

THE RIGHT-WING AND THE SOCIAL MEDIA:
"FROM THE EXTREME TO THE MAINSTREAM? HOW DO RIGHT-WING
POLITICIANS USE SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS"

by

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THESIS APPROVAL

"A Study of the Right-wing and the Social Media: From the Extreme to the Mainstream? How do Right-wing Politicians Use Social Media Platforms" a thesis prepared by Ioanna Apostolopoulou in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in Digital Communication and Social Media was presented October 30, 2019 and was approved and accepted by the thesis advisor, second reader and the Graduate School.

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ABSTRACT

The thesis examines how far-right ideology appears mainstream on the Social Media and how the use of Social Media platforms facilitate and amplify the Right-wing politicians' discourse online. The study compares communication on Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube employed by twenty-eight currently elected American and British right-wing political actors retrieved in a four weeks period based on seasonality criteria from 2018 to 2019.

Content analysis was conducted on politicians' social media statements (N=2,454) to determine the most dominant platform and politicians' discussion theme and it also presents a quantified overview of the level of interaction, frequency, and content originality.

Findings indicate that Twitter is the dominant platform for communication due to its proximity and fast-paced nature with Politics be the most preferred theme discussed by politicians. The degree of interaction is relatively low and ranges from fifty to two hundred reactions whereas the level of statements' frequency is equally dispersed and timely consistent. Lastly, it was observed that politicians produce original content.

In the light of the conclusion, it can be said that politicians leveraged the advantages of Social Network Sites to disseminate information and set their political agenda.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADL	Anti-Defamation League
CTA	Call-to-Action
EU	European Union
MAMA	Measuring Anti-Muslim Attacks
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MP	Member of the Parliament (in United Kingdom)
PM	Prime Minister
REP	Representative (also called Congressmen in the US)
SNS's	Social Network Sites
SPLC	Southern Poverty Law Center
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States

Prologue

This thesis is designed to study the ways in which Social Media platforms facilitate extremist discourse online and examines how the Right-wing ideology appears mainstream and legitimate on the Social Media. The primary focus is on right-wing politicians.

The first chapter of the thesis, the Introduction, concerns with extremism as a phenomenon. However, during the literature review, notions like Radicalism and Terrorism were also examined with relation to extremism. Consequently, the study also analyzes the phenomena of radicalization and terrorism.

In this part of the study, definitions, differences, and links between the three phenomena will be given, followed by an examination of who and where are the right-wing extremists, and what is the process that transforms an individual into an extremist.

I.INTRODUCTION

“The internet was designed to maximize simplicity of communication, not security of communication. The price for this has been the increasing opportunity from criminals or wrongdoers to exploit the vulnerabilities of the network for their own ends”¹

Eriksson and Giacomello (2006, p. 225)

Internet and Social Media have emerged as a harbinger of communication, connection, and participation. As a tool with the potential to generate positive changes socially, economically, politically and culturally and as an effective medium to enhances business activities, users' abilities, and politicians' discourse. In the light of these advantages, a new dark side has also emerged as a threat: the use and even exploitation of social media by extremists and terrorists as an instrument to propagate online, create online communities, mobilize sympathizers and recruit supporters.

Counter-terrorism agencies in Europe and Unites States (for instance FBI and Homeland Security in US and OSCE-Organization for Security & Cooperation in Europe) and monitoring services (like the MAMA in United Kingdom) have been addressed to monitor, censor and remove extremist content. However, this

¹ Eriksson, J. and Giacomello, G. “The Information Revolution, Security, and International Relations”. International Political Science Review. Vol 27, No.3. July 2006. pg.221-244. Online.

resembles a witch hunt where the content is removed from one platform but can be found in another.

To understand the processes and dynamics of Terrorism, Extremism, and Radicalization, it is essential to begin by introducing both the academic and governmental definitions of each phenomenon.

Definitions of Key Terms

I. a Terrorism

For academic purposes, Fernando Reinares², as cited by Gregor Bruce³, defines terrorism based on three distinguish characteristics/traits:

- a) as an act of violence that creates widespread emotional reaction such as anxiety and fear, b) as a systematic, rather unpredictable act that is usually directed against symbolic targets and c) as an act that conveys messages

² Fernando Reinares is a specialist in terrorism and radicalization. He is a Professor of Political Science and Security Studies in Madrid and also a Senior Analyst & Director of the Violent Radicalization and Global Terrorism Program at the Elcano Royal Institute. Retrieved from Wikipedia.

³ Bruce, G. "Definition of Terrorism-Social and Political Effects". 2013. Journal of Military and Veterans' Health. Article. Issue Volume 21 N. 2. (p. 26-27). Available at: <https://jmvh.org/category/review-article/> [Accessed on 10 Feb.2019]

and threats to communicate and gain social control.
(Bruce, 2013, p. 26-27).

Marco Pinfari⁴, in his article "Terrorism Vs. Extremism; Are they linked?", also defines terrorism "as a type of political violence that includes the intentional targeting of noncombatants and distinguishes between the direct victims and the audience that terrorists want to affect"⁵. According to his definition, he further explains that terrorism has three key elements: a) the political violence or violent action accomplished to convey a particular political message, b) the intentional targeting of noncombatants (unarmed citizens) and c) a two-fold nature, where you attack one group to terrorize another group. (Pinfari, n.d.)

⁴ Marco Pinfari (PhD) is an Associate Dean and Assistant Professor of Political Science in the American University of Cairo (AUC). His research focuses in international relations and security studies. His recent work and publications center specifically on regional security and terrorism with a regional specialization in the Middle East and Arab Africa.

⁵ Marco Pinfari examines "Terrorism and Extremism". Article/Interview published in the official website of the American University in Cairo (AUC), n.d. Available at: <https://www.aucegypt.edu/news/stories/terrorism-vs-extremism-are-they-linked>. [Accessed on 30 Mar. 2019]. Online.

I.b Extremism

According to Marco Pinfari, "extremism holds an extreme ideology or belief and although quite often is associated with religion, in reality it can be applied in any belief system". (Pinfari, n.d.). He further states that some ideologies and religious traditions are structured in such a way that individuals can hold an extreme or intermediate version of that belief. Extremism is when you adhere to the extreme version. (ibid).

The UK Counter Extremism Strategy 2015⁶ defines extremism as "the vocal or active opposition to our fundamental values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, respect and tolerance for different faiths and beliefs". (UK Secretary of State, 2015).

The term "violent extremist" was also used by the Obama Administration⁷ to describe "those individuals who support or commit ideologically-motivated violence to further political goals and have promoted messages of divisiveness and justified the killings of innocents". (National Security Strategy, 2011, p.1)

⁶ Counter Extremism Strategy 2015, by Secretary of State for the Home Department, is a document that sets UK strategy to counter extremism in all its form. This publication is available at www.gov.uk/government/publications. [Accessed on 16 Mar. 2019]. Online

⁷ "Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States". (2011). A Federal Government national security strategy guide that outlines how the Obama Administration will support and help American communities and their local partners in their grassroots efforts to prevent violent extremism. Print. (p.1)

According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) report "Domestic Terrorism: Anarchist Extremism"⁸, there are two components that suggest extremism: a) it conforms to particular ideologies and b) it also includes criminal activity to advance these ideologies. (FBI, 2010)

Lastly, J. M. Berger⁹-an expert on extremist movements and terrorism- in his book "Extremism" states that "extremism arises from a perception of '*us versus them*', intensified by the conviction that the success of '*us*' is inseparable from hostile acts against '*them*'" and he explains that extremism differs from common umbrage-ordinary hatred-and even racism by its extensive and complete rationalization of an insistence on violence¹⁰. (Berger, 2018, p.26-28).

This thesis use J. M. Berger's definition of extremism.

⁸ Federal Bureau of Investigation, (2010) "Domestic Terrorism: Anarchist Extremism, A Primer," December 16, 2010. Online.

⁹J.M. Berger is the author of "Extremism" (MIT Press, August 2018). His work includes terrorism and extremism, propaganda and social media analytical techniques. He is a consultant for social media and security companies as well as government agencies where he has conducted research and training on issues related to homegrown terrorism online and online extremism. Biography retrieved from <https://www.jmberger.com/> [Accessed on 16 Mar. 2019]

¹⁰Berger, J.M. "Extremism". 2018. MIT Press Essential Knowledge Series. Ebook (p.26-28)

I.c Radicalism

Radicalization is "a process in which an individual or a group embraces a radical ideology that can lead to an increased willingness to accept or use violence for political goals¹¹". (Michel & Schyns, n.d.).

The Expert Group on Violent Radicalization, set up by the European Commission in 2006, tasked to prepare a concise Report on the current state of academic research on violent radicalization and provide policy-advice on fighting violent radicalization. The Expert Group noted that

"as an ideology, radicalism challenges the legitimacy of established norms and policies, but it does not, in itself, lead to violence". There have been many radical groups in European political history which were reformist rather than revolutionary. In other words, there can be radicalism without the advocacy of violence to strive for the realization of social or political change."¹² (Expert Group, 2008)

¹¹ Delphine Michel and Camille Schyns, "European Institute of Peace (EIP) Explainer: Understanding radicalisation", n.d. Available at: <http://www.eip.org/en/news-events/eip-explainer-understanding-radicalisation>. Accessed on: 5 Jul. 2019.

¹² European Commission's Expert Group on Violent Radicalisation. A Concise Report on "Radicalisation Processes Leading to Acts of Terrorism". Submitted to the European Commission on 15 May 2008, p.5 Retrieved from: <https://rikcoolsaet.be/files/2008/12/expert-group-report-violent-radicalisation-final.pdf>. Accessed on 5 May 2019.

Donatella Della Porta and Gary LaFree, on the guest Editorial: "Processes of Radicalization and De-Radicalization"¹³ in 2012, quoted several approaches and definitions of radicalization and described it as:

- a process that demonstrates devotion to and use of violent means in political disputes.
- a process or an effect of the process of reciprocal influence between mutual hostile actors.
- a change in perceptions towards polarizing and absolute definitions of a given situation, and the articulation of increasingly radical aims and objectives.
- a state of hostility (often a priori) towards specific groups or societal institutions and systems that may also culminate the use of violent means.

The editors further explain that previous definitions, entail a close link of actions and perceptions, nonetheless, in reality the two patterns are not necessarily dependable to each other, since "radical perceptions do not always lead to violent acts and groups-voicing the most radical aims-are not the first to engage in violence." (Dell Porta & LaFree, 2012)

¹³ Donatella Della Porta & Gary LaFree, Guest Editorial: 'Processes of Radicalisation and De-Radicalisation', *IJCV*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2012, p.6-7. Retrieved from: https://www.start.umd.edu/sites/default/files/publications/local_attachments/LafreeEditorial.pdf Accessed on 6 Jul.2019.

I.d Radicalism, Extremism and Terrorism: The Difference

The difference between Radicalism, Extremism and Terrorism can be seen as an imaginary line that begins from Radical perceptions (or passive individuals) and ends up into Terrorists actions (or active individuals). In radicalism, individuals may not embrace the values of a society, however, they may adhere to the rules of law and endeavor to bring political and/or societal change through political dialogue and without the advocacy of violence (Perceptions or passive individuals).

Extremism (neutral to active individuals) involves a categorical and dichotomous "us-versus-them" thinking, often exaggerated in an environment of like-minded individuals. According to Michel and Schyns, unlike radicalism,

"extremism and extremists condone violence as a legitimate means for obtaining political goals without necessarily exercising violence themselves. Accepting the use of violence, including against noncombatants, can further alienate an individual from society; it also marks an important stage in which the individual can become psychologically prepared to use violence. (Michel & Schyns, n.d.).

Michel and Schyns, additionally note about terrorism (Actions or active individuals):

“Terrorism or violent extremism encompasses violent behaviors and includes the willingness as well as training, preparation and the actual conduct of violent acts against civilians. Terrorists show a severe disconnect from society and tend to devalue or dehumanize their victims.”(ibid.).

I.e Terrorism and Extremism: The Link

A report by the Australian Department of Defense¹⁴, observes that there is no clear distinction between extremism and terrorism but in fact “the terms violent extremism and terrorism have been used interchangeably in the Australian and international literature examined” and defines violent extremism as “a willingness to use or support the use of violence to further particular beliefs, including those of a political, social or ideological nature. This may include acts of terrorism.” (Nasser-Eddine et al, 2010, p.9)

¹⁴ Nasser-Eddine, Minerva et al, (2010), Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Literature Review, commissioned by National Counter-Terrorism Committee and the Australian Government Attorney-General’s Department. Retrieved from: <https://apo.org.au/sites/default/files/resource-files/2011/03/apo-nid101921-1138111.pdf>. Accessed on 5 Jul.2019. (p.9)

With refer to the previous statement, Marco Pinfari also notes the overlap between the two concepts and explains:

[...] there is some overlap when you examine the ideology and psychology of terrorists. Obviously, when you talk about terrorism, you talk about the terrorist and why a person would commit this kind of act. Historically, acts of terrorism have been associated with extremism because they involve the direct targeting of noncombatants. Individuals may see terrorism as the only way forward and so accept the killing of civilians. This may be because they hold an extreme view.

(Marco Pinfari, n.d.)

In my interview with Mr. Manolis Sfakianakis¹⁵ about extremism, terrorism and cybercrime on 23 May 2019, he further supported the link between extremism and terrorism: "extremism is a form of terrorism. Quite often and as a common belief these terms used interchangeably. The most important fact is that both are threats for the society, domestically and internationally". (For the Interview with Mr. Sfakianakis, see Appendix 1, p.152

¹⁵ Sfakianakis Manolis is an expert in Cybercrime. He is a Hellenic Police Lieutenant General, the Founder and President of Cyber Security International Institute (CSII) and also Cybercrime Special Investigator and Analyst and the Founder of Hellenic Police Cyberterrorism Department.

I.f The Transformation Process: Factors and Models

"Ignorance leads to fear. Fear leads to hatred. Hatred leads to violence."

Averroes¹⁶

The transition from radicalism into violent extremism or terrorism is a complex and developmental process that each individual may exhibit differently. Furthermore, the process is not predictable hence it is extremely difficult to be prevented. The complexity of the process relies on the fact that individuals who over time adhere to radicalism may not intend to use terrorism or engage in a violent act but are still considered as radicals. To that effect, "not all radicals are terrorists, but terrorists or violent extremists have gone through a radicalization process"¹⁷. (Institute for Safety, Security & Crisis Management, 2008, p.5).

¹⁶ Averroes (1126-1198) was a Muslim and Andalusian philosopher. He wrote about theology, medicine, law and philosophy among others. His philosophical works include numerous commentaries on Aristotle. Retrieved from: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Averroes>. Accessed on 28 Sep.2019

¹⁷ Institute for Safety, Security and Crisis Management (2008) Report on "Radicalization, Recruitment and the EU Counter-radicalization Strategy", Project financed by the European Commission under the Sixth Framework Programme. Retrieved from <http://www.gdr-elsj.eu/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/doc2-WP4-Del-7.pdf>. Accessed on 12 Aug. 2019. p.5

“The radicalization process is neither quick nor easy unless “a catalyst event”¹⁸ accelerates the process”. (Nasser-Eddine et al, 2010, p.10)

Delphine Michel and Camille Schyns¹⁹, identify that although the process is unique to each person “it tends to involve a combination of shared behavioral and cognitive traits and structural grievances, politicized by a unifying ideology or a rallying cause that encourages a process of “de-pluralization”. (Michel & Schyns, n.d.).

The concept of “de-pluralization” was introduced by Anthony Stahelski²⁰ and is the first stage of a five-stage conversion psychological techniques²¹ that

¹⁸ Catalyst events or trigger events are situational factors that culminate the radicalization process and call for an emergency to act. Such events can include the death of a loved one, hostile acts against in-groups, police brutality and humiliation among others.

¹⁹Delphine Michel is a European Projects Manager and a Prevention of Violent Extremism (PVE) expert; Camille Schyns is a Programme Officer at the EIP and has previously worked on EIP’s Addressing Radicalization in Europe Programme.

²⁰Anthony Stahelski is a Lecturer of Psychology in Central Washington University. His areas of interest and publications include extremists’ groups, aggression and violence (terrorists). Retrieved from: <https://www.cwu.edu/psychology/anthony-stahelski>. Accessed on 1 Sep. 2019.

²¹ The remaining 4 stages include: 1) “Self-deindividuation”: losing person’s identity. This provide the opportunity to terrorists to reconstruct the new member’s core identity as bomber, fighter or any other role necessary to the group. 2) “Other-deindividuation”: losing the “other” identities. The dichotomous “us versus them” thinking is apparent in this stage, where the “others” are perceived as enemies. This can include cutting off relationships with families and friends. 3) “Dehumanization”: the stage in which the “others” or the enemy are simply perceived to be less than a human or they are treated as objects, hence makes it even easier for terrorists or violent extremists to attack without feeling guilt. 4) “Demonization”: framing the enemy as evil and bad so as to justify acts of terrorism, or otherwise the means justify the end. The killing of the enemy

terrorists' use to identify and recruit their potential members. An observation in his study of terrorists revealed that the potential candidates (terrorists' to be), in their majority, come from dysfunctional and often poor families with lack of parental guidance and they share a common feeling of unacceptance, group belongingness and/or identity.

De-pluralization is a linear process and signifies how the individual is gradually removed and isolated from groups (like family and friends), becomes susceptible to terrorists' messages and ideology until is finally encouraged to join in ²²:

"The process may be timely, as the individual first joins intermediate groups who even though they hold a radical position still are not as radical as more extremists' groups until the individual is finally prepared both ideologically and emotionally to join". (ChangingMinds, n.d.).

becomes a righteous and vigorous act. Changing Minds. n.d. "Social Psychological Conditioning. Retrieved from: http://changingminds.org/techniques/conversion/social_psychological_conditioning.htm Accessed on 20 Aug.2019

²² Changing Minds Organization. Techniques of Conversion. Retrieved from: http://changingminds.org/techniques/conversion/social_psychological_conditioning.htm. Accessed on 20 Aug. 2019.

De-pluralization also marks the first transition stage in which the individual encounters difficulties in accepting more traditional means of political propositions. Over time and due to fear or threat, the person feels discomfort of his/her surrounding and ultimately the sense of "urgency to act", becomes so mandatory that violence is considered to be not only the appropriate means but the most legitimate means of action. (Michel & Schyns, n.d.).

Many models have been developed in order to depict the radicalization process into violent extremism.

Randy Borum's 4-Stage Model of Terrorist/Extremist Mindset (2003)

Randy Borum designed the four-stage model of the Terrorist/Extremist Mindset in 2003. The observable stages include common factors and frames to both individuals and groups in the developmental process. (see figure 1). "The model designed as heuristic (trial and error) to aid investigators and intelligence

analysts in assessing behaviors and activities of a group or individual associated with extremist ideology"²³. (Borum, 2003, p. 7-9).

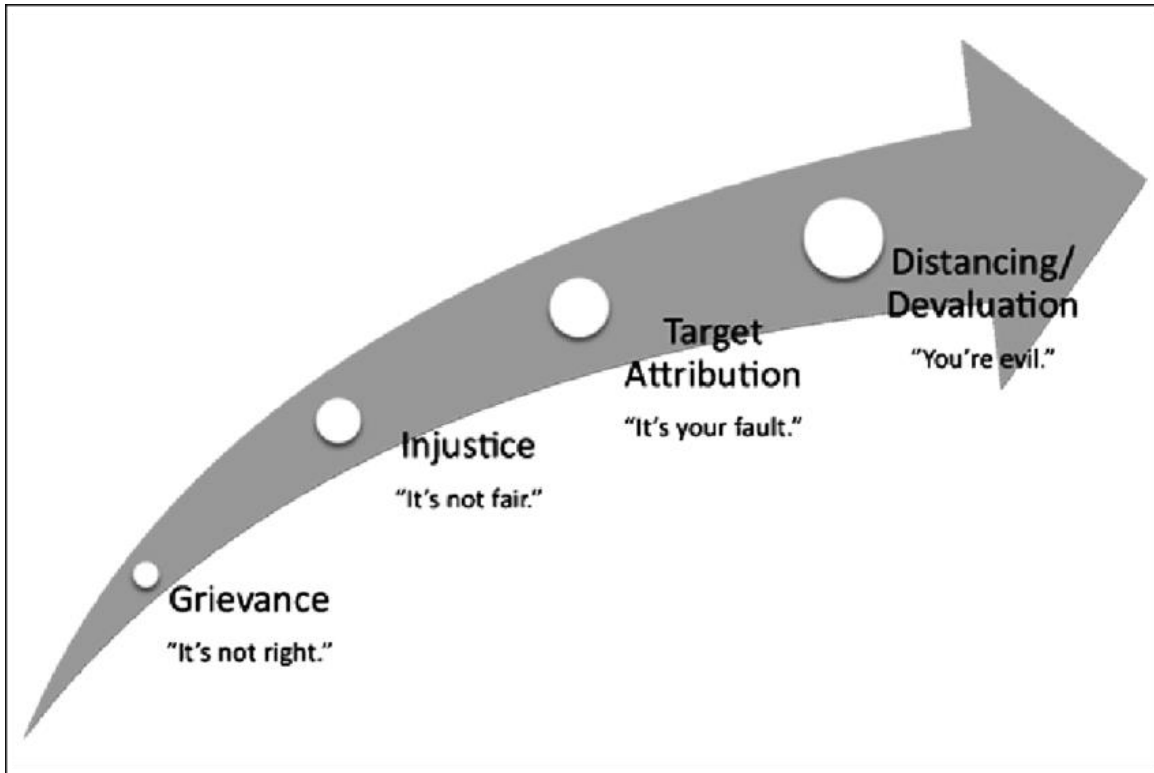


Figure 1 Randy Borum, the 4-stage Model of Terrorist Mindset

According to Borum, in the first stage- the "Grievance", the person experiences an unpleasant event or a condition. Economic reforms, poverty, unemployment, or other sociopolitical factors (lack of order or morality) may

²³ Borum, Randy (2003). "Understanding the Terrorist Mind-Set". Retrieved from: <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/201462.pdf>. Accessed on 18 Aug. 2019 p. 7-9

trigger the perception. In essence, the extremist individual feels that things are not as meant to be, something has changed, and it is not right.

In the second stage of "Injustice", they perceive this unpleasant condition as being unfair that it does not apply to everyone. The author explains this stage with an example: police officers may complain about their low pay scale (it's not right). If they find out that perhaps other workers with less competencies and skills are making more money compared to them, then they feel that this is not fair.

In the third stage of the model the "Target Attribution", the extremist targets a group or an individual to blame (it's your fault). Injustice frequently stems from wrongful behaviors. As the author observes, this technique is used "in racially biased groups in United States in directing anger towards minorities groups" and he also notes that these groups seek out white young men whose families are poor (this is also linked to Stahelski's de-pluralization technique) to persuade them that their families are suffering due to economic assistance or benefits that such minority groups receiving.

In the final stage, the "Devaluation", the extremists' characterize the responsible-for the injustice-group as "bad" ("you are evil"). To this stage, three factors culminate the process of radicalization: a) the hatred towards the

responsible group becomes justifiable, b) the extremists dehumanize the responsible group which is now perceived as evil, and c) the extremists are consider themselves as the good guys who act to reverse a condition and change the status quo, in simpler words the mean justifies the end. (Borum, 2003, p. 7-9).

Fathali M. Moghaddam's Staircase to Terrorism/Violent Extremism (2005)

Moghaddam provides a more in-depth analysis of the processes leading to violent extremism. He conceptualizes terrorism and parallelizes the process as a ladder with five floors in which individuals are climbing higher and higher. (see figure 2). As Moghaddam notes, "the fundamentally important feature of the situation is not only the actual number of floors, stairs, rooms, and so on, but how people perceive the building and the doors they think are open to them."²⁴ (Moghaddam, 2005, p.161).

²⁴ Moghaddam, Fathali (2005) The Stairway to Terrorism- A psychological exploration. The American Psychological Association 0003-066X/05/\$12.00 Vol. 60, No. 2, 161-169 DOI: 10.1037/0003-066X.60.2.161. Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/48f3/552e17bcebb890e4b1f19c9a2c1fa362800f.pdf> Accessed on 2 Apr. 2019

Each floor characterizes by particular psychological procedures and the vast majority of inhabitants will remain on the ground floor even though they may experience feelings of injustice, unfairness or unpleasant societal conditions. However, there will be cases where individuals will gradually climb to higher floors until they reach the final stage (recruitment into terrorist groups and acts of terrorism).

Moghaddam developed this model for Islamic communities in both Western and non-Western societies.

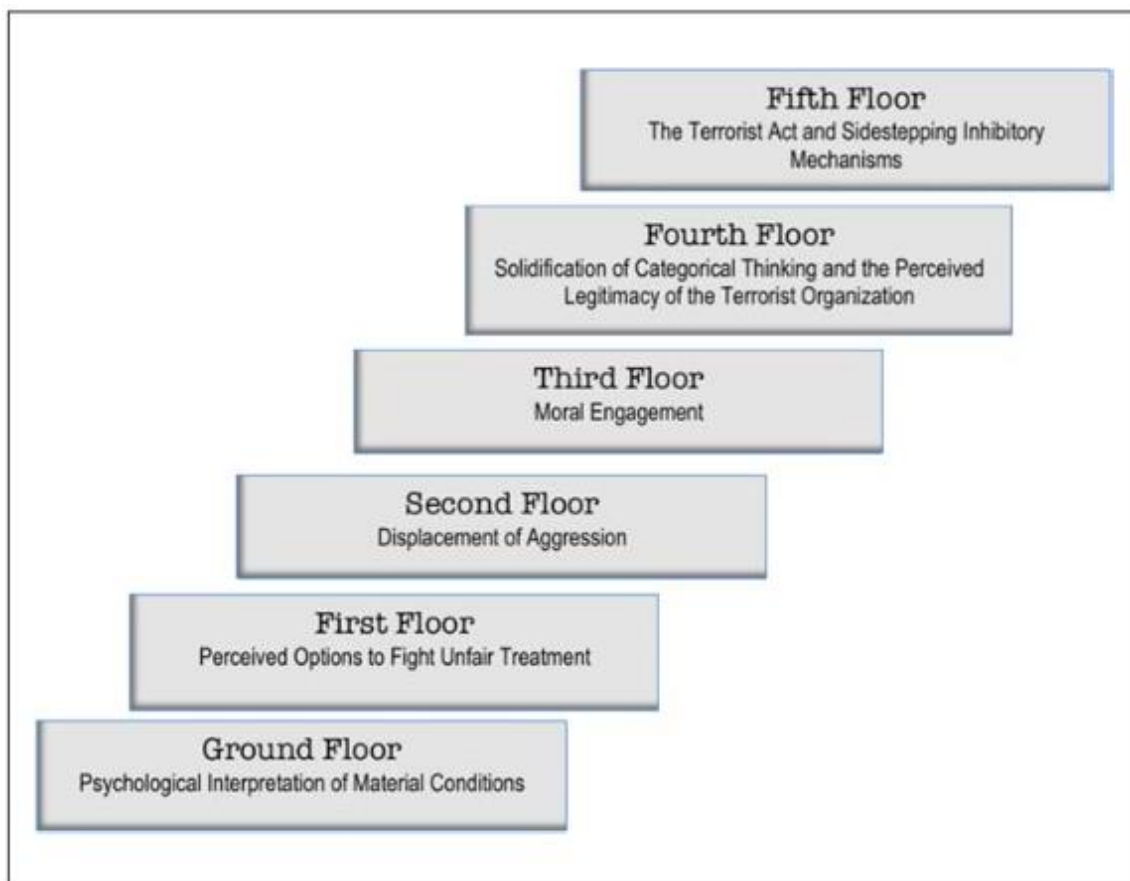


Figure 2 Fathali Moghaddam, The staircase to terrorism

Millions of inhabitants occupy the "Ground floor" and as Moghaddam states "is the foundational level". In this floor feelings of unfairness, discontent and injustice dominate and they are deprived from societal and economic factors like poverty and education. From those millions of people, some dissatisfied individuals will climb to the first floor.

The "First floor" signals the search for solutions. Those individuals seek ways to improve their situation and eliminate injustice. But if they do not see mobility or feel that their voice cannot be heard, then they are more likely to keep climbing.

In the "Second floor" individuals still feel dissatisfied, but they also experience feelings of aggressiveness and in some cases they are "influenced by leaders to direct their anger onto an "enemy",," (ibid, p.164) thus they begin to blame out-groups. This floor escalates the climbing (the process) to those who "are more prone to physically displace aggression onto an enemy and are seeking ways to do so."(ibid, p.164)

The "Third floor" signals the transformation stage. In this phase individuals disengage from the society and engage with the morality of terrorist groups and accept terrorism/violent extremism as a justified strategy. A smaller group will climb in the fourth floor.

The "Fourth floor" is the recruitment phase. Here individuals are recruited as active terrorists, they adopt a categorical "us versus them" thinking (is "us" against the "enemy") and accept violent extremism as the legitimate mean of action. Even fewer and specific individuals will reach the last floor.

The Fifth floor and last floor of the staircase marks the point in which individuals (like suicide bombers) are psychologically prepared, motivated and trained to commit act of violent extremism/terrorism. It is worth to mention that in this stage, terrorists separate and distance themselves from the others (their enemy) and dehumanize their victims. (ibid, p. 161-169)

Engaging in Rightist Groups: The Tore Bjorgo's findings²⁵

Tore Bjorgo's, a scholar on right-wing ideology, studied the factors that motivate adolescents to engage on the Scandinavian extreme-right movement. Some of his findings are presented in Daniel Koehler's "Right-wing Terrorism in the 21st Century"²⁶. The author indicates the drivers, as known by Bjorgo, that mobilize teenagers to induce in rightist groups: Curiosity and excitement;

²⁵ Tore Bjorgo is a professor at the Oslo University and Director at Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX). His research and publications include right-wing extremism/racism, terrorism deradicalization and disengagement. Retrieved from: <https://www.sv.uio.no/c-rex/english/people/aca/torebjo/index.html> Accessed on 22 Aug. 2019

²⁶ Koehler, David (2017). Right-Wing Terrorism in the 21st Century: The National Socialist Underground and the History of Terror from the Far Right in Germany. Routledge. Ebook. (p.30)

opposition to family; search for new friends and/or community members; protection against enemies or perceived threats; search for a role model or substitute for a family member and/or parents; search for status or identity; prone to be obedient in friendships. (Koehler, 2017 p.30)

I.g Extreme Rightists: Who are they?

Tom Murse²⁷, in his article "What is Political Extremist?"²⁸ states that:

"a political extremist is someone whose beliefs fall outside mainstream societal values and on the fringes of the ideological spectrum [...] driven by anger and hate, opposes the core values of democracy and human rights". (Murse, 2018)

Radicalism, extremism, political extremists, political violence as a manifestation of beliefs, an advocacy of ideology and an aim to change and reform the political and social status quo, "have been historically associated with left and right-wing parties". (Nasser-Eddine et al, 2010, p.5) To that effect, there are the Extreme Rightists and the Extreme Leftists including all their movements.

²⁷ Tom Murse has been writing about politics and government for over two decades and has been recognized by the Nieman Foundation for fairness in investigative reporting.

²⁸ Murse, T. "What is Political Extremist?" (2018) . Article in ThoughtCo. Online. Available at: <https://www.thoughtco.com/what-is-a-political-extremist-1857297>. Accessed on 16 Mar. 2019

For the purpose of this thesis, the focus will be on the right-wing groups. Political right-wing groups will be discussed in chapter II. Literature Review.

The United States and Europe have suffered throughout the years from extreme right threats and attacks, in fact, these attacks have been increased exponentially during the last years.

Extreme Rightists in the United States

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), a U.S. non-for-profit Organization that monitors and tracks extremists and hate groups, reveals that there are more than 1.600 right extremists' groups operating throughout the

United States²⁹, including White Supremacists³⁰, Militias Group³¹, Sovereign Citizens³², White Nationalists, Neo-Nazi Movement, Ku-Klux-Klan (KKK), Racists Skinheads, Neo-Confederate, Holocaust deniers³³ and the single-issue movements of anti-gay zealots (anti-LGBT), anti-immigrants, anti-abortion. The

²⁹ Southern Poverty Law Center, 2018 Cases Report. Retrieved from: <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files> Accessed on 20 Apr. 2019

³⁰Ford, M. (2017). Online Article "The Far Right in America: a brief Taxonomy" Retrieved from: <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/01/far-right-taxonomy/509282/> Accessed on: 30 Aug. 2019.

According to Matt Ford, a) White Supremacists adhere the superiority of Europeans and white Americans over non-European regions.

b) White Nationalists advocate the creation of a white ethno-state and oppose multiracial societies.

c) Neo-Nazis and Skinheads idealize Nazi Germany. To that effect they exhibit hate towards Jews, gays and people with disabilities.

d) Ku-Klux-Klan advocates the white superiority and aims to diminish the black civil rights. Throughout time KKK incorporated in its belief's xenophobia and anti-Semitism.

e) Neo-Confederates oppose homosexuality, democracy and support white superiority and traditional gender roles.

³¹ Rothschild, M. (n.d.). "The Most Powerful American Militia throughout History". Retrieved from: <https://www.ranker.com/list/american-militia/mike-rothschild> Accessed on 30 Aug. 2019.

Militias Groups (including Oath Keepers, Republic of Texas and Constitutional Sheriffs- a few to be mentioned), consider to be the "Patriotic" citizens of US. They own huge amounts of weaponry to train and they reject democracy and federal laws. Militias members increased after the election of President Obama.

³² SPLC, n.d. "Sovereign Citizens Movements" Retrieved from: <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/sovereign-citizens-movement> Accessed on 30 Aug. 2019

Sovereign Citizens are racists and anti-Semite. They also believe that they solely have to decide which laws to obey and not and are against taxation.

³³ Note that Al-Qaeda and its affiliates are religious-based (oriented) extremists. Given the objectives and the focus of the thesis, solely right-wing ideology will be analyzed.

previous groups (with the exceptions of Militias, Sovereign Citizens, the single-issue movements and to a certain extent the Neo-Confederate) advocate the supremacy of the white race, they endeavor to create a white ethno-state and they are against to any form of multiracial milieu.

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) Center on Extremism reports that -in 2018 -domestic extremists killed at least 50 people in United States. Perpetrators were engaged in at least one extremist rightist group while White Supremacists were accountable for the 78% of the murders.³⁴ (ADL, 2018). (see figure 3).



Figure 3 2018 Domestic Extremism-related killings in the U.S. by Perpetrator Affiliation
Source: Anti-Defamation League (ADL)

³⁴ Anti-Defamation League (ADL). 2018. 'Murders and Extremism in the United States in 2018'- Report. Retrieved from: <https://www.adl.org/murder-and-extremism-2018>. Accessed on 20 Sep. 2019

ADL findings additionally indicate that Right-Wing Extremism (including all the movements) is also responsible for the majority of deaths between 2009-2018. From the total 427 deaths reported, extremism rightists murdered almost 298 people (73,3%). Islamic extremists are accountable for the 23,4% of killings whereas Left-Wing extremists involved in death attacks by 3,2%³⁵ (see figure 4)



Figure 4 Domestic Extremism-related killings in the U.S. by Preparator Affiliation, 2009-2018. Source: Anti-Defamation League (ADL)

The Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS) collected data from 2007 until 2017 about the target type and weapons used in extremists' right attacks. The findings, as illustrated in figure 5, show that right-wing extremists in U.S. attacked mainly Religious Figures & Institutes (31%) and private citizens

³⁵ According to ADL, left-wing extremists are being "inactive" in terrorists' attacks for over 20 years and they are not as organized and armed as right-wing extremists.

(29%). Firearms (38%) and incendiary equipment (35%) were utilized to the attacks due to their usage simplicity and little preparation needed. (Jones, S. 2018)³⁶

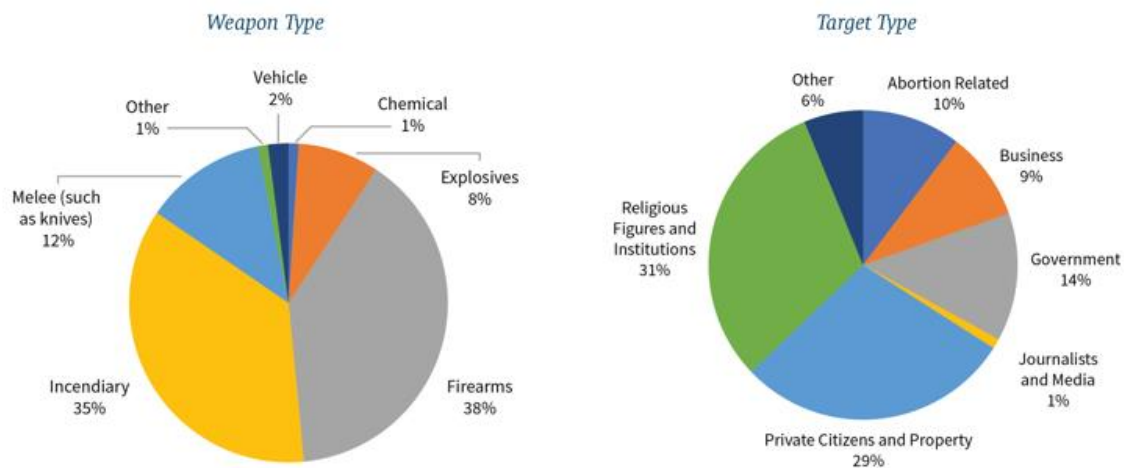


Figure 5 Weapon and Target Type for Right-Wing Attacks, 2007-2017.

Source: CSIS-Center for Strategic & International Studies.

Extreme Rightists in Europe

Like United States, Europe also confronts right-wing extremism. CSIS report that attacks from rightist extremists since 2012 have been increasing exponentially. From 0 attacks in 2012, to almost 23 in 2015 and 30 in 2017. (see

³⁶ Jones, S. (7 Nov. 2018). The Rise of the Right-Wing Extremism in the United States. CSIS Briefs. Retrieved from <https://www.csis.org/analysis/rise-far-right-extremism-united-states> Accessed on 30 Aug. 2019

figure 6).

Some of the most active and well-known Right extremist groups include Germany's "Identitarian Movement" (BfV German acronym), various neo-Nazi groups like the "Combat 18"³⁷ (established in UK), "Generation Identity" and "Pro-Vlast" in Czech Republic, as well as "Blood and Honour" (established in UK.) and the UK English Defence League (EDL) founded in 2009 by Tommy Robinson³⁸. It should be noted that the groups, leveraged the use of Internet, have established branches throughout Europe and an international network of supporters (Counter Extremism Report, 2018)³⁹

The above pan-European nationalists' movements propagate that they strive to maintain "Europe's identity" from the threat of Islamization and

³⁷ Combat 18 (the number 18 corresponds to the first and the eight letters of the English alphabet 1=A and 8=H, which are the initials of Adolph Hitler). Although not responsible for, Combat 18, has inspired Stephan E., to murder Walter Lübcke, a member of Angela Merkel's CDU party in 2 June 2019 due to his support in Merkel's migration agenda .

- Knight, B. (17 Jun. 2019). "Walter Lübcke murder raises specter of neo-Nazi terrorism" Online article .DW. Retrieved from: <https://www.dw.com/en/walter-lübcke-murder-raises-specter-of-neo-nazi-terrorism/a-49238157> Accessed on 20 Aug.2019

³⁸ In October 2013, Tommy Robinson and Kevin Carroll (co-founder of the EDL) quit the group. Robinson has been accused of insulting and threatening behavior and in May 2018 was suspended to 13 months in prison (he stayed in jail for 3 months) for contempt the court. EDL is still active in social media and continues to protest.

³⁹ Counter Extremism Report. (2018) Retrieved from: <https://www.counterextremism.com/european-white-supremacy-groups#dd-combat18> Accessed on 20 Aug. 2019

multiculturalism. Furthermore, their campaigns are built around immigrants, asylum-seekers and Muslim themes.

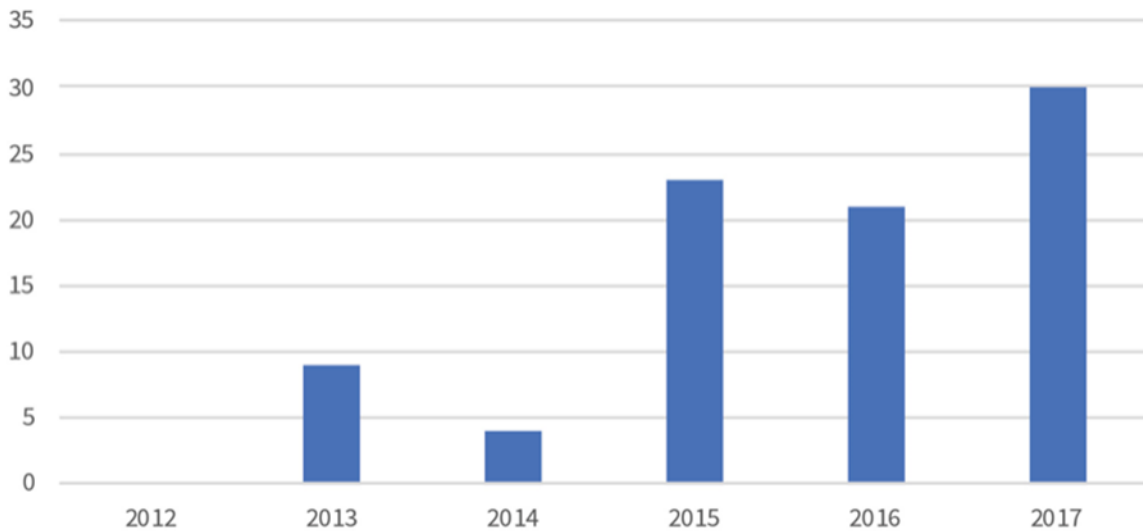


Figure 6 Extreme Right-Wing Attacks in Europe, 2012-2017

Source: CSIS-Center for Strategic & International Studies

United Kingdom

The UK Organization "Measuring Anti-Muslim Attacks" (MAMA)⁴⁰ -which monitors and reports anti-Muslim attacks (both online and offline) in UK- indicate that attacks, (on social media as well as street level), have increased by

⁴⁰ MAMA is a non-governmental Organization that measures and reports online and offline anti-Muslim attacks in UK and supports victims of Islamophobia. Retrieved from: <https://tellmamauk.org/about-us/> Accessed on 20 Aug. 2019

26% in 2017 compared to 2016 records⁴¹. (Marsh, S. 2018) (see figure 7).

In MAMA's 2018 annual report, 1,072 cases of anti-Muslim and Islamophobic incidents have been recorded, 745 of which occurred offline, at a street-level. (MAMA, 2018). In addition to that, MAMA also received 1,891 reports of Muslim hate crimes and incidents by the UK Police forces⁴². In total, 2,963 anti-Muslim hate incidents occurred in UK.

⁴¹ Marsh, S. (20 Jul. 2018). "Record Number of anti-Muslim attacks reported in UK the last year". The Guardian. Retrieved from: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/jul/20/record-number-anti-muslim-attacks-reported-uk-2017> Accessed on 20 Aug. 2019

⁴² MAMA Annual Report 2018. (2018) Retrieved from https://tellmamauk.org/tell-mama-annual-report-2018-_normalising-hate/ Accessed on 20 Aug. 2019

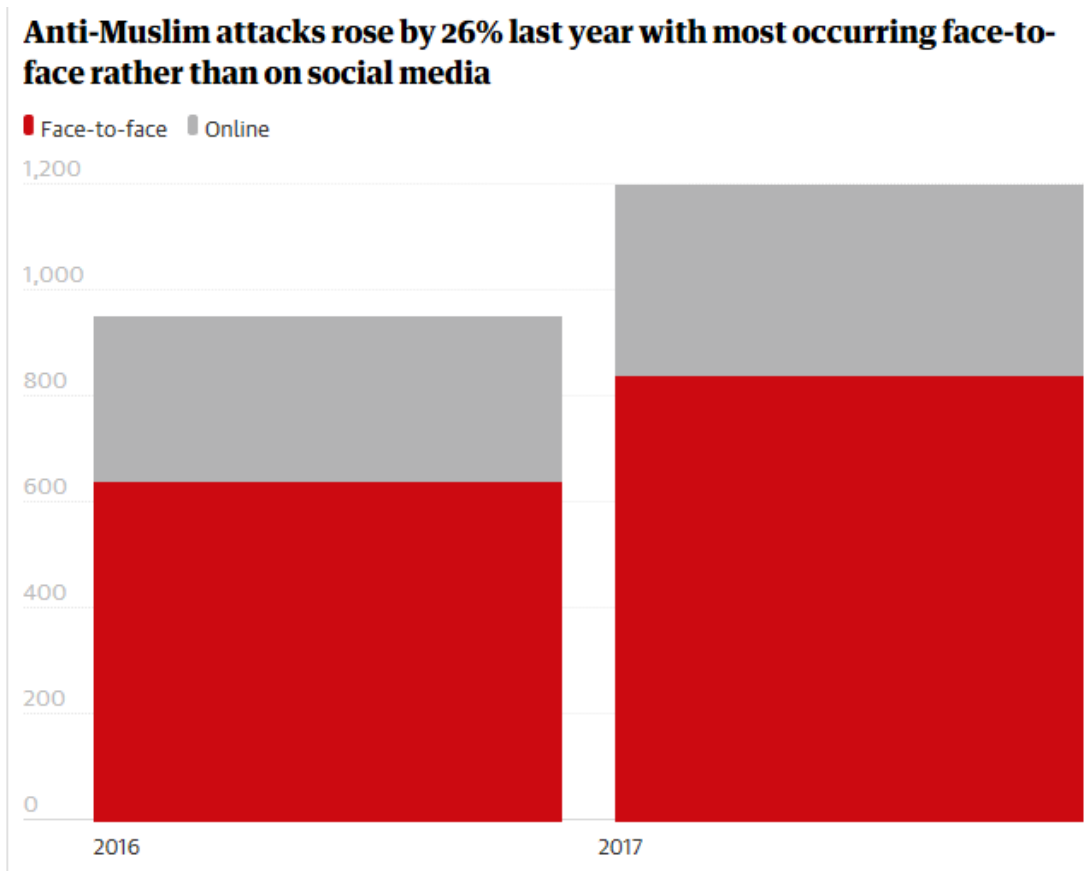


Figure 7 Anti-Muslim attacks in UK, 2016-2017

Source: Tell MAMA 2017 Annual Report

The “Lone Wolf” Case

“Lone Wolf” is a term used to describe the attacks committed by a single person. A study conducted by the SPLC about the Radical Right and Jihadists violence in the United States (covering the period between 1 April 2009 to 1 February 2015) revealed that 74% of the 60 incidents examined were executed

and planned solely by lone wolves⁴³, whereas the remaining 26% carried out by groups. (SPLC, 2015)

The study notices that there is a worrying rising increase and a trend towards the lone wolves, and they support this finding due to the “Chief” asset. Lone Wolves are planning and executing the violent attacks entirely on their own without any other group member involve in the process that may reveal information and jeopardize the attack. To that sense, lone wolves, have the advantage of not being easily disrupted or prevented by the agencies. As a result, it raises the possibilities of attack’s successfulness.

According to the study, ideology of hate, white supremacy and radical Islamism driven the preparators’ to attack (51%) whereas 46% of violent accidents were executed by antigovernment Patriot movements like the “Sovereign Citizens”. Attackers in their great majority used firearms (59%). (See figure 8).

⁴³ SPLC (2015) Lone Wolf Report. Retrieved from: <https://www.splcenter.org/20150211/lone-wolf-report#summary> Accessed on 20 Aug. 2019

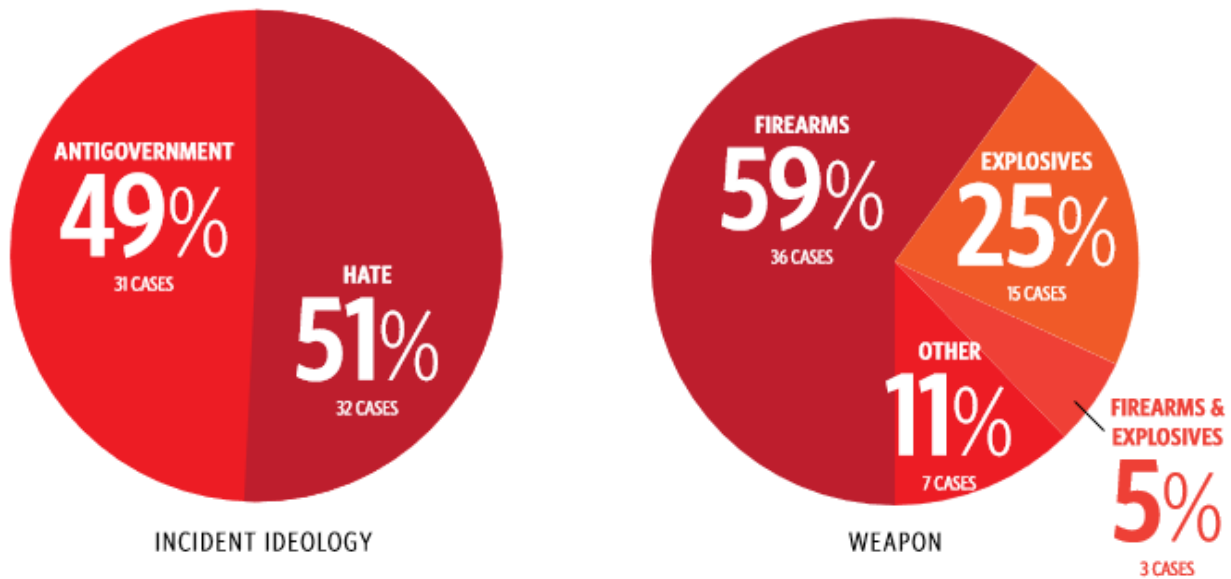


Figure 8 Incident Ideology and Weapon Used (SPLC Study 1 Apr. 2009-1 Feb.2015)
Source Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC)

3 Typical Cases of “Lone Wolves”

1. John Earnest⁴⁴ is the attacker of Poway synagogue, near San Diego, California on 27 April 2019. He killed 1 person and injured 3 more. His manifesto contains excerpts from Adolf Hitler and condemns immigrants.
2. Brenton Tarrant⁴⁵ was responsible for two consecutive shooting attacks in Christchurch mosques, in New Zealand on 15 March 2019. He killed 54

⁴⁴ Earnest, John (2019) Poway Synagogue Shooting Retrieved from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Poway_synagogue_shooting Accessed on 21 Aug. 2019

⁴⁵ Tarrant, Brenton (2019) Christchurch Mosque Shootings. Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christchurch_mosque_shootings Accessed on 20 Aug. 2019

people and injured another 49. His manifesto contains excerpts from the "Great Replacement Theory"⁴⁶. He advocates the white supremacy and opposes multiracial milieus.

3. Behring Breivik⁴⁷ is the preparator of 22 July 2011 attacks in Norway. He first exploded a car outside the Prime Minister's office in Oslo (8 people were killed) and then he killed 69 teenagers in a camp in Utoya. In his manifesto, among others, opposes multiculturalism.

⁴⁶ The "Great Replacement Theory" is a nationalist right-wing theory that argues that white nations in Europe are gradually being replaced by immigrants at an ethnic and social level. A typical group considers threatening the white population is Muslims. The theory was developed in 2010 by the French Renaud Camus. The theory is similar to the "White Genocide" by the American white supremacist and neo-Nazi, David Lane in 1995, who mainly blamed Jews for the extinction of whites.

- Great Replacement theory (n.d.) Retrieved from:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Great_Replacement Accessed on 1 Oct. 2019

-White Genocide Conspiracy theory (n.d.) Retrieved from:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/White_genocide_conspiracy_theory Accessed on 1 Oct. 2019

⁴⁷ Breivik, Behring (19 Sep.2019) Biography. Retrieved from <https://www.biography.com/crime-figure/anders-behring-breivik> Accessed on 1 Oct.2019

I.h Extreme Rightists (& Terrorists) in the Digital Space

Undoubtedly Internet due to its low cost, easy access, anonymity and speed enable users to overcome barriers of time and space scarcity and reach a global audience of almost 4 billion users.

The UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO⁴⁸) conducted a research titled "Youth and Violent Extremism on the Social Media" during 2012-2016 to answer the question: "Does social media lead vulnerable individuals to resort to violence? Their findings indicate that the Internet and Social Media like Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and YouTube play a significant role in facilitating the processes of violent radicalization. (Alava, S et al, 2017, p.36). Moreover, the research remarks an increase in the use of Internet and social media by extremists as a mean of spreading propaganda, communicating with sympathizers, reaching supporters, creating online communities, radicalizing activists, raising funds and recruiting potential members. (Alava, S et al, 2017, p.14-15).

In addition to UNESCO's findings, Mr. Manolis Sfakianakis, in my question "Do you think that Internet and Social Media can facilitate extremism discourse

⁴⁸Alava, S., Frau-Meigs & Hassan, G. (2017) "Youth and Violent Extremism on Social Media- Mapping the Research. Report published by UNESCO. Retrieved from <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000260382> Accessed on 2 Jul. 2019 (p. 36)

online?, responded that "Internet and Social Media have been a facilitator not only for cybercrime but for cyber terrorism and extremists as well. They both provide the ideal space for terrorists and extremists to recruit, propagate, coordinate, fund, use violence and reach vulnerable audience-especially adolescents-to disseminate information. This can be achieved through blogs, via video games' chat rooms or services like Telegram⁴⁹ ". In my question "How easy is for an Internet and/or Social Media user to find extremists online or vice versa?, Mr. Sfakianakis replied that "Cyberspace is open, free and an effective search tool. On social media, particularly, the user generated content can signify if there is a tendency towards extremism by a user. Hence, if a user cannot locate an extremist group on his/her own, is pretty certain that the extremist's groups will locate the user". (Mr. Manolis Sfakianakis, personal interview).

⁴⁹ Telegram is an instant messaging service that is similar in core functionalities with other messaging services (i.e. Facebook, WhatsApp). What distinguishes Telegram from other applications is its privacy feature in calls and secret chats. To ensure privacy it uses end-to-end encryptions. (Gordon, A. (26 Apr. 2019). "What is Telegram and Why Should I Use it?" Article. Android Authority. Retrieved from: <https://www.androidauthority.com/what-is-telegram-messenger-979357/> Accessed on 20 May 2019)

The salient presence of terrorists and extremists on Internet and Social Media is also indicated in Evan Kohlmann's⁵⁰ book "the Use of the Internet for Terrorism Purposes":

"[...] today, 90 percent of terrorist activity on the Internet takes place using social network tools. The most important terrorist communiques and videos are virtually all initially released on certain password-protected chat forums run by Al-Qaida supporters. These forums act as a virtual firewall to help safeguard the identities of participants [...], to make direct contacts with terrorist representatives, to ask questions and even to contribute and help out the cyberjihad". (Kohlmann, 2012, p. 57-61)

Terrorist use of social media is not new. After the events of 9/11, the counterterrorism intelligence and law enforcement agencies monitored and attacked websites that promoted terrorism content and the antiterrorism campaign that followed forced many terrorist groups to seek alternative online

⁵⁰ Evan Kohlmann is an American Terrorism consultant and a counter-terrorism expert who has worked for the FBI and the NBC News as a terrorism analyst. Biography retrieved from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Evan_Kohlmann. [Accessed on 19 Feb. 2019]

means to propagate, radicalize, recruit individuals and engage with sympathizers. The turn to social media simply followed. (Weimann, 2014, p.2).

In *New Terrorism and New Media*, Professor Gabriel Weimann⁵¹, states that terrorists and extremists use the social media for three main reasons: a) they are popular among their target audience, b) they are user-friendly, accessible and free, and c) they enable them to locate their target audiences and virtually "knock on their doors" unlike older models of websites in which they had to wait for visitors to come to them. (ibid, p. 3-4).

In this context, they can locate and create lists of potential recruits and/or sympathizers through online groups. Using a targeting strategy technique known as narrowcasting (or niche marketing) they aim messages to segments (or niches) based on their values, preferences, attributes, demographics just like marketing companies collect profile information for potential customers to promote their products. (ibid p.3)

This clearly demonstrates the benefit that social media like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube has provided to terrorists and extremists as an effective

⁵¹ Gabriel Weimann is a Full Professor of Communication at Haifa University, Israel. His research interest includes among others modern terrorism and mass media. His papers and research reports have been published in scientific journals and books.

method of reaching out to an audience to propagate messages and share online material such as images, videos, audio, virtual magazines and presentations.

Abdel Atwan, in his book "The Secret History of Al-Qaida" also refers to the social media benefits "Social media offer the opportunity to sympathizers or recruits to have access to content, ideology and tactics of Al-Qaida and its affiliates from everywhere and at any time".⁵² (Atwan, 2006, p.12- translated from Greek).

According to Public Intelligence Report, undoubtedly, Forums are the oldest mean of communication and engagement between terrorists-extremists and sympathizers. Through forums terrorists' representatives can exchange ideas, share operational and tactical information like bomb recipes, training and tactical shooting and spread hate speech and extreme ideological messaging to a sympathetic audience. (Department of Homeland Security, 2010, p.1-4)

Barbara Perry and Patrik Olsson (2009)⁵³, note that the neo-Nazis, skinheads and Holocaust deniers were the first to create websites to disseminate their hate speech and ideology. They targeted mostly young and like-minded people and users who were apt to rightist ideology. The content they share

⁵² Abdel Bari Atwan. "The Secret History of Al-Qaida". Greek translation by Stelios Metaxas. Archetypo Publications 1st edition November 2006 (p. 12)

⁵³Barbara Perry & Patrik Olsson (2009) Cyberhate: the globalization of hate, Information & Communications Technology Law, 18:2, 185-199, DOI: 10.1080/13600830902814984

online was already, nonetheless, available offline. Books, articles, leaflets and brochures. (Perry, B. & Olsson, 2009)

On their websites white nationalist Stormfront.org and National Vanguard provide the necessary information about who they are, what they do, blog posts, news, articles and Call-to-Action buttons. In fact, the CTA buttons are the easiest items to locate on their sites: Donate, Buy Books-CDs, Join, Chat, Register and Share on Social Media. (see figures 9-13).

According to the UK Counter Extremism Strategic Command Paper, in the UK there are numerous right-wing extremism groups active on Internet and social media who share an ideology of racism, fear and hostility towards minorities and anti-Muslim messages. (UK Command Paper, 2015, p. 23)⁵⁴

⁵⁴ UK Command Paper (Cm 9148). (2015) "UK Counter Extremism Strategy". published by UK Government p.23

Stormfront

Donate Radio Chat Register Blogs ▼ FAQ Community ▼ Today's Posts Search ▼

Listen live to Stormfront Radio with Don Black & Friends
 Followed by Dr. David Duke.
Weekdays 10:00-11:00am ET | [Archives](#)
[New channel](#) for Stormfront Action Radio at 9:00am.

Welcome to Stormfront.

We are a community of racial realists and idealists. We are White Nationalists who support **true** diversity and a homeland for **all** peoples, including ours. We are the voice of the new, embattled *White* minority!

The truth is "hate" to those who hate the truth!

If this is your first visit, be sure to check out the [Introduction to Stormfront](#). You are also welcome to browse our other ten million posts, but you must [register](#) before you can post anywhere except the Open Forums.

Forum	Last Post	Threads	Posts
Private Forums			
Sustaining Members Private forum for those who've supported Stormfront financially. Sub-Forums: Stormfront Radio Show Stormfront Core Support Group Lifetime Members	Private	12,556	383,803

Figure 9 The white nationalist-neo Nazi's Stormfront Website (for over 25 years). Available at: <https://www.stormfront.org>

Admirers of Leon Degrelle

Donate Radio Chat Register Blogs FAQ Community Today's Posts Search

Listen live to Stormfront Radio with Don Black & Friends
 Followed by Dr. David Duke.
 Weekdays 10:00-11:00am ET | Archives

Social Group

Admirers of Leon Degrelle
 Group Maintained by [Jelennuie](#)

In registering for this group you are expressing your admiration for General Leon Degrelle. You are welcome to post and share your opinions, but to sign up is all you need to do to show your recognition of his loyalty and service to the Waffen-SS, the NSDAP and to the Germanic Folk.



Social Group Discussions Search Discussions Go **Group Tools**

Showing Discussions 8 of 8

	Created	Replies	Last Post
Picture Thread https://s18.postimg.org/i133mb17t/truthww2-9d3b.jpg 5f	by Jelennuie 02-19-2018 12:26 PM	6	07-09-2019 10:12 PM by GordonWKahl
"If I had a son, I would want him to be like you." From The Eastern Front: Memoirs of a Waffen SS Volunteer, 1941-1945 by Leon Degrelle, p.301: (my...	by James Harting 01-08-2018 06:22 PM	2	06-03-2018 11:32 AM by Jelennuie
A Passage from Eastern Front Memoir Here Degrelle narrates being trapped in the Cherkassy pocket in Russia; "the German army...	by GordonWKahl 05-08-2018 01:52 PM	1	05-17-2018 09:16 PM by Jelennuie
"Holocaust Survivors" in Poland Sue Publisher over Degrelle Books... ...which they claim are propaganda that glorifies the "Nazi" era, and are not a legitimate part of...	by James Harting 04-17-2018 02:25 PM	2	04-27-2018 10:27 AM by Jelennuie
Eastern Front	by Jelennuie		04-15-2018 11:22 AM

Showing 10 of 45 Member(s)

- [alkerzell](#)
- [Starshine Rose](#)
- [werd](#)
- [James Harting](#)
- [Michael Jeffrey](#)
- [BobbySands](#)
- [The Awakening](#)
- [Gardeimperia](#)
- [Wulfric](#)
- [Ringelnater](#)

[View All Members](#)

Figure 10 The Social Groups discussion under the section "Community" of Stormfront



Figure 11 The white nationalist National Vanguard Website. Available at: <https://nationalvanguard.org/>

An Aryan Society

We must have new societies throughout the White world that are based on Aryan values and are compatible with the Aryan nature. We do not need to homogenize the White world: there will be room for Germanic societies, Celtic societies, Latin societies, Slavic societies, Baltic societies, and so on, each with its own roots, traditions, and language. What we must have, however, is a thorough rooting out of Semitic and other non-Aryan values and customs everywhere. We must once again provide the sort of social and spiritual environment in which our own nature can express itself in music, in art and architecture, in literature, in philosophy and scholarship, in the mass media, and in the lifestyles of the people.



Figure 12 National Vanguard Website: About Us section.

Available at: <https://nationalvanguard.org/>

JOIN US



REQUIREMENTS FOR NATIONAL ALLIANCE MEMBERSHIP

First: The prospective member should carefully read and understand our introductory documents, *What We Believe* and the more extensive *What is the National Alliance?*

Eligibility: Any White person (a non-Jewish person of wholly European ancestry) of good character and at least 18 years of age who accepts as his own the goals of the National Alliance and who is willing to support the program described in *What is the National Alliance?* may apply for membership.

Ineligible persons: No homosexual or bisexual person, no person actively addicted to alcohol or to an illegal drug, no person with a non-White spouse or a non-White dependent, and, except in extraordinary circumstances, no person currently confined in a penal institution may be a member. (The National Alliance does not advocate any illegal activity and expects its members to conduct themselves accordingly.)

Application procedure: Any eligible person who wishes to

become a member of the National Alliance should fill in completely the application and mail it, along with the \$25 application fee and the first month's dues, to the address on the form. A new member will receive a membership pin, a *Membership Handbook*, and each issue when published of the National Alliance's internal

Figure 13 National Vanguard Website: Join Us section.

Available at: <https://natall.com/join-us/>

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

It is essential to begin by reviewing the relevant literature to identify the conceptual framework used in this thesis. Two theories will be discussed in terms of their relevance to right-wing ideology and assist in explaining extremism. In this chapter of the thesis, the rise, the legitimacy and how the far right-wing and right-wing parties in Europe and the United States appear mainstream will be analyzed which also constitute the primary focus of the research. Lastly, Social Media Platforms and in particular Facebook, Twitter and YouTube, will be further discussed in terms of popularity and usage and how politicians leveraged these platforms for their public discourse.

II.a Theories

Numerous theories have emerged from social sciences and humanities to explain radicalization, extremism and terrorism.

Relative Deprivation Theory

Sociologist Samuel Stouffer introduced the relative deprivation concept in one of his famous studies "The World War II American Soldier" (Pettigrew, T., 2015, p. 11)⁵⁵.

The theory suggests that an individual who might feel deprived or underprivileged- of essential necessities in society (whether money, education rights or status) when compared him/herself to others, will be apt to join movements to change the status quo and obtain back the things s/he is deprived of.⁵⁶ The 1960's US Civil Rights Movement- (the struggle of blacks to obtain equal civil and legal rights with the whites) was an effect of this theory. (Longley, 2018)

⁵⁵ Pettigrew, T. (2015) Samuel Stouffer and Relative Deprivation. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 2015, Vol. 78(1) 7–24. SAGE. DOI: 10.1177/0190272514566793 (p.11)

⁵⁶ Longley, R. (2018, Dec.12) All About Relative Deprivation Theory. Online Article. ThoughtCo. Retrieved from: <https://www.thoughtco.com/relative-deprivation-theory-4177591> Accessed on 20 Sep. 2019

Mina Al-Lami (2009) in *Studies of Radicalization*⁵⁷ explains how the relative deprivation theory is linked to violent radicalization. According to the author, frustration and lack of self-fulfillment, as a cause of socioeconomic unbalances including poverty, underemployment, low education attainment, are common triggers that make an individual susceptible to violent radicalization (extremism/terrorism). As the Al-Lami states "In the context of terrorism and suicide operations, the less promising one's future is, the easier it becomes to end one's life" (p.4-5)

Deprivation as an explanatory theory that leads to violent radicalization has raised skepticism. The theory does not explain for example, how poor socioeconomic performances become a prerequisite for an individual to commit a violent act, since there are deprived persons in society that do not actively participate neither in terrorism nor in any other form of violence. In addition to that there are terrorists and violent radicals who are educated and in a good financial situation.

As a response to criticism, Al-Lami indicates that education and economic well-being cannot assure a smooth social integration with mainstream societies

⁵⁷ Al-Lami, M. (2009) *Studies of Radicalization: State of the Field Report*. Politics and International Relations Working Paper, No.11, 2009 (p. 4-5)

neither can aloof a well-off person from the problems that his/her community faces. (p.5)

Fascism as a political theory

Fascism derives from the Latin word Fascismo (derivative of fascio, fasces in plural) which means group, bundle⁵⁸. Italian Benito Mussolini was the first to introduce Fascism in 1922 when his movement- Fasci di combattimento- ("combat group": Black Shirted members who adopted the fasces in their uniform; a bundle of rods featuring an axe, symbol of power to the ancient Romans)-seized power through violence, killings of socialists and intimidation. After that a reign of censorship, authoritarian control, propaganda and violence has begun.

Fascism as an ideology fosters intimidation, propaganda, control, war and violence. It supports the totalitarian power (political, economic, social) into one dominant "patriot" authority who can use violence (and militarism) to suppress

⁵⁸ Fascism definition (n.d.). Merriam-Webster Dictionary. Retrieved from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/fascism#note-1> Accessed on 29 Sep. 2019

opponents and rebels to purify the nation. (Abbasi & Khatwani, 2014, p. 104-105)⁵⁹.

The use of domestic violence and terror to out-groups (opponents) and as a mean for achievement the interests is the main component to link fascism as a theory with terrorism and to a great extent extremism in order to explain the phenomena.

Although, Fascism is often used to describe authoritarian regimes headed by one dictator (like Adolf Hitler in Germany, Benito Mussolini in Italy or Francisco Franco in Spain), an attempt to simply define Fascism as a historical phenomenon or a political theory is challenging, complexing and quite often the definitions given are unsatisfactory. (Nunez; 2014, Orwell⁶⁰; 1944).

However, according to Nunez, the approaches entail and emphasize on one core element "the nation" and the relevance of nationalism as the central basis of the fascist culture. Nationalism is inseparable with the nation as an idea and as an organic reality with established criteria for Nationals inclusion. Such criteria are language, culture, religion, traditions, history, blood and soil. Fascism

⁵⁹ Abbasi, I & Khatwani, M. (2014). "An Overview of the Political Theories of Terrorism". IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS) Volume 19, Issue 8, Ver. V (Aug. 2014), PP 103-107

⁶⁰ Orwell, G (1944) "What is Fascism? . Tribune. Retrieved from: http://www.orwell.ru/library/articles/As_I_Please/english/efasc. Accessed on 29 Sep. 2019

perceives nation as an entity that bonds its members by their descent. (Nunez, 2014, p.2-4)⁶¹ . In addition to that Fascism as an ideology and as culture build a religious myth around the importance of origin and cultural homogeneity and promoted two distinctive values in their worldviews: a) nation is perceived as sacred and is above and beyond individual interests, and b) its national body must be characterized by values such as virtue and masculinity. (ibid, p.11)

Nationalism as an ideology contains elements similar to Fascism: an appeal to emotional and irrational aspects and a prioritization on the nation's supreme will. (ibid, p.11).

After World War II (WWII), Fascism declined. Nevertheless, in postmodern societies and for the last decades "fascists or proto-fascists movements have been rising in Europe and became a vote for protest or support"⁶². (Szalay, J. 2017)

⁶¹ Nunez, X. (2014) "Some Thoughts on Fascism and the Nation", Seminario de Historia, Dpto. de H^a Social y del Pensamiento Político, UNED (p. 2-4,11)

⁶² Szalay, J. (2017, 25 Jan.) "What is Fascism". Online Article. LiveScience. Retrieved from <https://www.livescience.com/57622-fascism.html> Accessed on 29 Sep. 2019

II.b Far Right Political Parties and the Rise of Nationalism

Right-wing political parties and Nationalism has always been a feature on European and international political spectrum. In the case of Europe, however, during the last two decades there has been a significant increase in voters support, an increase that has not been recorded since WWII.

According to Berger (2018, p.31) nationalism can be described as promoting one nation's interests over the others, often paired with feelings of superiority. To some extent, it is healthy and normal for a citizen to feel proud of his/her country. Nonetheless, nationalism extremism takes this to a different level. It argues that the nation must be protected by the threat of out-groups (that could also include other nations as well) and if necessary hostile acts against the out-groups can be justified. Since nationalism extremism is mainly concerned with religion and immigrants and defines how citizenship must be, religion restrictions on who can be a citizen are exhibited.

Even though right-wing parties do not embrace in their public discourse the advocacy of white supremacy or sovereignty, they do so by propagating their radical stances under the veil of populism in their electorate. They are committed to protect European's middle-class civic rights and maintain their national identity, over the influx of immigrants and asylum-seekers. In their

programmatic theses, two hot-button issues, migrant and financial crisis, have been under the microscope for radical solutions. (Counter Extremism Project, 2018)⁶³ (See figure 14)

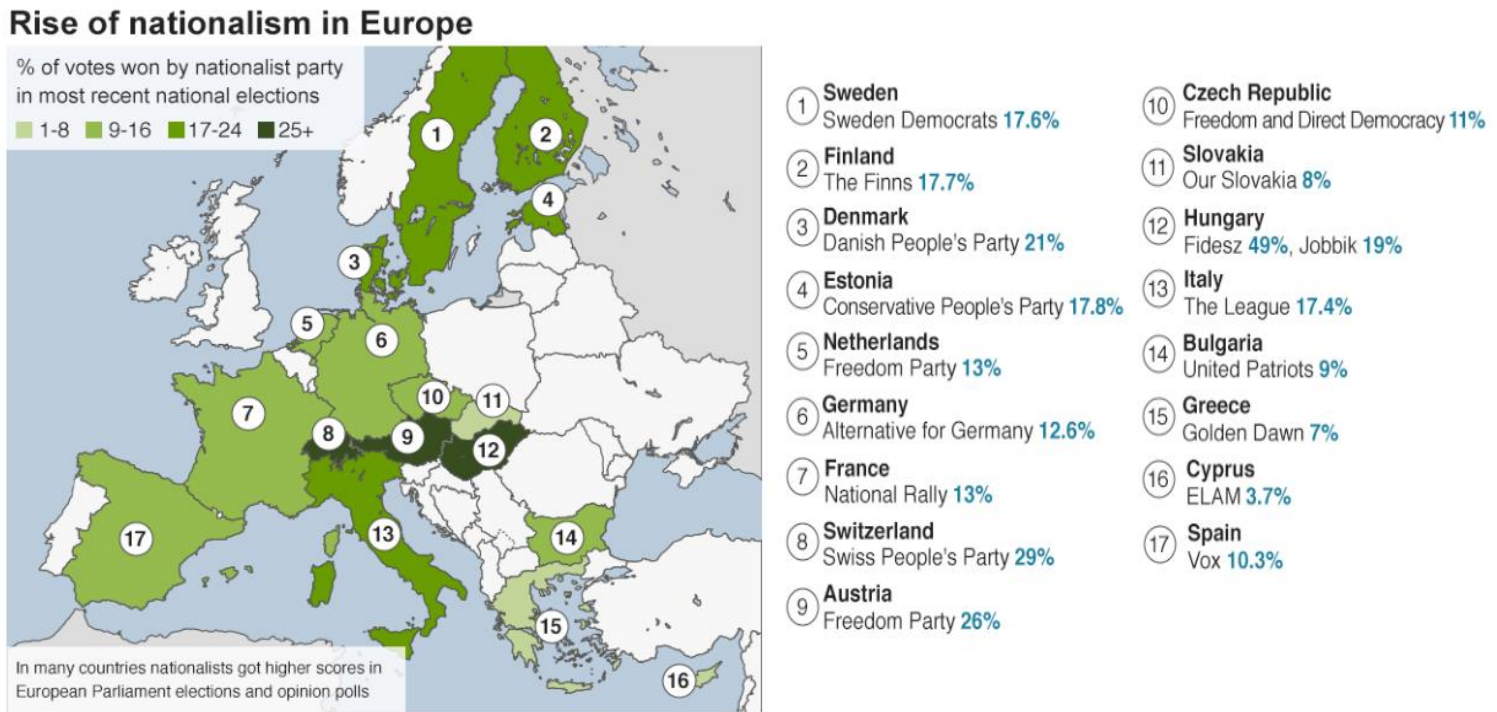


Figure 14 Rise in Nationalism in Europe. Last updated April 2019

Source: BBC

⁶³ Counter Extremism Project, n.d. Executive Report. Retrieved from: <https://www.counterextremism.com/european-white-supremacy-groups#dd-combat18> Accessed on 30 Sep. 2019

The case of Europe

Italy

Mateo Salvini is the leader of the right-wing League. In June 2018 he formed a government after an inconclusive election. The League's rising power was a result of a big inflow of immigrants from North Africa in 2016 (which as interior minister expelled the humanitarian rescue ships) and financial crisis. The League blames EU for weakening Italy's sovereignty and also advocates that immigrants and minorities are threatening Italy's identity. He further envisions a pan-European union of nationalist parties. (BBC, 2019, Counter Extremism Project, n.d.)⁶⁴

France

Jean-Marie Le Pen's Front National had an extreme far-right ideology with anti-Semitic elements. Supporters were mainly middle and small class workers due to its programmatic liberal economic proposals. In 2012, its current president-his daughter-Marine Le Pen renamed the party National Rally (NR) and strives to broaden its base to gain more voters. To that effect she outside

⁶⁴ BBC (2019, 24 May). Europe and right-wing nationalism: A country-by-country guide. Retrieved from: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36130006> Accessed on 30 Sep. 2019

the president along with his more radical supporters, the antisemitism has been replaced with anti-immigrants and Islamophobia and the liberal economic proposals have become a policy to protect the French people from globalization. In the 2017 presidential elections she was defeated by Emmanuel Macron. (Greven, 2016, p. 2)⁶⁵

Germany

The far-right party Alternative For Deutschland (AfD) was established in 2013 as a reaction to Euro crisis, by economists who concerned that EU financial policies weakened Germany's economy. In 2015 co-founder Bernd Lucke quitted the party because it became xenophobic. However anti-immigrant stances existed from the beginning. The new leader, Frauke Petry shifted the party's thesis toward a more extreme anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant direction, openly blamed Muslims for threatening German's culture and way of life. In the 2017 elections, AfD entered the federal parliament for the first time. (BBC, 2019, Greven, 2016, p. 3-4, Counter Extremism Project, n.d.)

⁶⁵ Greven, T. (2016). The Rise of Right-wing Populism in Europe and the United States; A Comparative Perspective. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. (p.2-)

Spain

Despite beliefs that Spaniards would not support a far right-wing party after Franco's dictatorship, Santiago Conte's VOX entered the parliament in 2019 general elections. VOX endorses anti-Islam, criticizes immigrants-especially Muslims-and is against multiculturalism. Conte believes that EU is threatening Spain's sovereignty⁶⁶. (BBC, 2019, Wikipedia, n.d.)

Austria

Austria's Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ) is another example for far-right extremist parties and the first to be in power with coalition as junior partner with Conservative chancellor Sebastian Kurz in 2017. Anti-EU, anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim are key elements to its political agenda. FPÖ founded in 1955 and the first leader was Anton Reinthaller a former Nazi and SS officer⁶⁷. (Wikipedia). FPÖ was against socialism. In 1979 governed as junior-partner in a coalition with Austria's social democrats until Jorg Haider won the FPÖ's leadership in 1986. Under Haider's leadership FPÖ returned back to right. In

⁶⁶ VOX (n.d.). VOX political party. Wikipedia. Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vox_\(political_party\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vox_(political_party)) Accessed on 1 Oct. 2019)

⁶⁷ FPÖ, (n.d.). Freedom Party of Austria. Wikipedia. Retrieved from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Freedom_Party_of_Austria Accessed on 1 Oct. 2019

1999 elections the FPO was the second largest party and governed as junior partner with conservative party OVP. A period of splits and internal debates about its governmental role followed and weakened the party until 2005 when Heinz Strache became the leader and re-gain popular support. (Greven, 2016, p.2). In the presidential elections 2016 FPO candidate Norbert Hofer gain the first round but defeated by the Greens in the final run off.

Hungary

According to Thomas Greven, Fidesz founded in 1988 originally as a mainstream liberal alliance. Electoral failures resulted in returning to the right. In 2010, Victor Orban-leader of Fidesz-won the elections, adopted a new constitution and restricted the freedom of media. Fidesz has altered the nature of Hungarian's political system mainly by adopting policies from the extreme far-right platform of Jobbik. Anti-EU and anti-immigrant stances (affecting mostly the Roma minority) are dominant in Fidesz's agenda. (ibid, p.3) In 2018 elections, Prime Minister Victor Orban secured a third term in office. (BBC, 2019)

Sweden & Finland

Jimmie Akkeson's Sweden Democrats (SD) founded in 1988 is a national-conservative populist party. In 2018 general elections won 17,6% of the votes. The SD had its roots in Swedish Fascism but in the early-1990 rebranded and distanced itself from the past⁶⁸. SD opposes to multiculturalism and propose stricter control and measures for the migrant crisis.

In Finland, the Finns Party was the second largest party in 2019 general elections. The Finns Party combines left-wing economic policies with nationalism and conservative values. It has been characterized as a right-wing party and has adopted, like many other European countries, anti-immigrant policies, Euroscepticism and is critical to globalization⁶⁹.

Brexit in United Kingdom

According to Dr. Daphne Halikiopoulou⁷⁰ as cited by Girvin, "Brexit is a part of the broader trend in Europe" that wants to restore national sovereignty

⁶⁸ Sweden Democrats, n.d. Wikipedia. Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sweden_Democrats Accessed on 2 Oct. 2019

⁶⁹ Finns Party, n.d.. Wikipedia. Retrieved from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Finns_Party Accessed on 2 Oct. 2019

⁷⁰ Girvin, B. (2018, 26 Jun.). "Brexit and the rise of right-wing populism in Europe: why and how nationalism matters". Online Article. Networks H-net. Retrieved from: <https://networks.h->

and welfare, adopts anti-immigrant policies and is Euroscepticism. (Girvin, 2018). Brexit Party is a symptom of this malaise. Founded in 2018 and under the current leadership of Nigel Farage, populist Brexit Party, marked a major success in 2019 European Parliament elections in United Kingdom. Its platform includes the restoration of Britain's sovereignty by primarily withdrawing from EU and trade with WTO terms⁷¹. Brexit party includes resigned members from defunct far-right UKIP in opposition to Gerard Batten's leadership.

However, according to Dr. Christopher Fear⁷², the road to Brexit referendum started long before 2015. It was on 2004 to 2007 when the European Union expanded to enclose former Communist countries (like Poland, Romania and Bulgaria). UK Prime Minister Tony Blair (Labour Party) at that time did not impose travel restrictions on migrants from other countries assuming that other state members would do the same. Despite forecast estimations on arrivals (expected to be 5.000-13.000 migrants), 129.000 people came in the first two

net.org/node/3911/discussions/1971598/brexit-and-rise-right-wing-populism-europe-why-and-how Accessed on 2 Oct. 2019

⁷¹ Brexit Party, n.d. Wikipedia. Retrieved from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brexit_Party Accessed on 4 Jul. 2019

⁷² Fear Christopher is a Lecturer in Politics and International Relations at Hull University, UK.

- Fear, C. (2019, 4 Apr.). "The Road to Brexit: how did the UK end up here?". Online Article. The Conversation. Retrieved from: <http://theconversation.com/the-road-to-brexit-how-did-the-uk-end-up-here-114661> . Accessed on 6 Nov. 2019

years (2004-2005). To UK citizens, the migrant inflow, meant two things: a) the government had lost control of immigration and b) no British government could ever regain control while under the EU's movement laws. It was also at that time that Euroscepticism gained public appeal derived from concerns that rising immigration would have negative impact on Britons' welfare, housing, job market and public services. While Labour Party and Conservatives had avoided the issue of immigration, the UK Independence Party under the leadership of Nigel Farage devoted to take UK out of the EU and openly discussed and reassured voters that taking measures to control immigration crisis was neither xenophobic nor racist. As Dr. Fear states "UKIP's growing popularity seemed to threaten the electoral hopes of both main parties, but especially those of the Conservatives." (Fear, 2019). By 2015 UK Prime Minister David Cameron (Conservative Party) was under pressure to regain the working-class voters who identified more with UKIP's agenda than with his. UKIP's success in European Elections had also shown that Eurosceptic votes were out there to be won, thus a referendum and the consequent Remain victory could win them back. Referendum result was 52% to 48% in favor of leaving the EU. The next day David Cameron revealed his intention to resign. (ibid)

Trump in the United States

Traditionally, Republican and Democrats compete against each other in United States elections. They have alternated in power and historically have been immune to third party emergence. With Donald Trump in presidency, Republicans have seized right-wing populism as Greven explains and although intra-party populism and narratives of "us versus them" is not a new phenomenon⁷³, Donald Trump and Republicans have altered the political landscape into a more populist form. Despite the fact that they condemn racism, xenophobia, violence or nationalism, yet preservation of national sovereignty underlined in "America First" campaign⁷⁴ and Donald Trump's tenets of racism

⁷³ According to Greven tenets of "us versus them" narratives and opportunistic politics to win more voters exhibited on Richard Nixon's exploitation of the southern white racism, on Ronald Reagan's demonization of African-American welfare recipients, on George H.W. Bush's demonization with African-American convict and on his son George W. Bush that used people's unease with gay marriage. (p.4)

⁷⁴ Churchwell, S. (2018, Apr 21). "End of the American dream? The dark history of 'America first. The Guardian. Retrieved on 7 Oct. 2019 from: <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2018/apr/21/end-of-the-american-dream-the-dark-history-of-america-first>

The "America First" slogan has a much longer history. It is associated with the country's dark legacy of slavery, white nationalism, xenophobia, nativism and immigration. In 1891 New York Times published an article about the Republicans' beliefs. It stated that Republicans believe in "America first; the rest of the world afterward". Republicans not only agreed but adopted the statement as a campaign slogan in 1894. In 1919 a Ku Klux Klan leader on a Fourth of July speech also used "America First" as a motto and stated that "I am for America, first, last and all the time, and I don't want any foreign element telling us what to do." When Mussolini took

are apparent in his narrative and actions: to deport millions of undocumented immigrants charged with “any criminal offense or pose a risk to national security” (Lenz & Gunter, 2017)⁷⁵, secure US border so as no Muslim enters the States and build a wall between Mexico and US to save the nation from “Mexican rapists and murders”. (Greven, p.4)

Donald Trump’s agenda and practices can be hardly separated from white nationalists and alt-rightists. Extremists advisers and conspiracy theorists (like the White House Chief Strategist Stephen Bannon founder of the Breitbart News- an alt right Internet site, or Sebastian Gorka a terrorism adviser with close links to neo-Nazis in his native Hungary), have been appointed to organize his 2016 Presidential campaign. As a President Donald Trump continued the same pattern: he attacked mainstream media calling it “the enemy of the people”, he claimed “fake news” when media reports cast him in a negative light and he circulated conspiracy theories claiming, for instance, that journalists and news media purposely covered up terrorists’ attacks, or that Barack Obama conspired

power in Rome, a Montana paper tried to explain fascism to Americans. In November 1922 stated that in Italy fascism means “Italy for Italians. The fascisti in this country call it “America First”. In 1940 the America First Committee was formed by a coalition of Americans against US entry into the WWII. Lindbergh, a pro-Nazi-was their spokesman.

⁷⁵ Lenz, R. and Gunter, B (2017, 17 Apr.). “100 days in Trump’s America”. Southern Poverty Law Center. Retrieved from: <https://www.splcenter.org/20170427/100-days-trumps-america> Accessed on 6 Oct. 2019

with British intelligence officers to tap his phone during his election campaign. In addition to that, Donald Trump has also held close relationships with extremists; Ted Nugent-a racist rocker-who once suggested he might kill Barack Obama as well as Brigitte Gabriel-founder of anti-Muslim movement ACT for America, visited the White House. (Lenz, R. and Gunter, B. 2017)

II.c From the Extreme to the Mainstream: How Far-right political parties provide a legitimate/mainstream form of radicalization?

For Michael Minkenberg⁷⁶, only a few nationalists can be identified with right-wing extremists and he uses Lipset's term "extremism on the center" to describe how European far-right parties stand in the political spectrum and how either autonomous or by coalitions with other governments "have linked to the mainstream" and enter the parliaments. (Minkenberg, 2015, p.1)

Trump, Brexit and the right-wing parties discussed above despite their differences in terms of culture, history, power, political platforms, are similar in

⁷⁶Minkenberg, M. (2015). "Pattern, Process, Policies: Conceptualizing Radical Right Impact". Paper for ECPR General Conference. Panel P381 THE RADICAL RIGHT AND ITS IMPACT: PARTY COMPETITION AND POLICY EFFECTS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE. Europa Universität Viadrina Frankfurt . (p.1)

their appeal on voters. Their rise in the political arena is symptomatic of the same issue: they address to voters' grievances more effectively and efficiently than the mainstream politics do. The roots of grievances are economic insecurity, fear of losing national identity triggered by immigrant influx, EU membership, and globalization⁷⁷. (Girvin, 2018)

They address to voters' discontent by adopting and/or shaping a particular form of nationalism, "civic nationalism" in their discourse and programmatic theses. They distance themselves from nationalistic identity elements like race and blood and replace them instead with more commonly accepted values such as democracy, citizenship, respect of the law. This adoption enables parties to appear legitimate and more mainstream than extremists to a wider range of population concerns and also normalizes the alt-right narratives. That form of civic nationalism has two characteristics: a) culture is presented as having an ideological value rather than biological and is inextricable with democracy. For example, the exclusion of certain groups by political parties (like Muslims, Roma or immigrants) is justified not because these groups are different

⁷⁷ Girvin, B. (2018, 26 Jun.). "Brexit and the rise of right-wing populism in Europe: why and how nationalism matters". Online Article. Networks H-net. Retrieved from: <https://networks.h-net.org/node/3911/discussions/1971598/brexit-and-rise-right-wing-populism-europe-why-and-how> Accessed on 2 Oct. 2019

from us or threatening our national identity but because they are intolerant to our democratic values and constitute a danger to our society. In their rhetoric politicians, quite often, highlight and link immigrants with terrorism, especially Muslims to further persuade and mobilize voters about security and safety issues and b) economic welfare is presented as an important element of mutual support in between the state and citizens relationship. In parties' narratives welfare chauvinist has been replaced with the scarcity of collective goods or lack of resources whose nation's citizens are prioritized to reserve, thus immigrants should be excluded. This further allows politicians to mobilize voters by imposing them a fear of economic insecurity and/or instability. (ibid)

Daphne Halikiopoulou⁷⁸, as cited by Girvin, explains "civic nationalism does not shield from extremism; it makes our societies more vulnerable to extremism by disguising it." (ibid)

⁷⁸Dr Daphne Halikiopoulou (PhD LSE) is an Associate Professor in Comparative Politics at University of Reading. She has written extensively on radical nationalism, far-right parties and radical politics among others. Retrieved from <https://www.reading.ac.uk/spirs/about/staff/d-halikiopoulou.aspx> Accessed on 6 Oct. 2019

II.d Social Media Platforms

The appearance of the Internet has revolutionized modern communication. In 2000 Internet users have witnessed a dynamic transition from Web 1.0 tools to Web 2.0 and its potentials: a new form of a multidimensional two-way communication that enable users to interact, generate and share their own content. (Lindgren, 28-29). Web 2.0 can be defined as any form of interactive communication in the internet from e-mails and blogs to Social Network Sites (SNSs). As Towner (2012, p. 95-119) points out even though each SNSs platform has its own unique characteristics (for instance YouTube is a video sharing site, Facebook is a social networking site, Twitter is a microblogging site), they all have one common feature: they connect people who seek to generate and share their own content.

The "2019 Global Digital report" from We Are Social and Hootsuite reports that until January 2019 from the 7,6 billion of total population there are (see figure 15) ⁷⁹:

- 4,3 billion Internet users

⁷⁹ Compared to 2018 report: + 9,1% increase in Internet users, + 9% increase in social media users and + 2% increase in mobile users. From Digital Report 2019. (2019). Digital around the World. Retrieved from: <https://wearesocial.com/global-digital-report-2019> Accessed on 25 Jul. 2019

- 3,4 billion social media users
- 5.1 mobile phone users



Figure 15 Global Mobile, Internet and Social Media Usage 2019 Report
Source: we are social

From the politics perspective, the emergence and popularity of social media meant one thing: people were ready and political campaign strategists knew it. As an effect, politicians surrendered to social media's momentum and integrated it to their daily routines and strategic plans. Social media proved to be a cost-effective and time-efficient mean to disseminate politicized (or not) information, to interact with supporters and constituents, to mobilize voters and engage with followers.

Twitter

Twitter is a microblogging Social Network Site on which users can create public profiles that do not require bidirectional confirmation to connect. The posts are called "tweets", are typically consist of no more than 280 characters, and users retrieve and share real-time information. (Boyd & Ellison, 2007)

As a communication mean, Twitter enable users: a) to follow each other without permission and "follow back" request needed. In fact, once an account is generated and owner starts tweeting, those tweets will publicly reach hundreds or thousands of followers, b) to use Hashtags (#). Hashtags are the most visible and accessible phenomena of Twitter. Hashtags are used as markers to indicate the relevancy of a topic and to make it more visible and discoverable to other users and c) to directly reply (@reply) and mention specific users (@mention) regardless of whether s/he is connected to the sender. Twitter will notify the addressee for incoming messages and a conversation may begin between users. (Bruns & Moe, 2013). To that effect, Twitter is mainly an informative tool rather than an engaging one.

Statista reports that as of July 2019 Twitter has almost 330 million active users⁸⁰.

⁸⁰ Statista (2019, July). Most famous social network sites 2019, by active users. Retrieved from: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/> Accessed on 4 Oct. 2019

Twitter by numbers

According to Omnicore⁸¹ :

- There are 262 million International Twitter users (users outside the US) which make up 79% of all Twitter accounts.
- There are 68 million monthly active Twitter users in the US.
- The total number of Twitter users in the UK is 14.1 million.
- Roughly 42% of Twitter users are on the platform daily.
- 37% of Twitter users are 18-29 years old whereas 25% of users are 30-49 years old.

Twitter is amongst the most popular and used platforms and unsurprisingly has become the go-to medium for politicians and journalists.

Facebook

Facebook is a Social Network Site who allows users to create profiles to connect with friends, family and colleagues and share textual and visual posts (images, videos). The platform has some distinctive features: a) the Wall which is similar to a bulletin board on which messages can be left, b) the Photo album where users can upload their photos and videos, identify other users by "tagging" them and also receive comments for their content from their

⁸¹ Twitter (2019, 5 Sep.). "Twitter by the Numbers: Stats, Demographics & Fun Facts". Omnicore. Retrieved from: <https://www.omnicoreagency.com/twitter-statistics/> Accessed on 4 Oct. 2019

connections (which called "friends"), c) the Status Updates than enable users to write statements (regardless the length) to their friends, d) the Groups which enable users to either create or find members with similar interests, e) the Events which offers the opportunity to publicize relevant information about an event and invite guests and f) the Marketplace which enable users to post, read and responds to advertisements.⁸² (Rouse, n.d.)

According to Statista, as of July 2019, Facebook is the dominant and the most famous social media platform (in social media usage) with 2,3 billion active users.

Facebook by numbers

According to Omnicore⁸³ :

- 62% of online Seniors aged 65+ are on Facebook and 72% are aged 50-64.
- 88% of online users of age 18-29 are on Facebook
- 85% of Facebook's Daily Active Users come from Outside the US/Canada.

⁸² Rouse, M. n.d. "Facebook". Online Article. TechTarget. Retrieved from: <https://whatis.techtarget.com/definition/Facebook> Accessed on 4 Oct. 2019

⁸³ Facebook (2019, 5 Sep.). "Facebook by the Numbers: Stats, Demographics & Fun Facts". Omnicore. Retrieved from: <https://www.omnicoreagency.com/facebook-statistics/> Accessed on 4 Oct. 2019

- US has 190 million Facebook users.
- Europe has 385 million Facebook users.

YouTube

YouTube is video sharing Social Network platform on which users can create accounts to upload videos who anyone can watch, comment and share to others (by sending the corresponding URL link). YouTube was originally created for people to post and share original video content but its popularity and usage among viewers resulted in becoming an online library of various videos (movies, plays, video clips) and an effective marketing tool for companies to promote their products and services.

The term "viral" has been strongly associated with YouTube and refers to videos that viewers liked so much that they send its link to others to view it as well. As a domino effect the video spread like virus to reach millions of viewers⁸⁴. (O'Neill, n.d.)

YouTube is the second biggest and most visited platform in social media with 2 billion active viewers. (Statista, 2019)

⁸⁴ O'Neill, S. (n.d.). "What is YouTube" Online Article. Digital Unite. Retrieved from: <https://www.digitalunite.com/technology-guides/tv-video/youtube/what-youtube> Accessed on 4 Oct. 2019

YouTube by numbers

According to Omnicore⁸⁵ :

- 73% of US adults use YouTube.
- 80% of YouTube users come from outside the U.S.
- 62% of businesses use YouTube.
- 35+ and 55+ age groups are the fastest growing YouTube demographics.
- Millennials prefer YouTube over traditional television.
- 51% of YouTube users say they visit the site daily.
- 95% of global internet population watches YouTube.
- There are 50 million creators on YouTube.
- 1 billion hours of YouTube content is watched per day.

II.e Social Media and Digital Politics

Given the tremendous growth Social Media are increasingly used in political context both by citizens and political actors. From the politicians' perspective it is important to actively participate in an online political

⁸⁵ YouTube (2019, 5 Sep.). "YouTube by the Numbers: Stats, Demographics & Fun Facts". Omnicore. Retrieved from: <https://www.omnicoreagency.com/youtube-statistics/> Accessed on 4 Oct. 2019

communication since social media platforms represent the ideal medium to gauge public opinion as well as to build community support.

The adoption of social media as a vehicle in the political arena was merely due to Barack Obama who integrated and strategically used social network sites in his 2008 presidential campaign. Although, Barack Obama was not the first political actor that used information-based technology-in the past other candidates exploited information and communication technologies as well, like candidate Al Gore who in 2000 used his BlackBerry to instant communicate with his supporters and candidate Howard Dean who back in 2003 was the first that introduced the blog "DemocracyForAmerica.com"- however Obama's 2008 presidential campaign made Web 2.0 and social media a core of his strategy. (Cogburn, D & Espinoza-Vasquez, F. 189-213, 2011). A critical matter to the campaign was to personalize Obama and the campaign itself to the supporters and embrace them to use the same technologies so as to have a sense of "insider" in the campaign. Campaign staffers and strategists, used Facebook to organize, Twitter to send news and YouTube to communicate. These social media tools also allowed the campaign to successfully segment the supporters and sent them targeted messages. Another important aspect of the campaign was Obama own use of this technology. Obama, during the campaign, he constantly

used his BlackBerry and other social media platforms to keep informed about the campaign and motivate others. He was perceived as being "the fresh face of a tech-savvy". (ibid)

Some Digital Politics related studies include Stieglitz, Brockmann and Xuan 2-year survey (2010-2011), on "Usage of Social Media for Political Communication", in which they collected responses from 622 German parliament members and 200 individuals-internet users, questioning the relevance of social media and digital politics. They found that "most of the participants are familiar with social media, they acknowledge the relevance of social media and expect them to become even more important for political communication in the future; moreover, a large number of politicians reported that they are planning to use social media for political communication more intensively in the near future". (Stieglitz et al, 22)

In 2012, a study conducted by Yousif and Alsamydai, tested the "Impact of the Political Promotion via Facebook on Individuals' Political Orientations". One of the findings revealed that "Facebook users confirm the great impact of Facebook in disseminating the political promoting messages in the community and affecting political reality and political events". (Yousif and Alsamydai, 96).

Yang and Dehart had surveyed a total of 4,556 US college students, immediately after Election 2012, to investigate "What Social Media-related Psychological and Behavioral Factors Predicted their Online Political Participation". They concluded that "the political use of social media is a very strong predictor of their online political participation. Students' political self-efficacy and online social capital were also identified as two very important factors influencing their online political participation." (Yang and Dehart, 6-7).

In 2013, Bor's research seeks to understand how "Two Political Campaigns Employed Social Network Sites to Facilitate Campaign Communication in 2012 US Election". Researcher interviewed individuals from two electoral campaigns, who involved with social network site operations. Her research revealed that "political campaigners even though did not respond to citizens' questions or concerns, they did use the content received from citizens to assess the effectiveness and clarity of their communication efforts". Further, "social network sites functioned to support on-the-ground political activism as campaigns used these platforms to publicize community events and to recruit volunteers". (Bor, 1201-1203).

Hate Speech and Banning on Social Media

Social Media along with a majority of Monitoring services (like TellMAMA in UK) designated to fight online hatred are implementing technologies (geographically-based) to identify user's IP address and location and restrict their access. On Facebook's community standards, on Twitter's terms of services, on YouTube's hate speech policy, users can submit a Report for hateful content which can result in a permanent ban. Banning extremists and radicals right from platforms is unquestionably an effective method to minimize the amount of exposure of individuals to this rhetoric. (Hate Meter, 2018, p. 59-60)⁸⁶

However, banning extremists and radicals has raised concerns if it is also an efficient approach, since a) it cannot guarantee that they will stop hatred speech, b) banning them from one platform can lead in finding alternative platforms to disseminate their beliefs and c) it offers them the opportunity to exploit legitimate arguments like the "the freedom of speech", "media bias" and "political correctness".

⁸⁶ Hate Meter (2018). "Guidelines on the socio-technical requirements of the HATEMETER platform". funded by the European Union's Rights, Equality and Citizenship Programme (2014-2020) (p. 59-60)

III. Research Design and Methodology

The thesis is designed to analyze how right-wing politicians make use of Social Media platforms to facilitate extremist discourse online, and in particular identify and evaluate the degree of posts' interaction, frequency, originality, content theme and platform dominance among Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube.

An interest to understand how right-wing parties appeal more mainstream to voters was the trigger factor to conduct this study.

Primary data collected through systematic observation of Tweet feeds, Facebook posts and YouTube videos from twenty-eight (28) US and UK right-wing politicians.

Research Method

Content Analysis is the appropriate research method to conduct the study due to its efficiency to investigate and describe the content of a media, make inferences to the content producers and predict the effect on audiences. Content analysis is also, an effective procedure to gather data through systematic and objective examination and by spelling out the parameters and guidelines of the investigation can be accurately replicated hence, can be advantageous in conducting a pilot study. (Wimmer & Dominick, 163-174)

Content Analysis: The steps of the process

Research Questions

This study aims to answer the following Research Questions:

RQ₁ : Which is the most dominant SNS medium that politicians use?

RQ₂ : What is the degree of interaction that politicians have on SNS platforms (by counting number of likes, comments and shares)?

RQ₃. What is the frequency of SNS posts (by counting posts on a daily basis)?

RQ₄. Is the content produced from the original author or reproduced (i.e retweet, share by other)?

RQ₅. Which are the most dominant themes that politicians are most likely to discuss on SNS?

1. Universe

This study considers the Twitter, Facebook and YouTube accounts from seven (7) US Republican Senators, seven (7) US Republican Congressmen, seven (7) UK Conservatives Members of the Parliament and seven (7) Conservatives

and Brexit Party Members of the European Parliament from 10-16 September 2018, 10-16 December 2018, 11-17 March 2019 and 10-16 June 2019.

Selection of Politicians

Based on the academic nature, the objectives and the focus of the study to investigate and collect exploratory data to understand the phenomenon of right-wing politicians discourse online, a non-probability homogeneous purposive sample of 28 right-wing US and UK Politicians was selected. (Wimmer & Dominick, p. 92-95). (For Politicians' Political Stances, SNS Accounts and number of followers, see Appendix 2, p 157).

The 28 Politicians both Male and Female were selected based on geographic criteria with the purpose to cover as many-US and UK constituencies from the predefined number of samples-as possible.

Moreover, Politicians should also be analogous and equal in terms of legitimate power so as to be accurately investigated and analyzed. Based on that criterion, the 28 Politicians are Parliament members.

The homogenous sample should further share the following three (3) characteristics in order to be included in the research:

- 1) Be currently elected (at least until June 2019)

2) Be members of a right-wing party (Republicans, Conservatives and Brexit Party).

3) Be active in Social Network Sites (at least in two (2) platforms).

Thus, seven (7) US Senator selected from the total of fifty-one (51) Republican Senators (P=51), seven (7) US Congressmen selected from the total of two hundred six (P=236) US Republican Congressmen, seven (7) UK PMs selected from the total of two hundred eighty eight Conservative PMs (P=288) and seven (7) UK MEPs selected from the total of thirty-three (33) UK Conservatives and Brexit Party MEPs. (see table 1).

The sample configured as follows:

Political Party & Position	Republican Senators¹	Republican Congressmen¹	Conservative MPs¹	Conservative & Brexit Party MEPs¹
Population	51	236	288	33
Sample	7	7	7	7

Table 1 Politicians Selection

Selection of Dates and Investigation Period

Researcher, investigated the 28 politicians' Twitter, Facebook and YouTube accounts for a period of four (4) weeks in total within a year based on seasonality criteria so as to maintain a time-uniformity and progressively examine whether the content in those specific dates is consistent, if frequency of posts, tweets and videos by the producers has altered (increased or decreased), if content is also equally dispersed and shared among the platforms and lastly identify what is the tendency and contents' main themes over time.

Specifically, the second (2nd) week (from Monday to Sunday) of the first (1st) beginning month of each season was selected for analysis:

1. Monday, 10 September 2018 to Sunday, 16 September 2018 (Fall Period).
2. Monday, 10 December 2018 to Sunday, 16 December 2018 (Winter Period).
3. Monday, 11 March 2019 to Sunday, 17 March 2019 (Spring Period).
4. Monday, 10 June 2019 to Sunday, 16 June 2019 (Summer Period).

Selection of Countries

The selection of United States and United Kingdom derived from the need to understand and examine why these two countries have suffered from countless terrorists' and extremists' attacks. According to Global Terrorism

Database⁸⁷, in UK⁸⁸ 5.235 terrorist incidents have been listed since 1970 from perpetrator groups like Al-Qaida and Jihadi-inspired extremists, Irish Republican Army (IRA), Non-state Militias like Red Hand Defenders and various extremists' groups like Protestant Extremists, Animal Rights Extremists and radical right-wing parties. that targeted noncombatants.

United States⁸⁹ suffered 2.836 attacks since 1970 from Al-Qaida and its affiliates and extremists' groups such as Anti-LGBT, Anti-Abortion extremists, white extremists, neo-Nazi extremists, right-wing extremists, Muslim extremists.

These two English-language countries were also selected based on practicality issues on behalf of the researcher.

⁸⁷The Global Terrorism Database (GTD) is an open-source database including information on terrorist events around the world from 1970 through 2017. GTD collects systematically data on both domestic and international terrorist incidents that have occurred during this time period and now includes more than 180,000 cases. Available at: <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/> . [Accessed on 24 Sep. 2019]

⁸⁸ UK terrorists' incidents since 1970. Available at: https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?page=9&casualties_type=b&casualties_max=&dtp2=all&country=603®ion=8&count=100&expanded=yes&charttype=line&chart=overtime&ob=GTDID&od=desc#results-table [Accessed on 24 Sep. 2019]

⁸⁹US terrorists' incidents since 1970. Available at: https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?expanded=no&casualties_type=b&casualties_max=&dtp2=all&success=yes&country=217&ob=GTDID&od=desc&page=142&count=20#results-table. [Accessed on 24 Sep. 2019]

2. Sample

Sample are the Tweet feeds, Facebook posts and YouTube videos from the 28 politicians within the determined four (4) weeks investigation period.

During these weeks of observation, a sample of 1.696 tweets (n=1.696), 686 posts (n=686) and 73 videos (n=73) or 2.454 altogether, were examined and coded.

3. Unit of Analysis

Unit of Analysis is 28 politicians' (1,696) individual tweets, (686) Facebook individual posts and (73) YouTube individual videos.

4. Content Categories

Emergent coding was established after a preliminary examination of the data. The resulting category system was constructed based on common factors or themes that emerge from the data themselves clustered into 30 major categories mutually exclusive, exhaustive and reliable.

5. Quantification System

Data measurement is quantified by the frequency of occurrence of the units in each category at a nominal level and analyzed with corresponding percentages accordingly.

6. Coding

Coding was done by the investigator, so no coder instruction sheet was needed. A standardized sheet was created as a basis to ease coding and SPSS⁹⁰ used in the data-tabulation phase and in the actual coding process. To that effect, 2.454 standardized coding sheets tabulated. (For the Coding Sheet Schedule see Appendix 3, p. 167)

IV. Research Findings

Descriptive statistics allow researchers to understand how to describe the frequency of values, the central tendency and/or the dispersion of values. In that context, frequency distributions are commonly used to analyze categorical variables (nominal and/or ordinal) and to determine how frequently a value is represented. (Allen et al, p. 18).

IV.a. RQ₁ Which is the most dominant SNS medium that politicians use?

Data findings indicate that Twitter is the most preferred channel for politicians to communicate.

⁹⁰ SPSS software for statistical analysis developed by IBM

We observe that out of 2454 sample posts there are 1.696 Tweets (69,1%) whereas Facebook posts are 685 (27,9%) and YouTube videos are 73 (3%). (See table 2 and 3).

Findings Justification

Undoubtably, both Americans and British politicians have integrated Twitter in their political agendas and daily routine to interact with their followers, share their thoughts and disseminate politicized information and news with their constituents and potential voters.

The dominance of Twitter in the political sphere is an effect of multiple factors: a) proximity and fast-paced nature of the platform enable users to primarily state, retweet (comment) and share real-time information and news about trending topics and major events, b) Twitter is an efficient research tool, mainly used by journalists and professionals to share relevant content c) it provides the opportunity to users and political actors to bypass gatekeepers and traditional media filters, thus they have higher degree of control of the message they want to convey d) in Twitter, unlike any other social network sites that emphasize on privacy issues (like Facebook), users can create public profiles that do not require bidirectional confirmation to connect and enhances anonymity,

e) in United States 2016 Elections, candidates like President Donald Trump and Hilary Clinton, have used Twitter exceedingly to interact with supporters and attract potential voters, inform about rallies and grassroots efforts, push their political agenda and stances and respond (tweet), or even attack directly to each other. The potentials and popularity of the platform transformed Twitter into the "Go-To" medium for politicians and political debates.

As John Parmelee points out, quoted by Gaby Hinsliff in Guardian, "Twitter can set the agenda for what journalists are covering [...] is basically used by politicians to influence other influencers. It's a very small universe of people, but it's people who can move an agenda. It's like the practice of lobbying".⁹¹ (2016, Guardian "Trash Talk").

If Twitter is effective tool for political actors to spread quick and real-time information and create awareness then Facebook is effective in building relationships and increase engagement with their connections.

Facebook primarily purpose is to connect with friends, colleagues and relatives and share within an unlimited space any form of content (textual and visual). Facebook, unlike Twitter which is limited to 280 characters, is

⁹¹Hinsliff, Gaby. (2016, July 16). Trash talk: how Twitter is shaping the new politics. Retrieved from: <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/jul/31/trash-talk-how-twitter-is-shaping-the-new-politics> Accessed on 10 Sep. 2019

advantageous to elaborate on messages, has a longer lifespan of Facebook posts and enhance personal immediacy. To this extent, Facebook, facilitates political actors to further develop their statements, allows them to elaborate on politicized information, offers them the opportunity due to higher degree of freedom, to share a look-behind-the-scenes with their connections (Facebook friends) and ultimately engage with their supporters and like-minded individuals.

YouTube is an innovative tool and as of this writing it is the 2nd biggest social media platform with 2 billion active users.

Barack Obama, in his 2008' presidential elections, incorporated YouTube to his campaign, in fact he announced his candidacy through a YouTube video. (Cogburn & Espinoza, 2011). After that, campaign strategists and political actors benefited from YouTube advantages to be socially present. YouTube allows political actors to be more authentic, genuine and gain credibility when they live record a speech or a hearing.

However, this is not the case for the Politicians selected to this study. Out of 28 Politicians, only 10 and solely US Senators and Congressmen use YouTube to upload and share video content with their subscribers. None of the UK MP's and MEP's have accounts on YouTube with exception UK MEP Nigel Farage who maintains an account but still the content is not updated.

US Senators and Congressmen presumably use YouTube-though not frequent enough -to maintain a "social media presence and consistency" and to cross-refer followers from other platforms to YouTube so as to watch videos from their speeches in details, often accompanied with a Call-To-Action statement "Watch here" .

SOCIAL_MEDIA_PLATFORM

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	TWITTER	1696	69.1	69.1	69.1
	FACEBOOK	685	27.9	27.9	97.0
	YOUTUBE	73	3.0	3.0	100.0
	Total	2454	100.0	100.0	

Table 2 Social Media Platform: Frequency and Percentages.

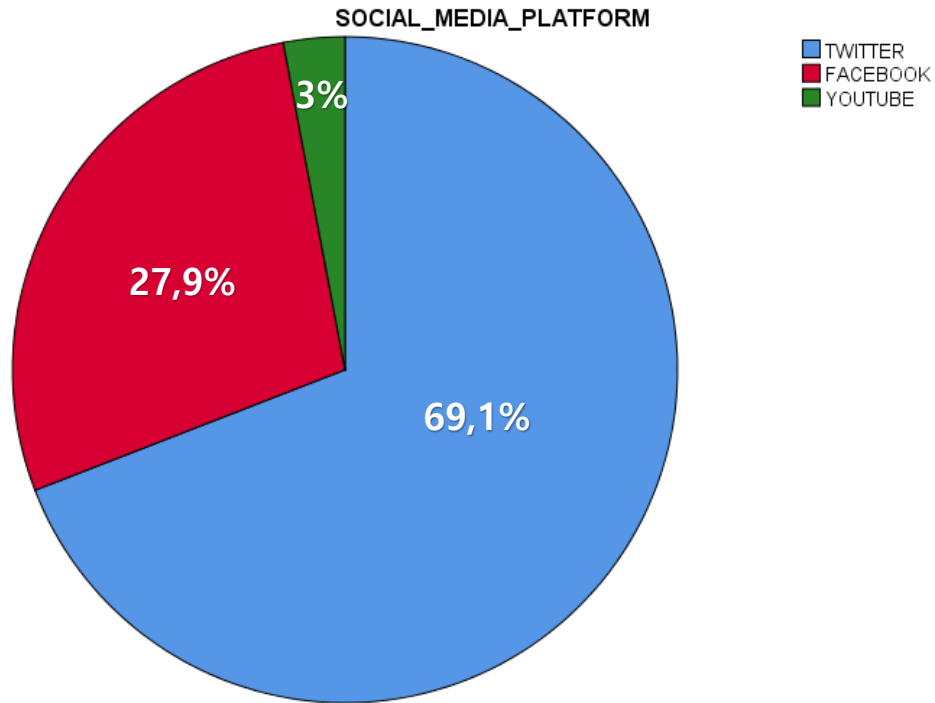


Table 3 Social Media Pie Chart.

Data findings can be further supported by simply breakdown Politicians' posts per platform. (see Tables 4-7).

Noticeably, 26 out of 28 Politicians' tweets outbalance Facebook posts and broadcast. In fact, we observe that in some extreme cases like the Senators Tom Cotton and Marco Rubio as well as MEP's Claire Fox and Janice Atkinson their Facebook posts in absolute numbers are almost the 1/10 of their tweets.

Politician	# of Tweets	# of FB posts	# of videos
1.Ted Cruz	76	12	17
2.Tom Cotton	81	3	None
3.Dan Sullivan	31	33	8
4.Marco Rubio	146	10	14
5.Todd Young	74	36	6
6.Rand Paul	48	35	5
7.Joni Ernst	75	59	8

Table 4 US Senators SNS Activity/Posting Breakdown per Platform

Politician	# of Tweets	# of FB posts	# of videos
8.Debbie Lesko	56	40	1
9.Andy Barr	23	19	None on the determined dates
10.Clay Higgins	13	12	Error on Page
11.Mark Walker	56	37	7
12.Jim Banks	100	23	None on the determined dates
13.Davis Rodney	64	47	5
14.Jason Smith	30	27	2

Table 5 US Congressmen SNS Activity/Posting Breakdown per Platform

Politician	# of Tweets	# of FB posts	# of videos
15.David Barclay	9	10	None
16.Ross Thompson	71	48	None
17.John Glen	30	13	None
18.Paul Masterton	41	24	None
19.Neil O'Brien	74	18	None
20.Robert Courts	32	31	None
21.Sarah Newton	14	11	None

Table 6 UK MP's SNS Activity/Posting Breakdown per Platform

Politician	# of Tweets	# of FB posts	# of videos
22.Daniel Hannan	29	11	None
23.Janice Atkinson	145	20	None
24.Jonathan Arnott	81	17	None
25.Nathan Gill	80	57	None
26.Anthea McIntyre	6	2	None
27.Claire Fox	140	6	None
28.Nigel Farage	71	24	Not updated
TOTAL	1696	685	73

Table 7 UK MEP's SNS Activity/Posting Breakdown per Platform

IV.b. RQ₂ What is the degree of interaction that politicians have on SNS platforms?

The degree of interaction is determined by counting the number of shares, likes and comments for every politician YouTube video, Facebook post and Tweet and additionally count the number of views and dislikes for YouTube videos.

A preliminary investigation of all 28 political actors' reactions to their produced content, set the basis to categorize and group accordingly the number of likes, comments and shares for each platform.

In general, in all three (3) social media platforms the most frequently occurred variable is the category 1-50 of reactions⁹² followed by 51-100 and 101-200 reactions.

The significant low range of interactions (1-200 in total) to tweets, posts and videos is an effect of four (4) factors: a) is positively correlated with the Politicians selection in terms of readability and influence among the audience, b) is dependable upon the number of followers, friends and subscribers each

⁹² Reactions include likes, retweets, shares, views and dislikes for all 3 platforms by the audience.

political actor has on his/her platform, c) is related to their Political position (the seat they hold in their political parties) and d) is a conjunction with the authors' produced content.

Empirical evidence showed that when politicians discuss about trending topics like Brexit or Immigrants and Security Policies, it is expected to observe an increase in the number of reactions (irrelevantly it is a tweet or a post). On the contrary, when a politician informs his/her followers and Facebook friends about forthcoming visits or meetings, the number of interactions decreases exponentially.

For example, US President Donald Trump is expected to raise thousands of reactions to his posts due to his popularity, the high number of followers he has on his SNS platforms and his political position.

It is worth noting that the extreme cases of outliers presented in the variable categories 5.000 reactions to 18.000 are observed in the cases of UK MEP Nigel Farage, US Senator Ted Cruz and US Senator Marco Rubio due to their millions of followers and radical rhetoric.

Although, the data indicate a low level of interaction (1-200) it is important to mention that this is not an indicator of likeability and interaction.

To substantially estimate whether this amount is sufficient or not, representative or not further research on comparison with other Politicians' accounts should be made.

Platforms' Analysis of Findings

- **TWITTER**

Variable occurrence in Twitter category "Likes" predominantly ranges between 1-50 (993 or 40,5%). The second category of likes is range between 101-200 (102 or 4,2%) and third category is between 51-100 (101 or 4,1%). Remaining values are spread between 201-50.000. (see table 8)

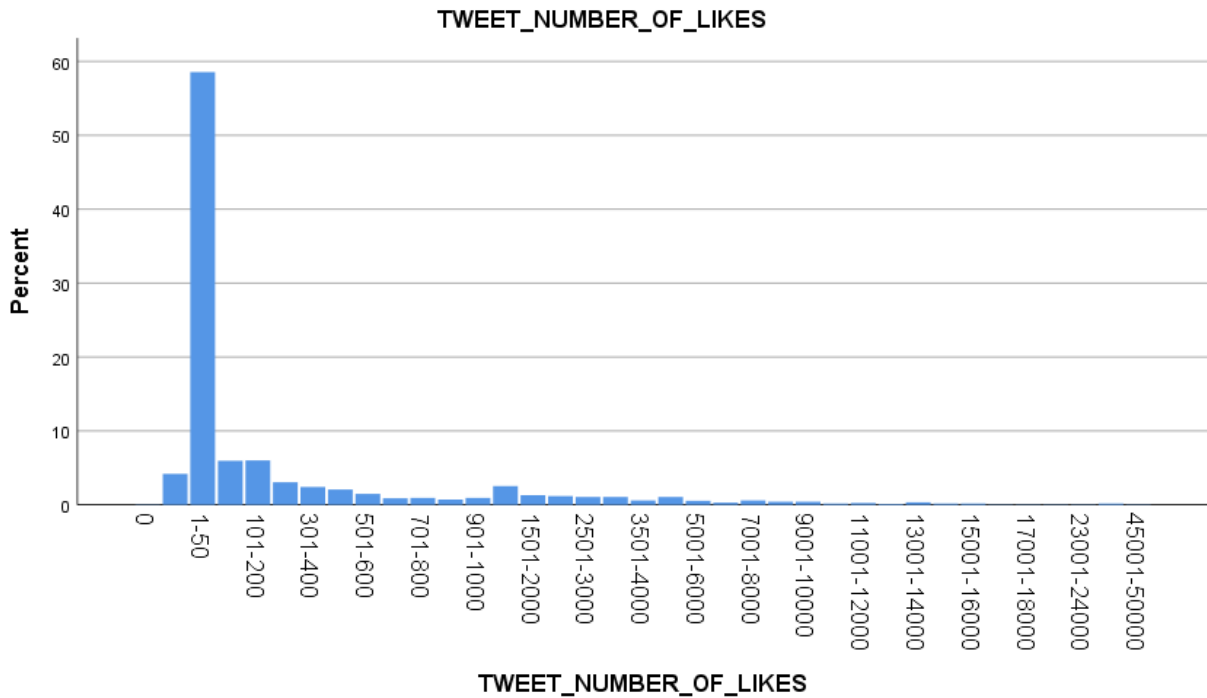


Table 8 Tweet Number of Likes

In variable category "Retweets" it is observed that the dominant category is "1-50" retweets (976 or 39,8%), the second category is "0" that is none of the produced tweets were retweeted (265 or 10,8%) and third category is "51-100" (91 or 3,7%). Remaining categories in number of retweets vary from 101 to almost 3.500 retweets. (see Table 9).

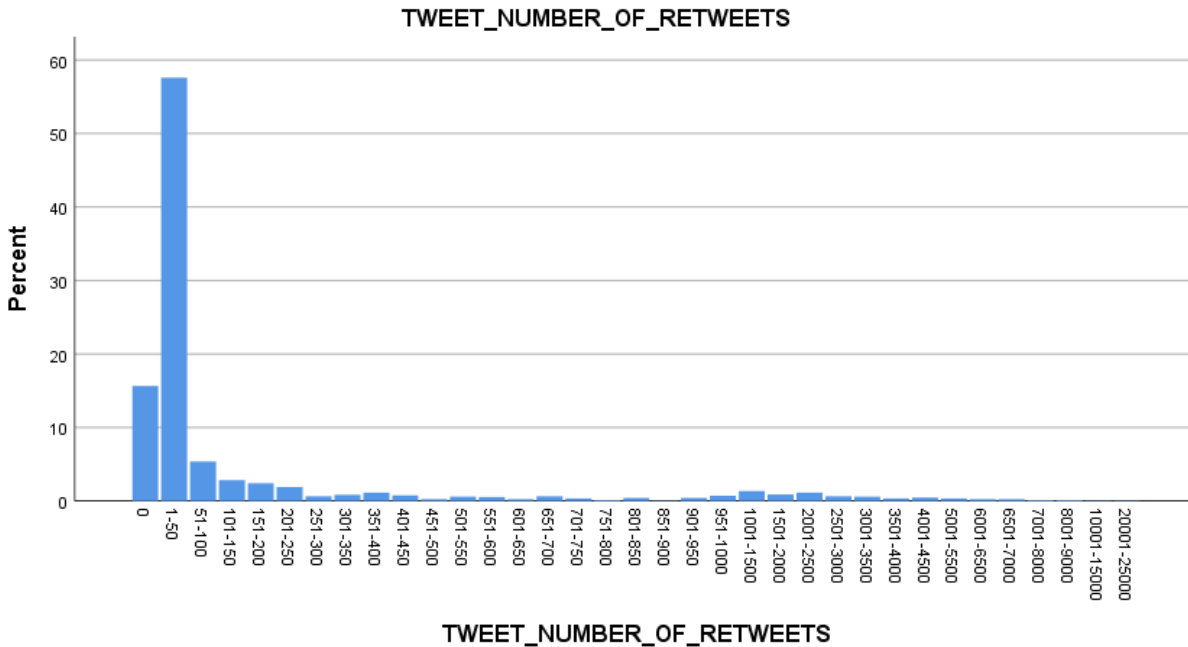


Table 9 Tweet Number of Retweets

In variable category "Comments", data findings indicate that the most frequent value is "1-50" comments (1.080 or 44%), the second category is "0" which again means that none of the audience comment on the tweet (233 or 9.5%) and third category is "51-100" (90 or 3,7%). (See table 10).

Empirical evidence and investigation can justify the significant low percentages in comments in terms of proximity, time dedication, simplicity and commitment of the audience. It is easier and quicker for an internet user to just click a like and/or retweet to a post that is significant to his/her interest, but it is time-consuming and demands high level of engagement to write a comment,

especially in the cases of passive audiences who are primarily information consumers.

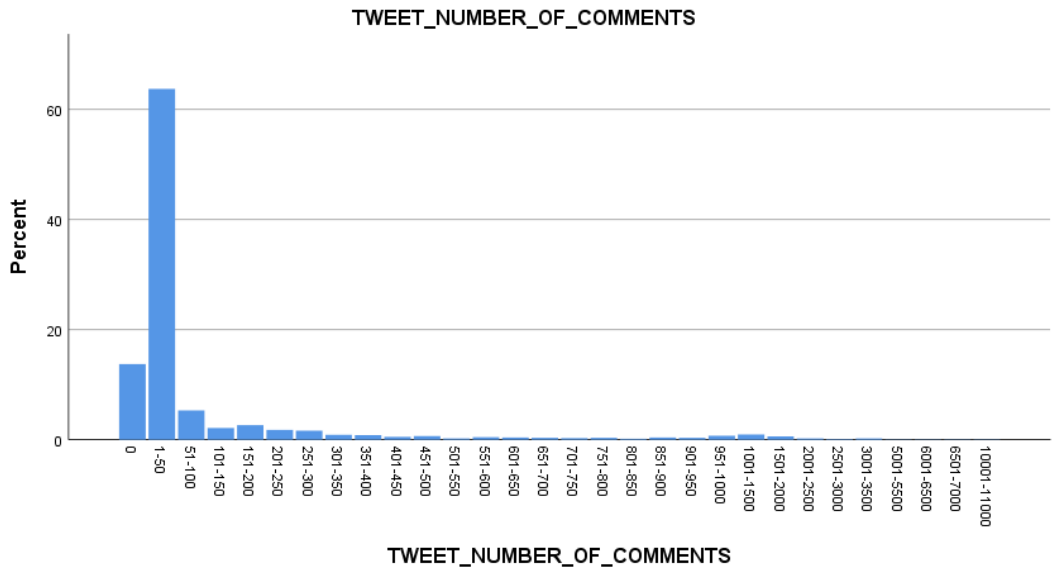


Table 10 Tweet Number of Comments

○ **FACEBOOK**

On Facebook the vast majority of “Likes” variable occurs in the category “1-50” (257 or 36%). The second category of likes is “51-100” which is 112 or 18% and third category is between 101-200 (105 or 17%). Remaining values are spread between 201-18.000. (See table 11)

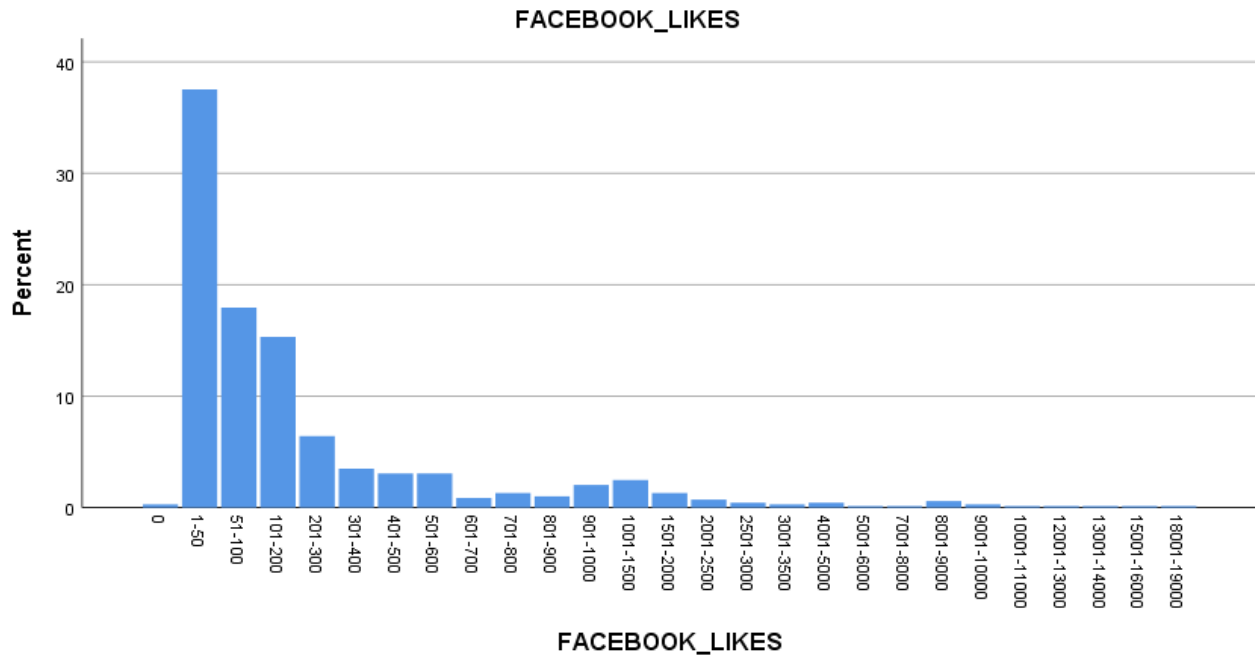


Table 11 Facebook number of likes

The most frequent variable in Facebook “Comments” is the category “1-50” (363 or 52%). The second biggest category of comments is “51-100” (60 or 14%) and third category is “101-150” (60 or 9%). Remaining values are range between 201 to 9.500. (See table 12)

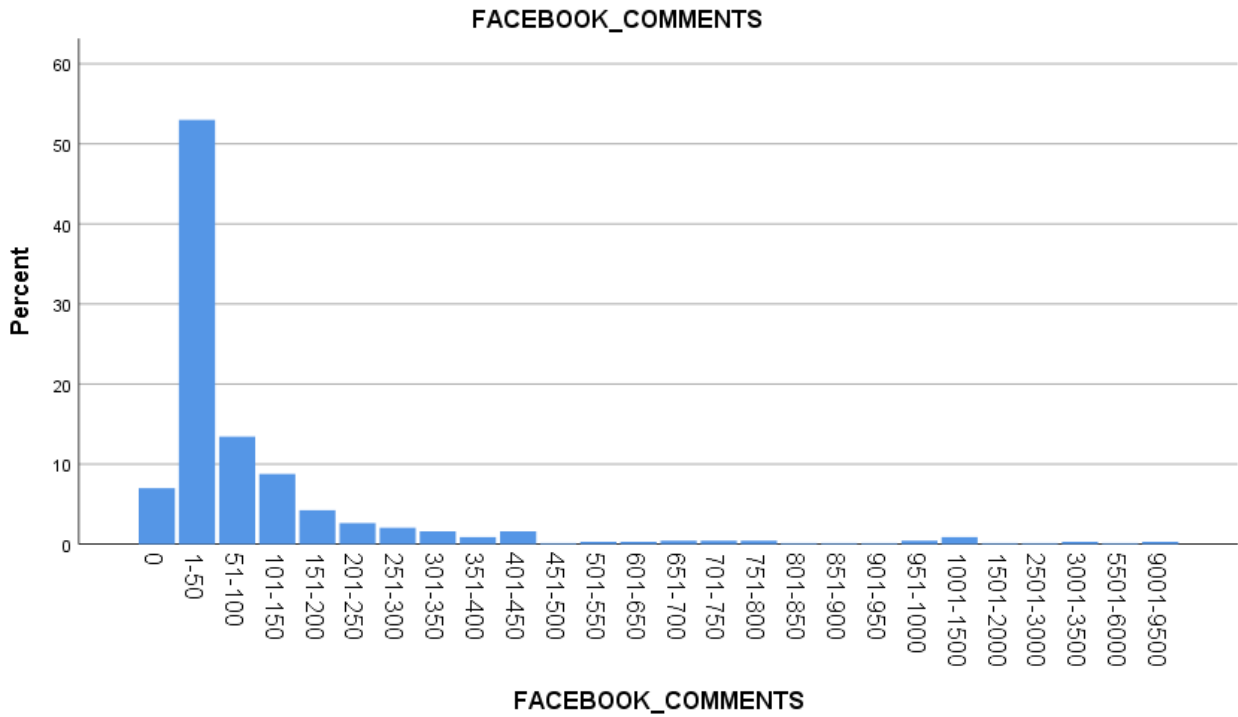


Table 12 Facebook number of comments

Lastly, in variable Facebook "Shares" the data indicate that the dominant category is "51-100" shares (465 or 67%). Second category is 0 shares (none of the audience shared the post) which is 65 or 9% and third category is "51-100

(50 or 8%). Remaining categories of shares are spread between 101 to 9,000.

(See table 13)

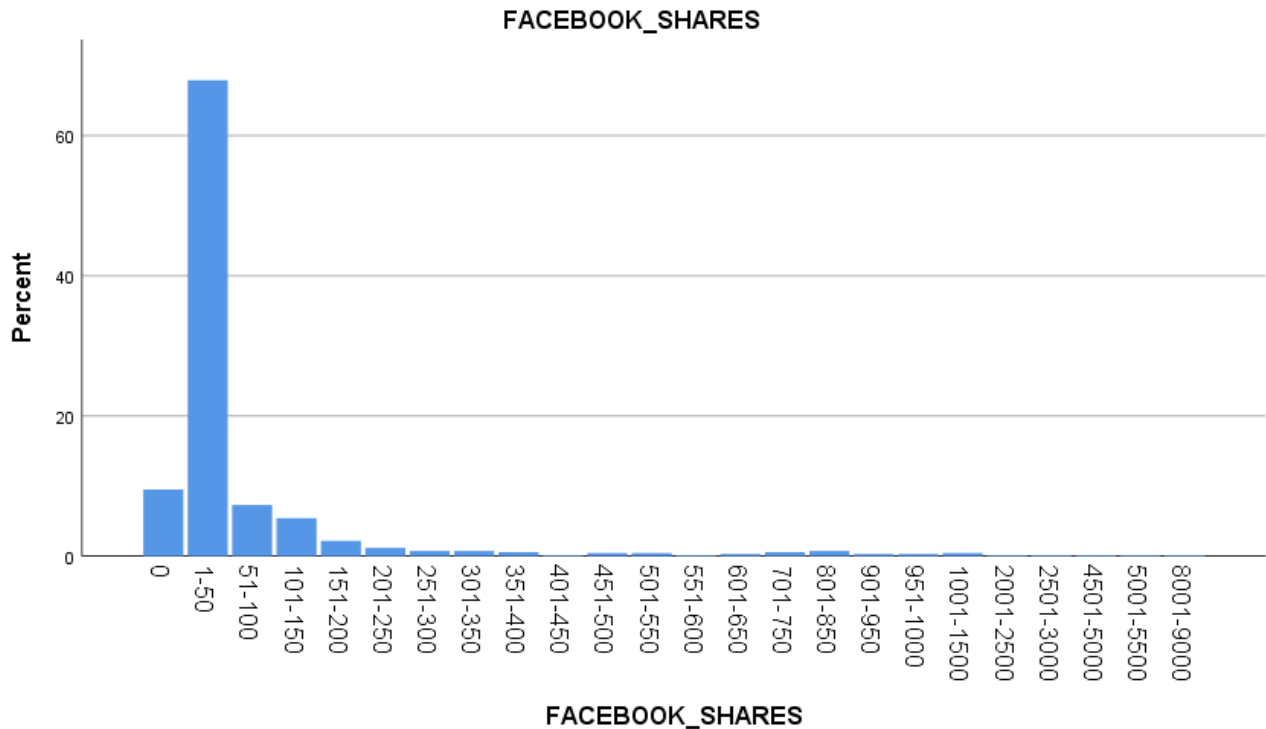


Table 13 Facebook number of shares

- **YOUTUBE**

YouTube has become for video-watching what Google has become for search. YouTube is a novel medium with millions of users watching videos daily.

Research findings, however, estimate that is not the case for the selected Politicians. Study measure 73 videos for YouTube and out of the 28 Politicians investigated only 10 and solely the US Senators and Congressmen use YouTube

to upload videos, the content of which are bits from their speeches, hearings and events. The significant low number of broadcasts indicates that US Politicians use YouTube as a supplementary mean to maintain a social media platform presence and consistency and to cross-refer users from Facebook and Twitter to watch their content with a Call-To-Action statement "Watch Now". In YouTube the most frequent value is "1-50" likes (50 or 68,5%) . Second variable is "0" (none of the viewers click the like button) which is 17 or 23,3%. The remaining 9,2% ranges between 51-300 likes. (See table 14)

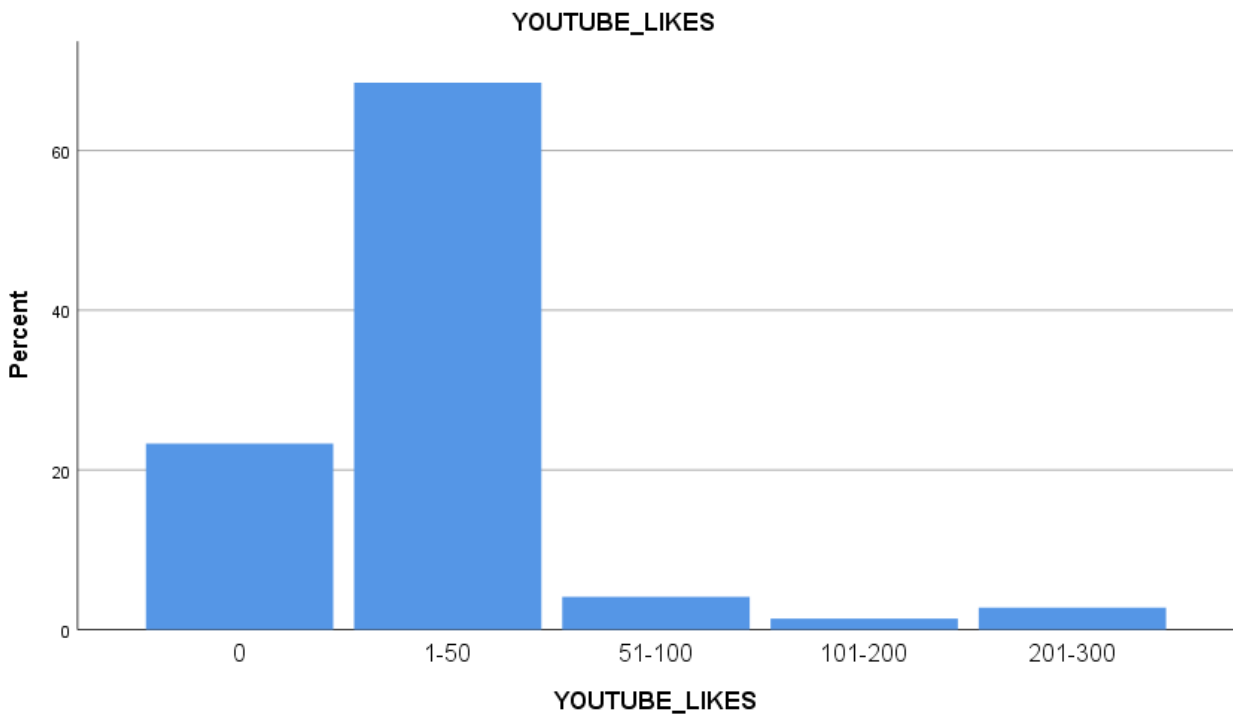


Table 14 YouTube number of likes

On YouTube "Comments" category the most occurred variable is "0" that is none of the viewers made any kind of comment in the video (43 or 58,9%). Second biggest category is "1-50" (27 or 37%). Remaining 14,1% is range between 51-450 comments. (See table 15)

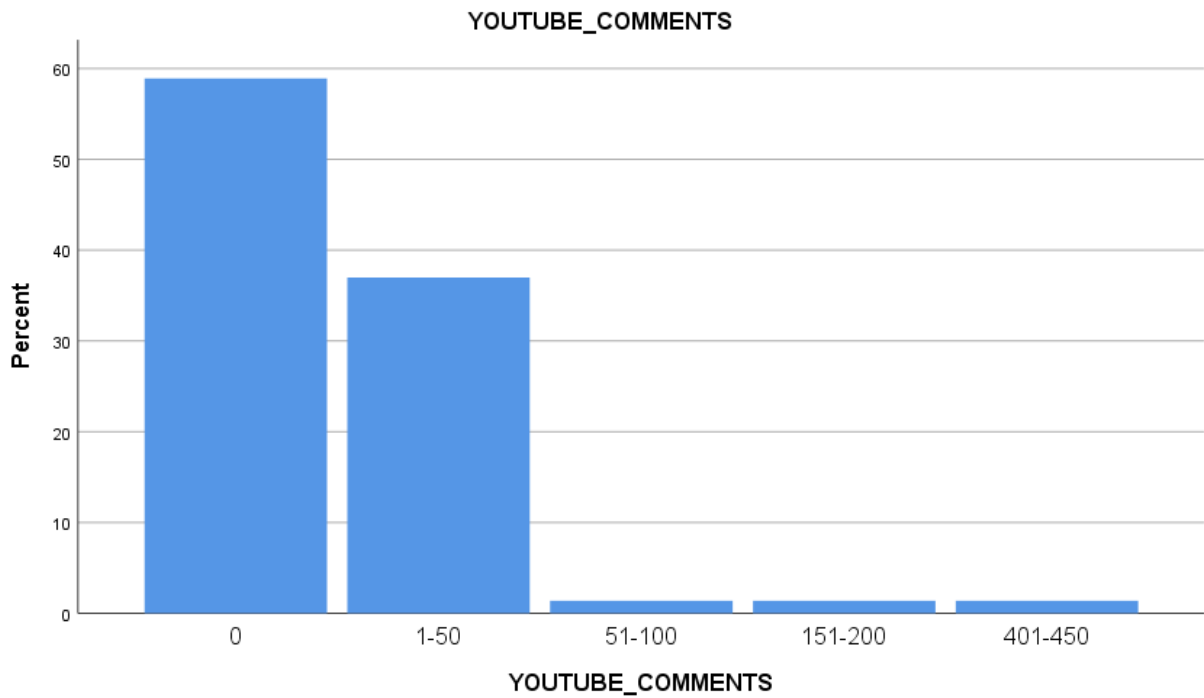


Table 15 YouTube number of comments

YouTube counts views in terms of legitimacy (whether the views are coming from humans or bots) and within a significant and predefined time limit (usually is at least 30 seconds) for a unique view to be recorded.

On the YouTube "Views" category, the most frequent variable occurred in the "1-50" views (18 or 24,7%). Second frequent value is range between "51-100" which is 12 or 16,4%. Third is "201-300" views (10 or 13,7%) and fourth is "301-400" (8 or 11%). The remaining 34,2% out of the total is divided into smaller percentages with views ranging from 410 to 13.000. (See table 16)

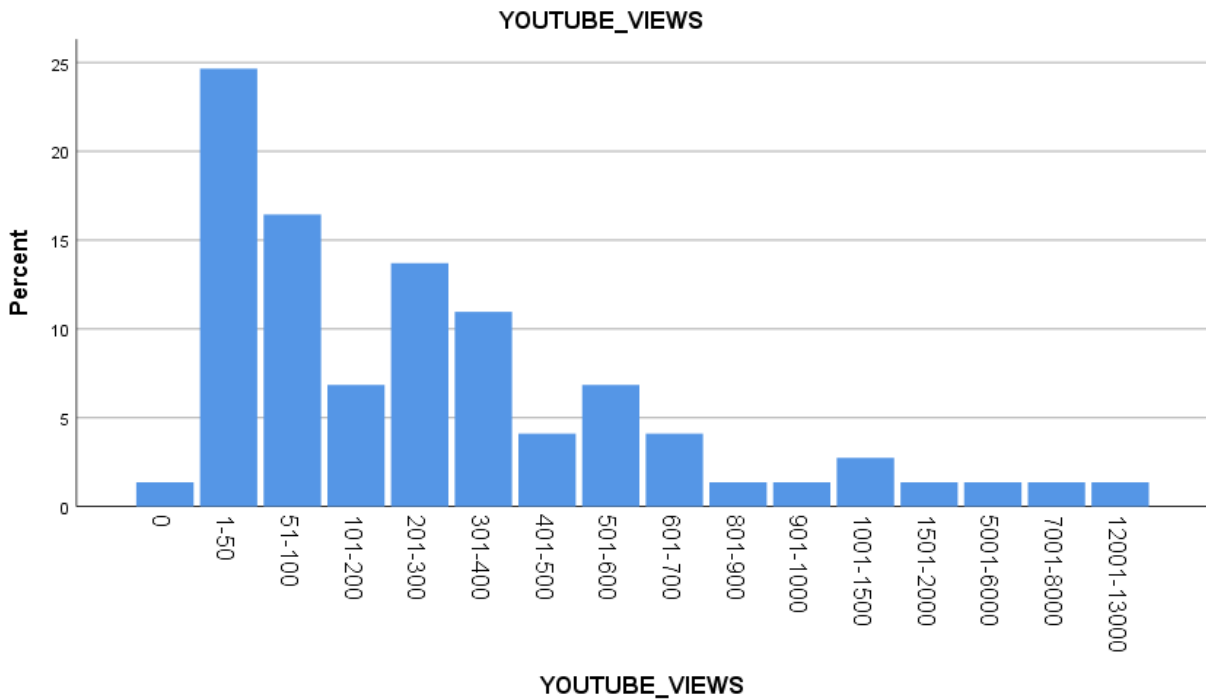


Table 16 YouTube number of views

YouTube, unlike Facebook and Twitter, has added to its options the Dislike button. On YouTube "Dislikes", measurement show that "0" category (that is none of the viewers did not click on dislike option) is most frequent 69,9% whereas the "1-50" views occurred 20 times or 24,7% percentage wise. The remaining 34,2% is range between 51-200. (See table 17)

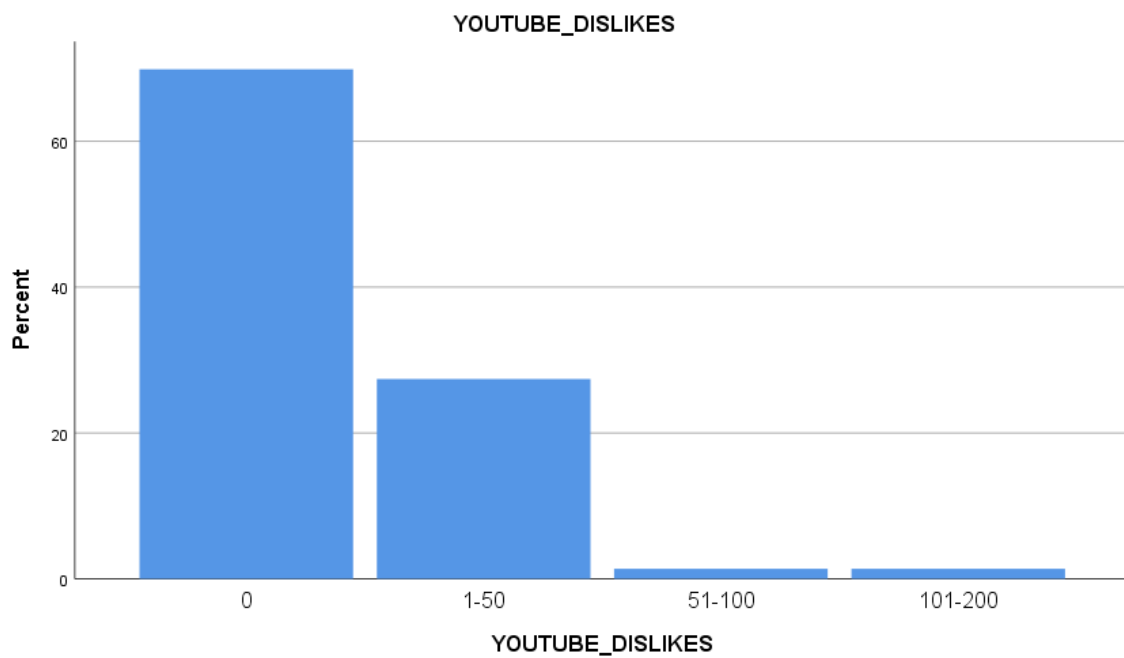


Table 17 YouTube number of dislikes

IV.c. RQ₃ What is the frequency of SNS posts (by counting posts on a daily basis)?

The frequency of posts on Twitter, Facebook and YouTube is almost equally dispersed percentage-wise in every day of the four (4) weeks examined.

Despite the fact that Internet usage has no time constraints and content is always on and available on the Internet, data findings show that politicians do engage in social media platforms and post their content mainly during weekdays, activity is slightly decreased on Saturdays and is significant less on Sundays. March 2019 is the month that concentrated the highest number of posts. (See Table 18).

More analytically for the total four (4) weeks measured we observe:

- **Fall period 10-16 September 2018 (Monday to Sunday)**

Out of the total 2.454 data recorded, highest frequency in post activity and in descending order occurs on:

1. Wednesday, 12/09 counted 116 posts in total (4,7%)
2. Tuesday, 11/09 counted 107 posts (4,4%)
3. Thursday, 13/09 counted 105 posts (4,3%)

4. Friday, 14/9 counted 90 posts (3,7%)
5. Monday, 10/09 counted 75 posts (3,1%)
6. Saturday, 15/09 counted 49 posts (2%)
7. Sunday, 16/9 14 posts (0.6%)

Total number of posts: 556 (cumulative percent 22,7%)

- **Winter period 10-16 December 2018 (Monday to Sunday)**

Highest frequency in post activity and in descending order is observed on:

1. Friday, 14/12 with 131 posts in total (5,3%)
2. Wednesday, 12/12 with 120 posts (4,9%)
3. Tuesday, 11/12 with 100 posts (4,1%)
4. Thursday, 13/12 with 86 posts (3,5%)
5. Monday, 10/12 with 52 posts (2,1%)
6. Saturday, 15/12 with 46 posts (1,9%)
7. Sunday, 16/12 with 9 posts (0.4%)

Total number of posts: 544 (cumulative percent 22,2%)

- **Spring period 11-17 March 2019 (Monday to Sunday)**

Highest frequency in post activity and in descending order is observed on:

1. Thursday, 14/03 recorded 163 posts in total (6,6%)
2. Wednesday, 13/03 recorded 162 posts (6,6%)
3. Tuesday, 12/03 recorded 125 posts (5,1%)
4. Friday, 15/03 recorded 123 posts (5%)
5. Monday, 11/03 recorded 65 posts (2,6%)
6. Saturday, 16/03 recorded 51 posts (2,1%)
7. Sunday, 17/03 recorded 13 posts (0,5%)

Total number of posts: 702 (cumulative percent 28,5%)

○ **Summer period 10-16 June 2019 (Monday to Sunday)**

Increased frequency in post activity and in descending order is observed on:

1. Wednesday, 12/06 recorded 139 posts in total (5,7%)
2. Thursday, 13/06 recorded 138 posts (5,6%)
3. Friday, 14/03 recorded 106 posts (4,3%)
4. Tuesday, 11/06 recorded 89 posts (3,6%)
5. Monday, 10/06 recorded 73 posts (3%)
6. Saturday, 15/06 recorded 72 posts (2,9%)
7. Sunday, 16/06 recorded 35 posts (1,4%)

Total number of posts: 652 (cumulative percent 26,5%)

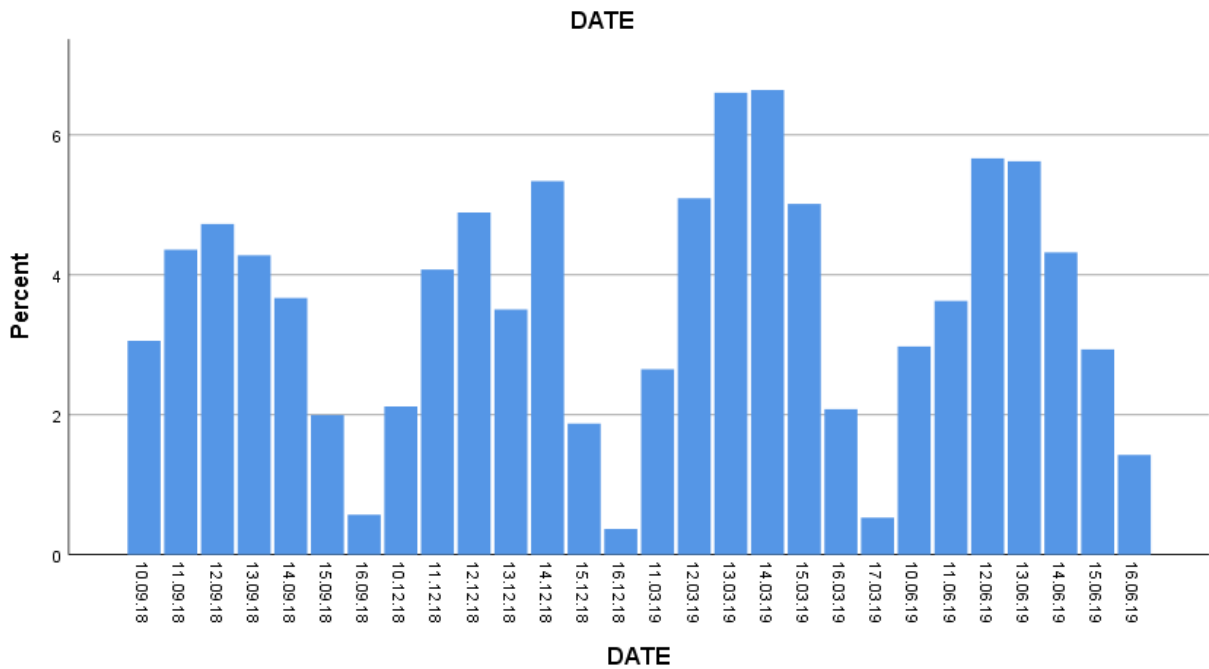


Table 18 Days Evaluation

To have a complete picture of what politicians were likely to discuss those dates, a crosstabulation of content category and dates would be advantageous (For Category and Dates Crosstabulation see appendix 4, Table 30 p.177)

Data findings indicate that "Politics" as a general theme occurs more often (1.442 posts out of 2.464 in total).

UK Politicians mainly post about Brexit including scenarios, news, rallies, their overall disposition towards Brexit WTO Deal, attacks on PM Theresa May administration and EU stances as well as environmental issues.

US Politicians post about security and immigration, law reforms, meetings and speeches, foreign affairs and domestic policies.

IV.d. RQ4. Is the content produced from the original author or reproduced?

Researcher divided the content into four categories: a)Original, b) Retweet, c) Share by Other and d) Reply To. The subcategories are regarding Twitter since observation in data did not signify a post that is not original neither on Facebook nor on YouTube. Facebook posts and YouTube videos are originally produced by the authors and in the coding phase both platforms' content is treated equally as Original.

Data indicate that 89,2% of the content is originally produced-in all platforms- by the authors. Out of the total 2454 posts measured and coded, Original Posts count 2.189 in absolute numbers. Second most occurred category is "Replies" (243 or 9.9%). In this category it should be noted that the percentage is mainly derived by 2 UK MEP's Janice Atkinson and Claire Fox whose replies

reach almost 100 and 120 respectively. Retweets count only 0,8% of the post type and Share by Other is significantly low only 0.1% out of the total. (See Table 19).

		POST_TYPE			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	ORIGINAL	2189	89.2	89.2	89.2
	RETWEET	19	.8	.8	90.0
	SHARE BY OTHER	3	.1	.1	90.1
	REPLY_TO	243	9.9	9.9	100.0
	Total	2454	100.0	100.0	

Table 19 Post Type

IV.e. RQ₅. Which are the most dominant themes that politicians are most likely to discuss on SNS?

The dominant category discussed by politicians is undoubtedly "Politics". (see Table 20 and 21).

Data measurement show that 1.442 Political posts (in all three social media platforms) are frequently observed in the research (58,8% of the measured categories).

Researcher needed to further examine the themes posted and discussed in Politicians platforms. To that effect, 69 unique subcategories were created to

classify the content according to their references. (For the Crosstabulation of Category and Theme (subcategories) see Appendix 5, Table 31, p. 180).

Political theme refers to issues such as security, migration, domestic and foreign policies, legislation (laws form or reform), terrorist attacks, foreign affairs, critique, and attack to elite and/or political opponents and parties (like UK Prime Minister, US Democrats and UK Labour party and Left-wing), media bias, newsletters, speeches and interviews, internships, Twitter Replies and specifically for the UK Politicians the hot button issue of UK leadership elections and Brexit.

Second category in terms of frequency is "Social" where 438 posts are observed (17,8%) out of the total 2.464. Social theme includes Politicians' social visits and events attendance, national days (I.e US Flag Day, US Agriculture Day, UK Battle National Day) and US 9/11 Memorial Day, social news and praises for achievements for some of Politicians' constituents and also information and reports for Hurricanes that afflicted United States during that period.

"Economy" is the third category to be discussed in social network sites and observed 242 posts (9,9%). The posts are related with Economy Bills, high employment rates (for US Politicians), economy funds (for both US and UK) and overall an economic growth.

Category "Personal" is fourth and relatively close with Economy where 235 posts observed (9.6%). Personal theme includes post and formed opinions (that cannot be included neither in politics nor in social) like refers to games, football teams and winners, memorials and mentions of deaths and funerals, as well as personal replies to users in Twitter.

Health and Education represent only the 1,2% and 1,1% respectively. In category Health posts include information about legislation (law forms and amendments), funds particularly for US Hospitals and critique on Obama's Health Care system.

In Education category we can observe relevant information about new education bills, funds, arguments from US Politicians against China espionage and steal of intellectual property⁹³, reported cases of bullying in schools and governmental plans to diminish such incidents by the UK Politicians.

⁹³ US Intelligence Official have taken in note the increase in Chinese students entering US Universities acting as spies and with the aim to steal intellectual property. It started in August 2015, when a Chinese electrical engineer student sent an email titled Midterm Questions to Chinese National. Two years later, in 2017, the email turned up to the FBI. According to FBI, the email provided background reports about 8 individuals who Beijing could recruit as protentional spies.

- Cohen, Z. & Marquardt, A. (2019, Feb. 2) Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/02/01/politics/us-intelligence-chinese-student-espionage/index.html> Accessed on 15 Sep. 2019

In category Justice, mainly US politicians post about a new bill that is to be formed and passed by the Congress and referred as the "2nd Chance Bill". The Bill will support financially and psychologically, ex-prisoners and help them make a new beginning.

Technology category counts 8 posts and those are derived solely by US Politicians that inform about technological advancements like the 5G internet connection.

Category "Other" includes any other variable which cannot be sorted in any other of the previous eight (8) predefined categories and the content can neither define a new category. This mainly includes religious content like excerpts from the bible and is solely derived from US Senator Ted Cruz.

		CATEGORY			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	POLITICS	1442	58.8	58.8	58.8
	ECONOMY	242	9.9	9.9	68.6
	HEALTH	30	1.2	1.2	69.8
	EDUCATION	27	1.1	1.1	70.9
	SOCIAL	438	17.8	17.8	88.8
	PERSONAL	235	9.6	9.6	98.4
	OTHER	17	.7	.7	99.1
	TECHNOLOGY	8	.3	.3	99.4
	JUSTICE	15	.6	.6	100.0
	Total	2454	100.0	100.0	

Table 20 Content Category

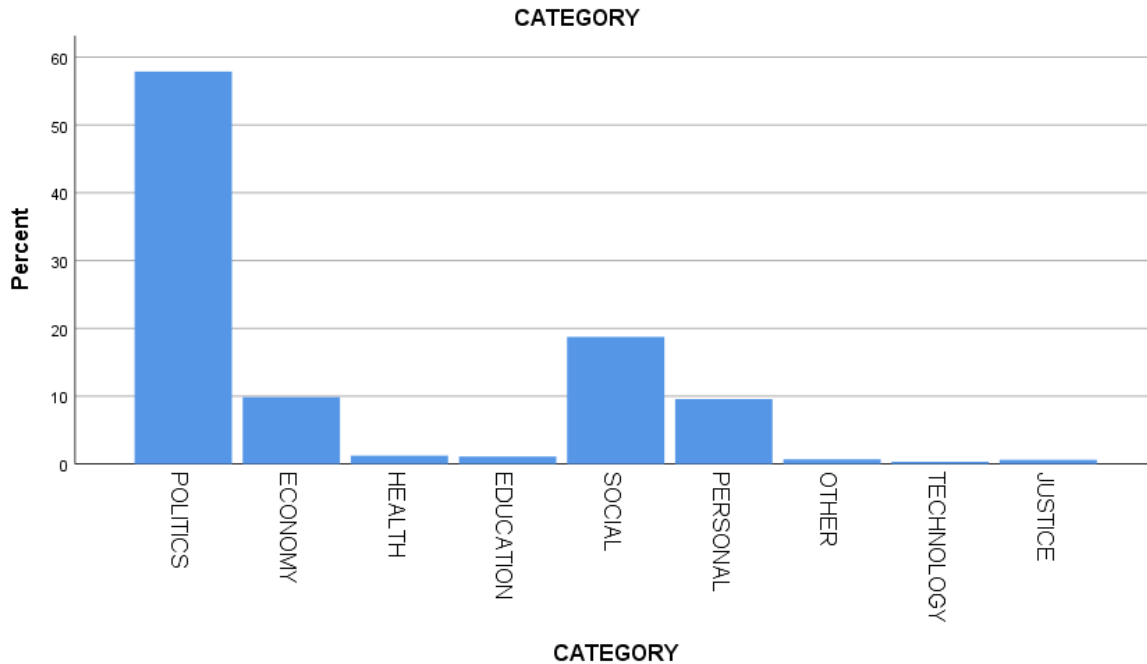


Table 21 Content Category frequency table

Some Typical Tweets on Politics and Economy Subcategories

- **US Border Security and Immigration:**

US-Mexico border near San Diego, is a place where thousands of immigrants line up to enter United States. The research sample of US Republicans Politicians showed that are in line and support the vision of President Donald Trump to build the "Great Wall" to secure their borders.

Typical are the cases of Texan Senator Ted Cruz (accessible at @tedcruz) on Twitter on 14 March 2019 where he tweeted:

Beto O'Rourke said he wants to tear down the wall. Texans want a secure border. We need to say NO to Beto's radical agenda

and of Arkansas Senator Tom Cotton (accessible at @SenTomCotton) on 13 March 2019 on Twitter:

When hundreds of thousands of foreigners arrive at the border and demand entry, that's not migration. That's an emergency & threat to our sovereignty. We should use every lawful means to address it—including the National Emergencies Act passed by Congress.

- **US against Chinese Espionage & Huawei:**

On May 2019, US President Donald Trump signed an executive order that banned US companies and government agencies from utilizing telecommunication equipment that pose a risk to national security. Huawei has been accused to have ties with Chinese national spy agencies and US Senators openly tweeted about that.

Florida's Senator Marco Rubio (accessible at @marcorubio) tweeted on 14 June 2019:

Huawei has become a patent troll. This is an attempt by them to retaliate against the U.S. by setting the stage for baseless, but costly, patent claims.

Indiana's Congressman Jim Banks (accessible at @RepJimBanks) also tweeted on 13 June 2019:

Countries such as China use puppet companies like #Huawei to infiltrate top American universities & steal sensitive national security research. If we allow these snakes in the grass a path, they will continue to steal our technology, spy on our people, & violate our liberties.

- **Republicans Against Elites**

Republicans' critique against Democrats stances on subjects like abortions, government spending, law amendments, administration, and funds are often presented in Republicans Twitter accounts.

Indiana's Congressman Jim Banks (accessible @RepJimBanks) tweeted about government spending, on 13 June 2019:

The US is \$22 trillion in debt but current spending bills in House SPEND MORE THAN EVER BEFORE! I won't sit idly by as Dem majority spends my daughters future into oblivion, so I proposed 2 amendments in the last 12 hours to cut spending at levels it'd take to balance our budget.

Illinois Rep Rodney Davis (accessible at @RodneyDavis) tweeted about HealthCare on 12 June 2019:

Time and time again Democrats have claimed that the administration is trying to limit health care for people with pre-existing conditions, but last night, when given the chance to ensure this can never happen, they rejected my amendment that would do just that

Senator Ted Cruz (accessible at @tedcruz) tweeted about prolife on 12 June 2019:

Today's Democratic Party: enthusiastically FOR late-term abortions (even, astonishingly, after birth) but AGAINST enforcing the law for the very worst convicted murderers.

Senator Marco Rubio (accessible at @marcorubio) further tweeted on 12 June 2019:

This can't be a real statement. That belief all unborn children have a right to live "unacceptable" & is the equivalent of racism & anti-semitism? I wonder how many of the other Democratic candidates agree? I am sure media will ask them right?

- **Brexit and critique of Theresa May**

The UK is due to leave European Union on 31 October 2019. Unless something changes, UK will be the first country-member to leave EU. A referendum was held on 2016 to decide whether UK should leave EU or not. The Leave vote overpass the Stay by 52%. Since then, Prime Minister Theresa May delayed Brexit date two times and new deals with EU have been rejected three times by the Conservatives.

UK MEP's and UK MP's are tweet about Brexit WTO deal (deal with World Trade Organization rules), Brexit "Project Fear", Brexit Rallies, the UK Leadership Elections and criticize Theresa May handlings.

UK Conservative MEP Daniel Hannan (accessible @DanielJHannan) tweeted about Brexit and critiqued Labour Party and Conservative MP's on 13 March 2019:

Eighty-six per cent of MPs were elected in 2017 on manifestos promising to honour the referendum result. Now Labour - helped by a handful of Tory Euro-zealots - have gone back on those promises. This goes beyond Brexit: they are delegitimising our system of government.

UK MEP Janice Atkinson (accessible at @Janices4Brexit) showed her support to Boris Johnson on UK Leadership Elections where she tweeted on 14 June 2019:

Only one candidate can beat Corbyn. He'll deliver Brexit, lower taxes and stop the terrorist supporting Marxist. Our country needs you to back him too. I back Boris.

UK Brexit Party MEP Nigel Farage (accessible at @Nigel_Farage) informed his followers about Brexit rallies on Twitter, on 16 March 2019:

Top effort today by @fishingforleave. We want our water back!" and on the same date "Quick training session before the March To Leave tomorrow morning!

Further he accuses Theresa May:

This is a total failure of leadership.

UK Conservative MP Ross Thomson (accessible at @RossThomson_MP) supports Brexit and tweets on 13 March 2019:

Despite the results of votes in the @HouseofCommons tonight it is important to remember that the legislation passed by Parliament has not changed. The UK default position remains that we leave the EU on March 29 - with or without a deal.

- **Tweets on Economy**

As mentioned, Economy discussions include bills, funds, employment rates.

Indiana's Senator Todd Young (accessible at @SenToddYoung) tweeted on 13 June 2019 about new jobs creation in Indiana:

TPG Chicago Dry Dock's construction of the largest dry dock in the Lower Lake Michigan area will be a boon for Hoosier job creation and the Region's maritime economy. The @DOTMARAD awarded a \$1.2 million grant to support the project.

Arizona's Congresswoman Debbie Lesko (accessible @RepDLesko)

tweeted about permanent funding support on 9/11 Victims, on 11 June 2019:

Today the House Judiciary Committee heard from first responders who came to the scene on 9/11. I am proud to support permanent reauthorization of the 9/11 Victim Compensation Fund so that these American heroes will get high quality care for illnesses they face. #Renew911VCF

UK MP Neil O'Brien (accessible @ NeilDotO'Brien) tweeted about economic boost on 12 June 2019:

Some key points from the new employment figures published today: - Unemployment rate of 3.8% is the lowest since 1974 (it was 8% in 2010)- Average earnings increased by 3.4% - Employment rate for women in work was 72% - highest since records began in 197 Very welcome news.

IV.f. Further Findings

- **Persuasion Element & Tone of Voice**

It was possible to further examine to further examine what persuasion techniques politicians use when they discuss online and what is the tone of

voice/emotion arose in their public discourse. To this extent, two (2) more correlated categories emerge : "Persuasion Elements" and "Tone of Voice".

Using Aristotle's Facet of Persuasion: Ethos, Pathos and Logos the content was coded in relation with the most dominant element. Ethos refers to either authors' per se or referrals credibility and competencies, goodwill and trust. Logos includes any logical reasoning, arguments, facts that occur in the content. Passion includes any feelings, shared codes that authors use to evoke emotions to their audience. (Diamantaki K. Notes on Persuasion, 2018).

Preliminary observation showed that elements can standalone but in some instances Politicians use a combination of two (2) facets to communicate and persuade their audience. Categories include: "Pathos", "Ethos", "Logos", "Pathos-Logos", "Pathos-Ethos", "Logos-Ethos" and "Pathos-Logos-Ethos". (See Table 22 and Table 23).

Category "Tone of Voice" emerge from the data themselves. Investigator during observation has determined 15 categories where Politicians' rhetoric and content tone could be classified: Motivation, Information, Complain, Celebration, Praising, Judging, Aggressive, Directive, Judgmental, Commemoration, Critique, Shocking, Disturbing, Promising and Complimenting. (see Table 24 and 25).

Most occurred variable is "Pathos". 1.923 posts out of 2.454 (78,4%) of Politicians indicate that when they communicate they use Pathos to persuade their followers or like-minded individuals. 312 posts (12,7%) is a conjunction of Ethos and Pathos whereas Logos, Ethos and remaining combinations of Logos-Ethos, Logos-Pathos, Logos-Pathos-Ethos show percentages significantly fewer than 2,3%.

Motivation is the most frequent variable since 544 posts out of 2.454 (22,2%) are observed. Informative is the second most frequent variable occurred, 398 posts measured (16,2%). Judgmental and Promising are the next categories, 9,8% and 8,5% (240 and 209 posts) respectively. Directive and Praising are equal in number of posts and percentages, 179 and 178 posts or 7,3% of the tone category.

Platforms' proximity, simplicity and lack of face-to-face communication, in online discourse, can explain the findings. Pathos is an effective persuasion mean to use in rhetoric to generate emotions like motivation, confidence, fear, sadness to the audience. It further enhances self-interest and creates a sense of shared identity among the author and the audience. Lastly, it is an efficient means to grasp attention. (Diamantaki, 2018). The latter is especially true on Twitter where users are bombarded daily with messages and the character

limitation (280 characters per tweet) constrains users to elaborate on a topic or provide lengthy arguments.

A cross examination of the Categories, the Persuasion Element and the Tone of Voice will provide a better estimation about the politicians' statements: what technique they prefer to use to persuade with what tone of voice and about which category. Data findings indicated that the most preferred technique is Pathos. Motivating is the dominant tone of voice along with Politics as the most frequent category. (For the crosstabulation of Persuasion Element & Tone of Voice & Category, see Appendix 6 Table 32, p189)

More specifically the findings are as follows:

In general, from the total 2454 statements the first most common category is pathos (1923), the second is pathos and ethos (312) whereas ethos is the third category (56). Remaining categories are ranging from 36 to 56.

From Category Politics out of the total 1442 statements, the most frequent variable is Pathos (1195) and the second most occurred is pathos and ethos (155). Tone of voice is mostly motivating (347), second is judgmental (227), third is informative (226), fourth is directive (166), fifth is criticizing (132), sixth is complimenting (119), seventh is ironic (78) and lastly is promising (76).

From Category Economy out of the total 242 statements the most frequent variable is pathos (89), second most common is pathos and ethos (52) and third is logos (34). The tone of voice in this category is mainly promising (100), motivating (56) and informative (49).

From the Category Health out of the total 30 statements the most occurred element is pathos (14) and second most common is pathos and ethos (10) while the dominant variables are motivating and promising that both are equally 11 and 11.

From the Category Education out of the total 27 statements the most occurred element is pathos (16) and the second is pathos and ethos (10). Tone of voice is mainly promising (10) and critique (4).

From the Category Social out of the total 438 statements the dominant element is pathos (361) whereas pathos and ethos is the second most common category (65). Tone of voice is praising (86), second most common category is judgmental (82) and lastly moving (64).

From the Category Personal out of the total 235 statements pathos is the major category (221). The tone of voice is mostly complimenting (83), informative (54) and praising (42).

From the Category Technology out of the 8 statements the variable that occurred the most is pathos (4), followed by logos and pathos (2) and lastly pathos and ethos (2). The tone of voice is mainly informative (5).

From the Category Other out of the total 17 statements all are using pathos (17) as the preferred element. The tone of voice is mainly praising (6) and the second biggest variable is commemorating (4).

Lastly, in the Justice category we observe that out of 15 statements the most frequent variable is pathos (6) which is equal with the pathos and ethos element (6) and lastly ethos (3). The tone of voice is mainly promising (7) and motivating (4).

PERSUASION_ELEMENT

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	PATHOS	1923	78.4	78.4	78.4
	ETHOS	56	2.3	2.3	80.6
	LOGOS	47	1.9	1.9	82.6
	LOGOS+ETHOS	39	1.6	1.6	84.1
	LOGOS+PATHOS	36	1.5	1.5	85.6
	PATHOS+ETHOS	312	12.7	12.7	98.3
	LOGOS+PATHOS+ETHOS	41	1.7	1.7	100.0
	Total	2454	100.0	100.0	

Table 22 Persuasion Element

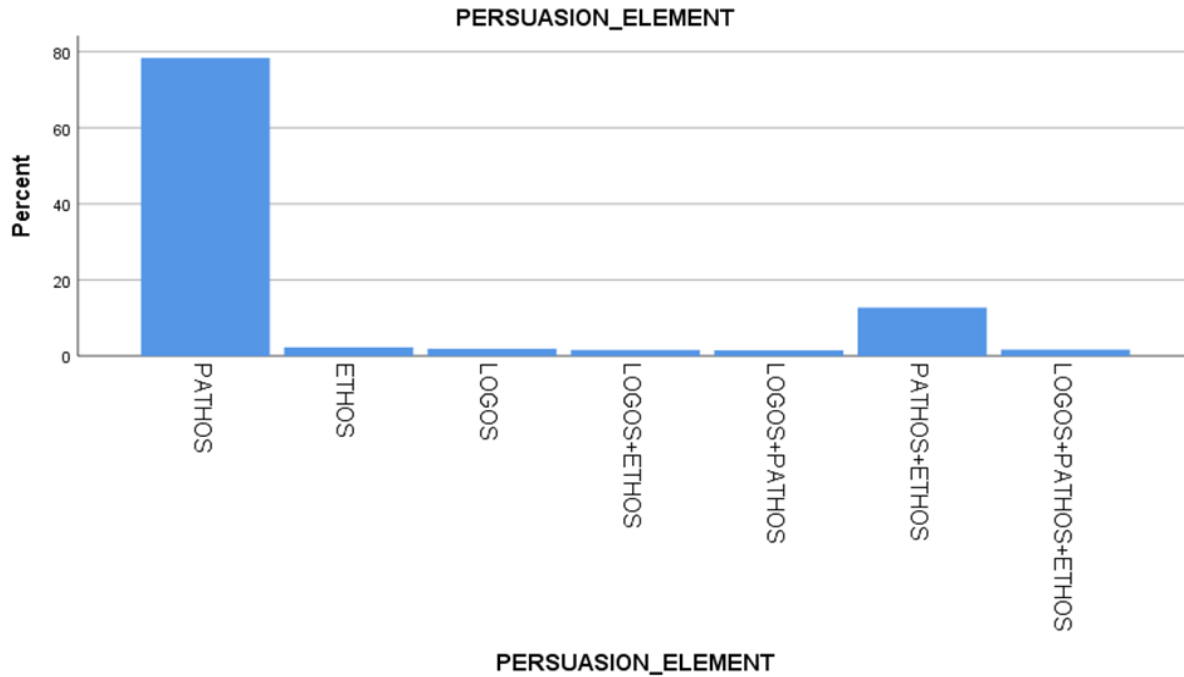


Table 23 Persuasion Element Bar Chart

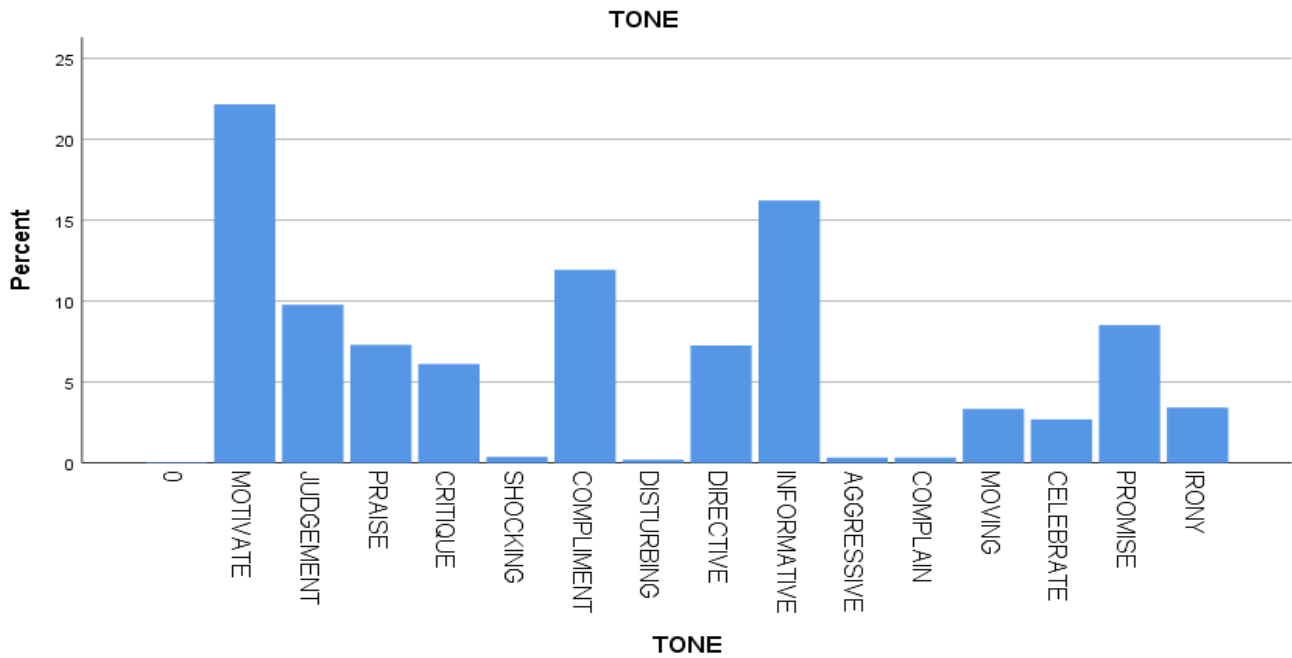


Table 24 Tone of Voice Bar Chart

STONE

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	1	.0	.0	.0
	MOTIVATE	544	22.2	22.2	22.2
	JUDGEMENT	240	9.8	9.8	32.0
	PRAISE	179	7.3	7.3	39.3
	CRITIQUE	150	6.1	6.1	45.4
	SHOCKING	9	.4	.4	45.8
	COMPLIMENT	293	11.9	11.9	57.7
	DISTURBING	5	.2	.2	57.9
	DIRECTIVE	178	7.3	7.3	65.2
	INFORMATIVE	398	16.2	16.2	81.4
	AGGRESSIVE	8	.3	.3	81.7
	COMPLAIN	8	.3	.3	82.0
	MOVING	82	3.3	3.3	85.4
	CELEBRATE	66	2.7	2.7	88.1
	PROMISE	209	8.5	8.5	96.6
	IRONY	84	3.4	3.4	100.0
	Total	2454	100.0	100.0	

Table 25 Tone of Voice

Some Typical Examples of Motivation

Independent MEP Janice Atkinson (accessible at @Janice4Brexit) motivated on Twitter on 13 June 2019 to boycott BBC:

Boycott the BBC on Friday night? If this is a "thing", please do.

Brexit Party MEP Nigel Farage (accessible at @Nigel_Farage) attacked on Twitter UK PM Theresa May and motivated his followers to join Brexit Party on 14 March 2019:

50 times @Theresa_May promised Britain would leave the EU on March 29th. Our politicians have lied to us again and again. This is the final straw. Join us: thebrexitparty.org

US Texan Senator Ted Cruz attacked on Twitter Democrat "Beto" O'Rourke and further motivated his followers to reject Beto's radical on 14 March 2019:

Beto O'Rourke said he wants to tear down the wall. Texans want a secure border. We need to say NO to Beto's radical agenda. #BeatBeto: action.tedcruz.org/beat-beto/

Videos Duration on YouTube

YouTube, as previously stated, contains videos about the US politicians' hearings, speeches (in which they attack Democrats, talk about migration crisis and border security, criticize Obama HealthCare and economic reforms), event attendances, and TV Interviews. In the case of Iowa's Sen. Joni Ernst videos also contain television shots and animations titled "Make them Squeal" and concerns the replacement of manufacturing coins' metal by a cheaper material (without changing the coin's dimension) that will save money to the country and the citizens. This is an economic bill that she wants to pass by the congress. Moreover, North Carolina Rep. Mark Walker has uploaded to his YouTube channel a series of documentaries about drug addiction.

As table 26 indicates out of 73 videos measured the most frequent duration is from 00.01 to 02.00 minutes (27 or 37%). Second most common category is duration 04.01-06.00 minutes (15 or 21,9%), third category is 02.01-04.00 minutes (12 or 16,4%), followed by 06.01 to 08.00 minutes (6 or 8,2%). The remaining categories are ranging in duration from 06.01 to 38.00 minutes and counted one to two videos. (see also table 27)

		YOUTUBE_DURATION			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0:01-2:00	27	1.1	37.0	37.0
	2:01-4:00	12	.5	16.4	53.4
	4:01-6:00	16	.7	21.9	75.3
	6:01-8:00	6	.2	8.2	83.6
	8:01-10:00	1	.0	1.4	84.9
	10:01-12:00	1	.0	1.4	86.3
	12:01-14:00	2	.1	2.7	89.0
	14:01-16:00	2	.1	2.7	91.8
	16:01-18:00	1	.0	1.4	93.2
	18:01-20:00	1	.0	1.4	94.5
	20:01-22:00	2	.1	2.7	97.3
	24:01-26:00	1	.0	1.4	98.6
	36:01-38:00	1	.0	1.4	100.0
	Total		73	3.0	100.0
Missing	System	2381	97.0		
Total		2454	100.0		

Table 26 YouTube Videos Duration

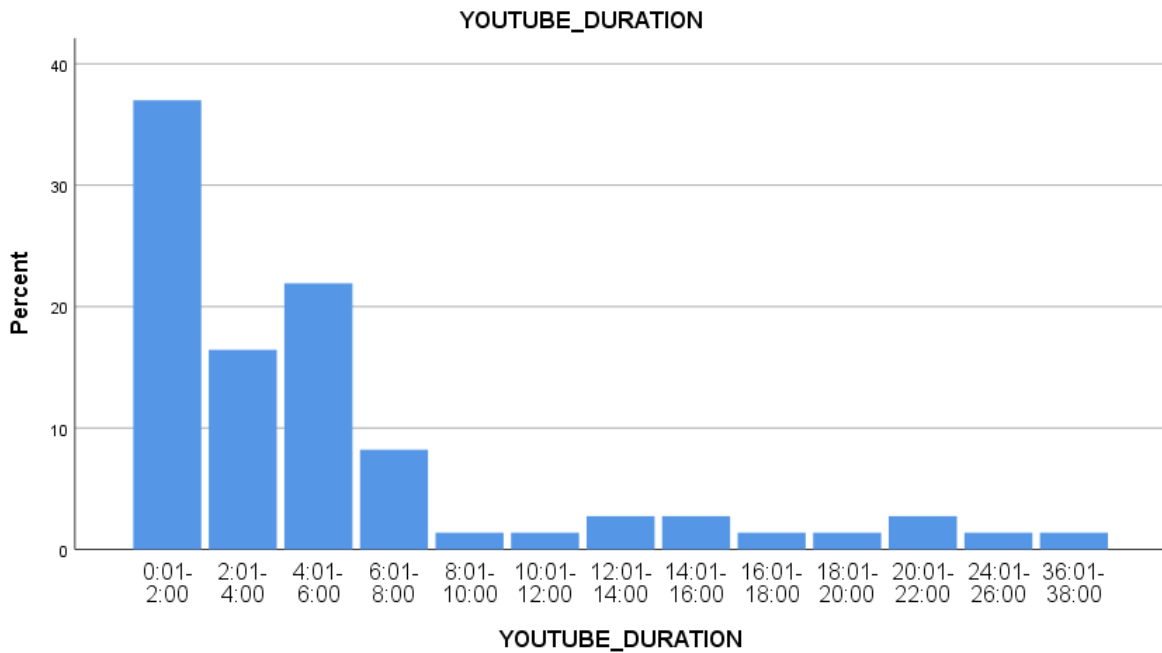


Table 27 YouTube Videos Duration Bar Chart

- **Post shared on Platforms**

Researcher needed to examine whether tweets were also shared to Facebook. According to the findings, politicians' do not share and distribute their statements across the platforms. Out of the 2454 statements only 301 (17,7%) were the same on Twitter and Facebook. The remaining 1395 (82,3%) were noted only on Twitter. This can be explained by the way in which political actors use each platform. Twitter is mainly used to share politicized information (legislation, economy, migration crisis and border security, attacks to elites and Brexit)

whereas on Facebook they share more personalized and social content. (see tables 28 and 29)

TWEET_SHARE_TO_FB

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	YES	301	12.3	17.7	17.7
	NO	1395	56.8	82.3	100.0
	Total	1696	69.1	100.0	
Missing	System	758	30.9		
Total		2454	100.0		

Table 28 Number of Tweets that shared on Facebook

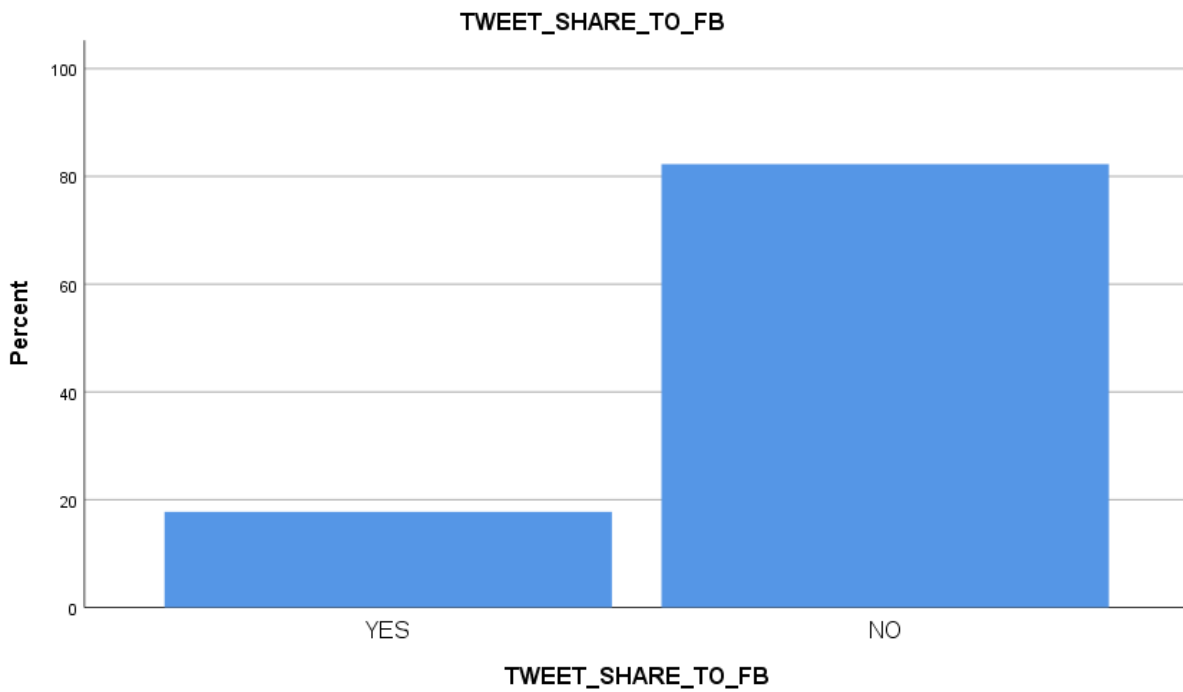


Table 29 Number of Tweets that shared on Facebook Bar Chart

V. Conclusion and Discussion

The thesis has studied the ways in which Right-wing politicians use social media platforms to communicate and appear mainstream to the public, focusing especially on currently elected American and British right-wing politicians and which social media they prefer. Based on the findings the following conclusions were formed:

The most dominant platform used by politicians is Twitter comprising of almost two-thirds of all the consolidated statements. This finding corroborates Twitter's advantages over the other platforms. Politicians prefer Twitter due to its proximity, real-time information about major events and trending topics and because it is an effective journalistic and research tool. Facebook, on the contrary, lends itself to establishing a closer and more personalized connection and enhances the degree of engagement between the politicians and the users. YouTube despite its popularity was only used by ten American political actors and the low amount of video indicates that US politicians use YouTube as a complementary platform to maintain a digital presence and to cross-refer their followers from other platforms to watch in greater detail their videos.

Despite some expectations, the degree of interaction among the examined platforms is relatively low ranging from fifty to two hundred likes, shares, retweets and comments per category. This result may be explained by the low popularity of politicians and their political position. Exceptions that justify this finding are Nigel Farage, Ted Cruz and Marco Rubio whose statements exceed eight hundred and above reactions. It also affirms based on, uses and gratification theory that in this case the audience is rather passive and mainly interacts for the sake of information without actively involved in the communication process.

Additionally, the degree of posts frequency is equally dispersed among the examined dates. Political actors interact mainly during the weekdays, slightly less on Saturdays and even lesser on Sundays.

Furthermore, the most dominant content is original by almost ninety percent and the most frequent medium used was the combination of text and link mainly on Twitter. This can be justified by the limited character of the platform which restricts the users to elaborate on messages, hence they write a text (to grasp attention) and provide a link to motivate users to read more.

Meanwhile, in the most dominant theme that political actors are more likely to discuss on social media, it turned out that politics was ranked higher

than any category. This finding suggests that political actors feel safer and more convenient to discuss and post information on areas they know and improve their image and expertise in the political landscape.

Moreover, further findings of this study indicate that the most frequent element-politicians use in their narratives to persuade-is pathos. Consequently, motivation is the most dominant tone of voice. Despite expectations that information provision would be the most preferred tone of voice, politicians use motivation to discuss and make inferences and judgments for current events and promises for the future. These results can be explained by the fact that the nature of the platforms is such that pathos is an effective persuasion mean to use to generate emotions to mobilize (like motivation) and to engage by creating a sense of shared identity.

Lastly, findings indicate that politicians do not share the same content on the platforms. An examination of Twitter and Facebooks posts' similarity reveals that statements are unique on Twitter by eighty percent. This is justified by the fact that tweets are entail more politicized information (Brexit, Border Security, attack elites) while Facebook posts include more social and personal content (information about meetings and visits, national holidays).

Fundamentally, results show that political actors use social media to directly communicate with their followers by bypassing media and journalistic filters and to have control of the information they disseminate. To that extent, social media facilitate the online discourse, however the use and frequency are affine to social media.

Limitations of the study

There are some limitations of this study that must be considered. One limitation is that Content Analysis as a method alone cannot serve to make inferences about the effect of content on the audience. A second limitation is that the findings of this study are limited to the framework of the categories and the definitions established by the researcher. Another limitation is that the research was conducted on a relatively small sample size in terms of politicians and countries selected, which although provides some insights, generalizations cannot be drawn. Complementary research like sentiment analysis and with a greater sample size it would present a more complete picture of the right-wing politicians' communication. Furthermore, it would be beneficial to investigate how these politicians can mobilize their followers on the social media by

examining their comments and also conduct comparative research on both right-wing and left-wing politicians' narratives to identify possible differences, patterns of behavior and communication strategies. Another limitation is that the study examined statements which were retrieved from the official accounts of each political actor. Personal pages that might contain further information or different narratives were excluded.

A final limitation is that findings are neither supported nor replicated by other works because as of the researcher's knowledge this research with these specific parameters of the sample, period, and platform is unique.

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Appendix 1: Interview with Mr. Manolis Sfakianakis

The interview took place on 23 May 2019. Due to his busy schedule the questions and the responses were sent and received via email. The interview was in Greek and has been translated in English by the author of this thesis. Ms. Kalliopi Ioannou, Director of the Cyber Security International Institute (Csii), was also contributed in this interview.

A thank you note,

Mr Sfakianakis and Ms Ioannou first of all I would like to thank you for your immediate response and willingness to answer my questions. It is highly appreciated. Your knowledge and expertise will assist me in carrying out my thesis and will personally enlighten me about these phenomena.

Question 1: How would you define cyber terrorism? And what is cybercrime?

Answer: The traditional/offline crime due to technology innovations and potentials has been transformed into cybercrime. According to Hynson (2010) cybercrime is any kind of crime that leverage internet, computers and softwares. Cybercrime has two features a) the crime that depends exclusively upon technology and b) the crime that can happen offline. In essence, it can starts

offline and ends up online and vice versa. Cyber terrorism belongs to this category *[starts online and ends up offline]*. Traditional terrorism is transferred to cyberspace through attacks to various organizations, agencies, ministries and on their operational systems. Cyberterrorism can be defined as a criminal activity on behalf of the individuals or groups that are motivated by terrorists movements to change the political landscape or other ideologies. Violence and terrorism through cyberspace could affect both psychologically and physically the target of the attack.

Question 2: Do you think that Internet and social media (like Facebook, Twitter, YouTube) can facilitate or become an effective mean to extremism discourse online? And, also do you think that terrorism and extremism are the same?

Answer: Internet and Social Media have been a facilitator and a powerful tool not only for cybercrime but for cyber terrorism and extremists as well. They both provide the ideal space for terrorists and extremists to recruit, propagate, coordinate, fund, use violence, reach vulnerable audience-especially adolescents-to disseminate their messages. This can be achieved through blogs, video games' chat rooms or services like Telegram. They aim at creating fear to be more powerful and social media can facilitate their cause. Extremism is a form of

terrorism. Quite often and as a common belief these terms used interchangeably. The most important fact is that both are threats for the society, domestically and internationally.

Question 3: Based on your experience and knowledge who do you think are more likely to be persuaded or motivated by extremists?

Answer: Unfortunately, there are still many people who are "digitally illiterate" and they are incapable of dealing appropriately an attempt of recruitment. They are not aware of the web dangers and even worse they cannot imagine its potentials. And this is because they are not informed. Some groups like the elderly or adolescents are not in position to realize that even a single harmless message could be in reality a terrorist's attempt to recruit. Teenegars who play video games believe that chatting is normal and innocent. However, another user could communicate with them as a peer and exchange messages while in reality they want to influence his/her ideas and motivate them to participate in illegal activities.

Question 4 : How easy is for an Internet and/or Social Media user to find extremists online or vice versa? Does it need any particular competencies or knowledge (in entering Dark Web for example)?

Answer: Cyberspace is open, free and an effective search tool. On social media, particularly, the user generated content can signify if there is a tendency towards extremism by a user. Hence, if a user cannot locate an extremist group on his/her own, is pretty certain that the extremist's groups will locate the user. Especially on Dark Web you can find literally everything.

Question 5 : Based on your experience how easy is to stop cyber terrorism, hate speech or cyber bullying?

Answer: Information and knowledge of how to rightly use technology could restrict this phenomena but it is extremely difficult to stop them.

Question 6 : How can someone protects himself/herself or his/her children from web dangers?

Answer: Parents can guide their children to the right direction via knowledge of the technology and right use of the internet so as to protect them. But they also need to put limits concerning the use and the amount of time they devote on

internet. The Cyber Academy for parents and pretty soon for students of Csi Institute addresses to inform and empower people towards cyber dangers.

Appendix 2: Politicians' Political Stances, SNS's Accounts & number of followers (as of 1 September 2019)

US Senators [Republicans]

1. Ted Cruz, Senator for Texas. He opposes the scientific understanding of climate change. He is against communism, abortion, Obamacare and opposes net neutrality (which prevents Internet service providers from deliberately blocking or slowing particular websites) because he believes that internet economy has flourished due to free regulatory control by the government. He supports border security and is an opponent of comprehensive immigration reform. Lastly he is a gun-rights and death penalty supporter. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @tedcruzpage – 2.067.114 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @SenTedCruz -1.300.000 followers

YouTube Channel: Senator Ted Cruz -67.000 subscribers

2. Tom Cotton, Senator for Arkansas. He is against the Obama's Affordable Care Act, he opposes amnesty to undocumented immigrants, he voted against the Bipartisan Student Loan Certainty Act of 2013, which lowered interest rates on student loans. He cosponsored the Constitutional Concealed Carry Reciprocity Act which allows citizens to carry guns in their homes and he voted in favour of a bill to ban abortions occurring 20 or more weeks after fertilization. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @TomCottonAR – 254.942 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @SenTomCotton -158.200 followers

YouTube Channel: NO

3. Dan Sullivan, Senator for Alaska. Opposes abortion (except in cases of rape, or threat to the life of mother) and same-sex marriage. He is against of Obama's Affordable Care Act and grant amnesty to undocumented immigrants. In favour of gun law that allows citizens to carry guns. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @SenDanSullivan – 22.273 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @SenDanSullivan -38.600 followers

YouTube Channel: Senator Dan Sullivan – 293 subscribers

4. Marco Rubio, Senator for Florida. He disputes the scientific understanding of climate change. He wants to reform Obamacare and impose tax credits. He is openly against abortion and opposes net neutrality. He supports border security but also wants to give legal status to those who came to the States unlawfully. He supports balancing the federal budget and prioritize defense spending. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @MarcoRubio – 1.399.528 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @marcorubio -3.900.000 followers

YouTube Channel: Senator Marco Rubio – 12.900 subscribers

5. Todd Young, Senator for Indiana. He is a strong advocate of President Donald Trump. In favor of gun law and an immigration system based on skills and competencies but opposes the DREAM Act that would provide citizenship to nearly 12 million undocumented immigrants. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @SenatorToddYoung – 92.158 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @SenToddYoung -44.000 followers

YouTube Channel: Senator Todd Young – 161 subscribers

6. Rand Paul, Senator for Kentucky. He is against same-sex marriage, abortion, vaccination (since "parents should exclusively decide whether to vaccinate their children or not"). He supports economic reforms to reducing taxes and legalization of Marijuana for medical purposes. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @SenatorRandPaul – 815.019 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @RandPaul -2.500.000 followers

YouTube Channel: Senator Rand Paul – 52.100 subscribers

7. Joni Ernst, Senator for Iowa. She is in favour of eliminating Obamacare and a very small regulatory role by government in global warming. She is against abortion, same-sex marriage and gun control. She also opposes to legalize medical marijuana. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @senjoniernst – 53.835 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @SenJoinErnst -64.600 followers

YouTube Channel: Senator Joni Ernst – 546 subscribers

US Congressmen (*also called Representatives*) [Republicans]

1. Debbie Lesko, Rep. for Arizona. She is against abortion, gun control, Obamacare, immigrants, Equality act and increasing the minimum wage. She supports private education. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @RepDebbieLesko – 10.628 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @RepDLesko -12.800 followers

YouTube Channel: Debbie Lesko for Congress – 72 subscribers

2. Andy Barr, Rep. for Kentucky. He is against abortion, Obamacare, and legalizing Marijuana for medical reasons. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @RepAndyBarr – 23.546 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @RepAndyBarr -21.600 followers

YouTube Channel: Congressman Andy Barr – 183 subscribers

3. Clay Higgins, Rep. for Louisiana. He is against abortion, same-sex marriage, immigrants and gun control. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @RepAndyBarr – 70.961 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @RepClayHiggins -9.010 followers

YouTube Channel: Error on Page

4. Mark Walker Rep. for N.Carolina. He is against Obamacare and immigrants. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @RepMarkWalker – 41.446 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @RepMarkWalker -20.200 followers

YouTube Channel: Representative Mark Walker – no subscribers

5. Jim Banks Rep. for Indiana. He is against Obamacare, abortion and transgender people from serving in the Military. He is in favour of allowing internet companies release customers information to federal government. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @RepJimBanks – 17.858 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @RepJimBanks -10.200 followers

YouTube Channel: Jim Banks for Congress – 61 subscribers

6. Davis Rodney Rep. for Illinois. He is against of violence woman Act, abortion, Obamacare and gun control. He is in favour of more funds for mental health programs and supports legalizing of Marijuana for medical purposers. Advocates tax cuts and job Acts of 2017. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @RepRodneyDavis – 17.882 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @RodneyDavis -21.800 followers

YouTube Channel: U.S. Rep. Davis Rodney – 269 subscribers

8. Jason Smith Rep. for Missouri. There are no additional information about his political stances.

Facebook: Accessible @repjasonsmith – 23.068 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @RepJasonSmith- 26.400 followers

YouTube Channel: Rep Jason Smith – 145 subscribers

UK MP's [Conservatives]

1. Steve Barclay MP for NE Cambridgeshire. Conservative Home named him as one of a few of loyal Conservative MPs not to have voted against the government in any substantive rebellions. Barclay was and still is (in Boris Johnson' first Cabinet) the Brexit Secretary who deals with domestic preparations for Brexit. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @stevebarclayofficial – 2.792 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @SteveBarclay- 23.900 followers

YouTube Channel: NO

2. Ross Thompson MP for Aberdeen South in Scotland. He was a spokesman for Vote Leave in Scotland (one of the few members of the Scottish Parliament that supported a leave vote) during the referendum in 2016. He is a “hardline” supporter of Brexit and a great advocate of Boris Johnson. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @rossthompsonMP – 4.986 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @RossThompsonMP- 14.300 followers

YouTube Channel: NO

3. John Glen MP for Salisbury. He has been described by Times Columnist Tim Montgomerie as a “full spectrum Conservative” (Euroscptic and in favour of low taxation but also concerns with social issues). He is an advocate of religious education and against same-sex marriage. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @johnglenmp – 1.517 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @JohnGlenUK- 20.600 followers

YouTube Channel: NO

4. Paul Masterton MP for East Renfrewshire. He is an active member of a number of APPGs (All Party Parliament Groups) including Pensions, Life, Single Parents. Has been a vocal campaigner on pensions issues. He also campaign about self-harm and suicide prevention (because of the death of a 13 year old constituent who committed suicide due to cyberbullying). He voted Remain in the 2016 EU Referendum and voted against to leaving the EU without a deal. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @Masterton4EastRen – 1.441 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @PM4EastRen- 8.547 followers

YouTube Channel: NO

5. Neil O'Brien MP for Harborough, Oadby & Wigston. He was Special Adviser to former PM Theresa May on the Economy and Industrial Strategy. In Total Politics' poll for the 50 Top British Political influencers was ranked 14. Daily Telegraph described him as one of the "Top 100 Most Influential people on the Right" (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @neil4harborough – 732 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @NeilDotObrien- 8.776 followers

YouTube Channel: NO

6. Robert Courts MP for Witney & West Oxon. Courts supported the 'Leave' campaign in the EU referendum on 2016. He is a member of the Eurosceptic European Research Group, having subscribed in April 2017 and has been a parliamentary campaigner for the interests of small businesses. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @RobertCourts– 1.902 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @robertcourts- 6.928 followers

YouTube Channel: NO

7. Sarah Newton MP for Truro & Falmouth. She was one of the few to signed a statement supporting the "Britain Stronger" in Europe Campaign (an advocacy group that supported the membership of UK in EU). In March 2019 resigned from her role as Minister of State for the Disabled People to vote against the government whip on a motion to prevent the United Kingdom from ever leaving the EU without a deal. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @SarahNewtonTandF– 2.540 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @SNewtonUK- 7.815 followers

YouTube Channel: NO

UK MEP's

1. Daniel Hannan Conservative MEP for SE England. An advocate of localism and national sovereignty who has questioned the idea that "nationalism causes war". A supporter of the 'leave' campaign in the 2016 Brexit vote that writes quite often about the UK international trade relationship once it leaves EU. He also describes himself as an "Atlanticist" with great admiration of the US. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @danielhannan– 53.813 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @DanielJHannan- 136.800 followers

YouTube Channel: NO

2. Nigel Farage Brexit Party MEP for SE England. A founder member of UKIP (United Kingdom Independence Party) who resigned 28 years later. He was a key figurehead in the Brexit campaign of 2016 and on 22 March 2019 became leader of the Brexit Party after the resignation of Catherine Blaiklock. Farage supports Muslim immigrants who integrate to British society but opposed those who are "coming here to take us over". However, he has a slight preference for India and Australia immigrants rather than Eastern Europeans because they may "speak English, understand common law and have a connection with England". A strong advocate for U.S. President Donald (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @nigelfarageofficial– 891.062 followers.

Twitter: Accessible @Nigel_Farage - 1.400.000 followers

YouTube Channel: NigelFarageChannel – 2.850 subscribers

3. Janice Atkinson former member of UKIP, independent MEP for SE England. An also former member of the Conservative party in which she resigned to join UKIP in 2011. An advocate of the Leave EU campaign. Atkinson called for the reintroduction of the death penalty for those convicted of terrorist crimes

following the Manchester Arena bombing in 2017. She was one of the three UK MEPs who voted against a motion to encourage national parliaments to ban gay conversion therapies (a practice of trying to change an individual's sexual orientation or preferences through psychological or spiritual interventions). She has also been accused for involvement in fraudulent activities by members of UKIP. She also likes to call herself "Ms Right" (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @janiceatkinson– followers (not applicable)

Twitter: Accessible @Janice4Brexit - 17.500 followers

YouTube Channel: NO

4. Jonathan Arnott Brexit Party MEP for NE England. A former member of UKIP from which he resigned on January 2018 due to his opposition to the current leader Henry Bolton. He joined Brexit Party on 19 April 2019. A strong advocate of the Brexit. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @jonathanarnottuk– 8.731 followers

Twitter: Accessible @JonathanArnott – 9.780 followers

YouTube Channel: NO

5. Nathan Gill Brexit Party MEP for Wales. A former UKIP member from which he resigned on December 2018 in opposition to the party leader Gerard Batten's links to far-right activist Tommy Robinson. He joined the new Brexit Party in February 2019. Gill denies human involvement in climate change. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @NathanGillOfficial– 19.378 followers

Twitter: Accessible @NathanGillMEP – 12.100 followers

YouTube Channel: NO

6. Anthea McIntyre Conservative MEP for West Midlands. In December 2011 she served as a member for West Midlands in the European Parliament without a new election due to Lisbon Treaty (the Treaty had enlarged the seats by

eighteen in the European Parliament and one of those seats came to UK. UK based on population statistics gave this seat to West Midlands. She is a member of the Delegation for Relations with South Africa. (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @ Anthea McIntyre MEP– 1.318 followers

Twitter: Accessible @anthea_mcintyre – 3.023 followers

YouTube Channel: NO

7. Claire Fox Brexit Party MEP for NW England. A former member of the Revolutionary Communist Party and a supporter of the Brexit Party. Founder of the Think Tank (a Research Institute). Fox advocates free speech in all context. She has been accused of supporting Gary Glitter's (a singer) right to download child porn and for her advocacy in people's right to watch child porn or Jihadi terrorist videos. She has also been criticised for rejecting multiculturalism and for her support for the Irish Republican Army (IRA). (Wikipedia)

Facebook: Accessible @ Claire Fox – followers (not applicable)

Twitter: Accessible @Fox_Clair – 35.600 followers

YouTube Channel: NO

Appendix 3: Coding Sheet Schedule

Topic: SNSs & extremism discourse online

Universe: SNSs Platforms: Twitter-Facebook-YouTube

Sample: Tweets, Facebook Posts and YouTube Videos

Unit of Analysis: Individual Tweets, Facebook Posts and YouTube Videos
(from 28 UK & US right-wing politicians)

Content Categories: Emergent Coding (No coder instruction sheet needed)

1. **Unit ID:** _____
2. **Date / Day:** XX/XX/XXXX
3. **Platform:** 1. Facebook 2. Twitter 3. YouTube
4. **Content Author:** _____
5. **Nationality:** 1. US 2. UK
6. **Political Party:** 1. Republican 2. Conservative 3. Brexit Party 4. Independent
7. **Position:** 1. Senator 2. Rep. 3. MP 4. MEP

8. **Post Contains:**

1. Text Only	9. Text+Video+Quote	17. Text+Link+Image+#
2. Text+Image	10. Text+Link+Image	18. Text+Link+Video+#
3. Text+Link	11. Text+Link+#	19. Text+Symbol
4. Text+Video	12. Text+Image+#	20. Text+Symbol+#

- 5. Text+Quote
- 6. Text+Image+Symbol
- 7. Text+Image+Symbol+#
- 8. Text+Video+#

- 13.Text+Hashtag
- 14.Text+Video+Link
- 15.Text+Quote+#
- 16.Image+#

- 21.Text+Poll
- 22.Video Only
- 23.Image Only
- 24.Link+Image
- 25.Link Only

10. Post Type:

- 1. Original
- 2.Retweet
- 3.Share by Other
- 4.Reply to

11. Tweet Replies to:

@ _____

12. Tweet Share to FB:

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

13. Hashtag:

14. Call to Action (CTA):

- 0. None
- 1. Watch Here
- 2. Join Now
- 3. Subscribe
- 4. Listen Here
- 5. Tune In
- 6. Read More

- 7. Vote
- 8. Learn More
- 9. Visit Here
- 10. Help Me
- 11. Register
- 12. Sign Please
- 13. Call for Help

- 14. Follow on Instagram
- 15. Book an appointment
- 16. Get your tickets here

15. Category

- 1. Politics
- 2. Economy
- 3. Health

- 4. Education
- 5. Social
- 6. Personal

- 7. Other
- 8. Technology
- 9. Justice

16. Subcategory Theme

- | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Border Security | 23. Against Maduro | 45. Against CIA |
| 2. TV Interview | 24. Favour Nicaragua | 46. Against Govern. Spending |
| 3. Radio Interview | 25. National Day | 47. FBI against Republicans |
| 4. Against Democrats | 26. Memorial Day | 48. Economy-Employment |
| 5. Against Obama | 27. Veterans | 49. Brexit: Leave no Deal |
| 6. Event | 28. Hurricane/Storm Reports | 50. Support Theresa May |
| 7. Meeting | 29. Promo | 51. Brexit with deal |
| 8. Speech | 30. Favour Hongkong | 52. UK Leadership Elections |
| 9. Politics-Environment | 31. Immigrants | 53. Against Labours |
| 10. Economy-Bills | 32. Against Google | 54. Brexit against Project Fear |
| 11. Law against Antisemitism | 33. Internships | 55. Against Withd. Agreement |
| 12. Social Honours-Renames | 34. Religion | 56. Bullying |
| 13. Against Russia | 35. Against Abortion | 57. Scottish Indep. Referendum |
| 14. Personal Thanks | 36. Against Iran | 58. Against Junker & EU |
| 15. Against China | 37. Replies | 59. EU Votes |
| 16. Economy Funds | 38. Economy Boost | 60. Against Conservatives |
| 17. Against Terror.& Attacks | 39. Against Media Bias | 61. Favour Right-wing parties |
| 18. Legislation | 40. Technology | 62. Brexit Rally |
| 19. Visits | 41. Econ. Tax Cuts | 63. Against Theresa May |
| 20. Other | 42. Favour Yemen | 64. Against Left-wing |
| 21.P: Favour Israel | 43. Newsletters | 65. Brexit Scenarios |
| 22.P: Favour Trump | 44. No US Army in M. East | 66. Against Saudi Arabia |
| 67. US Elections | 68. Brexit Updates | 69. Favour Brexit Party |

17. Persuasion Element:

- | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Pathos | 4. Logos Ethos | 7. Logos Pathos Ethos |
| 2. Ethos | 5. Logos Pathos | |
| 3. Logos | 6. Pathos Ethos | |

18. Tone_of_Voice:

- | | | |
|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Motivating | 6. Compliment | 11. Complain |
| 2. Judgemental | 7. Disturbing | 12. Moving |
| 3. Praising | 8. Directive | 13. Celebrating |
| 4. Critique | 9. Informative | 14. Promising |
| 5. Shocking | 10. Aggressive | 15. Ironic |

19. Tweet # of Likes

- | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. 0 | 16. 2501-3000 | 31. 16001-17000 |
| 2. 1-50 | 17. 3001-3500 | 32. 17001-18000 |
| 3. 51-100 | 18. 3501-4000 | 33. 18001-19000 |
| 4. 101-200 | 19. 4001-5000 | 34. 19001-20000 |
| 5. 201-300 | 20. 5001-6000 | 35. 20001-21000 |
| 6. 301-400 | 21. 6001-7000 | 36. 21001-22000 |
| 7. 401-500 | 22. 7001-8000 | 37. 22001-23000 |
| 8. 501-600 | 23. 8001-9000 | 38. 23001-24000 |
| 9. 601-700 | 24. 9001-10000 | 39. 24001-25000 |
| 10. 701-800 | 25. 10001-11000 | 40. 25001-30000 |
| 11. 801-900 | 26. 11001-12000 | 41. 30001-35000 |
| 12. 901-1000 | 27. 12001-13000 | 42. 35001-40000 |
| 13. 1001-1500 | 28. 13001-14000 | 43. 40001-45000 |
| 14. 1501-2000 | 29. 14001-15000 | 44. 45001-50000 |
| 15. 2001-2500 | 30. 15001-16000 | |

20. Tweet # of Retweets:

- | | | |
|------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. 0 | 16. 701-750 | 31. 5501-6000 |
| 2. 1-50 | 17. 751-800 | 32. 6001-6500 |
| 3. 51-100 | 18. 801-850 | 33. 6501-7000 |
| 4. 101-150 | 19. 851-900 | 34. 7001-8000 |
| 5. 151-200 | 20. 901-950 | 35. 8001-9000 |
| 6. 201-250 | 21. 951-1000 | 36. 9001-10000 |
| 7. 251-300 | 22. 1001-1500 | 37. 10001-15000 |

8. 301-350	23. 1501-2000	38. 15001-20000
9. 351-400	24. 2001-2500	39. 20001-25000
10.401-450	25. 2501-3000	
11.451-500	26. 3001-3500	
12.501-550	27. 3501-4000	
13.551-600	28. 4001-4500	
14.601-650	29. 4501-5000	
15.651-700	30. 5001-5500	

21. Tweet # of Shares

1. 0	16. 701-750	31. 5501-6000
2. 1-50	17. 751-800	32. 6001-6500
3. 51-100	18. 801-850	33. 6501-7000
4. 101-150	19. 851-900	34. 7001-7500
5. 151-200	20. 901-950	35. 7501-8000
6. 201-250	21. 951-1000	36. 8001-8500
7. 251-300	22. 1001-1500	37. 8001-8500
8. 301-350	23. 1501-2000	38. 8501-9000
9. 351-400	24. 2001-2500	39. 9001-10000
10.401-450	25. 2501-3000	40. 10001-11000
11.451-500	26. 3001-3500	
12.501-550	27. 3501-4000	
13.551-600	28. 4001-4500	
14.601-650	29. 4501-5000	
15.651-700	30. 5001-5500	

22. Symbol

1. US Flag	4. US National Guard
2. US Army Stars	5. US Veterans Canine (Dogs)
3. US Veterans	6. UK Conservative Party Logo

Platform: YouTube

23. YouTube # of likes

1. 0 2. 1-50 3. 51-100 4. 101-200 5. 201-300

24. YouTube # of dislikes

1. 0 2. 1-50 3. 51-100 4. 101-200 5. 201-300

25. YouTube # of views

1. 0	10.701-800	19. 4001-5000	28. 13001-14000
2. 1-50	11.801-900	20. 5001-6000	
3. 51-100	12.901-1000	21. 6001-7000	
4. 101-200	13.1001-1500	22. 7001-8000	
5. 201-300	14.1501-2000	23. 8001-9000	
6. 301-400	15.2001-2500	24. 9001-10000	
7. 401-500	16. 2501-3000	25. 10001-11000	
8. 501-600	17. 3001-3500	26. 11001-12000	
9. 601-700	18. 3501-4000	27. 12001-13000	

26. YouTube # of comments

1. 0 2. 1-50 3. 51-100 4. 101-200 5. 201-300 6. 301-400 7. 401-500

27. YouTube video duration

1. 00:01-02:00	6. 10:01-12:00	11. 20:01-22:00	16. 30:01-32:00
2. 02:01-04:00	7. 12:01-14:00	12. 22:01-24:00	17. 32:01-34:00
3. 04:01-06:00	8. 14:01-16:00	13. 24:01-26:00	18. 34:01-36:00
4. 06:01-08:00	9. 16:01-18:00	14. 26:01-28:00	19. 36:01-38:00
5. 08:01-10:00	10.18:01-20:00	15. 28:01-30:00	

Platform: Facebook

28. FACEBOOK # of Likes

1. 0	16. 2501-3000	31. 16001-17000
2. 1-50	17. 3001-3500	32. 17001-18000
3. 51-100	18. 3501-4000	33. 18001-19000
4. 101-200	19. 4001-5000	34. 19001-20000
5. 201-300	20. 5001-6000	35. 20001-21000
6. 301-400	21. 6001-7000	36. 21001-22000
7. 401-500	22. 7001-8000	37. 22001-23000
8. 501-600	23. 8001-9000	38. 23001-24000
9. 601-700	24. 9001-10000	39. 24001-25000
10.701-800	25. 10001-11000	40. 25001-30000
11.801-900	26. 11001-12000	41. 30001-35000
12.901-1000	27. 12001-13000	42. 35001-40000
13.1001-1500	28. 13001-14000	43. 40001-45000
14.1501-2000	29. 14001-15000	44. 45001-50000
15.2001-2500	30. 15001-16000	

29. FACEBOOK # of Comments

1. 0	16. 701-750	31. 5501-6000
2. 1-50	17. 751-800	32. 6001-6500
3. 51-100	18. 801-850	33. 6501-7000
4. 101-150	19. 851-900	34. 7001-7500
5. 151-200	20. 901-950	35. 7501-8000
6. 201-250	21. 951-1000	36. 8001-8500
7. 251-300	22. 1001-1500	37. 8001-8500
8. 301-350	23. 1501-2000	38. 8501-9000
9. 351-400	24. 2001-2500	39. 9001-10000
10.401-450	25. 2501-3000	40. 10001-11000
11.451-500	26. 3001-3500	
12.501-550	27. 3501-4000	

13.551-600	28. 4001-4500
14.601-650	29. 4501-5000
15.651-700	30. 5001-5500

30. FACEBOOK # of Shares

1. 0	16. 701-750	31. 5501-6000
2. 1-50	17. 751-800	32. 6001-6500
3. 51-100	18. 801-850	33. 6501-7000
4. 101-150	19. 851-900	34. 7001-8000
5. 151-200	20. 901-950	35. 8001-9000
6. 201-250	21. 951-1000	36. 9001-10000
7. 251-300	22. 1001-1500	37. 10001-15000
8. 301-350	23. 1501-2000	38. 15001-20000
9. 351-400	24. 2001-2500	39. 20001-25000
10.401-450	25. 2501-3000	
11.451-500	26. 3001-3500	
12.501-550	27. 3501-4000	
13.551-600	28. 4001-4500	
14.601-650	29. 4501-5000	
15.651-700	30. 5001-5500	

APPENDIX 4: Category and Date Crosstabulation (Table 30)

Table 30 shows which category (main themes) politicians were likely to discuss on the selected dates (breakdown by each day per week of the determined month).

Out of the 2.454 statements, Politics is the most preferred category of discussion (1442 statements), second biggest category is Social (438 statements), third category is Economy (242 statements) and fourth category is Personal (235 statements). The remaining categories (Health, Education, Technology and Other) are ranging from 8 to 30 statements. Values greater than 40 (statements) are highlighted with yellow color.

CATEGORY * DATE Crosstabulation

Count

		DATE					
		10.09.18	11.09.18	12.09.18	13.09.18	14.09.18	15.09.18
CATEGORY	POLITICS	38	39	58	58	55	25
	ECONOMY	4	14	20	11	7	2
	HEALTH	6	1	0	2	0	0
	EDUCATION	3	0	1	0	0	0
	SOCIAL	15	48	20	20	14	13
	PERSONAL	6	4	16	8	13	9
	OTHER	0	1	1	6	0	0
	TECHNOLOGY	2	0	0	0	0	0
	JUSTICE	1	0	0	0	1	0
Total	75	107	116	105	90	49	

CATEGORY * DATE Crosstabulation

Count

		DATE					
		16.09.18	10.12.18	11.12.18	12.12.18	13.12.18	14.12.18
CATEGORY	POLITICS	5	34	70	76	43	86
	ECONOMY	1	5	11	15	18	11
	HEALTH	1	0	0	3	1	1

EDUCATION	0	0	0	0	1	0
SOCIAL	2	7	9	12	21	17
PERSONAL	3	4	8	11	2	16
OTHER	2	1	0	0	0	0
TECHNOLOGY	0	0	0	0	0	0
JUSTICE	0	1	2	3	0	0
Total	14	52	100	120	86	131

CATEGORY * DATE Crosstabulation

Count

		DATE					
		15.12.18	16.12.18	11.03.19	12.03.19	13.03.19	14.03.19
CATEGORY	POLITICS	22	6	43	93	101	114
	ECONOMY	1	0	0	6	25	11
	HEALTH	3	0	2	3	1	2
	EDUCATION	0	0	0	8	4	3
	SOCIAL	11	2	16	11	14	26
	PERSONAL	9	1	4	3	12	6
	OTHER	0	0	0	0	3	0
	TECHNOLOGY	0	0	0	0	2	0
	JUSTICE	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total		46	9	65	125	162	163

CATEGORY * DATE Crosstabulation

Count

		DATE					
		15.03.19	16.03.19	17.03.19	10.06.19	11.06.19	12.06.19
CATEGORY	POLITICS	68	28	7	42	51	74
	ECONOMY	8	4	3	6	12	24
	HEALTH	0	0	0	0	0	3
	EDUCATION	2	0	0	1	2	2
	SOCIAL	26	13	2	13	12	18
	PERSONAL	16	6	1	10	8	18
	OTHER	1	0	0	0	1	0
	TECHNOLOGY	2	0	0	1	1	0
	JUSTICE	0	0	0	0	2	0
Total		123	51	13	73	89	139

CATEGORY * DATE Crosstabulation

Count

		DATE				TOTAL OF ALL DATES
		13.06.19	14.06.19	15.06.19	16.06.19	
CATEGORY	POLITICS	90	50	46	20	1442
	ECONOMY	15	6	1	1	242
	HEALTH	0	0	1	0	30
	EDUCATION	0	0	0	0	27
	SOCIAL	22	36	10	8	438
	PERSONAL	9	14	12	6	235
	OTHER	1	0	0	0	17
	TECHNOLOGY	0	0	0	0	8
	JUSTICE	1	0	2	0	15
Total	138	106	72	35	2454	

APPENDIX 5: Category and Theme Crosstabulation (Table 31)

Table 31 examines the frequency of statements occurred in the general predefined Categories in relation to the subcategories theme. The most occurred variables are highlighted with yellow color (values above 30).

CATEGORY * THEME Crosstabulation

Count

		THEME			
		POLITICS- BORDER SECURITY	TV INTERVIEW	RADIO INTERVIEW	POLITICS- AGAINST_DEMS
CATEGORY	POLITICS	45	37	28	40
	ECONOMY	0	0	0	0
	HEALTH	0	0	0	1
	EDUCATION	0	0	0	0
	SOCIAL	0	0	0	0
	PERSONAL	0	0	0	0
	OTHER	0	0	1	0
	TECHNOLOGY	0	0	0	0
	JUSTICE	0	0	0	0
Total		45	37	29	41

CATEGORY * THEME Crosstabulation

Count

		THEME				
		POLITICS_AGAI NST_OBAMA	EVENT	MEETING	SPEECH	POLITICS- ENVIROMENT
CATEGORY	POLITICS	8	25	104	80	19
	ECONOMY	0	0	0	0	0
	HEALTH	2	0	0	0	0
	EDUCATION	0	0	0	0	0
	SOCIAL	0	45	13	1	0
	PERSONAL	0	0	0	0	0

OTHER	0	0	0	0	0
TECHNOLOGY	0	2	0	0	0
JUSTICE	0	0	0	0	0
Total	10	72	117	81	19

CATEGORY * THEME Crosstabulation

Count

		THEME			
		POLITICS_LAW_	SOCIAL_HONOR	POLITICS_AGAIN	
		AGAINST_ANTIS	S_RENAMES	ST_RUSSIA	
		ECONOMY-BILL	EMITISM		
CATEGORY	POLITICS	0	5	0	16
	ECONOMY	92	0	0	0
	HEALTH	0	0	0	0
	EDUCATION	0	0	0	0
	SOCIAL	0	0	9	0
	PERSONAL	0	0	0	0
	OTHER	0	0	0	0
	TECHNOLOGY	0	0	0	0
	JUSTICE	0	0	0	0
Total		92	5	9	16

CATEGORY * THEME Crosstabulation

Count

		THEME			
		PERSONAL_THA	POLITICS_AGAIN	ECONOMY_FUN	AGAINST_TERR
		NKS	ST_CHINA	DS	ORISTS_and_AT
					TACKS
CATEGORY	POLITICS	2	45	0	61
	ECONOMY	0	0	89	0
	HEALTH	0	0	0	0
	EDUCATION	1	2	1	0
	SOCIAL	35	0	0	10
	PERSONAL	49	0	0	2
	OTHER	0	0	0	0
	TECHNOLOGY	0	0	0	0
	JUSTICE	0	0	0	0

Total	87	47	90	73
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CATEGORY * THEME Crosstabulation

Count

		THEME				
		LEGISLATION	VISITS	OTHER	POLITICS_FAV OR_ISRAEL	POLITICS_FAV OR_TRUMP
CATEGORY	POLITICS	128	49	21	5	23
	ECONOMY	1	0	4	0	2
	HEALTH	13	0	10	0	0
	EDUCATION	14	0	1	0	0
	SOCIAL	1	35	94	0	0
	PERSONAL	0	0	57	0	0
	OTHER	0	0	6	0	0
	TECHNOLOGY	2	0	0	0	0
	JUSTICE	14	0	1	0	0
Total		173	84	194	5	25

CATEGORY * THEME Crosstabulation

Count

		THEME			
		POLITICS_AGAIN ST_MADURO	POLITICS_FREE _NICARAGUA	NATIONAL_DAY	MEMORIAL_DAY
CATEGORY	POLITICS	40	2	0	0
	ECONOMY	0	0	0	0
	HEALTH	0	0	0	0
	EDUCATION	0	0	0	0
	SOCIAL	0	0	70	30
	PERSONAL	0	0	0	0
	OTHER	0	0	0	1
	TECHNOLOGY	0	0	0	0
	JUSTICE	0	0	0	0
Total		40	2	70	31

CATEGORY * THEME Crosstabulation

Count

THEME

		VETERANS	SOCIAL_HURRICANE_STORM_PREPARATION&REPORT	PROMO	POLITICS_FAVOR_HONGKONG
CATEGORY	POLITICS	0	0	2	3
	ECONOMY	1	0	0	0
	HEALTH	0	0	1	0
	EDUCATION	0	0	2	0
	SOCIAL	6	38	38	0
	PERSONAL	0	0	10	0
	OTHER	9	0	0	0
	TECHNOLOGY	0	0	0	0
	JUSTICE	0	0	0	0
Total		16	38	53	3

CATEGORY * THEME Crosstabulation

Count

		THEME			
		POLITICS_IMMIGRANTS	POLITICS_AGAINST_GOOGLE	INTERNSHIPS	RELIGIOUS
CATEGORY	POLITICS	14	4	0	0
	ECONOMY	0	1	0	0
	HEALTH	0	0	0	0
	EDUCATION	0	0	0	0
	SOCIAL	0	0	4	0
	PERSONAL	0	0	5	21
	OTHER	0	0	0	0
	TECHNOLOGY	0	0	0	0
	JUSTICE	0	0	0	0
Total		14	5	9	21

CATEGORY * THEME Crosstabulation

Count

CATEGORY		THEME			
		POLITICS_AGAIN	POLITICS_AGAIN	REPLIES	ECONOMY_BOOS
		ST_ABORTION	ST_IRAN		T
	POLITICS	6	11	133	0
	ECONOMY	0	0	5	12
	HEALTH	0	0	2	0
	EDUCATION	0	0	5	0
	SOCIAL	0	0	5	0
	PERSONAL	0	0	91	0
	OTHER	0	0	0	0
	TECHNOLOGY	0	0	0	0
	JUSTICE	0	0	0	0
Total		6	11	241	12

CATEGORY * THEME Crosstabulation

Count

CATEGORY		THEME			
		POLITICS_AGAIN	TECHNOLOGY	ECONOMY_TAX_	POLITICS_FAVO
		ST_MEDIA_BIAS		CUTS	R_YEMEN
	POLITICS	19	0	0	9
	ECONOMY	0	0	8	0
	HEALTH	0	1	0	0
	EDUCATION	0	0	0	0
	SOCIAL	0	0	0	0
	PERSONAL	0	0	0	0
	OTHER	0	0	0	0
	TECHNOLOGY	0	4	0	0
	JUSTICE	0	0	0	0
Total		19	5	8	9

CATEGORY * THEME Crosstabulation

Count

CATEGORY		NEWSLETTER	THEME		
			POLITICS_NO_U S_ARMY_IN_M.E AST	AGAINST_CIA	POLITICS_AGAIN ST_GOVERN_SP ENDING
	POLITICS	0	11	1	3
	ECONOMY	0	0	0	0
	HEALTH	0	0	0	0
	EDUCATION	0	0	0	0
	SOCIAL	22	0	0	0
	PERSONAL	0	0	0	0
	OTHER	0	0	0	0
	TECHNOLOGY	0	0	0	0
	JUSTICE	0	0	0	0
Total		22	11	1	3

CATEGORY * THEME Crosstabulation

Count

CATEGORY		POLITICS_FBI_A GAINST_REPUBL ICANS	THEME		
			ECONOMY_EMP LOYMENT	BREXIT_LEAVE_ NO_DEAL	POLITICS_SUPP ORT_T.MAY
	POLITICS	2	0	89	18
	ECONOMY	0	27	0	0
	HEALTH	0	0	0	0
	EDUCATION	0	0	0	0
	SOCIAL	0	0	0	0
	PERSONAL	0	0	0	0
	OTHER	0	0	0	0
	TECHNOLOGY	0	0	0	0
	JUSTICE	0	0	0	0
Total		2	27	89	18

CATEGORY * THEME Crosstabulation

Count

		THEME			
		BREXIT_WITH_D	UK_LEADERSHIP	AGAINST_LABO	BREXIT_AGAINS
		EAL	_CONTEST	UR_PARTY	T_PROJECT_FEA
					R
CATEGORY	POLITICS	8	33	13	24
	ECONOMY	0	0	0	0
	HEALTH	0	0	0	0
	EDUCATION	0	0	0	0
	SOCIAL	0	0	0	0
	PERSONAL	0	0	0	0
	OTHER	0	0	0	0
	TECHNOLOGY	0	0	0	0
	JUSTICE	0	0	0	0
Total		8	33	13	24

CATEGORY * THEME Crosstabulation

Count

		THEME			
		UK_AGAINST_WIT		SCOTISH_INDEP	
		HDRAWAL_AGGR	BULLING	ENDENCE_REFE	AGAINST_JUNKE
		EEMENT		RENDUM_AGAIN	R_EU
				ST	
CATEGORY	POLITICS	6	0	3	29
	ECONOMY	0	0	0	0
	HEALTH	0	0	0	0
	EDUCATION	0	1	0	0
	SOCIAL	0	4	0	0
	PERSONAL	0	0	0	0
	OTHER	0	0	0	0
	TECHNOLOGY	0	0	0	0
	JUSTICE	0	0	0	0
Total		6	5	3	29

CATEGORY * THEME Crosstabulation

Count

THEME

		EU_VOTES	POLITICS_AGAIN ST_CONSERVATI VES	FAVOR_RIGHT_ WING_PARTIES	BREXIT_RALLY
CATEGORY	POLITICS	7	39	3	13
	ECONOMY	0	0	0	0
	HEALTH	0	0	0	0
	EDUCATION	0	0	0	0
	SOCIAL	0	0	0	0
	PERSONAL	0	0	0	0
	OTHER	0	0	0	0
	TECHNOLOGY	0	0	0	0
	JUSTICE	0	0	0	0
Total		7	39	3	13

CATEGORY * THEME Crosstabulation

Count

		AGAINST_T.MAY	THEME AGAINST_LEFT_ WING	BREXIT_SCENA RIOS	AGAINST_S.ARA BIA
CATEGORY	POLITICS	97	10	11	9
	ECONOMY	0	0	0	0
	HEALTH	0	0	0	0
	EDUCATION	0	0	0	0
	SOCIAL	0	0	0	0
	PERSONAL	0	0	0	0
	OTHER	0	0	0	0
	TECHNOLOGY	0	0	0	0
	JUSTICE	0	0	0	0
Total		97	10	11	9

CATEGORY * THEME Crosstabulation

Count

		US_ELECTIONS	BREXIT_UPDATE S	FAVOR_RIGHT_ WING_PARTIES	FAVOR_BREXIT_ PARTY
CATEGORY	POLITICS	1	4	1	1
	ECONOMY	0	0	0	0
	HEALTH	0	0	0	0
	EDUCATION	0	0	0	0
	SOCIAL	0	0	0	0
	PERSONAL	0	0	0	0
	OTHER	0	0	0	0
	TECHNOLOGY	0	0	0	0
	JUSTICE	0	0	0	0
Total		1	4	1	1

CATEGORY * THEME Crosstabulation

Count

		Total
CATEGORY	POLITICS	1420
	ECONOMY	242
	HEALTH	30
	EDUCATION	27
	SOCIAL	460
	PERSONAL	235
	OTHER	17
	TECHNOLOGY	8
	JUSTICE	15
Total		2454

APPENDIX 6: Persuasion Element + Tone of Voice + Category Crosstabulation (Table 32)

Table 32 shows the combination of categories, persuasion element and tone of voice breakdown to identify which element politicians use to persuade, with what tone of voice and on which categories. The table has been explained on the "further findings".

TONE_OF_VOICE * PERSUASION_ELEMENT * CATEGORY Crosstabulation

Count			PERSUASION_ELEMENT						LOGOS+PATHOS +ETHOS	Total
			PATHOS	ETHOS	LOGOS	LOGOS+ETHOS	LOGOS+PATHOS	PATHOS+ETHOS		
CATEGORY	TONE_OF_VOICE									
POLITICS	0		1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	MOTIVATE		286	7	1	2	0	47	4	347
	JUDGEMENT		217	0	2	0	3	3	2	227
	PRAISE		18	2	0	1	0	9	3	33
	CRITIQUE		124	0	0	1	2	3	2	132
	SHOCKING		8	0	0	0	1	0	0	9
	COMPLIMENT		86	1	0	2	0	30	0	119
	DISTURBING		4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
	DIRECTIVE		148	1	1	0	5	9	2	166
	INFORMATIVE		177	14	6	3	3	22	1	226
	AGGRESSIVE		8	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
	COMPLAIN		3	0	0	0	0	1	0	4
	MOVING		8	1	0	0	0	0	0	9
	CELEBRATE		3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	PROMISE		28	3	3	3	3	30	6	76
	IRONY		76	0	0	0	0	1	1	78
		Total		1195	29	13	12	17	155	21
ECONOMY	MOTIVATE		24	0	5	3	6	7	11	56

	TONE_OF_ VOICE	JUDGEMENT	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
		PRAISE	1	1	1	1	0	4	1	9
		CRITIQUE	2	0	3	2	2	0	0	9
		COMPLIMENT	2	0	0	0	0	4	0	6
		DIRECTIVE	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
		INFORMATIVE	14	1	15	6	3	10	0	49
		COMPLAIN	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
		PROMISE	34	6	10	13	4	27	6	100
		IRONY	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		Total	89	8	34	25	16	52	18	242
HEALTH	TONE_OF_ VOICE	MOTIVATE	8	0		0	0	3	0	11
		CRITIQUE	2	0		0	0	0	0	2
		COMPLIMENT	1	0		0	0	0	0	1
		DISTURBING	1	0		0	0	0	0	1
		DIRECTIVE	0	0		0	1	0	0	1
		INFORMATIVE	0	0		1	0	1	0	2
		MOVING	1	0		0	0	0	0	1
		PROMISE	1	2		0	0	6	2	11
Total	14	2		1	1	10	2	30		
EDUCATION	TONE_OF_ VOICE	MOTIVATE	3	0			1		4	
		JUDGEMENT	2	0			0		2	
		PRAISE	1	0			1		2	
		CRITIQUE	4	0			0		4	
		COMPLIMENT	0	0			1		1	

		DIRECTIVE	2	0			0	2
		INFORMATIVE	2	0			0	2
		PROMISE	2	1			7	10
	Total		16	1			10	27
SOCIAL	TONE_OF_ VOICE	MOTIVATE	67	1			14	82
		JUDGEMENT	4	0			0	4
		PRAISE	69	1			16	86
		CRITIQUE	1	0			0	1
		COMPLIMENT	68	0			14	82
		DIRECTIVE	2	0			0	2
		INFORMATIVE	32	8			19	59
		MOVING	64	0			0	64
		CELEBRATE	51	0			1	52
		PROMISE	2	2			1	5
		IRONY	1	0			0	1
		Total		361	12			65
PERSONAL	TONE_OF_ VOICE	MOTIVATE	32	0	0		4	36
		JUDGEMENT	1	0	0		0	1
		PRAISE	37	0	1		4	42
		CRITIQUE	1	0	0		0	1
		COMPLIMENT	79	1	0		3	83
		DIRECTIVE	1	0	0		0	1
		INFORMATIVE	53	0	0		1	54
		MOVING	4	0	0		0	4

		CELEBRATE	9	0		0		0		9
		IRONY	4	0		0		0		4
		Total	221	1		1		12		235
OTHER	TONE_OF_	MOTIVATE	2							2
	VOICE	PRAISE	6							6
		DIRECTIVE	2							2
		INFORMATIVE	1							1
		MOVING	4							4
		CELEBRATE	2							2
		Total	17							17
TECHNOLOGY	TONE_OF_	MOTIVATE	2				0	0		2
	VOICE	COMPLIMENT	1				0	0		1
		INFORMATIVE	1				2	2		5
		Total	4				2	2		8
JUSTICE	TONE_OF_	MOTIVATE	1	1				2		4
	VOICE	JUDGEMENT	1	0				0		1
		PRAISE	0	0				1		1
		CRITIQUE	1	0				0		1
		DIRECTIVE	1	0				0		1
		PROMISE	2	2				3		7
		Total	6	3				6		15
Total	TONE_OF_	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	VOICE	MOTIVATE	425	9	6	5	6	78	15	544
		JUDGEMENT	230	0	2	0	3	3	2	240

PRAISE	132	4	1	3	0	35	4	179
CRITIQUE	135	0	3	3	4	3	2	150
SHOCKING	8	0	0	0	1	0	0	9
COMPLIMENT	237	2	0	2	0	52	0	293
DISTURBING	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
DIRECTIVE	158	1	1	0	7	9	2	178
INFORMATIVE	280	23	21	10	8	55	1	398
AGGRESSIVE	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
COMPLAIN	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	8
MOVING	81	1	0	0	0	0	0	82
CELEBRATE	65	0	0	0	0	1	0	66
PROMISE	69	16	13	16	7	74	14	209
IRONY	82	0	0	0	0	1	1	84
Total	1923	56	47	39	36	312	41	2454

