- Mondada, L. (2014). Requesting immediate action in the Surgical Operating Room: Time, embodied Resources and Praxeological embeddedness. In P. Drew and E. Couper Kuhlen (Eds.) *Requesting in Social Interaction* (pp. 269-302). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Mondon, A., and Winter, A. (2017). Articulations of Islamophobia: from the Extreme to

- The Mainstream? *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40 (13), 2151-2179.
- Morris, T. (2016). *Dark Ideas: How Neo-Nazi and Violent Jihadi Ideologues Shaped Modern Terrorism*. United States: Lexington Books.
- Mortimore, R., Cleary, H., and Mludzinski, T. (2011). The Campaign as Experienced by The Voters in the Battleground Seats. In D. Wring, R. Mortimore, and S. Atkinson (Eds.). *Political Communication in Britain* (pp 111-125). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Moufahim, M., and Chatzidakis, A. (2012). Marketing ‘Ethically Questionable’ Politics: The Case of a Xenophobic Political Party. *Consumption Markets and Culture*, 15 (3), 287-305. DOI: 10.1080/10253866.2011.652828.
- Mudde, C. (2010). The Populist Radical Right: A Pathological Normalcy. *West European Politics*, 33 (6), 1167–1186.
- Musolff, A. (2013). The Reception of Antisemitic Imagery in Nazi Germany and Popular Opinion-Lessons for Today. In R. Wodak, and J. E. Richardson (Eds.) *Analysing Fascist Discourse* (pp. 56-72). New York: Routledge.
- Nadkarni, A., and Hofmann, S.G. (2012). Why do People Use Facebook? *Personality and Individual Differences*, 52 (3), 243-249.
- Neocleous, M. (1997). *Fascism*. United States: Open University Press.
- Nefes, T. (2014). Rationale of conspiracy theorizing: Who shot the President Chen Shui-bian? *Rationality and Society* 26 (3), 373-394.
- O’Connell, M. (2005). Economic Forces and Anti-immigrant Attitudes in Western Europe: A Paradox in search of an Explanation. *Patterns of Prejudice* 39 (1), 60-74. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00313220500045287>.
- O’Doherty, K. and Lecouter, A. (2007). “Asylum Seekers”, “Boat People” and “Illegal Immigrants”: Social Categorisation in the Media. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 59 (1), 1-12. doi: 10.1080/00049530600941685.
- O’Halloran, K. (2004). *Multimodal Discourse Analysis: Systematic Functional Perspectives*. London: Open Linguistics Series.

- Oakes P.J., Haslam, S.A., and Turner, J.C. (1994). *Stereotyping and Social Reality*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Oakes, P. J., and Haslam, A. S. (2001). Distortion v. Meaning: Categorization on Trial for Inciting Intergroup Hatred. In M. Augoustinos, and K. J. Reynolds (Eds.) *Understanding Prejudice, Racism and Social Conflict* (pp.183-194). London: Sage.
- Oaten, A. (2014). The Cult of the Victim: An Analysis of the Collective Identity of the English Defence League. *Patterns of Prejudice* 48 (4), 331-349.
doi:10.1080/0031322X.2014.950454.
- Oboler, A. (2013). *Recognising Hate Speech: Antisemitism on Facebook*. Melbourne: Online Hate Prevention Institute.
- Orrù, P. (2014). Racist Discourse on Social Networks: A Discourse Analysis of Facebook Posts in Italy. *International journal of Linguistics, Philology and Literature*, 5 (1), 113-133.
- Parker, I. (2002). *Critical Discursive Psychology*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pearson, A. R., Dovidio, J. F., and Gaertner, S. L. (2009). The Nature of Contemporary Prejudice: Insights from Aversive Racism. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 3 (3), 314-338. doi: 10.1111/j.1751-9004.2009.00183.x
- Pederson, A., Paradies, Y., Hartley, L. K., and Dunn, K. M. (2011). Bystander Antiprejudice: Cross-Cultural Education, Links with Positivity toward Cultural 'Outgroups' and Preparedness to speak out. *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, 5 (1), 19-30. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1375/prp.5.1.19>.
- Perez, R. (2013). Learning to make Racism Funny in the 'Colour-blind' Era: Stand-up Comedy Students, Performance Strategies, and the (re) production of Racist Jokes in Public. *Discourse and Society* 24 (4), 478-503. doi: 10.1177/0957926513482066.
- Pettigrew, T.F. and Meertens, R.W. (1995). Subtle and Blatant Prejudice in Western Europe. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 25 (1), 57-75. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.2420250106.
- Pink, S. (2007). *Doing Visual Ethnography* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.
- Pomerantz, A. (1986). Extreme Case Formulations: A New Way of Legitimizing Claims. *Human Studies (Interaction and Language Special Issue)*, 9, 219-230.

- Postmes, T., Spears, R., and Lea, M. (1998). Breaching or Building Social Boundaries? SIDE-Effects of Computer-Mediated Communication. *Communication Research*, 25 (6), 689-715. doi: 10.1177/009365098025006006.
- Potter, J. (1988). What is Reflexive about Discourse Analysis? The Case of Reading Readings. In S. Woolgar (Ed). *Knowledge and Reflexivity: New Frontiers in the Sociology of Knowledge* (pp. 37-54). London: Sage.
- Potter, J. (1996a). *Representing reality: Discourse, rhetoric and social construction*. London: Sage.
- Potter, J. (1996b). Discourse Analysis and Constructionist Approaches: Theoretical Background. In J. Richardson (Ed.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for Psychology and the Social Sciences*. Leicester: British Psychological Society.
- Potter, J. (1997). Discourse Analysis as a Way of analysing naturally occurring Talk. In D. Silverman (Ed.) *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice* (pp. 144-160). London: Sage.
- Potter, J. (2012). Discourse Analysis and Discursive Psychology. In H. Cooper (Ed.) *APA Handbook of Research Methods in Psychology: vol. 2. Quantitative, Qualitative, Neuropsychological, and Biological* (pp. 111-130). American Psychological Association Press: Washington, DC.
- Potter, J. and Hepburn, A. (2007). Discursive psychology: Mind and Reality in practice. In A. Weatherall, B. Watson & C. Gallois (Eds.) *Language and Social Psychology Handbook* (pp. 160-181). London: Palgrave.
- Potter, J. and Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Belief*. London: Sage.
- Potter, J., and Wetherell, M. (1988). Accomplishing Attitudes: Facts and Evaluation in Racist Discourse. *Text*, 8, 51-68. Doi: <http://doi.org/10.1515/text.1.1988.8.1-2.51>.
- Potter, J., Edwards, D., and Ashmore, M. (2002). Regulating Criticism. Some Comments on an Argumentative Complex. In I. Parker (Ed.) *Critical Discursive Psychology* (pp. 73 81). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Quinn, B., and Urquhart, C. (2013, 23rd May). Anti-Muslim reprisals after Woolwich Attack. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2013/may/23/woolwich-attack-anti-muslim-reprisals>.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., and Svartvik, J. (1985). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. New York: Longman.
- Rapley, M. (2001). How to Do X without Doing Y: Accomplishing Discrimination without “Being Racist” – “doing Equity”, in M. Augoustinos, and K. Reynolds, K. (Eds.) *Understanding Prejudice, Racism and Social Conflict* (pp.231-250). London: Sage.
- Reavey, P. (2011). *Visual Methods in Psychology: Using and Interpreting Images in Qualitative Research*. London: Routledge.
- Reavey, P., and Johnson, K. (2008). Visual Approaches using and interpreting Images. In W. Stainton Rogers, and C. Willig (Eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp.296-315). London: Sage.
- Reicher, S.D. (1982). The Determination of Collective Behaviour. In H. Tajfel (Ed.) *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations* (pp. 41-83). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reicher, S. D. and Hopkins, N. (2001). Psychology and the end of History: A Critique and A Proposal for the Psychology of Social Categorisation. *Political Psychology* 22 (2), 383-407. doi: 10.1111/0162-895X.00246.
- Reisigl, M. and Wodak, R. (2001). *Discourse and Discrimination. Rhetorics of Racism and Antisemitism*. London: Routledge.
- Renton, D. (2005). A Day to Make History? The 2004 Elections and the British National Party. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 39 (1), 25-45. doi: 10.1080/00313220500045170.
- Rhodes, J. (2009). The Banal National Party: The Routine Nature of Legitimacy. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 43 (2), 142-160. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00313220902793898>.
- Richardson, J. E. (2004). *(Mis) Representing Islam*. John Benjamins Publishing Company: Amsterdam/Philadelphia.

- Richardson, J. E. (2008). "Our England": Discourses of "Race" and Class in Party Election Leaflets. *Social Semiotics*, 18 (3), 321-335. doi: 10.1080/10350330802217105.
- Richardson, J. E. (2011). Race and Racial Difference: The Surface and Depth of BNP Ideology. In N. Copey and G. Macklin (Eds.) *British National Party: Contemporary Perspectives* (pp. 38-61). London and New York: Routledge.
- Richardson, J. E. (2013a) Ploughing the Same Furrow? Continuity and change on Britain's extreme-right fringe. In R. Wodak, M. KhosraviNik and B. Mral (Eds.) *Right Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse* (pp.105-119). London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Richardson, J. E. (2013b). Radical Populism in British Fascist Discourse: The Case of COMBAT and the British National Party (1960-1967). In R. Wodak, and J. E. Richardson, (Eds.) *Analysing Fascist Discourse* (pp.181-202). New York: Routledge.
- Richardson, J. E., and Columbo, M. (2014). Race and Immigration in Far-right and Extreme-Right European Political Leaflets. In Hart, C., and Piotr, C. (Eds.) *Contemporary Critical Discourse Studies* (pp. 521-542). London: Bloomsbury.
- Richardson, J. E., and Wodak, R. (2009a). The Impact of Visual Racism: Visual Arguments in Political Leaflets of Austrian and British Far-right parties. *Controversia*, 6 (2), 45-77.
- Richardson, J. E. and Wodak. (2009b). Recontextualising Fascist Ideologies of the Past: Right-wing Discourses on Employment and Nativism in Austria and the United Kingdom. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 6 (4), 251-267. doi: 10.1080/17405900903180996.
- Roderick, I. (2016). Inter-ideological mingling: White Extremist Ideology entering the Mainstream on Twitter. *Sociological Spectrum* 36 (1), 24-36. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02732173.2015.1075927>.
- Rooyackers, I. N., and Verkuyten, M. (2012). Mobilizing Support for the Extreme Right: A Discursive Analysis of Minority Leadership. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 51 (1), 130-148. doi:10.1111/j.2044-8309.2010.02008.

- Rorty, R. (1989). *Contingency, Irony, Solidarity*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Rose, G. (2012). *Visual Methodologies*. Open University UK: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Sacks, H. (1992). Hotrodders as a Revolutionary Category. In Jefferson, G. (Ed.) *Lectures on Conversation Vol I, II*. (169-174). United Kingdom: Blackwell.
- Sajid, A. (2005). Islamophobia: A New Word for an Old Fear. *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics and Culture* 12 (2–3), 31–40.
- Särilvik, B., and Crewe, I. (1983). *Decade of Dealignment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Saul, H. (2015, 9th January). Paris Attacks Timeline: From Charlie Hebdo to a Jewish Grocery Store-how two Hostage Situations Unfolded. Independent. Retrieved from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/paris-attacks-timeline-from-charlie-hebdo-to-dammartin-en-goele-how-the-double-hostage-situation-9968543.html>.
- Schafer, J. A. (2002). Spinning the Web of Hate: Web-based Hate Propagation by Extremist Organisations. *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture*, 9 (2), 69–88.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1997). Whose Text? Whose Context? *Discourse and Society* 8, 165-187. doi: 10.1177/0957926597008002002.
- Schuster, L., and Solomos, J. (2004). Race, Immigration and Asylum: New Labour's Agenda and its Consequences. *Ethnicities*, 4 (2), 267–28 doi: 10.1177/1468796804042606.
- Schwarz, N., and Strack, F. (1991). Context Effects in Attitude Surveys: Applying Cognitive Theory to Social Research. In W. Stroebe and M. Hewstone (Eds.) *European Review of Social Psychology* (Vol. 2, pp. 31-50). Chichester: Wiley.
- Seargeant, P. and Tagg, C. (2014). *The Language of Social Media: Identity and Community on the Internet*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Sherrard, C. (1997). Repertoires in Discourse: Social Identification and Aesthetic Taste. In N. Hayes (Ed.) *Doing Qualitative Analysis in Psychology* (pp.69-83). East Sussex: Taylor and Francis Ltd.
- Short, J., Williams, E., and Christie, B. (1976). *The Social Psychology of Telecommunications*. London: Wiley and Sons.
- Shotter, J. (1993). *Cultural Politics of Everyday Life*. Milton Keynes: Open University.
- Sindic, D., and Condor, S. (2014). Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorization Theory. In T. Capelos, C. Kinvall, C. Nesbitt-Larkan, and H. Dekker (Eds.) *The Palgrave Handbook of Political Psychology* (pp.39-54). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith B. and Brecher J. (2010) Is Social Networking Useless for Social Change? *Common Dreams*. Available at: <http://www.commondreams.org/view/2010/10/08-3>.
- Sneijder, P., and te Molder H.F.M. (2004). ‘Health should not have to be a Problem’: Talking Health and Accountability in an Internet forum on Veganism. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 9, (4), 599–616. doi: 10.1177/1359105304044046.
- Speer, S. A., and Potter J. (2000). The Management of Heterosexist talk: Conversational Resources and Prejudiced Claims. *Discourse and Society*, 11 (4), 543–572. doi: 10.1177/0957926500011004005.
- Stainton Rogers, W. (2009). Research Methodology. In D. Fox, I. Prilleltensky and S. Austin (Eds.) *Critical Psychology: An Introduction* (pp.335-354). London: Sage.
- Stocker, (2015). ‘Dark and Sinister Powers’: Conspiracy Theory and the Interwar British Extreme Right. *Centre for Fascist, Anti-Fascist and Post-Fascist studies Issue 2*, 6-7.
- Stokoe, E., and Edwards, D. (2007). ‘” Black this, Black that”’: Racial Insults and reported Speech in Neighbour Complaints and Police Interrogations. *Discourse and Society* 18 (3), 337-372. doi: 10.1177/0957926507075477.
- Sveningsson Elm, M. (2009). How do Various Notions of Privacy influence Decisions in Qualitative Internet Research? In A. N. Markham, & N. K. Baym (Eds.) *Internet inquiry: Conversations about Method* (pp. 69–87). Los Angeles: Sage.

- Tajfel, H. (1969). Cognitive Aspects of Prejudice. *Journal of Social Issues*, 25 (4), 79-97.
doi: 10.1111/j.1540-4560.1969.tb00620.x.
- Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology*.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Talaska, C. A., Fiske, S. T., and Chaiken, S. (2008). Legitimizing Racial Discrimination:
Emotions, not Beliefs, best Predict Discrimination in a Meta-Analysis. *Social Justice
Research* 21 (3), 261-369. doi: 10.1007/s11211-008-0071-2.
- Tateo, L. (2005). The Italian Extreme Right On-line Network: An Exploratory Study using
An Integrated Social Network Analysis and Content Analysis Approach. *Journal of
Computer-mediated Communication*, 10 (2). doi: 10.1111/j.1083-6101.2005.tb00247.
- Taylor, S. (1993). The Radical Right in Britain. In Mrkl, P. H., and Weinberg, L. (Eds).
Encounters with the Contemporary Radical Right (pp.165-184). Boulder, CO:
Westview Press.
- Taylor, S. (2001). Locating and conducting Discourse Analytic Research. In M. Wetherell,
S. Taylor, and S. L. Yates, (Eds.) *Discourse as Data. A Guide for Analysts* (pp. 5-48).
London: Sage.
- Taylor, S. (2005). Self-narration as Rehearsal: A Discursive Approach to the Narrative
Formation of Identity. *Narrative Inquiry*, 15 (1), 45-50.
- Taylor, S. (2006). Narrative as Construction and Discursive Resource. *Narrative Inquiry*,
16 (1), 94-102. doi: 10.1075/ni.16.1.13tay.
- Tileagă, C. (2005). Accounting for Extreme Prejudice and legitimating Blame in talk about
The Romanies. *Discourse and Society* 16 (5), 603-624.
doi: 10.1177/0957926505054938.
- Tileagă, C. (2011). (Re) writing Biography: Memory, Identity, and Textually mediated
Reality in coming to Terms with the Past. *Culture & Psychology*, 17 (2), 197-215. doi:
10.1177/1354067X11398315.
- Tileagă, C. (2013). *Political Psychology*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

- Tileagă, C. (2015). *The Nature of Prejudice: Society, Discrimination and Moral Exclusion*. London: Routledge.
- Tileagă, C., and Stokoe, E. (2016). *Discursive Psychology: Classic and Contemporary Issues*. London: Routledge.
- Tilles, D. (2015). *British Fascist Antisemitism and Jewish Responses, 1932-40*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Törnberg, A., and Törnberg, P. (2016). Combining CDA and Topic modelling: Analyzing Discursive Connections between Islamophobia and Anti-feminism on an Online Forum. *Discourse and Society* 27 (4), 401-422. doi: 10.1177/0957926516634546.
- Treadwell, J. (2012). White Riot: the English Defence League and the 2011 English Riots. *Criminal Justice Matters*, 87 (1), 36–37. doi: 10.1080/09627251.2012.671016.
- Treadwell, J., And Garland J. (2011). Masculinity, Marginalization and Violence: A Case Study of the English Defence League. *British Journal of Criminology*, 51 (4), 621-634. doi:10.1093/bjc/azr027.
- Trent, J. S. and Friedenber, R. V. (2013). *Political Campaign Communication: Principles and Practises*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Troup Buchanan, R. (2015b, 13th November). Simone Joseph: Woman in anti-Islam Bus Rant avoids Jail. *The Independent*. Retrieved from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/simone-joseph-woman-in-anti-islam-bus-rant-avoids-jail-a6734156.html>.
- Unger J., Wodak R., and KhosraviNik M. (2016). Critical Discourse Studies and Social Media Data. In D. Silverman (ed.), *Qualitative Research (4th edition)* (pp. 11-22). London: SAGE.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1984). *Prejudice in Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1988). *News as discourse*. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- van Dijk, T.A. (1992). Discourse and the Denial of Racism. *Discourse and Society*, 3, 87–118. doi: 10.1177/0957926592003001005.
- van Dijk T.A. (1993a). Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse and Society* 4 (2), 249–283. doi: 10.1177/0957926593004002006.
- van Dijk, T.A. (1993b). *Elite Discourse and Racism*. London: Sage.
- van Dijk, T.A. (1995). Discourse Analysis as Ideology Analysis. In C. Schäffner, and Wenden (Eds.) *Language and Peace* (17-33). Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2000). New(s) Racism: A Discourse Analytical Approach. In S. Cottle (Ed.) *Ethnic Minorities and the Media* (pp.33–49). Buckingham: Open University Press.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Critical Discourse Analysis. In D. Tannen, D. Schiffrin & H. Hamilton (Eds.) *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. (pp. 352-371). Oxford: Blackwell
- van Zoonen, L., Vis, F., and Mihelj, S. (2010). Performing citizenship on YouTube: activism, satire and online debate around the anti-Islam video Fitna. *Critical Discourse Studies* 7 (4), 249-262. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2010.511831>.
- Verkuyten, M. (2005). Accounting for Ethnic Discrimination: A Discursive Study among Minority and Majority Group Members. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 24 (1), 66-92. doi: 10.1177/0261927X04273037.
- Verkuyten, M. (2013). Justifying Discrimination against Muslim Immigrants: Out-group Ideology and the Five-step Social Identity Model. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 52 (2), 345-360. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.2011.02081.x>.
- Verkuyten, M. (2014). *Identity and Cultural Diversity: What Social Psychology Can Teach Us*. New York: Routledge.
- Vossen, K. (2014). Defending Dutch Freedom: The Far right in the Netherlands, 1932–2012. In M. Feldman and P. Jackson (Eds.) *Doublespeak the Rhetoric of the Far right since 1945* (pp. 167-181). Stuttgart, Germany: Ibidem.

- Walker, I. (2001). The Changing Nature of Racism: From Old to New? In M. Augoustinos, and K. J. Reynolds (Eds.) *Understanding Prejudice, Racism, and Social Conflict* (pp.24–42). Thousand Oaks, London: Sage.
- Waterfield, B. (2014, 22nd May). European Election upset for Geert Wilders as Dutch turn Cold on anti-EU Party. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/netherlands/10850610/European-election-upset-for-Geert-Wilders-as-Dutch-turn-cold-on-anti-EU-party.html>.
- Watson, J. (2011). Public Confidence in Elections. In D. Wring, R. Mortimore, and S. Atkinson (Eds.) *Political Communication in Britain* (pp. 126-143). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Watt, H. (2015, 7th January). Terrorists shouted they were from al-Qaeda in the Yemen before Charlie Hebdo attack. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11330636/Terrorists-shouted-they-were-from-al-Qaeda-in-the-Yemen-before-Charlie-Hebdo-attack.html>.
- Webb, C. (2015). Holocaust Denial: True Debate or Platform of Hatred? *Centre for Fascist, Anti-Fascist and Post-Fascist Studies* 2, 21. Teesside University.
- Wetherell, M. (1998). Positioning and Interpretative Repertoires: Conversation Analysis and Post-structuralism in Dialogue. *Discourse and Society*, 9 (3), 387-412. doi: 10.1177/0957926598009003005.
- Wetherell, M. (2003). Racism and the Analysis of Cultural Resources in Interviews. In H. Van den Berg, M. Wetherell, and H. Houtkoop-Steenstra, (Eds.) *Analysing Race Talk: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on the Research Interview* (pp.11-30). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wetherell, M. (2011) Winds of Change: Some Challenges in Reconfiguring Social Psychology for the Future. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 50 (3), 399-404. doi: 10.1111/j.2044-8309.2011.02038.x.
- Wetherell, M., and Potter, J. (1992). *Mapping the Language of Racism: Discourse and the Legitimation of Exploitation*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

- Wetherell, M., and Edley, N. (1999). Negotiating Hegemonic Masculinity: Imaginary Positions and Psycho Discursive Practises. *Feminism and Psychology*, 9 (3), 335-356. doi: 10.1177/0959353599009003012.
- Wiggins, S., and Potter, J. (2008). Discursive Psychology. In C. Willig, and W. Holloway, (Eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research in Psychology*. (pp. 72-89). London: Sage.
- Williams, S., and Law, I. (2012). Legitimising Racism: An Exploration of the Challenges Posed by the use of Indigeneity Discourses by the Far Right. *Sociological Research Online*, 17 (2).
- Wilson, T. D., and Hodges, S. D. (1992). Attitudes as Temporary Constructions. In L. L. Martin, and A. Tesser (Eds). *The Construction of Social Judgments* (pp. 37-65). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Withnall, A. (2015, 19th January). Britain First 'Christian Patrols' return to east London in wake of Charlie Hebdo shootings. *The Independent*. Retrieved from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/britain-first-christian-patrols-return-to-east-london-in-wake-of-charlie-hebdo-shootings-9988329.html>.
- Wittgenstein, L. (1953). *Philosophical Investigations*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Wodak, R. (2015a). *The Politics of Fear. What Right-wing Populist Discourses Mean*. London: Sage.
- Wodak, R. (2015b). Saying the Unsayable. Denying the Holocaust in media debates in Austria and the UK. *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict*, 3 (1), 13-40. doi: 10.1075/jlac.3.1.01wod.
- Wodak, R., and Richardson, J.E. (2013). *Analysing Fascist Discourse*. New York: Routledge.
- Wood, C., and Finlay, W.M.L. (2008). British National Party representations of Muslims in the month after the London bombings: Homogeneity, Threat, and the Conspiracy Tradition. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 47 (4), 707–726. doi: 10.1348/014466607X264103.

- Wright, O., Morris, N., and Legge, J. (2013, 25th May). EDL marches on Newcastle as Attacks on Muslims increase tenfold in the wake of Woolwich machete attack which Killed Drummer Lee Rigby. *The Independent*. Retrieved from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/edl-marches-on-newcastle-as-attacks-on-muslims-increase-tenfold-in-the-wake-of-woolwich-machete-8631612.html>.
- Zajonc, R. B. (1989). Styles of Explanation in Social Psychology. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *19*, 345-368. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.2420190503
- Zhao, S., Grasmuck, S., and Martin, J. (2008). Identity Construction on Facebook: Digital Empowerment in Anchored Relationships. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, *24* (5), 1816-1836. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2008.02.012>.
- Zúquete, J. P. (2008). The European Extreme Right and Islam: New Directions? *Journal of Political Ideologies*, *13* (3), 321–44. doi: 10.1080/13569310802377019.

Appendix A: Outline of Data Corpus

English Defence League

Facebook Posts

Title of post	Date	No of comments
1. Gay Muslim	13.3.14	33
2. Wake up Britain	16.3.14	25
3. British Girls on Pilgrimage at risk from Jihadists	16.3.14	32
4. Man charged with Redditch murder	17.3.14	33
5. Somalia Jihadists behead Mother of two girls	17.3.14	34
6. Plans to build Muslim cemetery	17.3.14	74
7. Telegraph article: British Muslim women don't need feminism	17.3.14	50
8. Another old church gone to Islam	17.3.14	75
9. BBC article: Two face genital mutilation charges	21.3.14	56
10. Stop Jihadists entering this country	21.3.14	31
11. Telegraph article: Christians should copy Muslims	21.3.14	43
12. Woman threw acid in friend's face disguised in veil	21.3.14	27
13. Balaclava raiders invade mosque: Inside Job?	21.3.14	77
14. Daily Mail Article: Islamic teacher who sexually abused girl spared jail	22.3.14	143
15. Promotion of website	23.3.14	18
16. Islamic law to be adopted by solicitors: Creeping Sharias?	23.3.14	76
17. Telegraph article: Government intervenes at school taken over by Muslim radicals	23.3.14	38
18. Rebel Catholic priest confesses to gay sham marriage	23.3.14	52

19. School spends £70,000 on speakers to call Muslims to prayer	23.3.14	58
20. Express article: Islamic law denying women and unbelievers inheritance	23.3.14	74
21. Channel 4: what is life like for Muslim lesbian women?	24.3.14	27
22. LGBT blasts Muslim mosque leader for linking homosexuality to paedophilia	24.3.14	91
23. Sharia Law means less human rights	25.3.14	49
24. First Halal sweet and takeaway to open in Scunthorpe	26.3.14	36
25. Women's meeting-self segregation	27.3.14	62
26. Passenger doing chin ups on bus after a woman victim of racist attack	27.3.14	38
27. Police ready for mosque protests in Sunderland	28.3.14	23
28. Peterborough demo preparations	28.3.14	12
29. Rising number of 'convenience Muslims' behind bars	1.4.14	39
30. British woman jailed for insulting Islam on Facebook	2.4.14	33
31. Former Arsenal player films Jihad video	4.4.14	67
32. There is no such thing as peaceful moderate Muslim	5.4.14	75
33. Children should not be forced to starve for Ramadan	6.4.14	66
34. David Cameron's adviser is Muslim brotherhood founder's grandson	10.4.14	72
35. New Islamic school to open in Batley	10.4.14	89
36. PM won't intervene on meat labels	8.5.14	110
37. Anti-Fascists accuse EDL of exploiting Lee Rigby	19.5.14	110
38. Muslim school refuses to deal with governors	27.5.14	34
39. West Ham mosque	27.5.14	45
40. Racism on the rise: bad press	28.5.14	102
41. Website promotion	29.5.14	29
42. Brothers stoned pregnant sister to death	30.5.14	54
43. Attack on Catholic Church in Central African Republic	31.5.14	34

44. Queen's speech to mention crackdown on extremists with British links who've travelled to Syria	1.6.14	37
45. Parliament plea for Muslim and Hindu bank holiday	1.6.14	118
46. Everyone is welcome in the EDL	2.6.14	54
47. Extra officers for Stevenage	5.6.14	43
48. You say that I am racist because...	7.6.14	56
49. West Ham mosque public inquiry	11.6.14	29
50. Middlesbrough public enquiry	11.6.14	18
51. London's 20 most popular	12.6.14	6
52. Animal welfare should come before 7 th century superstition	13.6.14	12
53. Soldiers secretly being fed Halal meat	13.6.14	47
54. Be more British Cameron tells Muslims	13.6.14	35
55. Woman abused after asking children to stop swearing	17.6.14	33
56. Middlesbrough demo	18.6.14	7
57. British Jihad call for UK Muslims to join ISIS	20.6.14	153
58. Peterborough pair jailed for sexually abusing teenagers	20.6.14	60
59. West Midlands division	20.6.14	5
60. New Oakes cemetery	20.6.14	48
61. Charges over child sex exploitation	26.6.14	38
62. Abu Qatada not guilty over terror plot	26.6.14	45
63. Abu Qatada will not come back	26.6.14	63
64. English Defence League Five years old	27.6.14	44
65. NHS worker bullied Muslim by praying for her	29.6.14	35
66. France bans Muslim veil	1.7.14	93
67. Britain's treatment of the Muslim brotherhood is cack handed	2.7.14	15
68. UK airports on alert after plan to bring jet down	3.7.14	32
69. Amir Kahn arrested	4.7.14	135
70. Graffiti on 7/7 memorial	7.7.14	39
71. Christians should marry Muslims	9.7.14	194
72. Michael Adebawale moved to hospital	13.7.14	84

73. Independent article: children's books are too white	14.7.14	61
74. Muslim campaigning to ban the burka	17.7.14	87
75. English population being ethnically cleansed	18.7.14	121
76. Halesowen mosque dome rejected	21.7.14	48
77. Christian in Iran to have lips burnt for eating during Ramadan	23.7.14	76
78. End of Ramadan	24.7.14	34
79. Government spends £80,000 sending Romanian migrants back to Romania and Bulgaria	28.7.14	78
80. Batley	28.7.14	43
81. George Galloway and his friend	28.7.14	83
82. Muslim quits UKIP after racism claim	15.8.14	57
83. How it feels to chop off infidels' heads revealed in chatroom	17.8.14	18
84. Did your grandparents fight two world wars...	26.8.14	42
85. Get to Rotherham police station	27.8.14	29
86. Rotherham police station update	27.8.14	25
87. Only 10% of an iceberg sits above water	28.8.14	29
88. How many thousands of girls must be savagely raped...	28.8.14	25
89. Rotherham demo	29.8.14	39
90. Sikhs supporting the EDL in Rotherham	29.8.14	114
91. Shout out to Andrew Edge	29.8.14	43
92. Guardian article: The Blame game	31.8.14	41
93. How to become involved in the EDL	31.8.14	58
94. Police plan mass raid on sex gangs	31.8.14	190
95. Virgins in paradise	1.9.14	33
96. justice carpet	1.9.14	18
97. UAF countering Rotherham	2.9.14	145
98. UK social worker exposes Pakistani sex ring	3.9.14	33
99. Thousands of patriots on the streets	13.9.14	40
100. Teenager banned from exams for wearing niqab	23.9.14	276

101.	Pakistani Christians	24.9.14	70
102.	Bridgewater mosque wins council cash	24.9.14	97
103.	UK on the road to war with Islamic state	25.9.14	89
104.	Controversy over freedom of speech	27.9.14	180
105.	Iraqi asylum seekers rent out London flats	28.9.14	34
106.	Calling them Asian	14.10.14	39
107.	75% groomers are Asian	17.10.14	111
108.	Morrison's force poppy seller to stand outside	27.10.14	109
109.	Daily Mail article: poppy burner enjoys life of benefits	29.10.14	359
110.	Manchester teacher admits terrorism plot	29.10.14	32
111.	Leeds/Rotherham demos	6.11.14	10
112.	Soaring fuel bills will kill pensioners	18.11.14	212
113.	Luton the Return	20.11.14	24
114.	Luton demo	20.11.14	5
115.	Dudley and Manchester demo	29.11.14	10
116.	I heard a young girl lost her head...	29.11.14	44
117.	British Muslims suffer job discrimination: cry me a river	30.11.14	97
118.	Muhammed the most common baby name	1.12.14	163
119.	UK pub crisis Muslims to blame	4.12.14	53
120.	Mass polygamy in UK Muslim community	10.12.14	48
121.	EDL Luton protest	29.12.14	24
122.	Muslim faith schools cause divisions in society	1.1.15	12
123.	Psychologist claims Islam root cause of rape wave	1.1.15	29
124.	Sweden hit by third arson mosque attack	2.1.15	194
125.	ISIS fighters contract Ebola	2.1.15	71
126.	ISIS plans to take control of Spain	2.1.15	79
127.	Molested boy found hanged in mosque	3.1.15	92
128.	Migrant killers and rapists could be flooding into Britain	5.1.15	99

129.	Another terrorist attack in France	7.1.15	50
130.	Shot fires at French magazine HQ	7.1.15	20
131.	I am Charlie	8.1.15	65
132.	Another terrorist attack in France today	9.1.15	55
133.	New mosque ban in Padua after Paris attack	9.1.15	93
134.	Murdoch says Muslims should be held responsible for 'Jihadist cancer'	11.1.15	152
135.	Sikhs are not Moslem	11.1.15	21
136.	While Jews are slaughtered the left worry about Islamophobia	14.1.15	50
137.	That card must be getting very heavy	15.1.15	238
138.	Tony Blair: Force is necessary to combat extremist Islam	16.1.15	55
139.	Islamists are just 21 st century fascists	16.1.15	43
140.	Cameron says pope is wrong to suggest punching people who mock Islam	18.1.15	173
141.	Fury over plans to use taxpayers' money to fund halal abattoir	25.1.15	88
142.	70 years after its liberation, a drone captures the Auschwitz we should never forget	28.1.15	59
143.	Porn obsessed Jihadists are literally wankers, says Boris	30.1.15	52

Facebook photos

Title	Date	Number of comments
1. No Islamic studies in English Primary schools	5.3.14	348
2. Peterborough demo	6.3.14	14
3. Forgive me Allah	14.3.14	204
4. Topless protesters	21.3.14	80

5. Loud and proud: we're coming	26.3.14	11
6. Peterborough demo	26.3.14	34
7. We're coming: demo eve	28.3.14	30
8. Londonistan 2055	28.3.14	263
9. Peterborough Demo	29.3.14	62
10. Happy Mother's Day	30.3.14	1
11. We are Sikhs	5.4.14	198
12. St George's day	22.4.14	22
13. Subway Sharia controlled zone	1.5.14	261
14. I love real bacon	6.5.14	53
15. Eating takeaway pizza	7.5.14	185
16. Cover photo-Stevenage	18.5.14	7
17. Lee Rigby Never Forget a	20.5.14	61
18. Sikh bikers support EDL	21.5.14	-
19. How do you justify calling us right wing	26.5.14	78
20. Stevenage	26.5.14	6
21. Middlesbrough	2.6.14	2
22. We support the British Sikhs	4.6.14	40
23. Middlesbrough	7.6.14	16
24. Rik Mayall	9.6.14	25
25. This is England	10.6.14	70
26. From Evolution	10.6.4	-
27. Enough is enough	10.6.14	-
28. Supporting the EDL is not racist	11.6.14	-
29. We told you so Mr Cameron	24.6.14	22
30. Muslimbrough	24.6.14	11
31. Churchill	25.6.14	-
32. Lefty flags	25.6.14	-
33. Right wing? No	25.6.14	-
34. Sharia Police?	25.6.14	-
35. Politics is no longer right v left	26.6.14	-
36. Lloyds TSB Islamic account	26.6.14	-

37. Fascists united	26.6.14	-
38. Newsflash 2015	26.6.14	-
39. Two tier newsflash	26.6.14	-
40. Truth, the new hate speech	26.6.14	-
41. We paid a heavy price for your freedom	26.6.14	-
42. Flag Cover page	29.6.14	19
43. Batley demo	29.6.14	43
44. Independence Day	4.7.14	7
45. More people came to Britain in 2013...	4.7.14	125
46. 9 th anniversary of terrorist attacks in London	6.7.15	62
47. 7 th July 2005 always remembered	6.7.15	2
48. There is no such thing as Islamophobia	10.7.15	23
49. Join	10.7.14	4
50. Who am I	18.7.14	141
51. It's an invasion	25.7.14	55
52. Stop Halal cruelty	7.8.14	23
53. Why is it acceptable to leftards...	7.8.14	50
54. . I should not be classed as...	7.8.14	54
55. George Galloway free zone	8.8.14	53
56. Where are the UAF	9.8.14	168
57. Know the difference: Sikh and Muslim-comments separate	10.8.14	230
58. Bournemouth cover photo	10.8.14	25
59. Bournemouth demo	21.8.14	1
60. Religious symbols cartoon	24.8.14	34
61. Downing Street: We're coming down the road	24.8.14	17
62. Silence is the loudest cry	27.8.14	16
63. Justice for the 1400	27.8.14	78
64. Metropolitan Police	27.8.14	24
65. Rotherham demo	28.8.14	61
66. Justice for the Rotherham 1400	29.8.14	14
67. We demand justice for the 1400	29.8.14	37

68. Muslim paedophile gangs	29.8.14	29
69. Justice for the 1400	29.8.14	52
70. Not afraid to speak out	29.8.14	83
71. 1400 kids my age	30.8.14	49
72. Downing Street demo	1.9.14	14
73. UAF scum	2.9.14	53
74. UAF counter protest	2.9.14	181
75. Congrats William and Kate	8.9.14	60
76. Stamping out child abuse	10.9.14	28
77. 11 th Sept-never forget	11.9.14	80
78. The EDL have landed	13.9.14	166
79. London demo	14.9.14	15
80. Profile pic	23.9.14	6
81. Peppa Pig	24.9.14	91
82. Not insulting, but describing Islam	25.9.14	36
83. Birmingham	27.9.14	20
84. Now recruiting	29.9.14	80
85. Demonstration poll	2.10.14	125
86. Shirt worn by a WW2 veteran	7.10.14	37
87. Demo group photo	12.10.14	8
88. Demo photo	12.10.14	19
89. Demo photo	13.10.14	11
90. Anjem Choudary tweet	17.10.14	128
91. Ladbrokes refuse to sell poppies	22.10.14	211
92. Luton demo	25.10.14	35
93. Whose streets?	31.10.14	27
94. We're coming down the road	28.10.14	23
95. Muslims and Nazis	20.10.14	400
96. Join the EDL angels	4.11.14	16
97. Make a stand against Militant Islam	7.11.14	23
98. St Edmund	20.11.14	7
99. Luton	22.11.14	53

100.	Com mies who tried to destroy Luton	23.11.14	57
101.	Logo	26.11.14	2
102.	Merry Christmas	27.11.14	1
103.	Dudley Demo	29.11.14	7
104.	Remembering Sir Winston Churchill	30.11.14	51
105.	Dudley demo	30.11.14	-
106.	A picture is a thousand words	2.12.14	169
107.	Merry Christmas from the EDL	3.12.14	17
108.	Britain embraces diversity	4.12.14	98
109.	Christmas baubles	6.12.14	2
110.	Dudley cover photo	7.12.14	54
111.	List of Islamic terror attacks in past 30 days	17.12.14	62
112.	Twitter	17.12.14	2
113.	3 attacks in 3 days in France	22.12.14	39
114.	Merry Christmas	23.12.14	20
115.	Christmas e-card	24.12.14	2
116.	Merry Christmas	25.12.14	36
117.	Happy new year	31.12.14	46
118.	Happy new year	1.1.15	7
119.	Join us	3.1.15	5
120.	ISIS cartoon	7.1.15	173
121.	Hebdo cartoon	7.1.15	255
122.	Je Suis Charlie	7.1.15	14
123.	Dudley Demo	13.1.15	15
124.	A Charlie Hebdo here would put Farage in no 10	14.1.15	49
125.	Why should I respect your culture	19.1.15	16
126.	Rest in Peace Anne Kirkbridge	20.1.15	14
127.	Churchill: still a legend	24.1.15	55

Facebook Videos

Title	Date	Comments
1. The new national Anthem	26.6.14	92
2. Rotherham Paedophiles 13 th September	1.8.14	7
3. Citizen Steve Farewell my England	27.10.14	21
4. Luton demonstration promotion	18.11.14	81
5. Luton demonstration	23.11.14	60

British National Party

Facebook Posts

Title	Date	No of comments
1. Take action over Pizza Express and Halal	8.5.14	283
2. VE day	11.5.14	38
3. Stunning BNP victory	24.5.14	74
4. No to anti-white racism	3.6.14	276
5. Passing the buck, police won't take responsibility over rape of 16-year-old girl	20.6.14	28
6. Thank you to our brave service men and women	28.6.14	28
7. Islamist preacher London council house	30.6.14	521
8. 435, 760 asylum claims in the last year	11.7.14	22
9. BNP treasurer	31.7.14	27
10. Bolton against Islamification	3.8.14	54
11. Give Johnny Johnston a knighthood	17.8.14	91
12. British people a nation of animal lovers	16.9.14	37

13. Out of Africa	7.10.14	8
14. Great work by Simon Darby	25.10.14	79
15. Cameron wants to see an Asian prime minister	6.11.14	83
16. Burnley man in court on sex charges	19.11.14	51
17. Government attacks kids for being “too English”	20.11.14	31
18. Police appeal in search of missing sex offender	9.1.15	130

Facebook Photos

Title	Date	No of Comments
1. Donate	1.3.14	5
2. Another black footballer plays the race card	2.3.14	146
3. Name needed for mascot	2.3.14	433
4. Close the borders now	4.3.14	63
5. Halal meat	4.3.14	66
6. Tougher penalties for animal abusers	7.3.14	25
7. Happy St. Patrick’s Day	17.3.14	31
8. We fight grooming gangs	24.3.14	16
9. UKIP are not against immigration	2.4.14	45
10. Boycott labour	2.4.14	47
11. Boycott conservatives	4.4.14	56
12. Stop the invasion comments separate	12.4.14	193
13. Roma gypsy gangs	21.4.14	121
14. St George’s day	23.4.14	62
15. BNP lead UKIP follow comments separate	24.4.14	18
16. Coming soon	25.4.14	2
17. Con men	28.4.14	56
18. Broadcast today	29.4.14	6
19. BNP broadcast banned	29.4.14	22
20. Broadcast banned	30.4.14	79
21. Don’t keep calm	2.5.14	41

22. Eye photo	2.5.14	1
23. 26 million people	8.5.14	95
24. No more mosques	11.5.14	22
25. Run 'em out of Scotland	12.5.14	30
26. Say hello to Enoch Powell	17.5.14	143
27. RIP Lee Rigby	22.5.14	465
28. BNP on sexuality	4.6.14	112
29. 2014 election win	4.6.14	66
30. You know these types	5.6.14	77
31. Remembering D-Day	6.6.14	25
32. Happy birthday Captain Scott	6.6.14	32
33. Happy birthday George Stevenson	9.6.14	29
34. Wake up! Rise!63	12.6.14	85
35. Boot out the bosses	12.6.14	77
36. Happy birthday James Clerk Maxwell	13.6.14	25
37. Love Europe	14.6.14	100
38. Never surrender	14.6.14	77
39. Happy birthday Enoch Powell	16.6.14	160
40. Happy birthday John Wesley	17.6.14	18
41. Happy birthday George Mallory	19.4.14	36
42. Scottish blood English heart	22.6.14	100
43. Happy Birthday Alan Turing	23.6.14	51
44. Labour's ethnic cleansing	4.7.14	197
45. Islamification? No thanks	15.7.14	195
46. Happy birthday Emmeline Pankhurst	15.7.14	42
47. Flawless BNP account	31.7.14	27
48. Happy Lammastide	1.8.14	19
49. No, I'll not sit by...	2.8.14	229
50. Happy birthday Alexander Fleming	6.8.14	28
51. Happy birthday Enid Blyton	11.8.14	43
52. Happy birthday John Logie Baird	13.8.14	41
53. Happy birthday Henry V	16.9.14	70

54. Close the borders now	19.8.14	122
55. Time for Action	22.8.14	110
56. Happy birthday William Wallace	23.8.14	143
57. Fresh meat	28.8.14	16
58. Cover up of the rape of 1400 girls	12.9.14	38
59. Happy birthday Horatio Nelson	29.9.14	131
60. Islamist time bomb leaflets	1.10.14	28
61. Rebecca will be an ethnic minority	1.10.14	21
62. When we didn't have to apologise	6.10.14	212
63. Join the winning team	17.10.14	15
64. Happy birthday Bill Oddie	20.10.14	21,000
65. Happy birthday Alfred the Great	25.10.14	148
66. Remembering our heroes	4.11.14	9
67. We will remember them	11.11.14	36
68. Happy birthday David Stirling	15.11.14	101
69. Happy birthday Bernard Montgomery	17.11.14	78
70. I heart GB but...	20.11.14	57
71. Labour party	29.11.14	45
72. Enoch Powell was right	4.11.14	140
73. Logo	4.11.14	60
74. Blame it on the immigrants	12.11.14	-
75. Defend the rev	12.11.14	91
76. White Christmas	2.12.14	139
77. White taxi drivers only	12.12.14	19
78. Protecting our Christmas	15.12.14	17
79. Merry Christmas	23.12.14	37
80. Get out of the EU	1.1.15	77
81. Happy birthday Sir Isaac Newton	4.1.15	24
82. British jobs for British workers	5.1.15	76
83. NHS in crisis	7.1.15	56
84. Solidarity with our Gallic cousins	8.1.15	137
85. Time for Action	13.1.15	30

86. Stop mass immigration	16.1.15	107
---------------------------	---------	-----

Facebook videos

Title	Date	No of Comments
1. Banned Broadcast	May 2014	-
2. Uncensored Broadcast	13.5.14	139

Britain First

Facebook Posts

Title	Date	No of comments
1. Iraqi illegal immigrant guilty of rape and robbery	13.3.14	111
2. Britain has lost every attempt to stop new laws since Brussels since 1996	25.3.14	32
3. British Hindus starting to rally behind Britain First	10.4.14	247
4. Britain First has quietly become most popular UK political party on Facebook	21.5.14	190
5. Don't unpack you're going back	8.12.14	21
6. Policewoman deliberately hit by car in Paris	15.1.15	53
7. British Jihadist warns of more attacks	15.1.15	88
8. Taliban hunting hoodie	16.1.15	32
9. Christian patrol in East London mosque	16.1.15	158
10. Homeless veteran appeal	17.1.15	128
11. Iranian footballers warned by Islamic regime for posing for selfies	19.1.15	82
12. Sign up	21.1.15	82

Facebook photos

Title	Date	No of comments
1. Animal offenders list	1.3.14	8
2. Happy St David's day	1.3.14	31
3. Anjem Choudary	3.3.14	-
4. With more of this there would be less of this	4.3.14	120
5. Ash Wednesday	5.3.14	32
6. Ban the Burka	5.3.14	42
7. Dude I'm joking...	5.3.14	19
8. Enoch Powell was right	7.3.14	-
9. Wizard of Oz	7.3.14	27
10. I heart GB but...	8.3.14	-
11. I want you...	11.3.14	-
12. Lee Rigby memorial	11.3.14	-
13. The phoenix has risen	13.3.14	24
14. Ulster is British	14.3.14	-
15. Made in Britain	17.3.14	40
16. Happy St Patrick's day	17.3.14	7
17. You are entering a Sharia free zone	19.3.14	68
18. Happy birthday Vera Lynn	20.3.14	-
19. Britannia Ball	23.3.14	33
20. Rest in Peace all who died on Malaysian plane	24.3.14	111
21. Flags	25.3.14	65
22. Isn't it weird...	25.3.14	-
23. Translator at benefits office	26.3.14	-
24. Islamification: coming to a school near you	25.3.14	-
25. Happy Mother's Day	30.3.14	-
26. World Autism Day	2.4.14	-

27. I am a closet Brit	5.4.14	-
28. Britain and India	5.4.14	-
29. Holy Bible	6.4.14	-
30. RIP Peaches Geldof	7.4.14	-
31. Palm Sunday	13.4.14	-
32. Iron lady	15.4.14	-
33. Hillsborough	15.4.14	-
34. Hey Taliban...	16.4.14	35
35. Christian commandment	16.4.14	4
36. Counter Jihad mosque	18.4.14	12
37. Happy Easter	20.4.14	77
38. Happy birthday to the Queen	21.4.14	-
39. Those who act like sheep will be eaten by wolves	22.4.14	85
40. Happy St George's Day	23.4.14	76
41. Queen and country	24.4.14	130
42. Counter demonstration outside Saudi embassy	26.4.14	35
43. Tell your grandchildren you did nothing	29.4.14	167
44. RIP Bob Hoskins	30.4.14	-
45. Don't just keep calm	29.4.14	
46. Vive le France	26.5.14	190
47. Racist?	3.6.14	172
48. St George	4.6.14	136
49. D day	6.6.14	-
50. RIP Rik Mayall	9.6.14	-
51. Martin Luther King	12.6.14	79
52. Weeping	12.6.14	-
53. Happy Father's Day	15.6.14	-
54. Gandhi	18.6.14	82
55. Peace sign	19.6.14	134
56. Happy birthday William	21.6.14	-
57. The next generation	23.6.14	150
58. Peace group photo	25.6.14	91

59. Peace group photo	26.6.14	86
60. This person is British and proud	26.6.14	117
61. Coventry	1.7.14	-
62. Hope not soap	4.7.14	-
63. Remember 7 th July	7.7.14	-
64. Time to Rise	22.7.14	53
65. I hope they never find life on any other planet	26.7.14	112
66. Anjem Choudary: Pure evil	3.8.14	205
67. Illegal immigrants versus Old age pensioners	11.8.14	258
68. RIP Lauren Bacall	13.8.14	-
69. Political correctness is fascism pretending to be manners	16.8.14	61
70. Benefits Street	18.8.14	-
71. Politically correct	August 2014	-
72. I'm a tolerant liberal	7.9.14	-
73. Congratulations Will and Kate	8.9.14	-
74. September 11 th	11.9.13	-
75. Campaign to save union in Edinburgh	13.9.14	-
76. Bagpipe player	13.9.14	-
77. South shields	13.9.14	35
78. Christian Sunday	21.9.14	-
79. Put British people first	30.10.14	65
80. Nick Robinson	21.11.14	11
81. Group photo	22.11.14	6
82. St Andrew's day	30.11.14	61
83. Welsh activists spreading the message	18.1.15	-
84. T-shirt	20.12.14	44
85. Merry Christmas	24.12.14	80
86. Happy new year	31.12.14	158
87. Russel and Brand	18.1.15	501
88. You think I'm just going to hand over my country?	23.1.15	91

89. Nobody needs to coin the term	23.1.15	86
90. Censored	26.1.15	104
91. Sharing Jesus	26.1.15	111
92. Obama: Islam's Trojan horse	27.1.15	256
93. It is not racist to criticize a religion	29.1.15	264
94. Jayda being interviewed	30.1.15	39
95. America is calling	31.1.15	67
96. Scottish activists	31.1.15	40

Facebook Videos

Title	Date	No of Comments
1. First political party broadcast	2.6.14	-
2. Geert Wilders on the Islamic terror attacks in Paris	17.1.15	384
3. Solidarity Patrol in support of the Jewish Community	31.1.15	436

Appendix B: Transcription Symbols

Taken from Jefferson, G. (2004). Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In G. H. Lerner (Ed.), *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation* (pp: 13-31). Amsterdam: John Benjamin.

(.) A full stop inside brackets denotes a micro pause, a notable pause but of no significant length.

hh, hh in-breath (note the preceding full stop) and out-breath respectively.

Word, Underlined sounds are louder, or emphasised

WORD capitals louder or shouted

> < Arrows surrounding talk like these, show that the pace of the speech has quickened

< > Arrows in this direction show that the pace of the speech has slowed down

(Word) a word within single brackets indicates the transcriber's guess at an unclear fragment of talk

(()) Where double brackets appear with a description inserted denotes some contextual information where no symbol of representation was available.


↑ When an upward arrow appears it means there is a rise in intonation

↓ When a downward arrow appears it means there is a drop in intonation


= The equal sign represents latched speech, a continuation of talk

: Colons appear to represent elongated speech, a stretched sound

Appendix C: Transcript of English Defence League Discussion

 **(EDL) English Defence League** ▼
28 January at 11:16 · 🌐

<http://www.israelvideonetwork.com/70-years-after-its-liber.../>



70 years After It's Liberation, A Drone Captures The Auschwitz we Should Never Forget
NEVER AGAIN!
ISRAELVIDEONETWORK.COM

Like · Comment · Share

👍 121 people like this. Top Comments ▼

↪ 46 shares



Steve [redacted] They should open it again & put muslims in there!

Like · Reply · 38 · 28 January at 11:30

Hide 14 Replies



Wesley [redacted] Excellent idea

Like · 4 · 28 January at 13:23



Daniel [redacted] Really?!
You sick , twisted messes.

Like · 28 January at 14:56 · Edited



Steve [redacted] NO, many muslims are sick & twisted. That is why we need to get rid of them! If you don't agree with that, you clearly support these terrorists!

Like · 6 · 28 January at 15:00



Hans [redacted] I can be a commander of that facility

Like · 3 · 28 January at 17:31



Steve [redacted] Maybe you should be put in there too Steve?

Like · 28 January at 17:57



Steve [redacted] Why? I am not a terrorist....unlike many muslims!

Like · 1 · 28 January at 18:22



Steve [redacted] Why don't you change your original comment to suit your latest comment? Its confusing. You're either plain stupid or plain vile. Both suit you equally.

Like · 28 January at 18:25



Steve [redacted] You are the stupid & vile one if you think muslims are good! I have not changed anything you fool!

Like · 1 · 28 January at 18:27 · Edited



Steve [redacted] You can't even read.

Like · 28 January at 19:27



Dominik Antczak ur guys same like them...

Like · 28 January at 20:28



Steve SW I can read fine. You don't make sense!

Like · 28 January at 21:20 · Edited



Taki Only one problem the Hitler is dead!! but the great idea!! burn all the scum bags in one large oven

Like · 1 · 29 January at 20:58



Vince Twisted would be to tolerate them anymore

Like · 29 January at 23:53



Paul The islamists are the new Nazis. Simply repatriate them back to their homelands so they can practice their voodoo crap and leave the rest of us in peace!

Like · 1 · Yesterday at 14:04



Write a reply...



Michael Nobody talks about the holocaust that's happening right now being carried out by Islamic Nazis.

Like · Reply · 15 · 28 January at 13:41



Leslie Agree, Muslims are the New Nazi's and as such should be eradicated from the planet, well at least their backwards religion.

Like · 28 January at 17:01



Write a reply...



Krzysztof Just want to mention that same number of Polish citizens died in those camps. Not only Jews. Germans yes not Nazi's those were Germany army soldiers, slaughtered, forced to work till death and burned millions of Polish and Jews there.

Like · Reply · 8 · 28 January at 11:45



Lukasz Doesn't matter. BBC's history advisers will say "Polish". That's how they're educated. Anyway. You can't teach chicken fly

Like · 29 January at 06:17



Leam The gas chambers that no one got gassed in go watch hittler the greatest story never told

Like · Reply · 4 · 28 January at 12:11



Rodney Seems like the world is failing the Jews again.

Like · Reply · 3 · 28 January at 15:49



Patch how many christians and jews have been killed in the name of islam

Like · Reply · 3 · 28 January at 12:12



Bernadette Muslims were with the Nazis, they have taken over from him, 2nd Holocaust happening right now all over the world, Jews, Christians, Buddhist, Hindus are being murdered in the name of Allah, Islam, how long will it take for the non-Muslims to wake up and realize what's happening, or are we waiting for another 6 million to be killed

Like · 6 · 28 January at 12:22



Patch i agree with you bernadette ,it seems as though the world is sleeping ,hope it wakes up before its to late

Like · 3 · 28 January at 12:25



Write a reply...



Thomas Oh its 1.6million now, when will the jews decide on which lies are their official story.

Like · Reply · 6 · 28 January at 12:27



Mark Just in that camp

Like · 1 · 28 January at 15:05



Tony Shame on all Jew Haters.

Like · 28 January at 15:56



Write a reply...



Lulle Same to Day muslims killing Jews and cristians but europe are to blinde to se

Like · Reply · 2 · 28 January at 12:51



Rab R.i.P to the 6 million jews

Like · Reply · 2 · 28 January at 12:13



Lukasz and to 67 millions non jew and non muslim ppl

Like · 1 · 28 January at 12:35



Write a reply...



Nick Good idea steve

Like · Reply · 2 · 28 January at 11:33



Lee Nothing has changed. People don't learn. Millions more have died at the hands of crazed dictators in their own countries. Camps are not required.

Like · Reply · 1 · 28 January at 14:25



Kim Yes the gas chambers are still operational.....there was nothing to them, they locked people inside and then dropped a cannister of Zyklon B (poisonous gas) through a small hole in the top.....you can still smell the gas.....it is t... [See More](#)

Like · Reply · 3 · 28 January at 11:45



Ross Was there 5 days ago - couldn't smell the gas, but certainly saw the claw marks on the walls - so sad!

Like · 28 January at 12:50



Write a reply...



Lee Lol Ethnic cleansing that doesn't sound a bit like what a nazi would do does it haha 😂 thats how they delt with the Jews before the gasing started

Like · Reply · 4 hrs · Edited



Matt chilling.... even through merely watching a video.



Oli [redacted] Prove it

Like · Reply · 29 January at 22:57



Martin [redacted] muslims say the holocaust never happened why because muslims employed by hitler in is ss known for there natural cruelty and inbuilt hared of the jewish nation and other people like the disabled ran auschwitz and dacow death camps they are a evil nasty ugly race of people who deny what is a matter of history never happened its time every christian country in this world sent them to hell

Like · Reply · 29 January at 18:50



Lukasz [redacted] German concentration camps!!! Not Polish!!!

Like · Reply · 29 January at 06:08



Ian [redacted] The world needs another hitler to exterminate another cult thats more evil then nazisum ! Islam & its evil backward prehistoric barbaric ideology needs to be wipped off the planet asap

Like · Reply · 29 January at 05:42



Lee [redacted] Yeh that's what happened when a nationalist party/nationalism take power and spellbind a nation with hate and fear hmmmm?

Like · Reply · 28 January at 23:23



Gavin [redacted] Trying to draw attention to the parallels is wasted on this lot I'm afraid Lee

Like · 1 · 28 January at 23:27



Steve [redacted] They're about as sharp as a lump hammer.

Like · 29 January at 07:15



Write a reply...



Nick [redacted] Yes you are right i probly dont qjut understand....sorry if i pissed you off.

Like · Reply · 28 January at 12:31



Nick [redacted] Burn the fukin place.....so angrysuffering.....never foraget all the pain



Kim You need to go visit there!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

Like · 1 · 28 January at 11:46



Write a reply...



Nader The christian white terrorists killed 6 million innocent Jewish

Like · Reply · 1 · 28 January at 11:18



Łukasz You are so wrong. In Auschwitz were closed mostly Polish ppl so most of ppl killed there were Christians. Jewish were closed in Birkenau. Second thing You are wrong about is Hitler and his religion. He was raised in a Christian family but when he grew up he was referring to the religion of reluctance up to hostility as his subordinates so you can't consider them as a Christians if they didn't themselves as one of us. You should get to know facts before saying bullsh....

Like · 13 · 28 January at 13:00 · Edited



Dawid Don't be such egocentric Jews. In the Second World War were murdered millions of Slavs (~15mln), Jews (~6mln), Chinese (~20mln) and ppl of other nationalities.

Like · 1 · 28 January at 12:48



Ross Strange that Hitler admired Islam, and also had a Muslim division of the SS. Hitler hated Christianity, and described himself as a Pagan. Nader, you are a muppet!

Like · 2 · 28 January at 12:53



Chris hitler stated leave the muslims as they will fight their own and kill eachother! well thats coming true

Like · 3 · 28 January at 12:58



Adam christian terrorists Nader???? your on drugs mate. dont you dare compare my religion with your filthy kiddy shagging murderer prophet.

Like · 4 · 28 January at 14:09