



## Countering Radical-Right Narratives Educators Pack

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Analysis of the  
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## Contents

1. Introduction\_\_\_\_\_P.3
2. What is the Radical-Right?\_\_\_\_\_P.4
3. Where does support for the Radical-Right come from?\_\_\_\_\_P.9
4. Who Gets Involved in the Radical-Right?\_\_\_\_\_P.15
5. What Possible Scenarios could be used for a Creative Arts Project?\_\_\_\_\_P.19
6. Useful Resources: Radical-Right Timeline, Glossary, Bibliography\_\_\_\_\_P.22

## 1. Introduction

### a) About this Educational Pack

This resource has been designed to help KS5 educators start creative arts projects that counter radical-right narratives. The material contained in each section of the pack can be walked through separately on a session-by-session basis or set as primary reading as a project develops. It is hoped that over the course of the project students will learn ways to counter prejudicial language and behaviour in everyday settings. It will also give them a chance to realise some of the consequences, risks and impacts that getting involved in radical-right politics can incur – drawing them away from this particular form of extremism and towards making better life choices.

### b) Aims of the Pack

The first aim of this educational pack is to help KS5 students understand what we mean by the radical-right, its history, beliefs, activities and drivers. This focuses specifically on Neo-Nazi, anti-Islam and other white racial nationalist organisations that make up the contemporary radical-right scene in the UK. The second aim of the pack is to help KS5 students explore their own attitudes and prejudices and see how it might overlap with these groups, and therefore overcome them - pointing out the negative risks, impacts and consequences of getting involved in engaging in such activism. The third – and most important - aim of this educational pack is to give KS5 students different scenarios as a starting point for a creative arts project. This will be referred to throughout the pack – with more practical suggestions included in the penultimate section, looking at: ‘What Possible Scenarios could be used for a Creative Arts Project?’

### c) Ground Rules: Providing a Safe Space for Discussion

Before walking through the below material, it is important to establish ground rules among learners when exploring the themes and ideologies associated with the radical-right, such as racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and Islamophobia. It is likely that the discussions may bring to the surface prejudices and stereotypes that – in the first instance - need to be investigated and interpreted but also challenged. Teachers should therefore work collaboratively with students to establish a set of rules that will – on the one hand - foster openness, positive dialogue and the feeling of a safe space, but also place a check on prejudicial views being left unchallenged.

An example of such ground rules could be as follows:

- Take Responsibility;
- Be Open;
- Respect Others;
- Agree to Confidentiality;
- Disagree Constructively.

As such, discussions might provoke strong feelings, emotions or memories of previous experiences, it is important for teachers to monitor student progress and be on call to provide further support to students. This might involve providing informal times to: debrief, process any negative emotions and refer students on to resources that might be helpful to their own wellbeing and development. Ultimately, however, it will require robust classroom management – making sure that prejudicial language and views do not go unchecked as well

as undertaking risk assessments in order to safeguard students if they are likely to access extremist material - both online and offline – during the course of the project.

## 2. What is the Radical-Right?

Learning Outcomes:

By the end of this section students will understand:

- What we mean by the term ‘Radical-Right Extremism’;
- What the history of the UK Radical-Right looks like;
- What beliefs are associated with Radical-Right groups;
- What activities they are engaged in.

### a) What do we mean by the Radical-Right?

Activity One:

Get students in group to ask each other about what we mean by the term Radical-Right (i.e. what beliefs attitudes and activities it entails), what they’ve heard about in the news about these groups, and the words they associate with the ‘Radical-Right’.

Information Sheet:

The phrase ‘Radical-Right’ is a political term used to describe a particular form of extremism clustered around certain ideological features. The key parts of this extremist ideology we face in day-to-day situations include:

- Racism – the belief in the superiority or inferiority of specific people groups based on their skin colour, ethnicity, or religion.
- Ethnocentrism - the belief in the superiority of the social or cultural group.
- Xenophobia – a deep-rooted fear or hostility towards foreigners.
- Anti-Semitism – a deep-rooted hatred or hostility towards adherents to Judaism or people of Jewish background or heritage.
- Islamophobia - a deep-rooted fear of or hostility towards Muslims or Islam.

Other features associated with this particular political movement include:

- Ultra-Patriotism/Ultra-nationalism - an extreme form of patriotism or nationalism that excludes selected ethnic minorities from a national identity/nation.
- Nativism – a term used to refer to ethnocentric beliefs relating to immigration and the nation.
- Authoritarianism – a demand for strong law and order/strong state and a belief in a strictly ordered society where principles of human equality, democracy, and individual rights are replaced with dictatorship.

Radical-Right Extremism (RRE) takes many different forms:

- At the most extreme, radical-right-wing views take the form of fascism/neo-Nazism. This was seen under Adolf Hitler in Germany and Benito Mussolini in Italy around the time of the Second World War.
- More moderate forms can present as ‘national-populism’ or ‘radical right-wing’ populism. Populist ideas are presented as ‘common sense’ and downplay links to extremism. This form of RRE will typically distance itself from fascism/Nazism and violence, and ‘buy into’ aspects of the democratic system. In some cases the core ideology of fascism remains ‘hidden’ or ‘semi-hidden’ behind the claim to moderation.
- ‘New Radical-Right’ - a more recent form of RRE where anti-Muslim sentiment sits at the very core. The New Radical-Right strongly rejects links to fascism/anti-Semitism. It can be pro-Zionist, pro-LGBT, denies that it is racist and yet it is still characterised by core RRE views, such as ultra-patriotism/ultra-nationalism/nativism.

Turn to the Glossary in the ‘Useful Resources’ section of the pack for more information about the different terms that are associated with the Radical-Right.

b) What is the history of the UK Radical-Right?

Activity Two:

Get students into groups and get them to use the below text to construct timelines of the Radical-Right – both internationally and in the UK. Then get them to use the timeline (provided in the ‘Useful Resources’ section) to fill in any gaps.

Information Sheet 2:

The Radical-Right and their policies do not appear out of thin air; rather they are reactions to events and trends in society, culture, politics and economy among many other things. The emergence of British fascism directly followed the First World War (1914-1918). The impact of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, where the victors, particularly France, placed sizeable demands for reparations on Germany contributed to the rise of Nazism in Germany. In Britain, the First World War led to a social crisis of sorts; the cross-class spirit of the trenches faded and the liberal patina of pre-War British governments was actively re-evaluated by citizens. The period between the First and Second World War in Britain (1918-1940) saw the rise of fascist figures in Britain, who attempted to capitalise on the various crises in Britain to their advantage, with a view to replicating Mussolini’s ‘March on Rome’ in 1922, where his radical-right party had taken power. The main crises during the interwar period included the General Strike in 1925, and the domestic radical-right within Britain allied themselves with the Government and attempted to act as official Government ‘stewards’ to break strike action. The next crisis, which was global, was the Great Depression in 1929.

The Great Depression led to mass unemployment among many other economic difficulties, and radical-right proclaimed to hold the radical solutions needed by Britain. The crisis had a more profound effect on German society, and contributed to the rise in popularity and ultimate capture of power by Hitler and the Nazis in Germany. German re-armament and expansion in Austria and Czechoslovakia in the late 1930s would lead to increasing pressure on the British government to act, however their policy of appeasement led to stubborn resistance to stop Hitler's perhaps inevitable further expansion. Radical-Rightists were the arch-appeasers, but for different reasons than the Government. They resisted war with Germany due to both their own policies of isolation as well as their ideological affinity with National Socialism, not to mention the previous financial support Hitler had offered Mosley and the BUF. After Hitler invaded Poland in 1939, Britain was forced into war on the continent. The British government feared sedition from within and interned the vast majority of revolutionary Radical-Rightists under Defence Regulations 18(a) and 18(b), including Mosley and high-ranking BUF officials. WWII led to the collapse of interwar British fascism, however, immediately after the war, the same faces would re-emerge in a radically different world.

The post-war world was dominated by the Cold War (the stand-off between the two global superpowers; USA and the Soviet Union) which lasted from 1945 right up until the Berlin wall fell in 1989. The photographs of pile upon pile of skeletal corpses in Nazi-run concentration camps began to circulate and without doubt, radical-right thereafter became tainted with the Holocaust and the worst excesses of Nazism. Britain was now faced with a harsh reality; its infrastructure had been severely depleted by German bombing, it was financially indebted to the United States and the fall of its Empire, in the new bipolar world, was really only a matter of time. The main 'game changer' in terms of radical-right ideology was the influx of 'coloured' immigration from the Caribbean, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh who were invited by the Labour government to work on re-building Britain.

Radical-rightists capitalised on the ethnic tension that now existed, mostly in poor, urban communities, something which would be the mainstay of the post-war British Radical-Right right up until the present day. As nations under the control of British Imperial authorities gradually began to gain independence beginning with India in 1947 and ending in 1998 when Hong Kong became a Chinese territory, the decline of the British Empire would also be an important area of activism for British fascists who still believed in Britain's 'imperial mission' which was still based on 19th century ideas of white racial superiority. Another avenue for activism was Holocaust denial; the belief that 6 million Jews were not systematically murdered in Nazi concentration camps. The post-war Radical-Right was at its height in the 1970s during times of economic hardship and high inflation. This ascendancy, however, began to change at the time of Britain's first female Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, coming to power. Her more rightward stance on immigration policy and historical colonialism led to a collapse in the National Front vote, a process which was to be made irreversible by the Falklands War in 1982 and Thatcher's sweeping re-election in 1983.

Economic hardship, which featured heavily in the 1970s, continued to dominate in the decade to come, however. Political tensions also continued to boil between the Conservative Party and the Labour Movement, typified by the 1984 Miners' Strikes. The BNP, founded in 1982, struggled to find a place in the harsh political climate, and focused much of its attention on Holocaust denial and stirring up racial tension. Its mild successes in the 1990s are perhaps better explained in terms of grass roots politics; however they were set within a context of European Integration (highlighted by the 1992 Maastricht Treaty) and the economic turmoil experienced by John Major's government (demonstrated by Black Wednesday). 1997 was another landmark in British politics when Tony Blair became the first Labour Prime Minister to win an electoral majority since 1979. The Labour Government from 1997-2010 would be when the BNP and Radical-Right would be at its, electorally, most successful. Globalisation, increasing immigration, Islamist-inspired terrorism, European integration, the 2007 financial crisis as well as a growing alienation within working-class communities would all contribute to the success of the BNP. The EDL, which would emerge in 2009 would capitalise on much the same issues, but particularly the fear of Islamist-inspired terrorism.

Following the decline of the BNP (which effectively began after the 2010 general election) and EDL (following Yaxley-Lennon's resignation in October 2013), the Radical-Right, as of 2018, is fragmented into small organisations and numerically tiny. Whilst the electoral significance of the Radical-Right has all but disappeared for now, the threat of violence (and even terrorism) from Radical-Right groups and individuals has certainly not dissipated.

c) What activities are the Radical-Right engaged in?

Activity Three:

Get students to list the activities they've heard about being associated with this form of extremism. Get them to think of the negative risks, impacts and consequences of Radical-Right activity.

Information Sheet:

The contemporary Radical-Right is associated with three areas of activity or activism:

1. Fighting Elections – though not as electorally popular of recent, one activity that the Radical-Right has been engaged in is fighting elections. Recent estimates suggest that they are at the fringes of politics – with the UK Radical-Right only fielding 108 candidates at the 2015 General Election. Such a form of activism is low-risk – with only minor scuffles and incidents reported as a result of these groups being involved in electoral contests.
2. 'Feet on the Street' – a more recent transition has been towards demonstrations, marches and protests. Key organisations on the UK Radical-Right (such as Britain First, the English Defence League, Northern 'Infidels' and National Action) typically use such activities to bolster their support bases and spread

their message. Such a form of activism is medium to high risk – with arrests and violence a chief consequence that usually results from clashes with police and counter protestors.

3. Terrorism – the third and most dangerous form of activism associated with the Radical-Right is terrorism. Many such attacks are intercepted by police and counter-terrorism officials before they can be perpetrated (under the Governments PREVENT programme) but a number do slip through the net. Examples of this include: David Copeland, Pavlo Lapshyn and Thomas Mair. Such forms of activism are the highest risk of the three listed here and involve large fatalities – resulting in life sentences for the perpetrators and significant fatalities.

d) What beliefs are associated with Radical-Right groups?

Activity Four:

Get students to reflect on the above material and think about common themes in terms of the Radical-Right belief system – what do Radical-Right groups believe about society, politics and people groups? How can we sometimes identify this in ourselves? How can we counteract this?

Information Sheet:

The set of belief systems associated with the contemporary Radical-Right are the following:

1. Neo-Nazism - A form of fascist ideology based on the ideas of Adolf Hitler and other inter-war Nazis. Unlike the more populist radical right or new Radical-Right, neo-Nazis advocate a more violent form of politics outside the normal democratic process. Contemporary groups that subscribe to this ideology include: the National Front, National Action, and the British Movement.
2. Counter-Jihadism – This a term typically used to refer to an international movement or political current that is fundamentally opposed to any public expressions of Islam, such as Mosques, Muslim dress and Muslim Cultural Centres. Contemporary groups that subscribe to this ideology include: Britain First, the English Defence League and Liberty GB.
3. Racial Nationalism – This term is typically used to refer to groups that believe in ideas around racial purity of the nation and that only the racial ‘in-group’ should be counted as the ‘people’. Contemporary groups that subscribe to this ideology include: the British National Party, the British Democratic Party and the Racial Volunteer Force.

4. Where does support for the Radical-Right come from?

Learning Outcomes:

By the end of this section students will understand:

- What different explanations we can put forward for Radical-Right support;
- What ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors drive Radical-Right activism;
- How misconceptions can lead to prejudice.

a) What different explanations are there of Radical-Right support?

Activity One: Get students into groups thinking about why people would have to resort to extremist politics. Ask them to draw up a ‘mind-map’ of ideas in order to present to the class.

Information Sheet:

The most common explanation put forward for Radical-Right support is to suggest that such groups become more popular during a time of economic or political crisis. This is an explanation that is often put forward by political commentators and the media when explaining support for Radical-Right parties in elections.

The argument goes that only when there is an economic recession or major political rupture that people will resort to voting for parties that often scapegoat foreigners or migrants for the social, economic and political problems of a particular country.

We see evidence of this in explanations for why German citizens voted for the NSDAP in Germany and the rise of fascism during the inter-War period – with such explanations being resurrected for explaining why Greek citizens voted for the neo-Nazi, Golden Dawn party, back in 2012.

In fact, however, the picture for why people support Radical-Right parties is much more complex than this. Political scientists have therefore come up with three key theories or explanations for Radical-Right support:

1. ‘People Getting Left Behind’

One of the central explanations that academics now put forward for why people support parties on the radical right is commonly dubbed either the ‘losers of modernisation’ or ‘losers of globalisation’ thesis. Contemporary supporters of the extreme right modernization thesis argue that the current age of capitalism - we are in - has led to the creation of a contemporary equivalent of Germany’s 1930s middle class extremists. Unable to keep up with the revolutions in education and technology, the new extreme right precariat is composed of an unskilled, under-educated working class.<sup>1</sup> ‘(A)nxious, bewildered, and insecure’,<sup>2</sup> these individuals become disenchanted with their individual life chances, the direction of societal developments and the political system in general.<sup>3</sup> In a ‘silent counter-revolution’ against the liberal

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<sup>1</sup> Betz, Hanz-Georg (1994) *Radical Right-wing Populism in Western Europe*. Houndsmill: MacMillan. P. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. P. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. P. 4.

mainstream,<sup>4</sup> these individuals latch onto the appeals of strong authoritarianism and xenophobia in order to regain some semblance of order. The Radical-Right is, therefore, the main beneficiary of this sentiment.

One of the key criticisms of the modernisation thesis, however, is that, while ‘correct intuitively’, it is ‘too general and too vague’ to be considered a proper theory.<sup>5</sup> It is unable, for example, to give a specific explanation of what attitudes would lead an unskilled working male to vote for extreme right parties.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, statistical studies looking into this explanation have found ‘contradictory’ results - with ‘only a small minority of the “immense army” of modernization losers’ being proven to cast extreme right ballots.<sup>7</sup>

## 2. ‘Different Races Competing for Scarce Resources’

The second explanation given by academics for Radical-Right support is that it is a ‘defensive response’ to mass immigration.<sup>8</sup> This explanation suggests that voters vote for Radical-Right parties ‘because they want to reduce competition from immigrants over scarce resources such as the labor market, housing, welfare state benefits, or even the marriage market.’<sup>9</sup> Whilst they may not when questioned be able to justify anti-immigrant sentiment with regard to their own day-to-day economic circumstances, evidence shows that they are concerned about the economic plight of their fellow citizens and the symbolic ‘cultural threat’ immigrant groups pose.<sup>10</sup> In this case, a vote for the Radical-Right is, therefore, a vote based solely on ‘the attractiveness of [its] anti-immigrant politics’.<sup>11</sup>

One of the key criticisms of this idea about ‘ethnic competition’ is that there is little actual evidence that high-levels of immigration automatically lead to extreme right voting. Moreover, where evidence does exist, it is contradictory and largely depends on the level at which you take your measurements.<sup>12</sup> For example, one study in 2003 found that that ‘higher levels of immigration...help extreme right parties’.<sup>13</sup> In direct contrast, a second study in 2005 found that overall levels of ethnic diversity and

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<sup>4</sup> Ignazi, Piero (1992) ‘The silent counter-revolution: hypotheses on the emergence of extreme right-wing parties in Europe’ *European Journal of Political Research*. 22: 3-34.

<sup>5</sup> Mudde, C (2007) *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. P. 205.

<sup>6</sup> Eatwell, R., 2003. ‘Ten Theories of the Extreme Right’. In: Merkl, P. and Weinberg, L., eds. *Right-Wing Extremism in the Twenty-first Century*. Frank Cass: London. P.55.

<sup>7</sup> Mudde, C (2007) *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. PP. 204-5.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. P. 210.

<sup>9</sup> Rydgren, Jens (2007) ‘The Sociology of the Radical Right’, *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 33. P. 249.

<sup>10</sup> McClaren, Lauren and Johnson, Mark (2007) ‘Resources, Group Conflict and Symbols: Explaining Anti-immigration Hostility in Britain.’ *Political Studies*. 55: 709-732.

<sup>11</sup> Eatwell, R., 2003. ‘Ten Theories of the Extreme Right’. In: Merkl, P. and Weinberg, L., eds. *Right-Wing Extremism in the Twenty-first Century*. Frank Cass: London. P.49.

<sup>12</sup> Mudde, C (2007) *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. P.211.

<sup>13</sup> Golder, Matt (2003) ‘Explaining Variation in the Success of the Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe.’ *Comparative Political Studies*. 36 (4): 432-466. P.441.

hostility towards immigrants are ‘unrelated’ and fail to predict Radical-Right support accurately.<sup>14</sup> This study found that it was only when looking at the level of the individual that we find a ‘significant’ relationship between ‘cultural protectionism’ – perhaps a proxy for anti-migrant sentiment- and Radical-Right voting.<sup>15</sup>

### 3. ‘A Radical-Right Vote is a Protest Vote’

The third and final explanation put forward for Radical-Right voting suggests that it is down to ‘growing political alienation and discontent in Western European countries...’<sup>16</sup> Fighting against the status quo within the political system, the Radical-Right’s main target is ‘not immigrants but politics in general’.<sup>17</sup> Their populist appeals are built on the ‘empty promises’ of mainstream elites.<sup>18</sup> The appeals of the Radical-Right are limited to abolishing crime, unemployment and a halt to immigration (ibid). Those who vote for a Radical-Right party do so therefore due to their dissatisfaction with politics and the political system more generally.

There is some evidence to prove this. One 2002 study by a group of political scientists found that, while anti-immigrant attitudes weighed heavily in the minds of voters, people who expressed disaffection with the workings of democracy were also ‘significantly more likely’ to vote for right-wing extremist parties.<sup>19</sup> In line with this, another 2005 study found that Radical-Right voters are more likely to hold ‘lower than average trust’ in political institutions and society in general.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the same study finds that disaffection with an incumbent governments and its record strongly correlated with Radical-Right voting in two (Italy and Israel) out of eight of the countries included.<sup>21</sup>

The weight of evidence is, however, against what some have labelled the ‘protest thesis’. In a separate 2003 study, examining data from the 1999 European Elections, political scientists found that voters for Radical-Right, anti-immigrant parties are ‘generally not’ protest voters.<sup>22</sup> Instead, the primary considerations of these voters are the size of the party they are voting for and how close its world view is to theirs. It is only the smallest and least successful parties that attract those disaffected with

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<sup>14</sup> Norris, Pippa (2005), *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. PP. 174 & 180.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. P. 182.

<sup>16</sup> Rydgren, Jens (2007) ‘The Sociology of the Radical Right’, *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 33. P. 251.

<sup>17</sup> Fennema, Meindert (1997), ‘Some Conceptual Issues and Problems in the Comparison of Anti-Immigrant Parties in Western Europe’, *Party Politics*, 3(4): 473-92. P.476.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. P. 477.

<sup>19</sup> Lubbers, M, Gijsbert, M and Scheepers, P (2002) ‘Extreme right-wing voting in Western Europe’ *European Journal of Political Research*. 41:345-378. P.365.

<sup>20</sup> Norris, Pippa (2005), *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. PP. 152 & 158.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. P.160.

<sup>22</sup> Van der Brug, Wouter and Meindert Fennema (2003) ‘Protest or Mainstream? How the European anti-immigrant parties developed into two separate groups by 1999.’ *European Journal of Political Research*. 42: 55-76. P.65.

politics.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, in the same study as above, the same researcher surprisingly finds that Radical-Right voters had higher than average levels of satisfaction with government performance than the rest of the population.<sup>24</sup>

One key criticism of the protest theory of Radical-Right voting is that it implies that such voting is fleeting and unstructured.<sup>25</sup> We know, however, that this is not the case. Recent studies on the anatomy of the Radical-Right voting in Britain show that British National Party voters tended to be concentrated among 'older, less educated working-class men living in the declining industrial towns of the North and Midlands regions'.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, the suggestion that extreme right parties are protest parties raises another related question: why would a voter dissatisfied with the incumbent government choose an extreme-right party over another opposition party?<sup>27</sup> This is not to deny that increasing political dissatisfaction and disaffection are high in these voters' minds overall. It does, however, point to the conclusion that more substantive issues around immigration and race play a greater role in deciding how well Radical-Right parties do at the ballot box.

b) What 'push' and 'pull' factors drive Radical-Right activism?

Activity Two: Discuss as a class what would lead someone into full-time Radical-Right activism. Try to use some of the examples given below to outline scenarios that could be used in your creative arts project.

Information Sheet:

Voting for a Radical-Right party is very different from getting involved in seeking political office or joining a Radical-Right street protest movement. For example, usually casting a vote takes very little motivation or action compared to knocking on doors and giving out leaflets.

Moreover, when it comes to Radical-Right demonstrations, these can incur extra costs for those involved – such as loss of earnings, their job or a prison sentence. Becoming involved in a Radical-Right group and what leads someone on that journey is important to consider and is something that could be reflected in your creative arts project.

The easiest way to explain why someone becomes involved in a Radical-Right organisation can be reduced to push factors on the one hand (i.e. factors outside a certain individual's control that drive them into becoming active) and pull factors on

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid: 68. Van der Brug, Wouter, Fennema, Meindert, and Tillie, Jean (2005) 'Why some Anti-Immigrant Parties fail and other succeed: A Two-Step Model of Aggregate Electoral Support.' *Comparative Political Studies*. 38: 537-573. P. 561.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Eatwell, R., 2003. 'Ten Theories of the Extreme Right'. In: Merkl, P. and Weinberg, L., eds. *Right-Wing Extremism in the Twenty-first Century*. Frank Cass: London. P.52.

<sup>26</sup> Ford, Robert, and Matthew J. Goodwin. "Angry white men: Individual and contextual predictors of support for the British National Party." *Political Studies* 58.1 (2010): 1-25.

<sup>27</sup> Rydgren, Jens (2007) 'The Sociology of the Radical Right', *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 33.P.251.

the other (i.e. personal factors that might have to do with the person's family or psychology).

Push factors include: 'social, political and economic grievances; a sense of injustice and discrimination; personal crisis and traged[y]; frustration; alienation; searching for answers to the meaning of life; an identity crisis; social exclusion; alienation; marginalisation; disappointment with democratic processes; polarisation, etc.'<sup>28</sup>

Pull factors could include: 'a personal quest, a sense of belonging to a cause, ideology or social network; power and control; a sense of loyalty and commitment; a sense of excitement and adventure; a romanticised view of [a specific] ideology and cause; [as well as] the possibility of heroism, personal redemption, etc.'<sup>29</sup>

All of these factors might occur differently for different people at different life-stages but these are common factors that we can trace in something called the radicalisation process. Moreover, we can also talk about a 'kaleidoscope of factors' for individuals – with a myriad of individual-specific push and pull factor driving them into Radical-Right activism.<sup>30</sup>

c) How misconceptions can lead to prejudice?

Activity Three: Get students into pairs. Ask them to quiz each other about:

1. How they feel towards migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, people of different skin colour and religious dress?
2. What they think the stance of the Radical-Right is towards these people groups?
3. How they think people who are targeted by Radical-Right groups feel as a result of these actions?
4. And, if they have time, how they believe we can go about counteracting the negative attitudes and prejudice associated with Radical-Right groups?

Information Sheet:

Misconceptions about different people groups are often spread by our lack of contact or interaction with them. People often have a pure view of those who are different to them without looking beyond the stereotype and to the person underneath. This can often foster negative feelings of hatred and hostility towards what we might consider a social outgroup and when acted upon (either through our actions or verbally) can have devastating effects – both on victims and the lives of aggressors.

Social Psychologist, Gordon Allport, wrote nearly sixty years ago about the factors in each person's upbringing that foster this in-group/out-group prejudice.<sup>31</sup> In order to

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<sup>28</sup> Ranstrop, M. (04/01/2016) 'The Root Causes of Violent Extremism'. RAN Issue Paper. Hyperlink: [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation\\_awareness\\_network/ran-papers/docs/issue\\_paper\\_root-causes\\_jan2016\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation_awareness_network/ran-papers/docs/issue_paper_root-causes_jan2016_en.pdf)

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Allport, G.W. (1954) *The Nature of Prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison Wesley.

overcome such bias, he suggested that increased contact with those of different racial, religious and ethnic backgrounds is an important factor in reducing levels of fear, anxiety and hostility. It therefore helps to build relationships with those who are of a different religious or ethnic background than us.

In order to address prejudice, Allport set about spelling out the basis for meaningful interaction between different social groups. These are as follows:

1. Equal status between participating groups;
2. Sharing of common goals when these groups come together;
3. Proper co-operation between groups when they do come together;
4. Such activities need to be backed by authorities, the law and customs of the land in which it is taking place.<sup>32</sup>

Examples of initiatives that can help foster these interactions include:

- Cross-Community Football Matches;
- Interfaith events, such as carnivals, visits to places of religious worship and joint services;
- And, Joint Community Projects.

These help to break down dividing walls between communities and foster stronger bonds that might outlive the above activities. It also provides participants with real life experience of different social groups as opposed to what they read about in newspapers, online and in other forms of media.

## 5. Who Get Involved in the Radical-Right?

Learning Outcomes:

By the end of this section students will understand:

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<sup>32</sup> Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2005). 'Allport's intergroup contact hypothesis: Its history and influence'. In: J. F. Dovidio, P. Click, & L. A. Rudman (eds.) *On the nature of prejudice: Fifty years after Allport*. Maiden, MA: Blackwell. PP. 262-277.

- What people groups get involved in Radical-Right activities?
- What happens in a person's life to draw them into this kind of activism?
- What role do parents play?
- What are the risks of getting involved?

a) What people groups get involved in Radical-Right activities?

Activity: Get students into pairs and ask them to think about what are the common stereotypes when it comes to Radical-Right figures: who are they, how do they behave and what is their social background?

Information Sheet:

Unfortunately, there is no 'one-size-fits-all' explanation for why people get involved in Radical-Right groups. What leads individuals into activism is usually highly specific and might depend on their upbringing, social background and belief system. For example, people involved in one of the UK's most recent Radical-Right groups, the English Defence League (EDL), were initially stereotyped as being young, violent and from 'white working class' backgrounds as well as being former football hooligans. In reality the picture is much more variegated and complex than this.

Continuing with the example of the EDL, two in-depth studies have been done by academics looking to why people engage (but also exit) these groups. For example, in one 2015 study of the EDL, Joel Busher<sup>33</sup> categorises members of the group as:

- 'Football lads' - men and male teenagers who had been involved football-violence and used their activism in the group to continue pursuing this or as a route for retiring from these activities (p.38). This formed the largest group of activists.
- 'Swerveys' - usually individuals who had been involved in other revolutionary forms of politics and for some reason or another had switched allegiances (p.40). Only 5% of activists came from this group.
- 'Converts' - people involved in other political groups, such as animal welfare campaigners, but were not formerly involved in extremist politics (p.41). This group was comprised of about 20-30% of activists in Joel Busher's study.

Overall, however, most activists had political ideas that were neither particularly well-developed nor something especially radical when they came to such a group (p. 52). What Busher finds instead is that most people get involved in Radical-Right groups for the benefits they can accrue from such activism, such as the 'buzz' of demonstrations, feelings of belonging and solidarity, and being given an outlet for their frustrations. Moreover, many people entered the EDL because of existing social ties - with only 4 out of 18 activists interviewed in the study citing that they weren't recruited by friends, families or other relations (p.42). Thus, activists within the group did not experience a

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<sup>33</sup> Busher, J. (2015) *The Making of Anti-Muslim Protest: Grassroots Activism in the English Defence League*. London: Routledge.

major 'life rupture' or conduct 'bridge-burning' associated with other radical groups (p.174); it was only when they entered the group itself that they were exposed to the poisonous effects of anti-Islam ideology.

The second major study to look at the EDL was Hilary Pilkington's 2016 study in the North-West of England. This found that activists within the EDL were disproportionately male (73%), young (74% under the age of 35), and unemployed (48%) – with a large number having not completed secondary education (20%).<sup>34</sup> According to Pilkington (2016: 75), most of these activists were 'converts' who had been drawn to the movement because of the same perceived injustice but there was also a context of fragmented family backgrounds, experience of violence and abuse, poor (mental or physical) health and a lack of societal integration that accompanied a person's choice to become part of the group. Like in Busher's (2015) study, Pilkington also found membership to have a fluid quality – with activists 'stepping back' for periods of time either due to falling out with other members of the organisation or for more personal reasons (such as threats, injury or family disappointment)(p.89).

b) What happens in a person's life to draw them into this kind of activism?

Activity: Get students to think of the possible scenarios that might draw a person into radical politics – what has happened on their life journey, what experiences or events, and what are the benefits of being part of a Radical-Right group? Finally, how might activism compound their difficult situation?

Information Sheet:

As mentioned above, there are many push and pull factors that draw people into joining Radical-Right groups. We can think of a number of vulnerabilities that might help contextualise such factors, for example:

- A lack of a strong, stable and safe home environment (e.g. a history of foster care, domestic abuse or severe family breakdown);
- Traumatic child or adulthood experiences (e.g. experiences of domestic violence, multiple bereavement, or sexual abuse);
- Weak social ties (e.g. social isolation through a lack of friends, family or other meaningful relationships preceding or resulting from activism);
- A history of mental ill-health, drug addiction, imprisonment or chronic unemployment.

A case in point here was the conviction of a 22-year old young man, Nicky Reilly, in January 2009 (Edwards et al 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2008).<sup>35</sup> He was jailed for a minimum of 18 years

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<sup>34</sup> Pilkington, H. (2016) *Loud and Proud: Passion and Politics in the English Defence League*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

<sup>35</sup> Edwards, R., Savill, R., and Allen, N. (23<sup>rd</sup> May 2008) 'Exeter explosion: Suspect 'brainwashed' by Muslim extremists.' *The Daily Telegraph*. Date Accessed: 14/03/2017. Hyperlink: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/2014358/Exeter-bomb-Nicky-Reilly-white-Muslim-convert-is-named-as-suspect-in-Giraffe-restaurant-explosion.html>.

after launching a failed nail bomb attack on a restaurant in Devon in May 2008 (*BBC News* 30<sup>th</sup> January 2009).<sup>36</sup> Suffering from a history of mental ill-health and self-harm, Reilly had been radicalised using the internet and encouraged by men based in Pakistan to commit the attack (*ibid*).<sup>37</sup> Here we can see a fairly extreme example of how a vulnerability (e.g. mental ill-health) can be utilised by a ‘person of influence’ (here a person online) in order to resolve a particular grievance (e.g. Western Foreign Policy in the Middle East) and therefore motivate someone to go onto commit a terrorist offence (e.g. the planting of three nail bombs in Exeter City Centre).

c) What role do parents play?

Activity: Get students into pairs brainstorming the influence that family might have on a person’s worldview and politics – why are such ties so influential and what effect can they have on how a person thinks, acts and behaves?

Information Sheet:

There is a small (but not overwhelming) set of evidence to suggest that family histories of Radical-Right voting and activism lead to further involvement by more junior members of a household (Nayak 1999; Simi and Futrell 2010).<sup>38</sup> In the studies mentioned above on EDL activism, Busher (2015: 42) notes that three of the activists he met started by going to EDL events with their parents while Pilkington (2016: 78) suggests that six of the activists she interviewed either had parents playing senior roles in the EDL or had a history of family members voting for or being a member of another prominent Radical-Right organisation (such as the British National Party or National Front). Relatedly, friendships and other social ties play a stronger influence in Radical-Right activism; it seems the social circles in which people move in are what play a vital role in people hearing about and accessing a group as well as being important in terms of binding a group together.

It is not hard to see why the role of family or friends can be important in an individual’s political activity. As one political scientist puts it (Evans 2004: 45-46), ‘as an individual grows up, they receive a set of values and beliefs or interests which enable them to function within their social group and in society more generally...For the most part, the influences later in life build upon the foundations laid in the formative years...’<sup>39</sup> This suggests that the influence of family or ‘person of influence’ is important – even if there is little evidence to suggest that it is a widespread phenomenon amongst the Radical-Right.

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<sup>36</sup> *BBC News* (30<sup>th</sup> January 2009) ‘Nail-bomber given life sentence.’ Date Accessed: 14/03/2017. Hyperlink: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/7859887.stm>.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>38</sup> Nayak, A. (1999) “Pale Warriors”: skinhead culture and the embodiment of white masculinities’ In: A. Brah, M.J. Hickman and M. Mac an Ghail (eds.) *Thinking Identities: Ethnicity, Racism and Culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. PP.141-162.

Simi, P. and Futrell, R. (2010) *American Swastika: Inside the White Power Movement’s Hidden Spaces of Hate*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

<sup>39</sup> Evans, J.A.J. (2004) *Voters and Voting: An Introduction*. London: Sage Publications.

A case in point here was the conviction of County Durham teenager, Nicky Davison, in May 2010 for helping his Dad administer the website of UK-based extreme right paramilitary group, the Aryan Strike Force. Submitting his defence at his trial, 19-year-old Davison suggested that he had joined the group to please his racist father (BBC 30<sup>th</sup> April 2010).<sup>40</sup> The consequences of the teenager not standing up to his Dad here were however stark – destroying the army career that he had hoped for since childhood (Wainwright 14<sup>th</sup> May 2010).<sup>41</sup>

d) What are the risks of getting involved?

Activity: Get students to talk about what they think are the perceived risks of getting involved in the Radical-Right – how might this affect their life chances of an individual?

Information Sheet:

While getting involved in extremist organisation might look ‘alluring’, there are many negative risks, impacts and consequences associated with such a form of activism. These include:

- Potential Imprisonment associated with being involved in demonstrations, rallies and protests;
- Loss of employment as a result of association with a Radical-Right organisation;
- Expulsion from education again as a result of association with a Radical-Right organisation;
- And, rejection by friends, families and colleagues.

An example from Hilary Pilkington’s (2016: 84-85) study of the first example above is the story of Jack who was sentenced for violent disorder at an EDL demonstration. Despite Jack not being directly involved in fighting counter-demonstrators, his simple presence amidst the crowd of people perpetrating the offence was enough for him to be sentenced to three years in prison. In the UK, you can be convicted of violent disorder simply if it is proven that more than three people are involved in a particular incident – with your actions inciting others to violence. Therefore an incident that just started as an innocent piece of ‘banter’ between EDL demonstrators and counter-demonstrators became incriminating – highlighting how just being present at one of these rallies can result in a criminal conviction.

6. What Possible Scenarios could be used for a Creative Arts Project?

Learning Outcomes:

By the end of this section students will understand:

- What the aims of such a Creative Arts Project should be?

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<sup>40</sup> BBC News (30<sup>th</sup> April 2010) ‘County Durham teenager convicted of terror plot’. Hyperlink: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/wear/8653722.stm>. Date Accessed: 10/03/17.

<sup>41</sup> Wainwright, M. (14<sup>th</sup> May 2010) ‘Neo-Nazi Ian Davison jailed for 10 years for making chemical weapon.’ *The Guardian*. Hyperlink: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2010/may/14/neo-nazi-ian-davison-jailed-chemical-weapon>. Date Accessed: 10/03/17.

- What possible scenarios they could use for a Creative Arts Project?
- What formats might be appropriate for conveying such scenarios?
- What tools they can use to develop their ideas?

a) What are the aims of such a Creative Arts Project?

Activity: Get students to discuss what they think is appropriate to cover in a Creative Arts Project aimed at Countering Radical-Right narratives. Try to impress on them the crucial nature of combatting and not legitimising such narratives. At this stage, it is also instructive to conduct risk assessments around student research – limiting student exposure to Radical-Right content online as much as feasibly possible.

Information Sheet:

The aims of a Creative Arts Project that looks to counter Radical-Right narratives should be to try and de-legitimise, de-construct and de-mystify extremist propaganda. This can be done through explanation, exploration or (even) humour, related to the activities, ideas and people groups associated with the Radical-Right. It is important not to trivialise or down-play the seriousness of the subject matter and to make sure that you are not indirectly legitimating it through portraying it in an idealised light. The audience must really be able to understand the emotions, attitudes and situations that are associated with Radical-Right activism but also not come away with a rose-tinted interpretation of such political movements.

b) What possible scenarios they could use for a Creative Arts Project?

Activity: Get students to start developing ideas about the focus of their project – who is going to play which role and what their message is going to be?

Information Sheet:

Scenarios for a Creative Arts Project that is focused on countering the Radical-Right are potentially limitless but here are a selection of examples to get the groups started:

- A project tracking an individual's journey into a Radical-Right street protest movement – their process of entry, radicalisation, and exit.
- A project tracking a teenager's journey of saying 'no' to an overbearing parent, friend or 'person of influence' who might be encouraging to join one of these groups.
- A project looking at the impact of activities by Radical-Right groups on victims within the Muslim, Jewish or non-white population.
- A project exploring the emotions and feelings associated with extremism, and how they can be challenged.
- A project challenging one of the ideas associated with the Radical-Right (e.g. racism, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism and xenophobia).
- A project exploring the personal impact of being active within a Radical-Right group.

c) What formats might be appropriate for conveying such scenarios?

Activity: Get students to start thinking about what format will provide the most impact for their project based on the skills that they've developed already – is a piece of theatre, dance or audio-visual work the best vehicle for the scenario they wish to convey? How will the audience receive it? What will have the greatest effect?

Information Sheet:

As students will already know, Creative Arts Projects come in many forms, as well as different shapes and sizes. Depending on the resources available and skillsets of students, they may wish to convey their given scenario in one of the below mediums:

- A curated set of paintings conveying a story or a set of meanings behind a particular set of 'Radical-Right' words and their societal effects;
- A filmed audio-visual piece involving students as actors – acting out different scenarios and using a narrator to deliver a core message to the audience;
- A live piece of theatre – again acting out different scenarios and using crowd participation to create an interactive experience;
- A piece of music that captures the emotional and personal aspects of radicalisation and de-radicalisation;
- A curated set of pictures conveying the costs, consequences and risks associated with Radical-Right activism;
- A piece of interpretive dance set to music that tell a story of a teenager rejecting a person of influences' insistence that they join a Radical-Right group.

d) What tools can they use to develop their ideas?

Activity: Get students to identify what has been helpful to them on previous projects – bringing out methods or patterns of behaviour that were needed in order to arrive at the end stage. Collaboratively, put together a model or programme of work they can stick to.

Information sheet:

Creative Arts Projects can be fun, fulfilling and impactful but can also be quite challenging for students. In order to help them along the process and develop their ideas, they might want to try out the following techniques:

- Regular mind-mapping sessions with project members, peers and educators;
- Creating a plan of action that is regularly reviewed and monitored by an educator;
- Chances to rehearse and receive feedback by educators and peers;
- Chances to explore and read relevant material about the topic that might open up new avenues under adult supervision;
- Visits by professionals involved in dealing with Radical-Right groups;

- Talks by experts who know about the Radical-Right, radicalisation and extremism;
- Talks by victims of extremist hate crime, prejudice and attacks;
- Opportunities to put on 'mock' performances, exhibitions, and viewings before the main event.

7. Useful Resources

a) Radical-Right Timeline

**11th November 1918** – Armistice marks end of First World War

**28th June 1919** – Treaty of Versailles signed

**October 22nd – 29th 1922** – Mussolini leads March on Rome and fascist seizure of power in Italy

**1923** - British Fascisti formed by Rotha Linton-Orman

**4th – 13th May 1926** – General Strike in UK

**1928** – Imperial Fascist League formed

**1932** – Following failure of New Party, Oswald Mosley forms British Union of Fascists

**30th January 1933** – Adolf Hitler appointed Chancellor of Germany

**1937** – National Socialist League formed by dissident members of BUF

**1938** – Austria & Czechoslovakia annexed and occupied by Nazi Germany

**17th September 1939** – Germany invade Poland, Britain declares war on Germany

**May 1940** – Mass internment of British fascists under defence regulation 18a and 18b

**May 1945** – Berlin falls to Red Army and Germany Surrender; WWII is over

**1948** – Union Movement formed by Oswald Mosley

**1953** – League of Empire Loyalists formed by former BUF member A.K. Chesterton

**1967** – Radical-Right coalesces into National Front, formed by A.K. Chesterton

**1st January 1973** – UK joins European Community

**May 1979** – Margaret Thatcher wins general election by landslide, National Front decimated

**1982** – British National Party formed by John Tyndall

**November 1989** – Fall of Berlin Wall marks beginning of the end of the Soviet Union and Cold War

**May 1997** – Labour Party wins general election by landslide, Tony Blair new Prime Minister

**April 1999** – David Copeland kills 3 and injures 129 in 13 day bombing campaign

**June 2001** - BNP win <0.1% of national vote (approximately 47,000 votes) in general election

**September 11th 2001** – Islamist terrorists hijack commercial aeroplanes and attack Twin Towers and Pentagon, killing nearly 3,000

**March 2003** – US led invasion of Iraq

**1st January 2004** – 8 post-Communist, East-Central European nations join European Union

**2005** - Nationalist Alliance formed

**May 2005** – BNP win 0.7% of national vote (approximately 193,000 votes) in general election

**July 7th 2005** – 4 British Muslims kill 52 civilians and injure nearly 700 in co-ordinated suicide bomb attacks on London public transport

**2006** – BNP wins 44 council seats in local elections

**July 2007** - Robert Cottage, a former BNP member convicted for possessing explosive chemicals in his home – described by police as the largest amount of chemical explosive of its type ever found in UK

**2008** – Lisbon Treaty marks further European integration

**May 2008** – BNP poll just over 18,000 votes in London Assembly election and lead candidate, Richard Barnbrook, is elected

**June 2008** - Martyn Gilleard, a British Nazi sympathizer jailed after police find nail bombs, bullets, swords, axes and knives in his flat.

**2009** – BNP wins 2 European Parliament seats

**2009** – Ian Davison, head of white supremacist group Aryan Strike Force jailed for 10 years for producing ricin and planning terrorist attacks

**27th June 2009** – Emergence of EDL

**5th September 2009** – 90 activists arrested at EDL march in Birmingham

**22nd October 2009** – Nick Griffin appears on BBC's Question Time amid severe controversy

**20th March 2010** – 74 activists arrested at EDL march in Bolton

**May 2010** – BNP win 1.9% of national vote (approximately 560,000 votes) in general election but fail to win single seat. Beginning of Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition Government.

**Spring 2010** – Political wing of the EDL formed as 'British Freedom Party'

**May 2011** – BNP MEP Andrew Brons challenges Nick Griffin in leadership contest but loses. Subsequently leaves the party to form British Democratic Party

**July 2011** – Anders Behring Breivik slaughters 77 people, mainly teenagers, in bomb attack and mass-shooting in Norway

**December 2011** – EDL activist Simon Beech one of two people jailed for arson attack on a mosque in Stoke-on-Trent

**September 2012** – EDL suffer humiliation after being prevented by locals from marching in Walthamstow, east London

**November 2012** – EDL deputy leader Kevin Carroll fails in attempt to be elected Police and Crime Commissioner for Bedfordshire, coming in fourth place with nearly 11% of the vote

**November 2012** – BNP's Marlene Guest comes third in Rotherham by-election, marking the highest ever position in a parliamentary constituency election

**January 2013** – EDL leader Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson) jailed for entering the United States on a false passport

**May 2013** – Drummer Lee Rigby attacked and killed by two British Islamist terrorists in Woolwich, leading to spike in Islamophobic attacks and EDL activity

**June 2013** – Yaxley-Lennon arrested again for obstructing police after attempting a 'charity walk' through London dedicated to the death of Drummer Lee Rigby

**September 2013** – Yaxley-Lennon arrested for range of public order offences after leading EDL march through Tower Hamlets, which led to over some 300 arrests

**October 2013** – Yaxley-Lennon and Kevin Carroll quit EDL leadership roles, citing groups infiltration by extremists

**May 2014** – Ukip win European Parliamentary elections with just under 27% of the vote. BNP lose both seats and achieve just over 1% of the vote

**July 2014** – Nick Griffin resigns as leader of BNP after nearly 15 years in role; expelled from the party in October 2014

**May 2015** – Conservative Party led by David Cameron win Parliamentary majority in general election for the first time since 1992. Ukip achieve nearly 4 million votes but win just one seat

**June 2016** – Labour Member of Parliament Jo Cox murdered outside her constituency office in Birstall in an apparent act of Radical-Right terrorism

**June 2016** – Britain narrowly votes to leave the European Union in a national referendum

#### b) Glossary of Key Terms

**Biological or 'Scientific' Racism** - a type of racial ideology based on the belief or 'pseudo-science' that people are divided into a hierarchy of races, with some (typically Nordic or Aryan) having superior qualities. Biological or scientific racism is ostensibly rejected by the 'new Radical-Right'.

**Counter-radicalisation** - this term refers to a range of activities or 'interventions' that deter people from engaging in political violence/terrorism.

**Cultural Racism** - a form of racism that claims not be racist. It argues that selected minority ethnic groups hold cultural values that prevent them from developing loyalty and affection for their 'host' country. It is therefore not a question of racial superiority

or inferiority but of cultural difference whereby it is only 'natural' that people of a common ethnicity share a kinship towards each other. This, in the case of some ethnic minorities (particularly Muslims), prevents their assimilation/integration into British society.

**Cumulative Extremism/Radicalisation** - this term is used to describe a reciprocal relationship between two or more extremist groups that feed off each other's messages and ideologies. The concern is that opposing groups enter into a dynamic whereby the actions of each can provoke the violent radicalisation of the other; a process which in turn can have polarising effects on wider communities.

**De-radicalisation** - de-radicalisation is the intended outcome of a series of interventions whereby radicalised individuals are drawn away from terrorism/political violence. It refers to activities aimed at effecting cognitive and/or behavioural change in a person who supports political violence/terrorism. It is intended to lead to disengagement from violence/terrorism.

**Ethnocentrism** - ethnocentrism is the belief in the superiority of the social or cultural group that a person belongs to.

**Extremism** - this is typically understood in terms of opposition to fundamental democratic values, such as individual liberty, freedom of expression, and mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs. Extremism takes multiple forms and can range from right to left of the political spectrum, or take the form of religious fundamentalism.

**Radical-Right Extremism (RRE)** - a form of political extremism that describes a cluster of ideological features: extreme or ultra-nationalism; racism; xenophobia; ethnocentrism; anti-Semitism; anti-communism; demand for strong law and order/strong state; opposition to the principles of human equality; anti-democracy/anti-liberalism. The radical right can embrace violence in order to promote its ideological agenda.

**Fascism** - there is no commonly agreed definition of fascism. It is difficult to define precisely but at its core is a doctrine of revolutionary ultra-nationalism which seeks to establish a one-party totalitarian state in a post-liberal new order. There are different subtypes of fascism. These include neo-Nazism.

**Ideology** - this term refers to a set of beliefs or 'world-view'. An ideologue is both a proponent as well as an adherent of an ideology.

**Islamophobia** - this is a term that is frequently used to describe different forms of anti-Muslim sentiment. Islamophobia might be usefully defined as an ideological outlook or 'world-view' that involves an unfounded fear and dislike of Muslims, which can result in practices of exclusion and discrimination.

**Islamism** - there is no commonly agreed definition of 'Islamism'. However, Islamism is usually understood as an ideology which, in the broadest sense, promotes the

application of Islamic values to modern government. In other words, Islamism is a system of thought that projects Islam as a political ideology.

**Jihadism/Counter-Jihadism** - Jihadism is the violent means through which Islamists aspire to create an Islamist state. Counter-Jihad is a term typically used to refer to an international movement or political current that is fundamentally opposed to (radical) Islam.

**Lone-Wolf Terrorism** – self-activating political or religious violence undertaken by individuals – typically perceived by its adherents to be an act of asymmetrical, propagandistic warfare – which derives from a variable amount of external influence and context, rather than external command and control. This definition is slanted consciously toward perpetrator motivation rather than ex post facto perception. It also excludes impromptu acts of violence, even if they are politically or religiously motivated.

**Narrative** - this term is used to refer to ideological-based interpretations of religion, history and politics. RRE narratives typically connect ‘grievances’ at a local level. They combine fact, fiction, emotion and religion and are intended to manipulate, discontent and generate support for the RRE organisation.

**Nativism** - Nativism is a term used to refer to ethnocentric beliefs relating to immigration and the nation. Nativism is a defensive response on the part of the indigenous population(s) to newcomers who are seen as threatening the culture and basic values of the indigenous population.

**Neo-Nazism** - a form of fascist ideology based on the ideas of Adolf Hitler and/or other inter-war Nazis. Unlike the more populist radical right or new Radical-Right, neo-Nazis advocate a more violent form of politics outside the normal democratic process.

**Radicalisation** - this term refers to the process by which an individual comes to support forms of extremism that can lead to political violence/terrorism. Radicalisation typically results from exposure to literature, images, videos and narratives that encourage or reinforce individuals to adopt a violent ideology. Some of this material may explicitly encourage violence. Other materials may adopt no position on violence but make claims to which violence is subsequently presented as the only solution.

**Terrorism** - another term that has no commonly agreed definition. However, the current UK definition of terrorism is given in the Terrorism Act 2000 (TACT 2000). In summary this defines terrorism as an action that endangers or causes serious violence to a person/people; causes serious damage to property; or seriously interferes or disrupts an electronic system. The use or threat must be designed to influence the government or to intimidate the public and is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause.

**The '14 Words'** - 'We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White Children' - a popular neo-Nazi slogan.

**Ultra-Patriotism/Ultra-nationalism** - this describes an extreme form of patriotism or nationalism that excludes selected ethnic minorities from a national identity/nation. It is an aggressive form of patriotism which in more overt political form can be termed ultra-nationalism, which is a core feature of fascist ideology.

**Xenophobia** - this refers to a deep-rooted and often irrational dislike/hatred of foreigners (the 'Other'). Xenophobia can result in hostile and violent reactions, typically aimed at ethnic minority populations.

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