
RIGHT-WING FORMATIONS IN EUROPE AND THEIR COUNTER- MEASURES: AN ONLINE MAPPING

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- INTRODUCTION -

Summary

This report describes the findings from an online mapping of the populist right and right-wing extremism in Europe. By online mapping is meant a picture of the right according to the web. We have not correlated our findings with an offline baseline, such as expert reports of levels of right-wing activity and membership counts, however defined. Rather we describe in some detail what the web is able to tell us about what we phrase right-wing formations online, that is, both the populist right as well as the extremists, in one mapping per country. Our analysis also includes crossovers, i.e., which groups, individuals or other formations are recognized in more than one country. For example, is there a European hub organization? Or are there particular links between right-wing groups across countries?

Much of the work has to do with preparing a series of queries in order to make a comprehensive list of URLs of the right, country by country. (A fuller description of the method is described below.) We enter the URL lists into link analysis software (the Issue Crawler), which crawls the websites, and finds links between them. Our 'maps' are cluster graphs of websites linked to and from by the right. The maps are accompanied by descriptions of the qualities of each of the networks as a whole, the individual clusters, and the top nodes per cluster. Which types of networks do the right form, if any? Are the populists linked to the extremists? Are the extremists united, or splintered? Are they national, regional and/or international? Are they fresh, and active, also in social media?

We are also interested in the substance of these networks. What is the populist right and right-wing extremism about, at least according to the websites? What are their issues? What kinds of activities do they undertake? We also have two focal points. One focus is on the lone wolves, or as we have

Out in the open in Austria. Hide and seek in Germany, with info-shops giving legal advice on marches. A decaying right-wing web in Belgium. Native seeds, organic markets and Greek blood drives in Greece. Horse and yurt festivals in Hungary, where youth are recruited. Online promotion of the populist right and right-wing extremism have national specificities, as we report, as well as cross-cultural similarities. Belgian and Italian separatists are both regional in character. Denmark and Norway orient themselves towards anti-islamization, and have an international character, with links to major US-based sites such as jihadwatch.org and gatesofvienna.net, pointing towards a burgeoning global counter-jihadist network. France's identitarian movement connects, too, with the counter-jihadists, supplanting the old guard right, which is generally waning in influence, though relevant in countries like Spain, Bulgaria and Serbia.

interpreted them, also the lone bloggers. Such a focal point should be viewed in light of the July 2011 killings in Norway by Anders Breivik, who himself contributed to online platforms and read (and cited) such blogs as Fjordman, Gates of Vienna, the Brussels Journal and Jihad Watch. Indeed we have found that counter-jihadism, as anti-islamic sentiment or islamophobia is called, is located primarily in the north, and in our mapping, specifically in Denmark and Norway. (Counter-jihadism is the focus of a separate enquiry by the Digital Methods Initiative.) A second point is youth recruitment. We are particularly interested in outreach activities, and the youth culture of the right. Festivals appear to be one of the main ac-

tivities, but recruitment also takes place via webshops, which we describe. There are also gender issues to be considered. Often a predominantly male activity, the populist right and extremists also may make constituency efforts, including particular undertakings for women, with specific women's magazines with right-wing content such as lifestyle and recipe tips. Ultimately we are concerned with the counter-measures. How is the right being countered, at least according to the web (and on the web)? Do the counter-measures address the activities of the right? Here we make a series of in-country observations, recommending for example efforts to take back the yurt in Hungary, and the organic food markets and blood drives in Greece. ♦

Introduction to the mapping and analytical undertaking

The mapping commences with the collection of the URLs of populist right-wing and right-wing extremist websites in the following countries: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Romania, Serbia and Spain. The lists of websites are made by following a particular method, referred to as the ‘associative query-snowballing technique’ (see appendix). Queries are formulated, and made in the local domain Googles (such as *google.at*, *google.be* and *google.bg*), largely in this style, in the various local languages: [populist right parties] and [right-wing extremist groups]. When the names of parties, groups or other related entities (e.g., webshop) are found, they are entered as lists (each in quotation marks) into the respective search engines. This process is repeated, until no new names are found. That is, lists of populist right and extremist groups are slowly built up from the query results. Once the lists gathered from the web are finished, they are compared with expert lists. To find expert lists, queries are made in Google Scholar, first in the home language, and subsequently in English. The queries made are similar to those that were entered in the local domain Googles, in the first round of list-building from the web. Any new groups on the expert lists are searched for online, and if they have a web presence, they are added. Thus the expert lists add to the web lists. Each of these lists of right-wing groups is sorted in terms of whether they are on the ballot or on the fringe, and their organisational (and network) form is also described, e.g., centralised, local chapter or franchise model, cell-like structure, isolated nodes, lone bloggers, etc.

The URLs of the populist right, the extreme right and the populist and extreme right together are crawled in three analytical procedures. Co-link

analysis is performed (with privileged starting points, keeping the seeds on the map, if linked to), whereby those websites which receive at least one link are retained in the network. Co-link analysis is also performed without privileged seeds. The additional analytical procedure is an inter-actor mapping, where the URLs are crawled, and links are found amongst the actors. Each of the networks is visualised as a cluster graph (according to measures of inlink centrality), and the findings are described. First, are there other (heretofore) undiscovered groups found through the link analysis? (Co-link mapping is a procedure that discovers related URLs through interlinking.) Second, where are the sites registered and hosted? Are the websites registered under aliases, and are they hosted out-

The mapping also inquires into counter-measures which address or ‘match’ the right’s activities. There are competing (right-wing and progressive) youth festivals in Belgium, but there are mismatches in countries, especially where the left concentrates on anti-fascism, and the right is more engaged with populism and/or counter-jihadism.

side the country? Sites hosted outside the country are often more extremist. Third, what types of websites are there, such as homepages, blogs, social media, etc.? Are the websites fresh, and are they particularly active? We also survey briefly social media use. Do they have Facebook groups (with how many members) and pages (with how many likes and comments)? If they use Twitter, do they use it to broadcast (only to their followers), or do they use it as a two-way communications medium, or some mix? Apart from the ‘techni-

cal’ characteristics of the websites and platforms in the networks, we are interested in the groups’ activities, especially in their outreach, forms of communication as well as youth recruitment. Is the radio station a preferred form of reaching the people? Is there an active music scene? Where does one go in order to participate in the scene? Generally we describe the characteristics of the right-wing formations online specific to the country.

Finally, we inquire into the counter-measures, the initiatives that seek to address the rise of the populist right and the activities of the extreme right. While this particular analysis is less extensive than that of the right itself, we are especially interested in the ‘match’ between the right’s activities and those of the counter-measures. Do the counter-measures address the right-wing activities and outreach? What kinds of matches and mismatches are to be found? Do the counter-measures offer alternatives, and/or largely react to the right’s activities? The mismatches between the right’s activities and the counter-network’s measures are described, which in turn may lead to new projects. In Hungary the Mongolian roots have been appropriated by the right, and the question may be asked how to take back the yurt. In Serbia there is a growing right-wing civil society, with think tanks, which seek to shape the discussion on the future of Serbia around the questions of land and Kosovo. In Denmark, Norway and to an extent in the Netherlands, counter-jihadism increasingly organizes the right, while the counter-network measures tend to instead concentrate on anti-fascism. Indeed, in Austria the counter-measures address ‘brown’ culture, including hidden symbols, whilst activities directed at the more populist anti-capitalist critique from the right (against lavish Austrian balls, and the storage of Austrian gold abroad) are not in the network. Belgium, however, is a case where there are competing youth festivals so to speak, where the counter-measures appear to address the right’s recruitment activities. ♦

- COUNTRY PROFILING -

AUSTRIA

- OUT IN THE OPEN -

The most significant findings concern the openness of the populist right, and, paradoxically, that the counter-measures from the counter-right address 'hiddenness,' i.e., the secret symbols and other cultural aspects of the more extreme right generally.

It was found that the Austrian network of the right is characterized by the open operation of websites within country borders. It is open in the sense that the websites are all registered and hosted in Austria, and there is little of a cat and mouse game of continual domain name changes, and hosting in the USA (at least compared to Germany).

The populist right centers around the *Freedom Party* (FPÖ), and it forms a cluster of websites with its local chapters (including student chapters), together with issue-related sites. The substance of the issue-related websites is of interest. Once calls for the return of Austrian gold (goldrettung.at) and another is an anti-bankers protest site (giebelkreuzregime.at). Lavish Austrian balls are also a source of scorn.

Anti-capitalism is among the sorts of populist issues that appear to receive less attention by the counter-right, at least in the countermeasure network located. Rather there is a strong anti-fascist network that focuses on the right's hidden symbols (*versteckspiel*), 'brown' music (*brauntoene*) as well as youth lifestyle. It does not appear to address populism, or be populist in its issue selection.

Finally, there is an absence of (a networked) extreme right online in Austria, which the counter-measures would address. ♦

Starting points

**RECHTSRADIKALE
PARTEI**

**RECHTSRADIKALE
GRUPPE**

**RECHTSRADIKALE
GRUPPIERUNG**

RECHTSEXTREMISMUS

RECHTSEXTREME PARTEIEN

BRAUNER

NAZIS IN ÖSTERREICH

POPULISTISCHE PARTEI

POPULISTISCHE GRUPPE

**RECHTSPOPULISTISCHE
GRUPPE**

RECHTSPOPULISMUS

**NATIONALSOZIALISTISCHE
GRUPPE**

**NATIONALISTISCHE
GRUPPE**

Query

“Rechtsradikale Partei”

“Rechtsradikale Gruppe”

“Rechtsradikale Gruppierung”

“Rechtsextremismus”

“Rechtsextreme Parteien”

“Brauner”

“Nazis in Österreich”

“Populistische Partei”

“Populistische Gruppe”

“Rechtspopulistische Gruppe”

“Rechtspopulismus”

“Nationalsozialistische Gruppe”

“Nationalistische Gruppe”

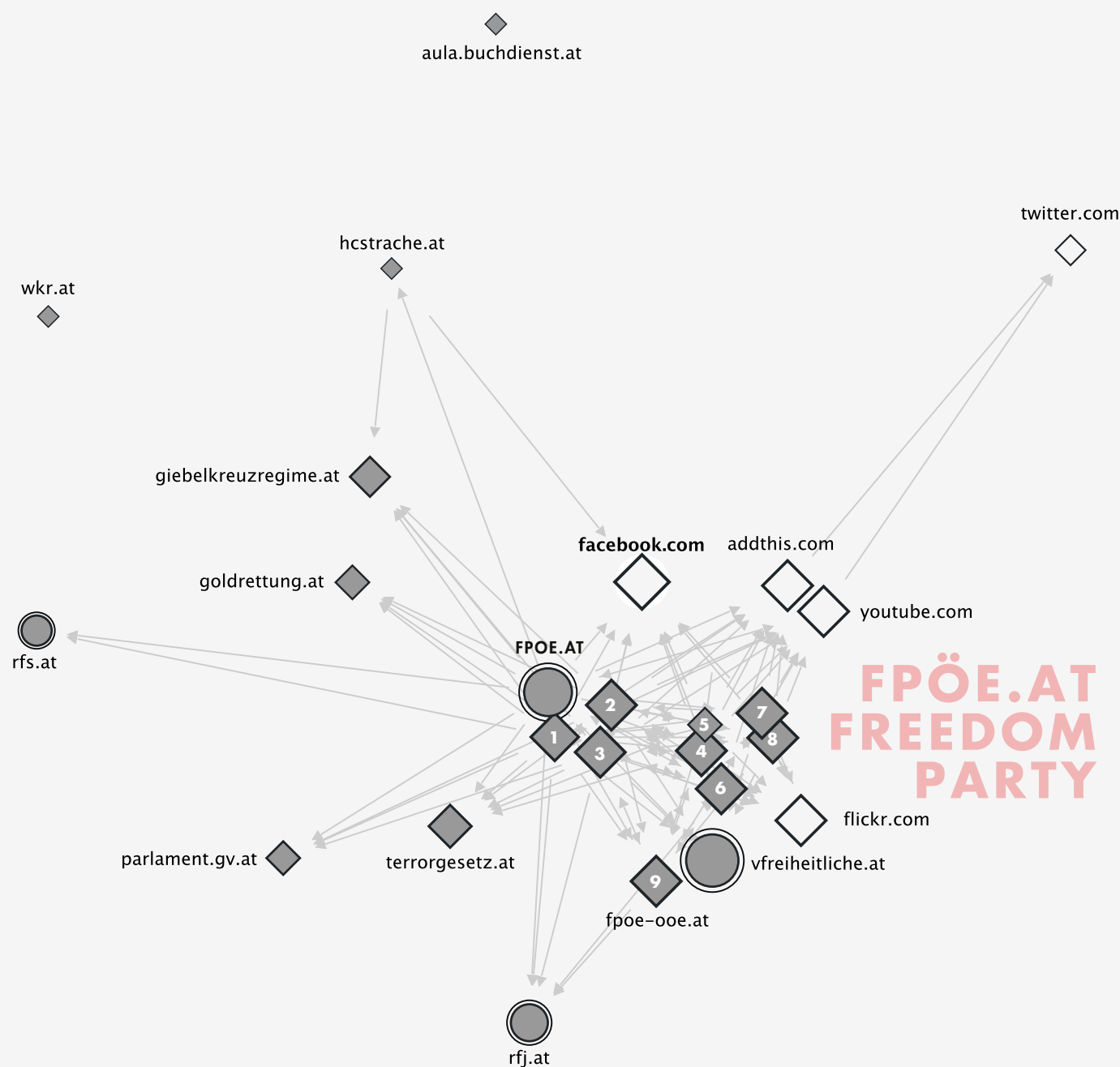
Seed URLs procedure and description of method

The starting points were found by using the associative query snowballing technique, querying the terms [populism Austria] [right-wing Austria] in the local language at [google.at](https://www.google.at), making a list of the groups mentioned, and querying the names of the groups repeatedly until no new groups were found (see appendix). Subsequently the query routine is repeated for Google Scholar, and any new names of groups are added to the web list. (In Google and Google Scholar several combinations of terms for right-wing populism and the extreme right in Austria were employed to locate all possible seed URLs; see query list above.) Additionally, the Issue Crawler was used to detect related URLs, whereby one enters the seed URLs, crawls them, and the output are those pages that have received at least two inlinks from the seeds. Those related URLs not on the initial list of

seeds are added. The last step included the study of social media activities. If a group had no shown connection to Facebook, YouTube or Twitter, a manual search was conducted.

Austrian extremist right groups and parties are difficult to locate on the web. Most of the 13 starting points represent party websites, and fringe right-wing groups are in the minority on the Austrian list. The seed URLs do not include any local chapters of groups, though they do include youth and gender subgroups or constituencies. Right-wing, offline magazines are also on the list as they are represented by online bookshops, for example. Additionally, a weblog and a forum are part of the seeds.

The countermeasures were found through the associative query snowballing technique, but had a richer outcome already at this step, with such groups in abundance. ♦



Right wing co-link network

- 1 - fpoe-salzburg.at
- 2 - fpoe-noe.at
- 3 - fpoe-wien.at
- 4 - fpoe-bgld.at
- 5 - fpoe-parlamentsklub.at
- 6 - fpoe-tirol.at
- 7 - fpoe-stmk.at
- 8 - fpoe-ktn.at
- 9 - fpoe-ooe.at

○ starting points
◇ new links

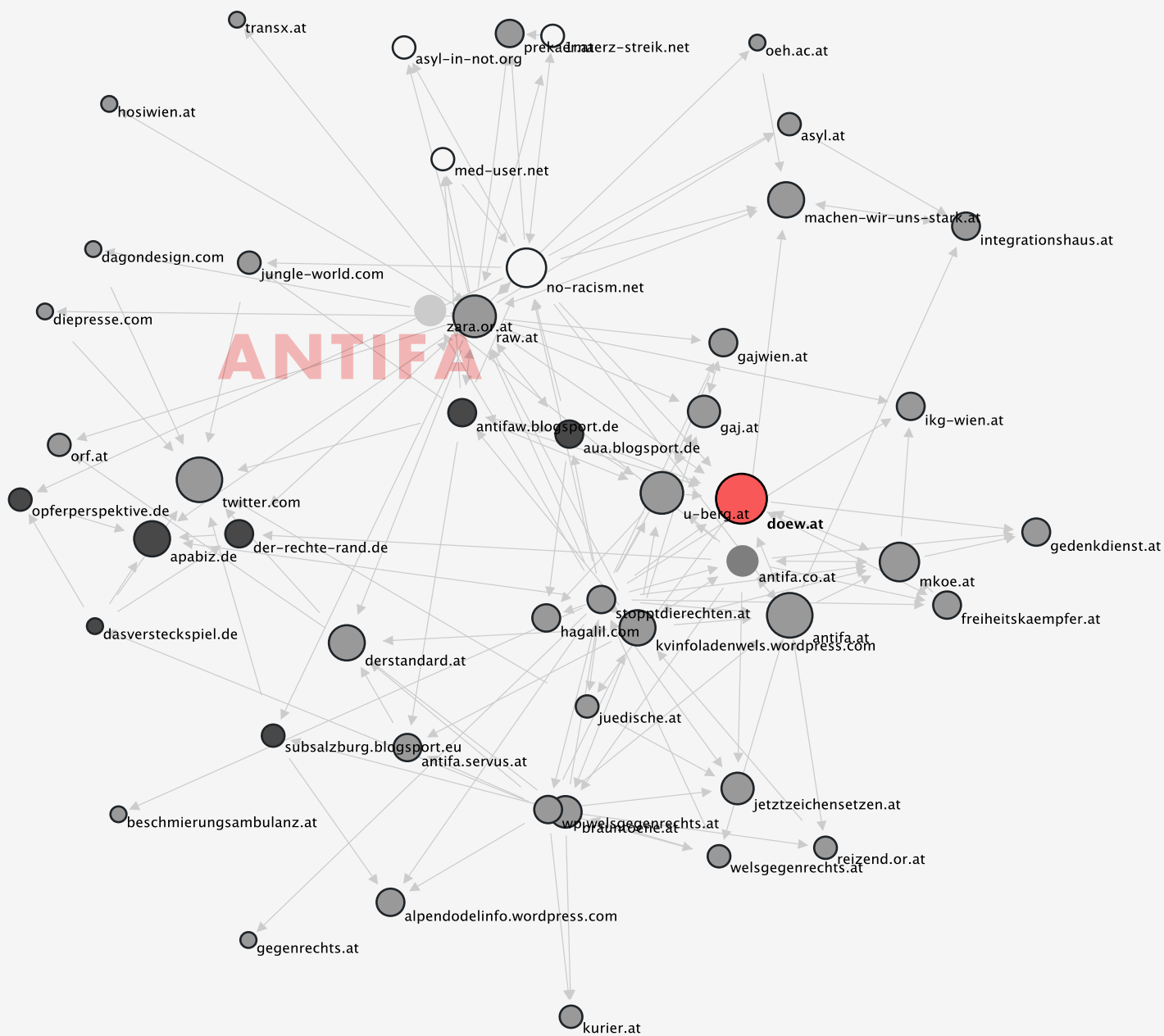
○◇ party
○◇ generic non-party organization

○◇ generic
●◇ national

Looking at the inter-actor maps two networks are visible. The FPÖ (the Freedom Party, on the ballot in Austria) and online magazines (*Die Aula* and *Wiener Beobachter*) create minor separate networks. The co-link map shows that the network is dense and has only one hub, the Freedom Party. Local chapter groups and social me-

dia sites like Facebook, Twitter, Flickr and YouTube are part of the network as well. Certain single URLs have no link to the centralized network and can be classified as isolates, but not as lone bloggers.

The crawl also reveals links to an Austrian parliament page about accommodating asylum-seekers in barracks. ♦



Counter right-wing measures network

-  generic
-  national
-  non national
-  relevant

Mismatch between right-wing and counter-measure networks

Remarkably, the counter-measure network does not match the right-wing populist one. It is a large network, where the main actor is the *AntiFa* (anti-fascist) and its franchise groups.

Although a specific kind of music or dress code is not acknowledged in the populist right-wing sphere, the countermeasures pay much attention to information about “brown music” (*brauntoene.at*) as well as special symbols (versteckspiel). The *FPÖ* is a dominant topic, however, on the websites in the counter-measure network. ♦

Focal points: Youth recruitment

Interestingly Twitter, Flickr and YouTube are used as mediums of documentation. These platforms are mainly utilized to report on the parties' offline activities, and to point to and spread their written materials. In some cases only one politician represents the party or organization on the platform (HC Strache), and these accounts function as personal broadcast systems.

Additionally, local chapter youth groups preferably use pages in Facebook instead of websites. Like their elders, the groups use this platform on

a regular basis for documentation, and also upload pictures and caricatures. Given the relatively high amount of likes, the platform is likely a leading online pathway for youth recruitment.

One general finding is that the more populist right has an open, online representation on websites, weblogs and/or Twitter. They are easily accessible and have interconnections with one another. None of those could be called the extreme right, which is difficult to locate online. The fact that all of the websites are registered in Austria indicates that these groups are not under the pressure of surveillance. The IP addresses also reveal that most of the websites are hosted in Austria. ♦

Social Media Data

facebook
likes



twitter
followers

AUSTRIA

12.381 / 894



GERMANY

- LEGAL ADVICE AND INTERNET COUNTER-SURVEILLANCE TIPS -

Method	Starting Points
<p>The long list of starting points was compiled using the associative query snowballing technique. In Google Web and Google Scholar several terms for right-wing populism and the extreme right were employed, and internal website links (e.g., on blogrolls) also were manually harvested. Additionally, the Issue Crawler was used to detect even more URLs, where one compares the output of the co-link analysis with the inputted URLs. Social media platforms also were browsed. If a group had no connection to Facebook, YouTube or Twitter, manual searches were performed. If new groups showed up in one of the social networks, a search was conducted for their website. ♦</p>	<p>NATIONALDEMOKRATISCHE PARTEI DEUTSCHLANDS (NPD) JUNGE NATIONALDEMOKRATEN RING DEUTSCHER FRAUEN BUND FÜR GESAMTDEUTSCHLAND DEUTSCHE PARTEI SÄCHSISCHE VOLKSPARTEI UNABHÄNGIGE ARBEITER-PARTEI DIE RECHTE PRO-BEWEGUNG PRO DEUTSCHLAND BÜRGERBEWEGUNG PRO NRW JUGEND PRO DEUTSCHLAND BÜRGERBEWEGUNG PRO BAYERN BÜRGERBEWEGUNG PRO DEUTSCHLAND BERLIN BÜRGERBEWEGUNG PRO KÖLN DEUTSCHE LIGA FÜR VOLK UND HEIMAT WIDERSTAND SÜD WIDERSTAND WEST NATIONALER WIDERSTAND BERLIN-BRANDENBURG (NWBB) AUTONOME NATIONALISTEN WETZLAR AUTONOME NATIONALE SOZIALISTEN STORMARN "AUTONOME NATIONALISTEN AHLEN (NOW: FREIES NACHRICHTENNETZ AUS AHLEN)" AUTONOME NATIONALISTEN AUE AUTONOME NATIONALISTEN BÜCKEBURG AUTONOME NATIONALISTEN FRANKENBERG AUTONOME NATIONALISTEN GÖPPINGEN AUTONOME NATIONALISTEN GRAFSCHAFT BENTHEIM AUTONOME NATIONALISTEN KAISERSLAUTERN AUTONOME NATIONALISTEN MARBURG AUTONOME NATIONALISTEN MOERS AUTONOME NATIONALISTEN ODER SPREE AUTONOME NATIONALISTEN OSTFRIESLAND AUTONOME NATIONALISTEN VORDERPFALZ AUTONOME NATIONALISTEN WOLFSBURG AUTONOME NATIONALISTEN WOLFENBÜTTEL/SALZGITTER FREIE KRÄFTE BERLIN SÜDOST FREIE KRÄFTE BERLIN NEUKÖLN FREIE KRÄFTE GREIFSWALD FREIE KRÄFTE HALLE FREIE KRÄFTE SCHWALM EDER</p>
Query	
<p>"Rechtsradikale Partei"</p> <p>"Rechtsradikale Gruppe"</p> <p>"Rechtsradikale Gruppierung"</p> <p>"Rechtsextremismus"</p> <p>"Rechtsextreme Parteien"</p> <p>"Brauner"</p> <p>"Nazis in Deutschland"</p> <p>"Populistische Partei"</p> <p>"Populistische Gruppe"</p> <p>"Rechtspopulistische Gruppe"</p> <p>"Rechtspopulismus"</p> <p>"Nationalsozialistische Gruppe"</p> <p>"Nationalistische Gruppe"</p>	



party



non-party



relevant



national



webshop

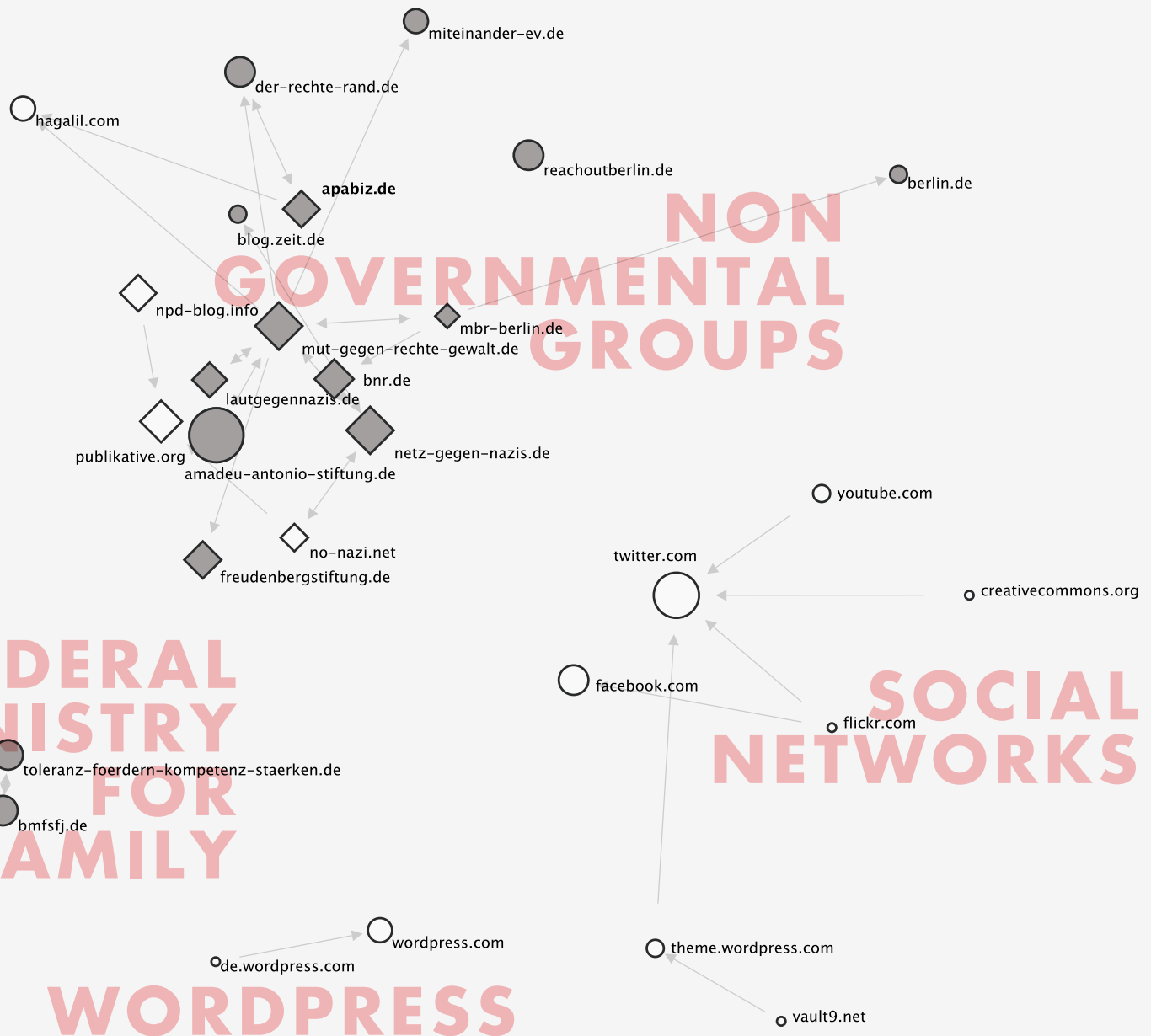
Network - co-link analysis

The network consists of two main hubs which share connections. The first one is mainly comprised of chapters of the

Pro-Germany movement (Pro-Bewegung), with links the populist right-wing parties of Austria, Belgium and Switzerland.

The other cluster is extremist, with websites that often change (domain)

names, and are organized in chapters / franchises. Also lone bloggers or independent broadcasters are part of this network. Most is fringe, with the on-the-ballot parties not occupying much space in the network. ♦



Network - Counter-measures

The countermeasure network consists of three minor clusters (and a wordpress one, too), the largest of which is that of non-governmental groups, well inter-linked, with another impor-

tant cluster, the official websites of the Ministry for the Family (*Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Kinder und Frauen*) and its initiatives, disconnected from the NGOs. The social media platform cluster revolves around counter-protests and following the Pro Deutschland tour around the country and interfering with their marches and demonstrations (Mess up the Pro Deutschland tour 2012). ♦

The right is underground, gives legal advice and is graffitied on the walls

Taking into account the anti-fascist (*AntiFa*) movement and the general awareness towards right-wing formations in Germany, the amount of far right material and activism online is rather astonishing. Made up of both parties on the ballot and fringe groups, the seed list has more than 80 different URLs, all but two of which were found through the online methods (searching and crawling). There are at least three main themes in the right-wing networks: the cat and mouse game the right plays with authorities online, moving from URL to URL, the legal and safety/security advice culture (infoshops) as well as the communication culture, and especially the use of graffiti.

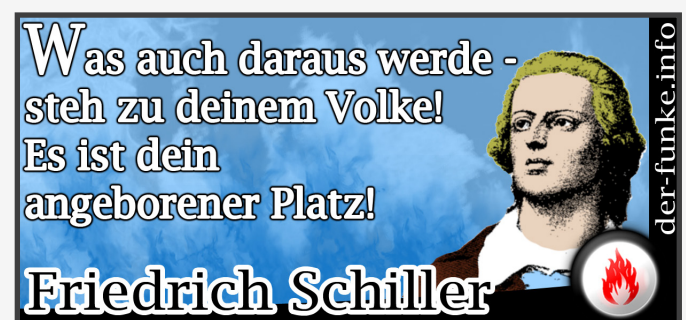
In general, the groups and individuals online appear to be heavily monitored by the German authorities, and are often shut down. The Kameradschaft Hamm (logr.org site) announced they were banned on 23 August 2012, and the spreelichter.info's site is down as well. (Spreelichter appears to have a sense of humor and be aware of Internet memes. The Speelichter page rickrolls users who turn on and off the "spree" lights.) Relatedly, the fringe groups operate furtively; the cat and mouse game includes the changing of names or URL, hosting websites out of the country, and also moving onto social media platforms, where they are also banned (e.g., die Unsterblichen, or the Immortal). The German Voice (Deutsche Stimme) changed their name and URL into ds-aktuell for

example. Fringe group sites are registered in countries such as the United States, Thailand, Hong Kong or Sweden. Even more noticeable is that nearly none of the websites is hosted in Germany. [Logr.org](http://logr.org) advertises their hosting service as for dissidents (with a freedom of expression rationale), with servers located in the US. Widerstand.info has a banner ad for anonymous webhosting. A Google Web search query for [site:logr.org] reveals the extensive use of that web service by the right, including temporary event websites.

Another finding of note is the legal advice culture, with documentation and information revolving around what is allowed by law, and what to do when the police approach. The network contains the Deutsches Rechtsbuero, for example, which defends the so-called politically incorrect German. There is also a related safety/security culture, in the context of demonstrations and marches, together with confrontations with the left. Sicherheitshinweise für Nationalisten (sicherheit.nw.am) has safety advice, which extends beyond the demonstration, one's right to remain silent and what to do if one's house is searched. Much of the advice concerns online culture, beginning with the arguments to drop Internet Explorer as one's browser, but also pointers for the reliable wiping of data, anti-tracking (and ways around analytics software) as well as a password generator. Communication and mobilization occurs online, and there is also the annual Pressefest, a media fair, so to speak, organized by *Die Deutsche Stimme* and the *NPD*, the main party. A more novel form of communication is the promotion of graffiti as a means of expression. The weblog *Strassenkunst* (logr.org/strassenkunst) shows how graffiti is used to spread ide-



/1



/2

1/ Example of graffiti from logr.org/strassenkunst/, with the caption: "Aufkleber 'Zion angreifen.' Klare Aussage aus Greiz" 29 March 2013

2/ Example from der-funke.info of saying or quotation by well-known historical figure

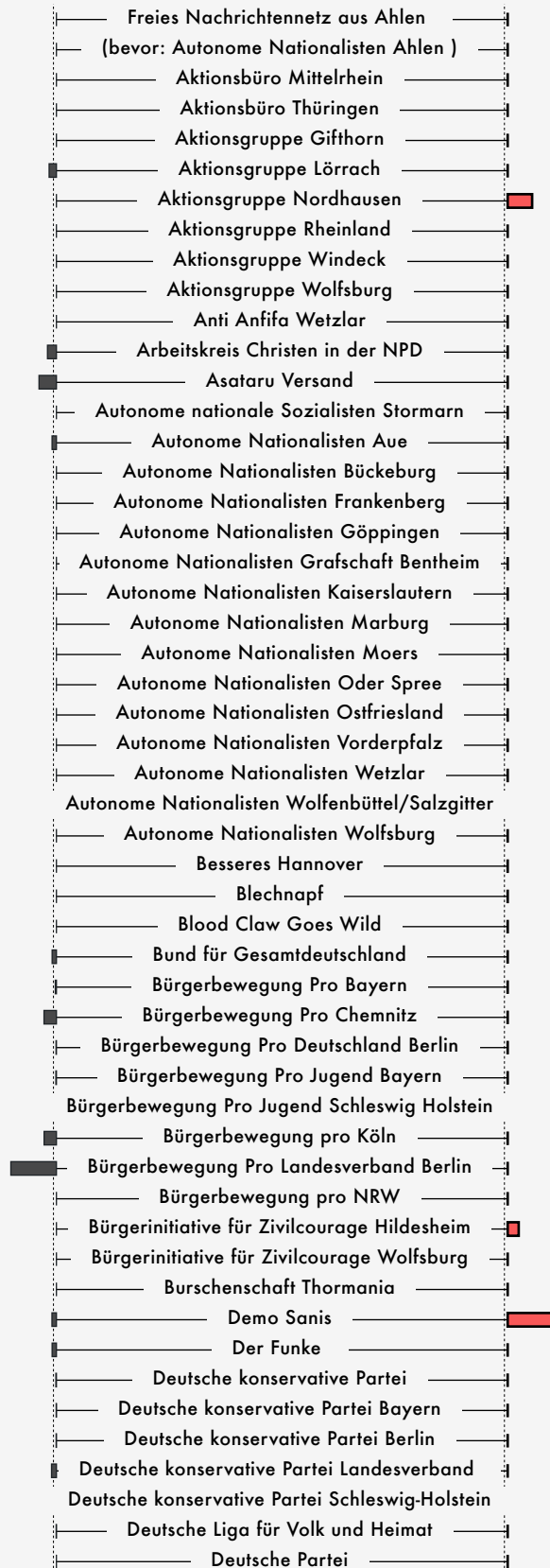
ology and message aesthetically through urban street culture, and has a variety of pointers of how to deal with the police. The blog also highlights how activism has a style to it that is not only 'brown.' It appears that members of the extreme right are no longer tied to a uniform dress code or behavior. Another example is *der-Funke.info*, a site that has moved to *derfunkeinfo.wordpress.com* (and *facebook.com/DerFunke.Info*) at time of writing. (Here it is as if the radical right-wing sites are being pushed onto or fleeing to social media, instead of moving there on their own.) *Der Funke* functions as a lone blogger with issues such as counter-jihadism; *Der Funke* makes posters with sayings or quotations from well-known historical figures.

With respect to recruitment, the fair, music and marching scene has a graffiti subculture, too. The video of *Der Unsterblicher* (the Immortal) is designed like an advertisement or movie (*youtube.com/watch?v=6urKpbtxxveU*). The collection of names and addresses of potentially interested members occurs through webshops. *Widerstand.info* (which also

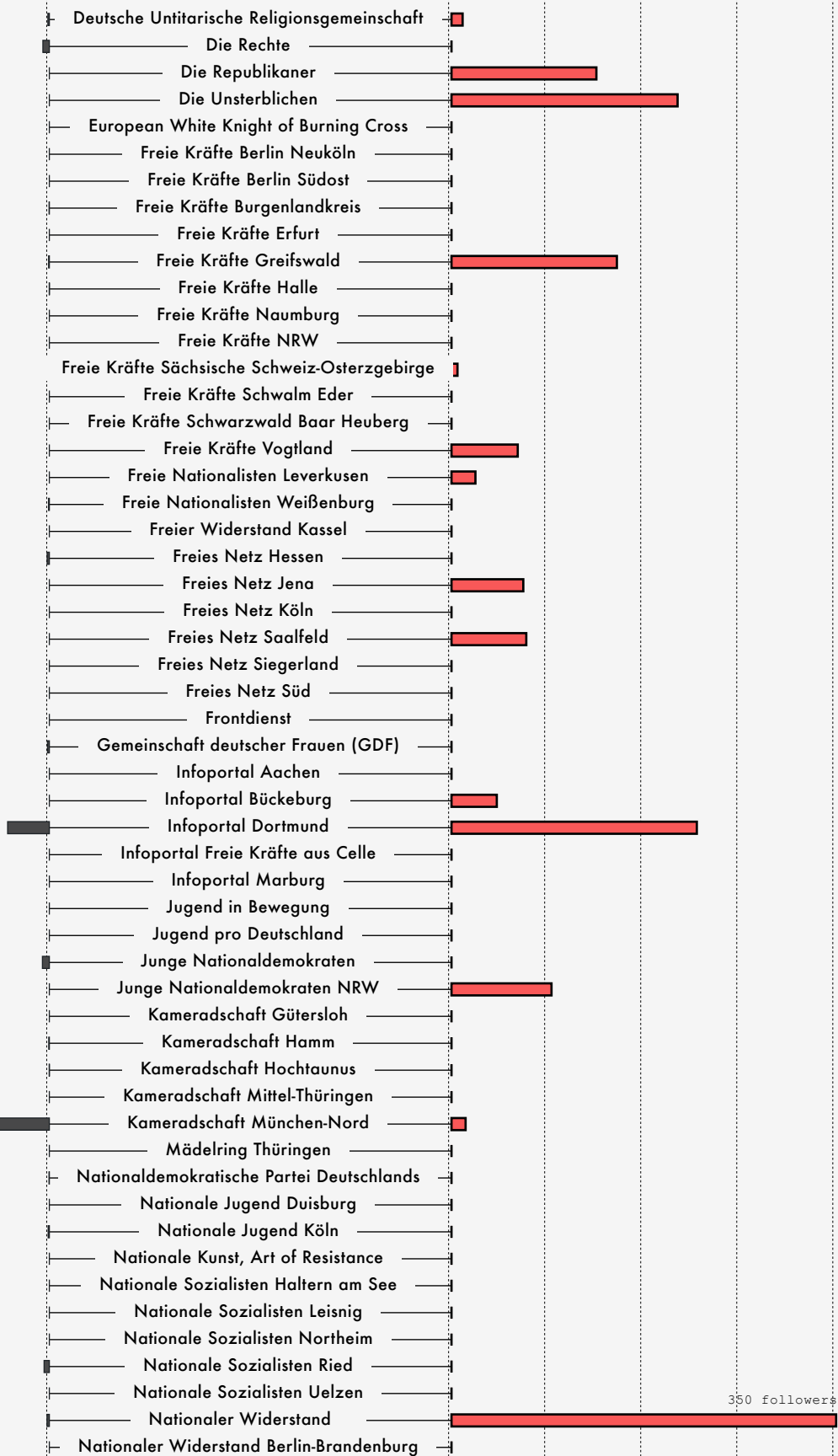
has a 24-hour radio station) links to different web shops (Versand der Bewegung, Asatura Versand and Frontdienst), where clothing, cups and music may be purchased. Having dedicated followers of the news appears to be another form of recruitment. *Infoportal24.org* is one of the more active with daily postings. Announcements for events, articles which criticize the establishment or general information like the ban of Besseres Hannover can be read there. Finally, there are some websites, which highlight the role and importance of women. The *NPD* for example has its own women's subgroup and you can read cases against emancipation, and the "gender lie" (*free-gender.de*). In the counter-measures network, the *AntiFa* or comparable movements are not the main initiators, but rather there is a large presence of foundations. Most of the sites focus on information about extreme right groups (like *bnr.de*) or promote activities against it. Foundations choose another way by concentrating on projects on democracy and integration. ♦

GERMANY

43.278 / 5.406



26.880 likes



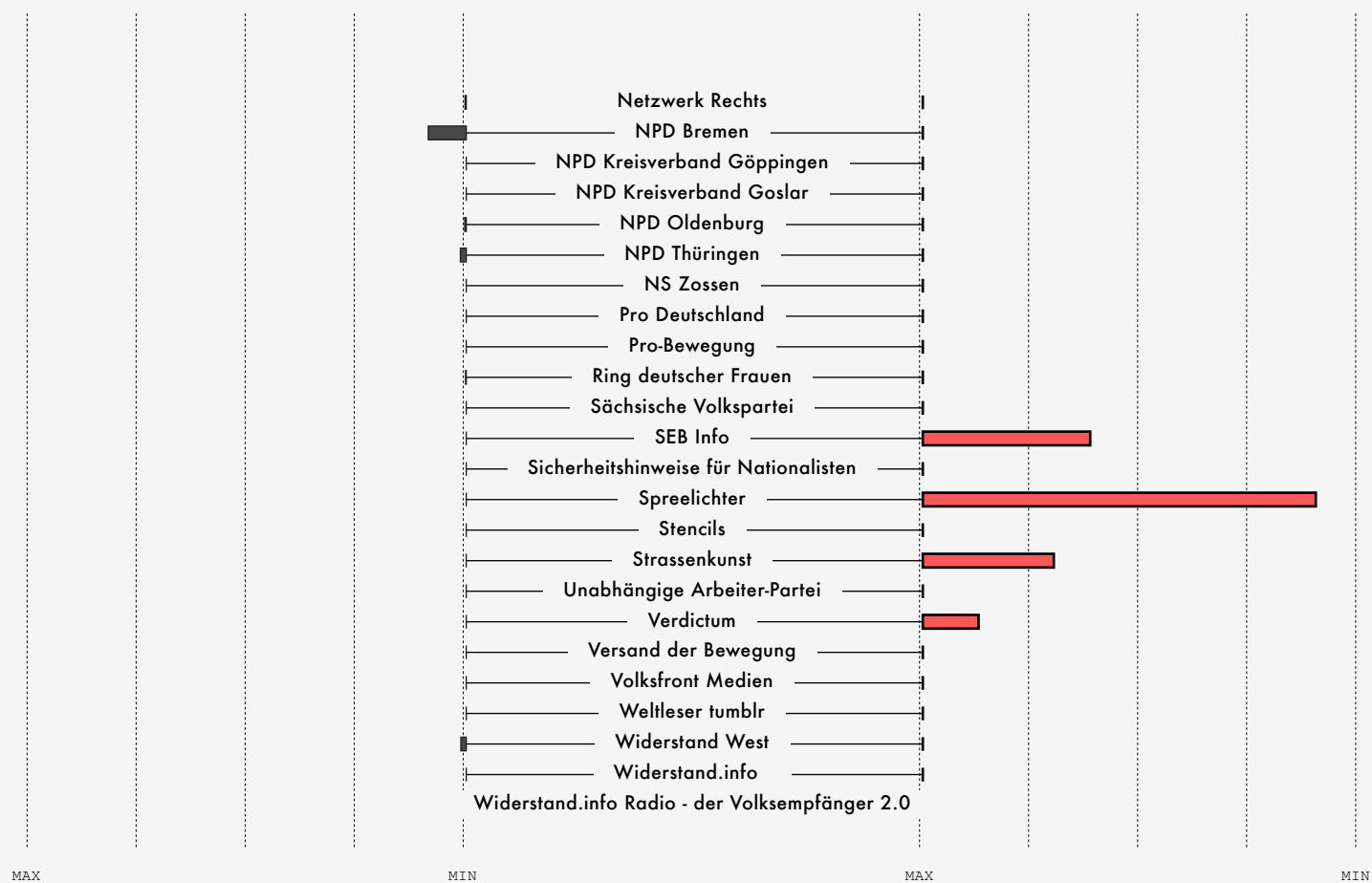
350 followers

MAX

MIN

MAX

MIN



GREECE

- GREEK FARMSTEADS AND BLOOD DRIVES -

List building

The sourcing of the starting points proceeded through a search for extreme right groups in Greece, where *Golden Dawn* and *Laos* ("the people" in Greek) were returned. Combining these two search terms produced a third group, *Mavroskrinos* (black lily). Searching for the three groups returned two further ones, *Metopo* (front) and *Ellinokratein*

(Patriotic Hellenic Association).

Visits to the five websites turned up related sites, e.g., the youth and the law students groups of *Laos* ("the people"). The final list (which added three regional sites, *Group21* for Macedonia, *Rethimno* for Crete, and the *Greek Resistance Movement* in Cyprus) was completed after surfing the sites listed above. ♦

List - Golden Dawn

WWW.XRYSHAYGH.COM
XATHESS.BLOGSPOT.GR
WWW.XA-AMTHRAKI.NET
XADYTMAK.BLOGSPOT.GR
XAVOLOS.BLOGSPOT.GR
XA-NDHELLAS.BLOGSPOT.GR
XA-STEREAS.BLOGSPOT.GR
XAMWRIAS.BLOGSPOT.GR
XA-KRITI.BLOGSPOT.GR
XAGR.NET

List - Laos

WWW.NEOLAIALAOS.GR
NEB8LAOS.BLOGSPOT.NL
FOSNOMIKIS.WORDPRESS.COM
MPOUM.BLOGSPOT.NL

List - Mavroskrino

MAVROSKRINOS.BLOGSPOT.NL

List - Regionalist

RETHIMNIOTES.BLOGSPOT.NL
WWW.DIKTYO21.GR
ANTISTASI.ORG

List - Metopo

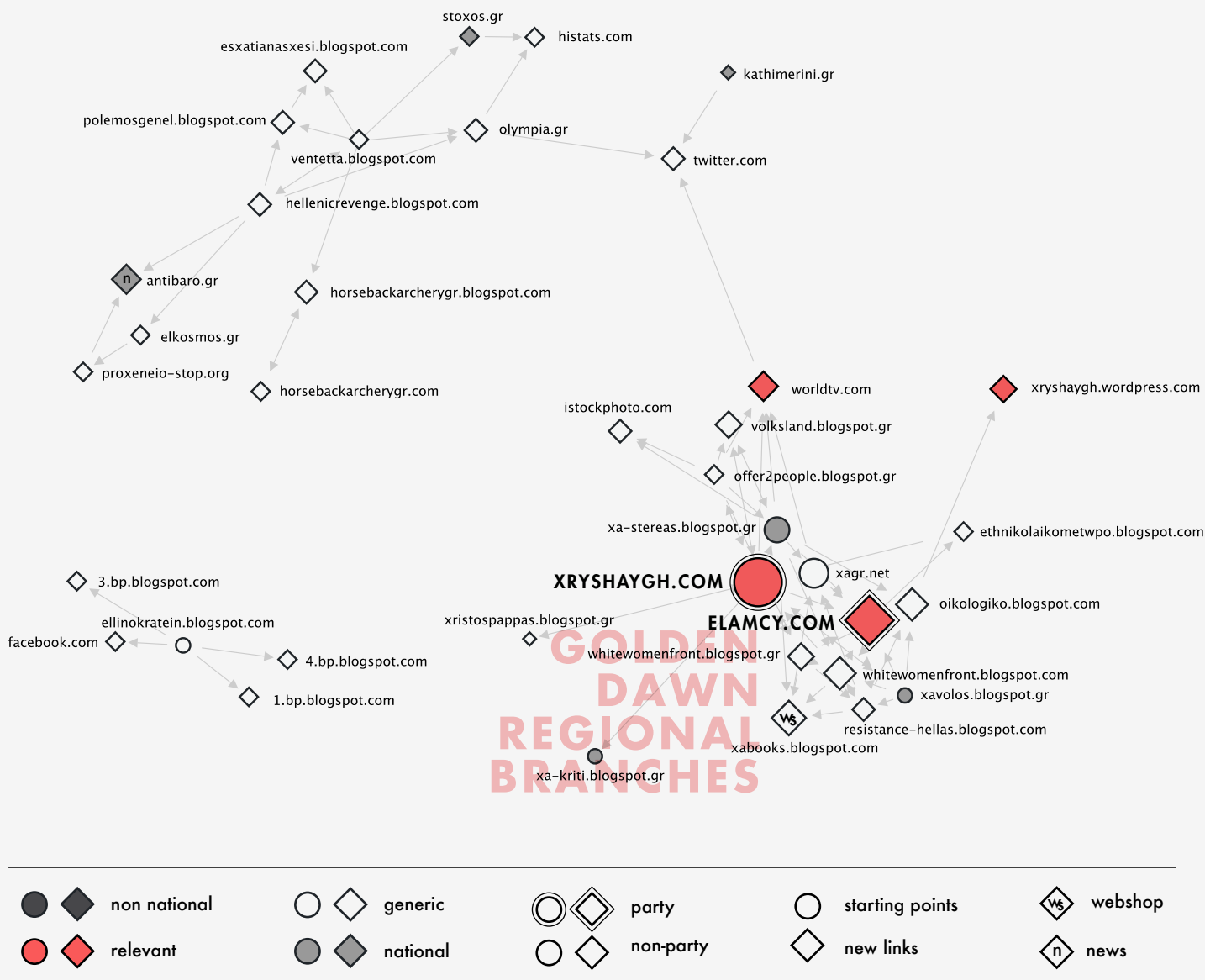
WWW.METOPO.GR

List - Populist

ANEXARTITOIELLINES.GR
ANEKSARTITOI-ELLINES.BLOGSPOT.NL
WWW.SYNDESMOSEE.GR
WWW.LIBERALPARTY.GR
WWW.ENOSIKENTROON.GR
WWW.DRASSI.GR
WWW.DANAGENISI.GR

List - Ellinokratein

WWW.ELLINOKRATEIN.GR
INDEX-HOME.HTML
WWW.ELLINOKRATEIN.BLOGSPOT.NL



Network - co-link analysis

From the network analysis it is found that the most significant website is *xryshaygh.com*, which is the *Golden Dawn*, an extreme right-wing party that entered the parliament in the 2012 elections. Apart from the national organization, it has very strong regional branches with their own web pages. *Golden Dawn* is successful in mobilizing its members and voters through (among other activities) the organization of gatherings to help the poor. They accompany elderly people to the bank to collect their pensions (around the first day of the month, in poor areas in the west of Athens, where there are numerous immigrants). Instead of calling the police, the elderly are asked to call the *Golden Dawn*. They have a call center (see http://www.staparaskinia.gr/2012/09/blog-post_617.html).

Elamcy.com, second in the network inlink rankings, is the *National People's Front (E.L.A.M.)*, a party that focuses on the

Greek origins of Cyprus. It conducts similar events as *Golden Dawn* (distribution of provisions). Under the auspices of carrying out social solidarity, it organises public events to distribute food, clothing and school supplies, "exclusively for Greeks." Its radio station also made the network (*radio-antepithesh.net*). Each website has the other's banner.

The network (*Golden Dawn* in particular) also has constituency websites: *Golden Dawn* for women, and for greens (environmental activists). Right wing Greens are asked to create traditional Greek farmsteads, and people are exhorted to collect local seeds!

Here is a quotation that summarizes the green right:

Our aim is to create a standard Greek Traditional Farmhouse with any Greek productive plants (and later animals), strictly organic farming with traditional and modern know-how that will produce everything they need nutritionally the Greek family. From our farm could Greek farmers

(amateur or professional) to obtain the genetic material they wish to start their own production, moving away from the multinationals of GM seeds sterile disposable (source: volksland.blogspot.gr/2012/09/blog-post_11.html).

Golden Dawn also organises blood drives, asking people to donate genuine Greek blood. They aim to increase volunteerism and social solidarity, in a form of racial humanitarianism and ecological consciousness. One donates blood between 9-14hrs, and becomes part of the list of donors.

Another top site is whitewomenfront.blogspot.com, *Golden Dawn* for women, where readers are asked to buy local and to visit organic markets as well as the daily farmer's markets. The market schedule is linked to: www.dionet.gr/news/biolai-kes.htm. Also linked is *Homefront Magazine*, a larger European right-wing home-maker phenomenon, whose slogan is "for the racially conscious home." It is part of the WAU Sisterhood (Women for Aryan Unity), and thus one area such is palpable in southern Europe. In the magazine there are recipes as well as holiday tips.

There is an online bookstore (xabooks.blogspot.com) as well as webshop. To order products from the Web shop, one calls a telephone number from 12-5pm, and picks up the products between 7-9pm. One also may receive the items COD (collect on delivery). The personal service would enable the buyer to meet the webshop owners and their representatives. Rounding out the top sites in the network is a religious right (hellas-or-

Our aim is to create a standard Greek Traditional Farmhouse with any Greek productive plants (and later animals), strictly organic farming with traditional and modern know-how that will produce everything they need nutritionally the Greek family.

thodoxy.blogspot.com) as well as an alternative news channel, called 'counterbalanced' (antibaro.gr). Of interest in the top 15 sites is xryshaygh.wordpress.com, which wordpress removed for violating its terms of service. Also of note in the network is worldtv.com, where there is a compilation of speeches by the *Golden Dawn* members of parliament, beginning with Hlias Kasidiaris who infamously slapped the Communist member of parliament on national television. Recurring issues are law and order, anti-immigration (and the defense of illegal immigration), respect for the Orthodox Church, the inability of national armed forces to secure the borders from illegal immigration or even protect *Golden Dawn* members of parliament (who enjoy immunity from prosecution). Do not forget racism against the Greeks themselves, it is said. ♦

1/ Home Front for white women

2/ Golden Dawn mugs

3/ Periklis Giannopoulos (Mikromeseos)



1/



2/



3/

HUNGARY

- YOUTH CAMPING IN YURTS -

Query	List - Extreme right-wing
<p>“szélsőjobboldali szervezetek Magyarországon” <i>[“extreme right-wing organizations in Hungary”]</i></p>	<p>MAGYAR IGAZSÁG ÉS ÉLET PÁRTJA HATVANNÉGY VÁRMEGYE IFJÚSÁGI MOZGALOM JOBBIK MAGYARORSZÁGÉRT MOZGALOM ÚJ MAGYAR GÁRDA MOZGALOM MAGYAR NEMZETI GÁRDA KURUC.INFO NEMZETI ŐRSEREG MAGYAROK VILÁGSZÖVETSÉGE VÉR ÉS BECSÜLET KULTURÁLIS EGYESÜLET SZEBB JÖVŐÉRT POLGÁRŐR EGYESÜLET PAX HUNGARICA MOZGALOM NEMZETI AKARAT PLATFORM ŐRZŐ MAGYAR GÁRDA MOZGALOM BETYÁRSEREG NEMZETI FORRADALMI PÁRT ARRABONA NS CREW LELKIISMERET '88 MAGYAR NEMZETI ARCVONAL VÉDERŐ MAGYAR NÁDORI SZÖVETSÉG KÁRPÁT HAZA ŐREI MOZGALOM SOMLÓ VÉDPAJZS SZÖVETSÉG ÚJ HAJNAL REND FERENCVÁROS SZURKOLÓK SZÖVETSÉGE NÉPAKARAT 2006 HUNGARISTA MOZGALOM SZENT KORONA ŐRZŐINEK SZÖVETSÉGE NEMZETI EGYLETEK NS ELLENÁLLÁS NEMZETI MUNKÁSPÁRT HAZAFIAS MAGYAROK SZÖVETSÉGE MAGYAROK NYILAI MAGYAR NEMZETI FRONT MAGYAR ÖNVÉDELMI MOZGALOM RENDSZERVÁLTÓ FÓRUM MAGYAR DEMOKRATA FÓRUM (JÓLÉT ÉS SZABADSÁG) KÁRPÁT-HAZA NEMZETŐRSÉG</p>
List and method	
<p>In order to produce lists that provide the starting points for all of our maps, we used the query snowballing technique in google.hu:</p> <p>“szélsőjobboldali szervezetek Magyarországon” <i>[“extreme right-wing organizations in Hungary”]</i></p> <p>“jobboldali szervezetek Magyarországon” <i>[“right-wing organizations in Hungary”]</i></p> <p>“szélsőjobb ellenes szervezetek” <i>[“anti-right-wing organizations”]</i></p> <p>“liberális szervezetek Magyarországon” <i>[“liberal organizations in Hungary”]</i></p> <p>For expert lists, few and largely outdated results (from early 2000s) were returned by Google Scholar, so a Google Search query was made with the above search terms + filetype:pdf.</p> <p>Extreme right movements and organizations are abundant in Hungary. Their main features are nationalism, nativism as well as anti-Roma and often anti-semitic sentiment. The maps provide rich information about the cultural</p>	

Query

**“Jobboldali szervezetek
Magyarországon”**
[“right-wing organizations
in Hungary”]

norms and lifestyle embraced by the extreme right-wing, which is mostly centered around preserving and bringing back to everyday life what is perceived by them as ‘traditional’ or ‘national’ culture. The maps also reveal some information about the media outlets and channels that the extreme right uses. A considerable portion of the organizations are groups that also engage in setting up militaristic formations that ‘guard’ Hungarians (mainly against the Roma population). A few of these are specifically youth organizations. About one-third of these groups’ websites are hosted abroad (mostly in the US) and the registrant’s name is unknown, indicating a concern that these groups may be engaged in illegal activities (hate speech, incitement to violence, etc.). There are two political parties on the ballot in the extreme right-wing list, the *Magyar Igazság és Élet Pártja* (not in the parliament) and *Jobbik* (currently in the parliament).

The query for right-wing organizations, returned a couple of political parties and mainly civil and Christian organizations. *Jobbik* also appeared here and one of the extremist organizations as well (*Hatvannégy Vármegye Ifjúsági Mozgalom*). ♦

List - Right-wing

JOBBIK MAGYARORSZÁGÉRT MOZGALOM

FIDESZ

FIDELITAS

KERESZTÉNYDEMOKRATA NÉPPÁRT

HATVANNÉGY VÁRMEGYE IFJÚSÁGI MOZGALOM

KATOLIKUS MAGYAR ÉRTELMISÉGI MOZGALOM - PAX ROMANA

KISGAZDA POLGÁRI EGYESÜLET

MAGYAR VÁLLALKOZÓK ÉS MUNKAADÓK PÁRTJA

NEMZETI FÓRUM

CIVIL ÖSSZEFOGÁS FÓRUM

MAGYAR POLGÁRI EGYÜTTMŰKÖDÉS EGYESÜLET

KERESZTÉNY ÉRTELMISÉGIK SZÖVETSÉGE

MUNKÁSTANÁCSOK SZÖVETSÉGE

PATRIÓTA EURÓPA MOZGALOM

TRIANON TÁRSASÁG

SZÁZAK TANÁCSA

IFJÚSÁGI KERESZTÉNYDEMOKRATA SZÖVETSÉG

DEMOKRÁCIA ÉS POLITIKAI KULTÚRA ALAPÍTVÁNY

CIVILEK A NEMZETÉRT EGYESÜLET

HUN FOKOS SZÖVETSÉG

MAGOSZ

POLGÁROK HÁZA

MAREVOSZ

MAGYAR SZOCIÁLIS FÓRUM

MAGYARORSZÁGÉRT EGYESÜLET

NEMZETI JOGVÉDŐ ALAPÍTVÁNY

CIVIL NEMZETI CSÚCS

POLGÁR INFO

MAGYAR SZOCIALISTA PÁRT

SZABAD DEMOKRATÁK SZÖVETSÉGE

MAGYAR DEMOKRATA FÓRUM

FÜGGETLEN KISGAZDAPÁRT

JOBBIK IFJÚSÁGI TAGOZAT



Network - Total interactor

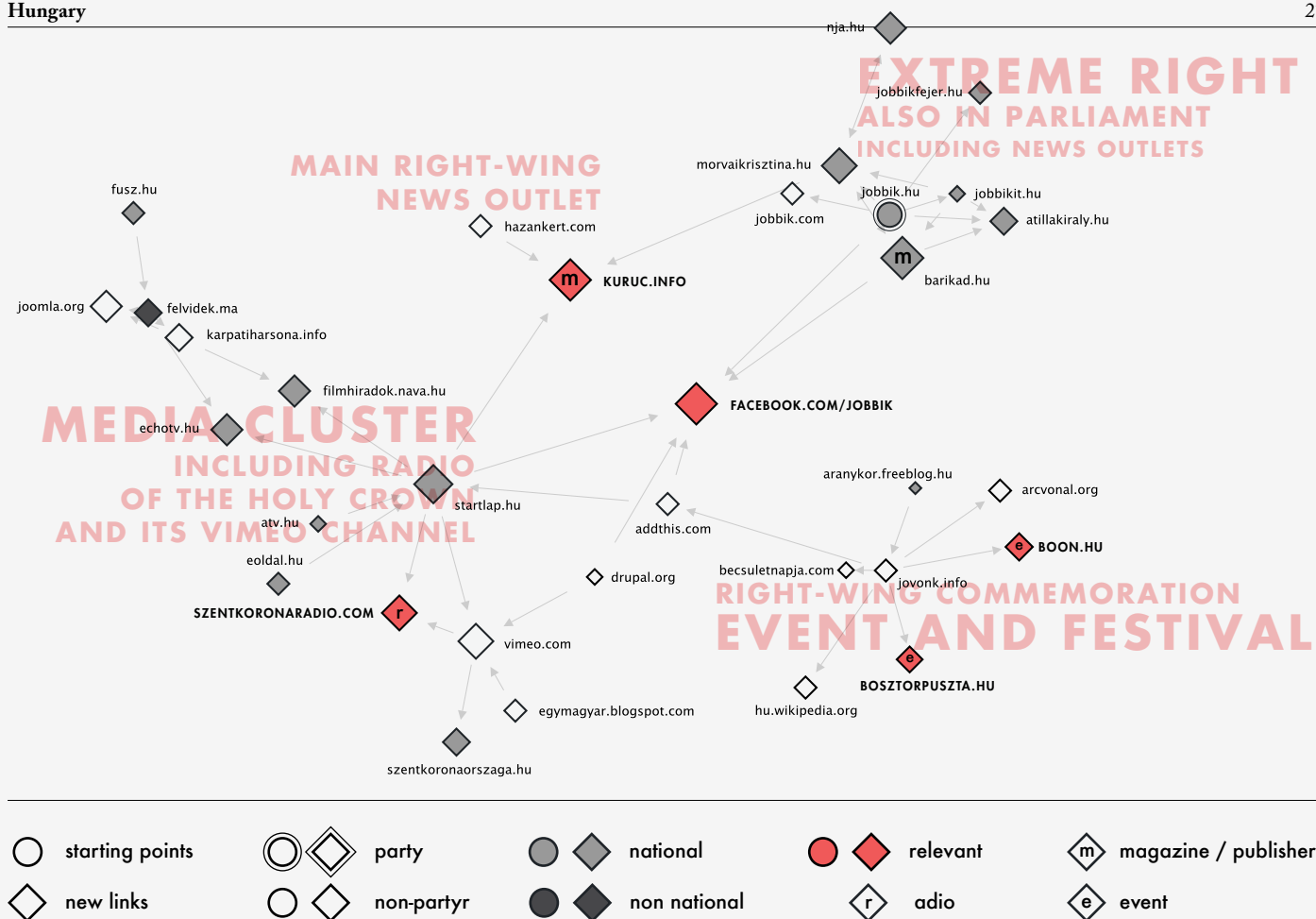
This map shows how the websites in the extreme right-wing and right-wing list are linked to one other. The map clearly shows three clusters: the more moderate right is centered around *Fidesz*, the party currently governing. The other one is

centered around *Jobbik*, the extremist party currently in the parliament. The third cluster is extreme right-wing groups, often militaristic groups.

One notable feature of the map is that *Jobbik* tends not to link to extremist groups, even though some of these groups' connections to *Jobbik* members are well-known and not kept secret in Hungary. Most extremists groups also do not link to *Jobbik*. The other out-

standing aspect to observe on the map is the fact that in the extreme-right cluster relatively many websites use a top-level domain different from the country TLD (.hu).

These websites tend to be hosted on servers outside of Hungary, mainly in the US. On the bottom of the map there is a neo-Nazi group (*Arrabona Crew*) that is isolated from the rest of the extreme-right scene. ♦



Network - Extreme co-link

Almost none of the initial (seed) websites made it onto the map, after the co-link analysis. An exception is *arcvonal.org*, the website of *Magyar Nemzeti Arcvonal*, an extremist militaristic group, and Jobbik, the extreme right-wing party. There are three main clusters on this map: on the right, we find a grouping related to Jobbik, its regional organizations, main news site (*barikad.hu*) and even a founding member's personal website, who is currently a member of the European Parliament (*morvaikrisztina.hu*). The *facebook.com* node in the middle belongs to Jobbik's official Facebook page, which currently has 75,550 likes. The second large and extensive cluster on the left consists of media outlets related to the (extreme) right. An exception is *atv.hu*, which is a well-known left-wing television channel. (More about the media outlets below.) A third cluster on the bottom right could be characterized as right-wing events with the website of a nationalistic festival (*bostorpuszta.hu*) and an extremist commemoration event (*becsuletnapja.com*). We return to these in the culture and lifestyle section below.

There are also many individual nodes on the top of the map, not linked to other nodes. This could be because some of these sites are shut down at the moment or they redirect to other pages (in that case they cannot be crawled for links). Some of these are also media outlets, and there is an online bookshop as well. All in all, the map nicely gives an idea about what kind of media outlets the extreme right uses and also gives a sense of these actors' cultural and lifestyle preferences or convictions.

The following is a list and short description of media outlets that appeared on the co-link map for the extreme right, not in the original list of websites:

barikad.hu	.....Jobbik's news portal
kuruc.info	.....main news site of the extreme right-wing
szentkornaradio.com	.....extreme right-wing radio station
vimeo.com/szkr	.....szentkorona radio station's Vimeo channel
bombagyar.hu	.....(inactive at the moment, redirects to nemezt
.....	.....<i>hir.hu</i>) radical right-wing community blog,
.....	.....shut down in 2009
hungaria.tv	.....online television channel, live stream not
.....	.....available but there are fresh videos, e.g., of the
.....	.....protests by nationalist groups
hunhir.hu	.....(redirects to hunbir.info) right-wing news portal
hirhatter.com	.....inactive at the moment, but famous for being
.....	.....operated by conspiracy theorist, Árpád Molnár
jovonk.info	.....nationalist news portal
boon.hu	.....regional news portal in Borsod county, where
.....	.....extremist groups are more active due to the
.....	.....great size of the Roma population
karpatiharsona.info	...nationalist, 'Hungarist' web magazine, mainly
.....	.....for Hungarians living in the neighboring countries
echotv.hu	.....right-wing television channel
felvidek.ma	.....Hungarian news portal in Slovakia
arpadvonal.hu	.....extreme right-wing news site, last updated in 2010
fusz.hu	.....website of the Alliance of Independent Journal-
.....	.....ists, an organization for right-wing and
.....	.....nationalistic journalists

Culture/lifestyle findings

Magyartaltos.info

Hungarian 'shaman' website for Hungarian mythology, brought together with nationalism. There are writings about the prehistory of the Hungarian peoples, about their ancient language (runic script), the Holy Crown and other national symbols.

Betiltva.com

Collection of books and texts that were banned in Hungary in the socialist era, typically Nazi writings and books.

Atillakiraly.hu

King Attila People's College. Free courses on various nationalistic, anti-communist topics, free of charge. It is connected to Jobbik.

Anemzetikonyveboltja.hu

Book shop for national(istic) topics, such as history, traditional cuisine, etc. Site to buy the New Testament written in runic script. There are also CDs / DVDs (film, folk music, with biblical topics and national history themes), clothes with runic script patterns or with Árpád (founding father of the nation), flags (national and with the Árpád-lines that is a symbol of the extreme right), and bumper stickers for cars depicting the historical greater Hungary.

Becsületnapja.com

On February 11, 2012 extremist groups (Hungarists) held a remembrance day (Day of Honour) to commemorate the attempt of Hungarian and German troops to break out from Buda against Soviet troops in 1945.

The website spreads the word about local events at WWII monuments and war graves in relation to the remembrance day and to document them with pictures and videos. The presence of the website in the issue map mirrors the extreme right's memory politics, particularly their alternative interpre-

tation of history and what should be officially commemorated. An interesting counter-counter measure that often comes up on extremist websites (but is not on the issue map) is a festival called *Magyar Sziget* (Hungarian Island). It is specifically named in opposition to the well-known *Sziget festival* in Budapest, an international music festival with many foreign visitors.

A video can be found on YouTube, in which a British investigative reporter 'infiltrates' the Hungarian Island festival and reports on the participants' celebrating Norwegian extremist mass-killer, Anders Breivik: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ONGWm-gpdRQ>

Bosztorpuszta.hu

Website for the National Assembly of Hungarians event.

It is a Summer festival which spans all things nationalistic. There is a fair where anything perceived as traditionally Hungarian can be sold. There are exhibitions, concerts, folk music, martial arts programs, archery, Hungarian horse and dog competitions, runic script courses, presentations (e.g. endorsing Horthy – regent of Hungary during the interwar years, who entered into alliance with Nazi Germany in exchange for some territories that were lost in the Treaty of Trianon. This makes him an important figure for extremists.)

There are yurts set up and horse races, or horse wagon races. ♦

1/ Bumper sticker for cars with the Árpád lines and 'H' for Hungary in runic script

2/ National Assembly of Hungarians



1/



2/

Recruitment

Most extremist organizations have a youth section. Some take anyone regardless of age, while some only allow members over 18 years of age. Recruitment can take place on the websites, typically through a contact form or email address. Some flyers also were found on the websites which can be printed and disseminated. Some groups use video presentations to introduce their ideas and to recruit members. One of the extremist groups, the youth organization HVIM, stood out due to the organization of a children's camp.

National Children's Camp

There is a national children's Summer camp, organized by HVIM (64 Counties Youth Movement) for children, ages 10-14. Activities involve military training (with a person dressed in army uniform acting as commander as instructor). Other activities are shooting with air rifles, learning how to use a whip, chopping wood, climbing rope, archery, and horseback riding. Children are accommodated in in yurts and learn to write runic script. On the Facebook page of the camp it is stressed that they have lowered the prices so that more children can attend. It is also mentioned that well-known extremist leaders will be present as guests; one is a member of Jobbik, and vice-president for HVIM.

It should be mentioned that such yurt-camps have been accessible in Hungary for a long time for children to camp. However, since Fidesz came to power in 2010 there have been more of such camps available to children, in an attempt to strengthen the youth's relation to Hungarian culture, which fits well with populist nationalistic agenda. However, what the above mentioned extreme right group offers is quite different, with the militaristic, physical training elements.



1/



2/



3/



4/



1/

1/ Members of the New Hungarian Guards

2/ "Join us! We are getting stronger!"
– sign-up form for the New Hungarian Guards

3/ Recruitment flyer for the
Hungarian Guards Movement

Magyar Gárda Mozgalom

<http://www.gardamozgalom.org>

On the front page there are calls for recruitment all over the country for their regional chapters. It is stressed that the organization is party-neutral, which is important for the group probably because the first 'guardist' organization was related to *Jobbik* and its president, and that group is now banned. Recruitment video:

<http://www.gardamozgalom.org/csonkaban/20120310/toborzofilm>



3/

2/

Új Magyar Gárda – New Hungarian Guards

This militaristic group is the legacy organization of the banned Hungarian Guards, linked to *Jobbik*. It has as one of its main activities going from village to village in the countryside, and marching through the streets in black uniforms so as to scare the Roma population. On their website there are several recruitment videos and also a sign-up form, where apart from fields for name, email, phone number and region, potential members are asked why exactly they would like to join the organization. They also have a 'gendarmierie,' a special unit that has to go through physical training and other examinations, and then take an oath. ♦

Query

“szélsőjobb ellenes szervezetek”
[*“anti-right-wing organizations”*]

**“liberális szervezetek
Magyarországon”**
[*“liberal organizations
in Hungary”*]

List - Counter measure

MAGYAR ANTIFASISZTA LIGA
MAGYAR ELLENÁLLÓK ÉS ANTIFASISZTÁK SZÖVETSÉGE
SZABAD DEMOKRATÁK SZÖVETSÉGE
MAGYARORSZÁGI MUNKÁSPÁRT-2006
ZÖLD BALOLDAL
MAGYAR SZOCIALISTA PÁRT
DEMOKRATIKUS KOALÍCIÓ
MAGYAR SZOLIDARITÁS MOZGALOM
LEHET MÁS A POLITIKA
4K! - NEGYEDIK KÖZTÁRSASÁG
LIBERÁLIS FIATALOK EGYESÜLETE
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL
HELSINKI BIZOTTSÁG
TÁRSASÁG A SZABADSÁGJOGOKÉRT
MILLA CSOPORT
MAGYAR ANTIFASISZTA LIGASZÖVETSÉG
ATTAC MAGYARORSZÁG
EURÓPAI FEMINISTA KEZDEMÉNYEZÉS
FIATAL BALOLDALI UNIÓ
KISGAZDÁK TÖRTÉNELMI SZÖVETSÉGE
SZOCIÁLDEMOKRATA PÁRT
BAJCSY-ZSILINSZKY EMLÉKBIZOTTSÁG
SZABADSÁG ÉS REFORM INTÉZET
MAGYAR DEMOKRATIKUS CHARTA
HÁTTÉR TÁRSASÁG A MELEGEKÉRT EGYESÜLET
VÁLLALD MAGAD EGYESÜLET
VÉDEGYLET
ZÖLD FIATALOK
HUMANISTA MOZGALOM

Network - Counter measures interactor analysis

The counter-right inter-actor map shows there is no network formed by the so-called counter-right's seed URL, which includes liberal as well as anti-fascist organizations. The map mostly shows websites of human and civil rights' groups (*Helsinki Committee*, *Amnesty International*), anti-fascist organizations and some civic groups that have lately been organizing anti-government protests (*millamedia.hu*,

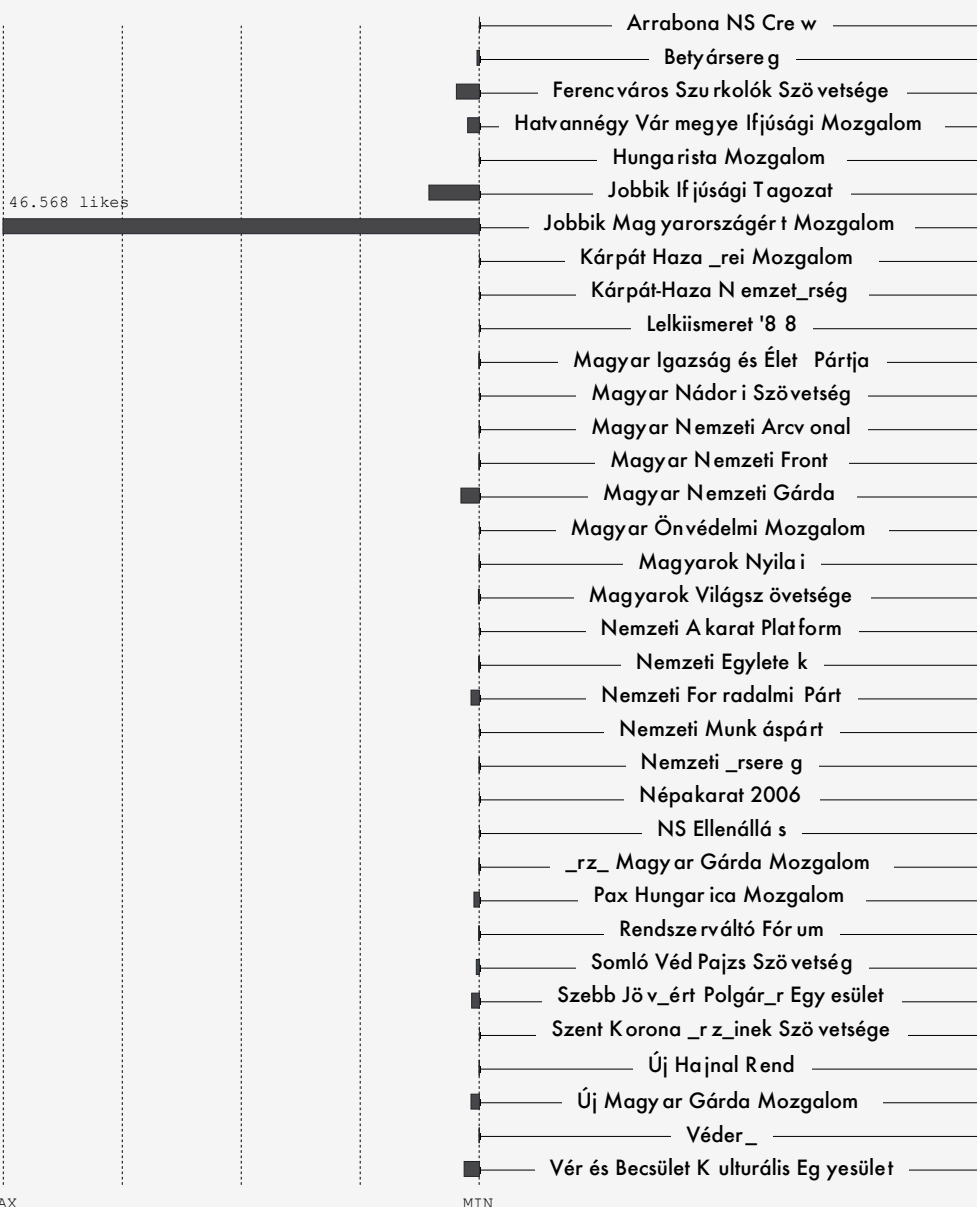
negyedikkoztarsasag.hu). The last node of the chain on the right is the *LMP* (*lehetmas.hu*), a liberal green party currently in the parliament. The final node on the left is the website of the *Hungarian Socialist Party* (*mszp.hu*), which were the governing party from 2002-2010.

The fact that both of these important left-wing parties are at either end of a chain, rather than central nodes in a network forming clusters, indicates significant differences between the kind of social and political organization that is facilitated by left and right-wing groups. ♦



Social media data

COUNTRY

facebook / twitter
likes / followersHUNGARY
62.201 / x

THE NETHERLANDS

- WEAKENING COUNTER-MEASURES TO THE RIGHT -

Right-wing populism and extremism

The query-snowball technique mostly returned parties that were or are on the ballot.

The starting points for the right-wing and populist right groups and parties were gathered from the queries: “extreem rechts”, “extreem rechts Nederland”, “extreem rechtse partijen Nederland” and “rechtse partijen Nederland”.

Since the Netherlands does not have a large populism network we also queried the term: “populistische groepen

Nederland” and “populisme Nederland” to check whether the parties matched the findings of the previous search.

The results were used to search for other parties, but the size of the network is rather limited. When the same group names were entered into Google Scholar, using the snowball-technique, even fewer parties were found.

The parties that were most named were those that have an international reputation, namely the *Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV)*, led by Geert Wilders. ♦

Query

“extreem rechts” [*extreme right*]

“extreem rechts Nederland”

“extreem rechtse partijen Nederland”

“rechtse partijen Nederland”

“populistische groepen Nederland”

“populisme Nederland”

Starting points

PARTIJ VOOR DE VRIJHEID

**DEMOCRATISCH POLITIEK
KEERPUNT**

NEDERLANDS VOLKS UNIE

ANTI EUROPA PARTIJ

PARTIJ VOOR DE TOEKOMST

NEDERLAND LOKAAL

**LIJST PIM FORTUYN
EINDHOVEN**

50 PLUS

DE LIBERTARISCHE PARTIJ

LIJST PIM FORTUIN

LEEFBAAR NEDERLAND

CENTRUM PARTIJ 86

NEDERLANDS BLOK

LPF

CONSERVATIEVEN.NL

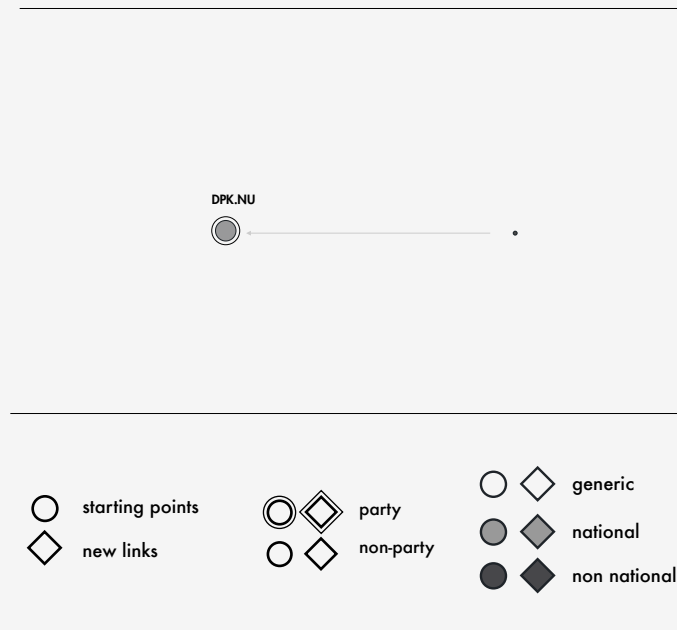
NIEUW RECHTS

CENTRUM DEMOCRATEN

Populist right co-link network



Populist right inter-actor network



Network analysis

The network of the populism movement in the Netherlands is not explicitly visible. The sites that are the most active in the co-link analysis are Twitter (in particular, Geert Wilder's account), RTL and Radio 1, which are mainstream media sites, pointing to a general normalcy of Wilders in the news. There is one site that uses a web radio station, which is *Partij voor de Toekomst* (formerly *Trots op Nederland*). Most sites broadcast and also do not link to others on the right. Populism parties (on the ballot) do not associate with other right-wing parties or groups (through linking or referencing).

There are specific regional parties such as *Lijst Pim Fortuyn Eindhoven*, the namesake of the populist politician killed in 2002, but it is no longer a national party and does not have a central organisation.

A general statement or observation concerning the populist right movement in the Netherlands would concern their lack of visibility on the web, with the exception of Wilder's Twitter account, as mentioned. Wilders has followers only, and himself does not follow any, in a form of Twitter demagoguery. When the populist right and ex-

treme right parties are combined in the co-link analysis, it is notable that the *PVV* is linked to from an extreme right group, *Voorpost*.

Registered / hosted

Most parties are registered in the Netherlands, with the *Nederlands Volks Unie* being the exception. Their registration is in Lincoln, Nebraska, US. The majority of the extremist groups in the Netherlands is hosted in the US, which is typical of extremist groups more generally, such as in Germany and Hungary.

Social media analysis

Most of the parties are active on the web and use various social network sites, though the activity varies, as noted in the accompanying graphic on social media data. One specific development is the recent Twitter use by Geert Wilder who has started an English-language account, with relatively few (anti-Islam) tweets. Previously nationally oriented, his English-language tweeting indicates a more global organization (in English) of counter-jihadism.

Focal points

Lone wolves. No lone wolves were identified through the mapping of links. The populism inter-actor issue-crawler map does not show many links. The only site visible is *DPK.nu*, Democratic Political Turning Point splinter party from the *PVV*.

Youth recruitment. In terms of youth parties and recruitment, there is not a lot of activity that can be found on Facebook or Google. The *PVV* and *Democratisch Politiek Keerpunt* both have a youth party, and *Nederlands Volks Unie* once had one. Nevertheless, when working through the Facebook page of the *PVV* the general age group is between 18-24 years, which is the second most popular Facebook demographic behind aged 25-34 in the Netherlands, according to Social Bakers, the social media analytics firm. ♦

Extreme right

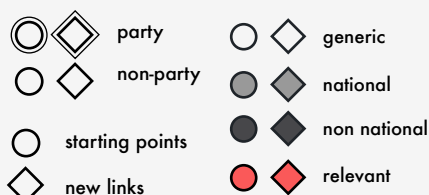
Two queries were performed: “rechts-extremistische groepen Nederland” and “extreem rechts Nederland”. Both were undertaken with the snowballing technique. Only the first query was pursued as it resulted in the website of *aiod.nl*, the Dutch intelligence agency, which presents a complete list of right-wing extremists. No more complete list is to be found online. The same query was inputted in Google Scholar. Articles found were by Fermin (2009), Racism and Extremism Monitor (by the Anne Frank Foundation - a publication series later discontinued) and a report from Lubbers et al. (2009), *De dynamiek in het Nederlandse “ver rechtse electoraat” rond en na de eeuwwisseling*, from Migrant Studies, a Dutch academic periodical which also has been discontinued. (The disbanding of these projects also suggest that particular independent, scholarly counter-measures are in decline.) The groups mentioned in these documents were triangulated with the groups from the web list. One of the reports discussed ‘extreme right families,’ who were not included. A few sites turned out to be shut down (*Landstorm Records*, *Holland Hardcore*, *Nieuw Rechts* and *Nationale Alliantie*).

Starting Points

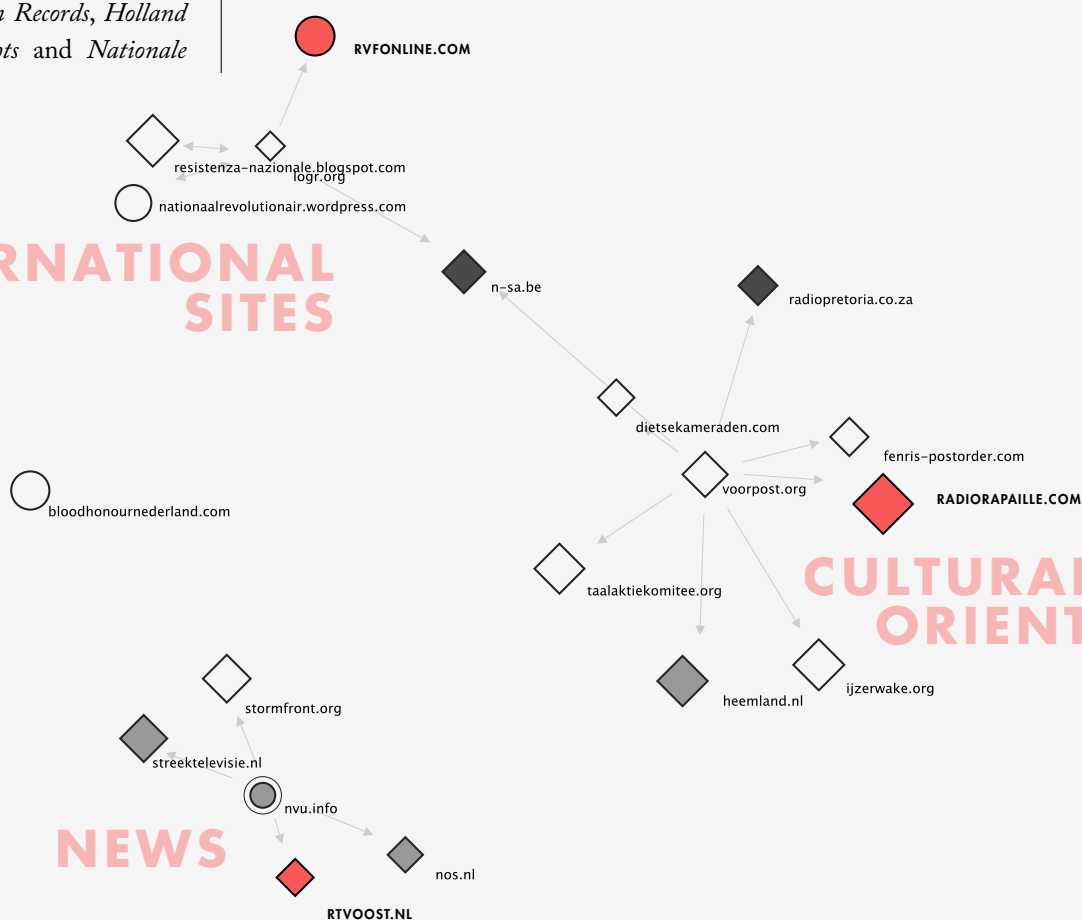
NVU.INFO
RVFONLINE.COM
BLOODHONOURNEDERLAND.COM
COMBAT18.ORG
VOORPOST.ORG
STORMFRONT.ORG/FORUM/F22
POLINCO.ORG
FENRIS-POSTORDER.COM
NATIONALISTISCHEVOLKSBEWEGING.NL
NATIONAALREVOLUTIONAIR.WORDPRESS.COM
LOGR.ORG/DENHAAG

Query

“Rechts-extremistische groepen Nederland”
“Extreem rechts Nederland”



INTERNATIONAL SITES



CULTURALLY ORIENTED

NEWS

Network Analysis

The right-wing extremist network has specific clusters. On the top-left there is a small cluster of international sites – *Resistenza Nazionale*, *Racial Volunteer Force* (radical splinter group allied to NVU) and a German site wordpress host, *logr.org*, which also hosts the Autonomous Nationalists Socialists). Through two Belgium organisations (*Het Nieuw-Solidaristisch Alternatief* [N-SA] and *Voorpost*) this cluster is connected with a more culturally oriented scene (radio, postal order service) and two ‘web steks’ (little used Dutch word for websites), one for Dutch politics and one for Belgian politics. At the bottom there is a cluster containing *Nederlandse Volks Unie*, *Stormfront* and news agencies – related to an event. *Blood and Honour Nederland* (international neonazi group) is isolated from the rest.

Deep page analysis

The deep page analysis shows that actually a few websites are hosted on the German host, *logr*, including *logr.org/leerostfriesland/* and *logr.org/groenenationalisten/*, the latter of which are ec-nationalists; ‘*de Groene Nationalisten*’ is a platform for national-ecological ideology. Another site that came out of the deep page analysis is *Zwartfront*, which focuses on Dutch Nationalism for youth.

All the sites of the starting points are hosted in the United States, except *Voorpost* and *Fenris Postorder*.

Social media analysis

Of the seeds *Voorpost* uses Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. Further analysis of the new (deep-page) actors in the network reveals that *Zwartfront* also uses social media. Another method is

employed to chart social media usage. The Tracker Tracker Tool by DMI detects analytics and social buttons, and shows quite a presence of Facebook, Google+ and Twitter in the network. The presence of these buttons does not say anything about their having a page or followers, but it does indicate their social media literacy and that they share the data of the visitors of these sites with social media platforms.

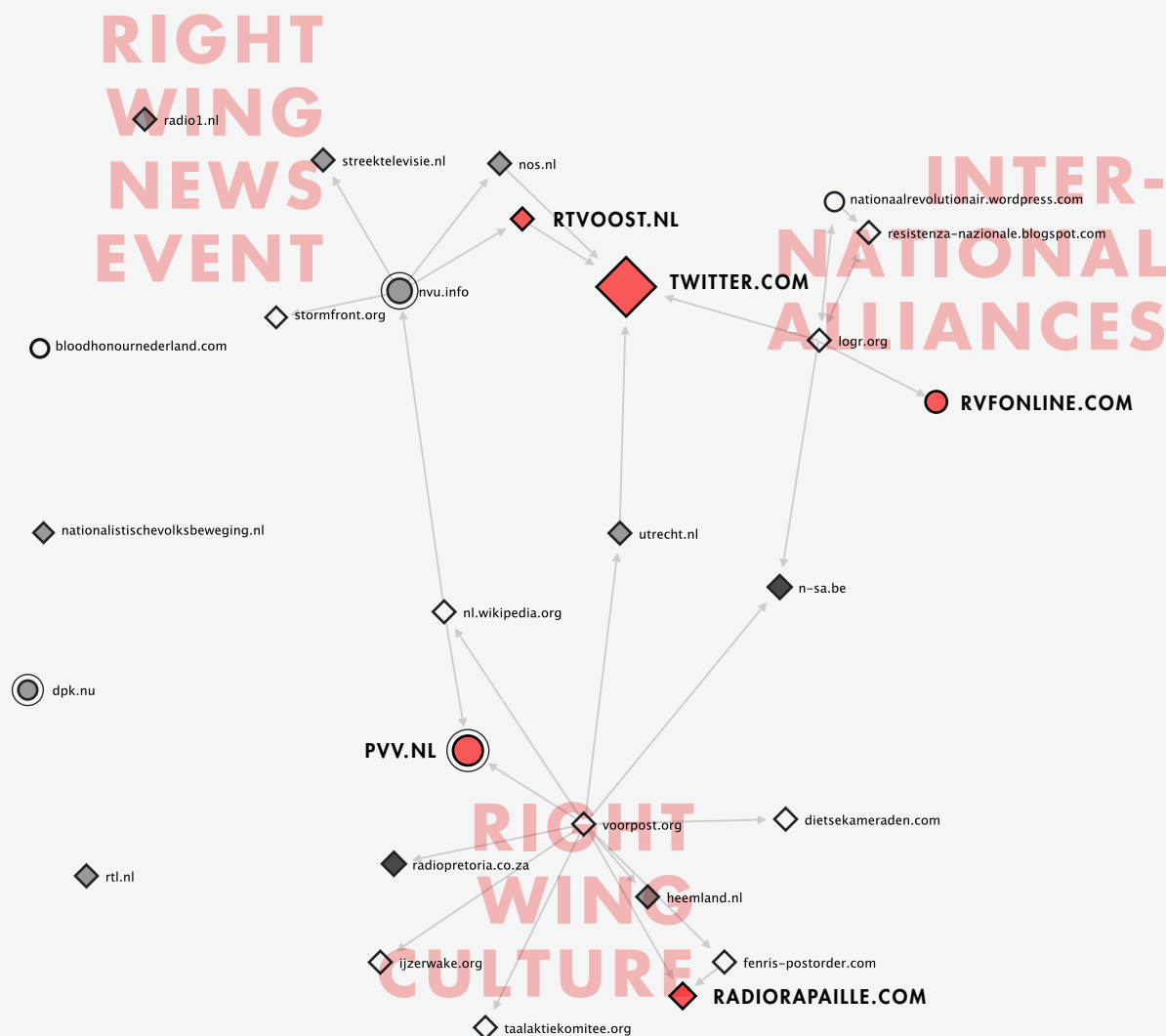
Focal points

With respect to **youth recruitment**, *De Nationalistische Volksbeweging* has educational goals; the *Autonomous Socialists East Friesland* depict themselves as youngsters and *Zwartfront* is explicitly directed to youth as a locus to ‘revitalize the nation’.

Counter measures. The activities consist of documenting the extreme right individuals and organizations (Kafka), publishing reports about ex-

tremism and racism (Anne Frank Stichting, though discontinued now), blogging about the extreme right, distributing stickers, using Twitter, Facebook and Youtube (*laatzenietlopen.nl* or ‘don’t let them march’) and organizing counter-demonstrations (*Anti Fascistische Actie*). The co-link map, however, only shows four disconnected nodes, indicating that the counter-measure network has fragmented. Generally the counter-measures network appears to focus on the extreme right, and is in decline in the sense that the independent, scholarly monitoring activities are no longer supported. Anti-counter-jihadist measures (which would address the rise of the populist right) do not appear in the network. ♦

URL	TYPE	WIDGET
<i>http://www.radiorapaille.com/</i>	widget	Facebook Connect
<i>http://www.n-sa.be/</i>	widget	Facebook Connect
<i>http://www.ijzerwake.org/</i>	widget	Facebook Connect
<i>http://www.zwartfront.nl/</i>	widget	Facebook Connect
<i>http://www.voorpost.org</i>	widget	Facebook Social Plugins
<i>http://www.radiopretoria.co.za/</i>	widget	Facebook Social Plugins
<i>http://www.resistenza-nazionale.blogspot.com/</i>	widget	Google +1
<i>http://www.resistenza-nazionale.blogspot.com/</i>	widget	Google FriendConnect
<i>http://www.radiorapaille.com/</i>	widget	Twitter Badge
<i>http://www.zwartfront.nl/</i>	widget	Twitter Badge
<i>http://nationaalrevolutionair.wordpress.com/</i>	widget	Twitter Button



● ◆ non national
 ● ◆ relevant

○ ◇ generic
 ● ◆ national

○ ◇ party
 ○ ◇ non-party

○ starting points
 ◇ new links

Right-wing co-link network

The map of the populist right and radical right of the Netherlands is similar to the extreme right, and shows that there are a few clusters with distinctive online activities. On the top left there is a local news cluster organized around the *Nederlandse Volks Unie (NVU)*: this is the 'event-centered' part of the network, resulting from the arrest of the NVU leader at a demonstration. The top-right indicates international linkages between *logr.org*, a German wordpress site hosting the autonomous socialist *Den Haag* and *Oost-Friesland*,

the *Resistenza Nazionale* (Italian extreme right group), and the *Racial Volunteer Force* (which has Dutch, British and French branches). On the bottom-right we can see 'the culture of the right': a cluster of a few extreme right organizations, a favorite radio station (*Rapaille*), a webshop (*Fenris*) and an event (in Belgium), *Ijzerwake*. There is a relatively large presence of Belgium organizations. Local news stations have a stronger position in the network than national ones.

New and big nodes in the network are Twitter and *Radio Rapaille* ('non-conformist radio station'). Next comes the *Partij Voor de Vrijheid (PVV)*. Another big actor is the *Racial Volunteer*

Force: this group receives many links from actors outside of the network.

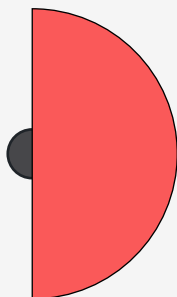
The populist parties do use social media. *PVV*'s Twitter activity is particularly interesting because it only broadcasts, as noted above, and the extreme organizations are moderate social media users, with *Voorpost* being the exception. On the backend of our network, we find a 'hosting schism': political parties are mostly hosted in the Netherlands; the more extreme organizations move to the US and usually do not disclose the registrant.

Voorpost and *Fenris* post order shops are the only organizations from the extremist starting points hosted in the Netherlands. ◆

Social Media Data

THE NETHERLANDS

6.437 / 228.532



facebook
likes



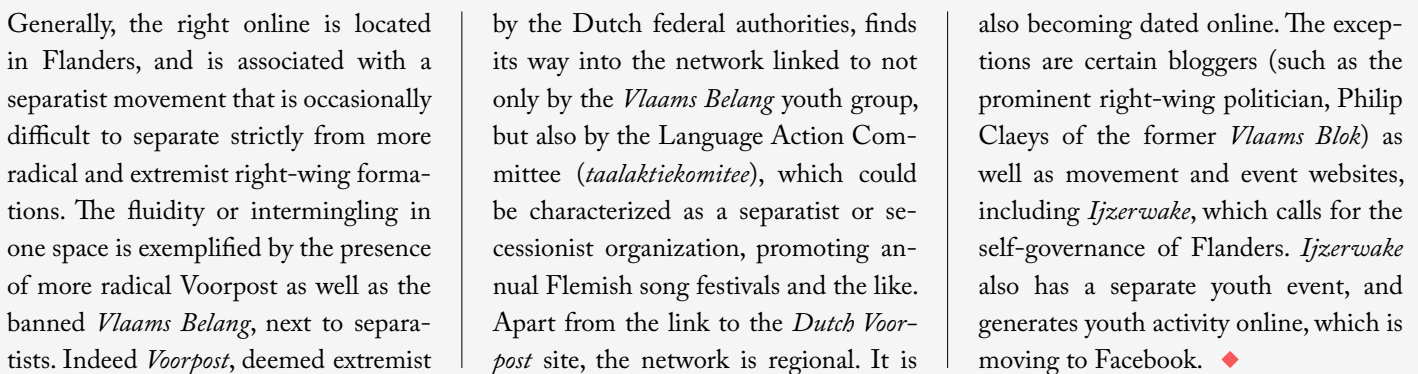
twitter
followers

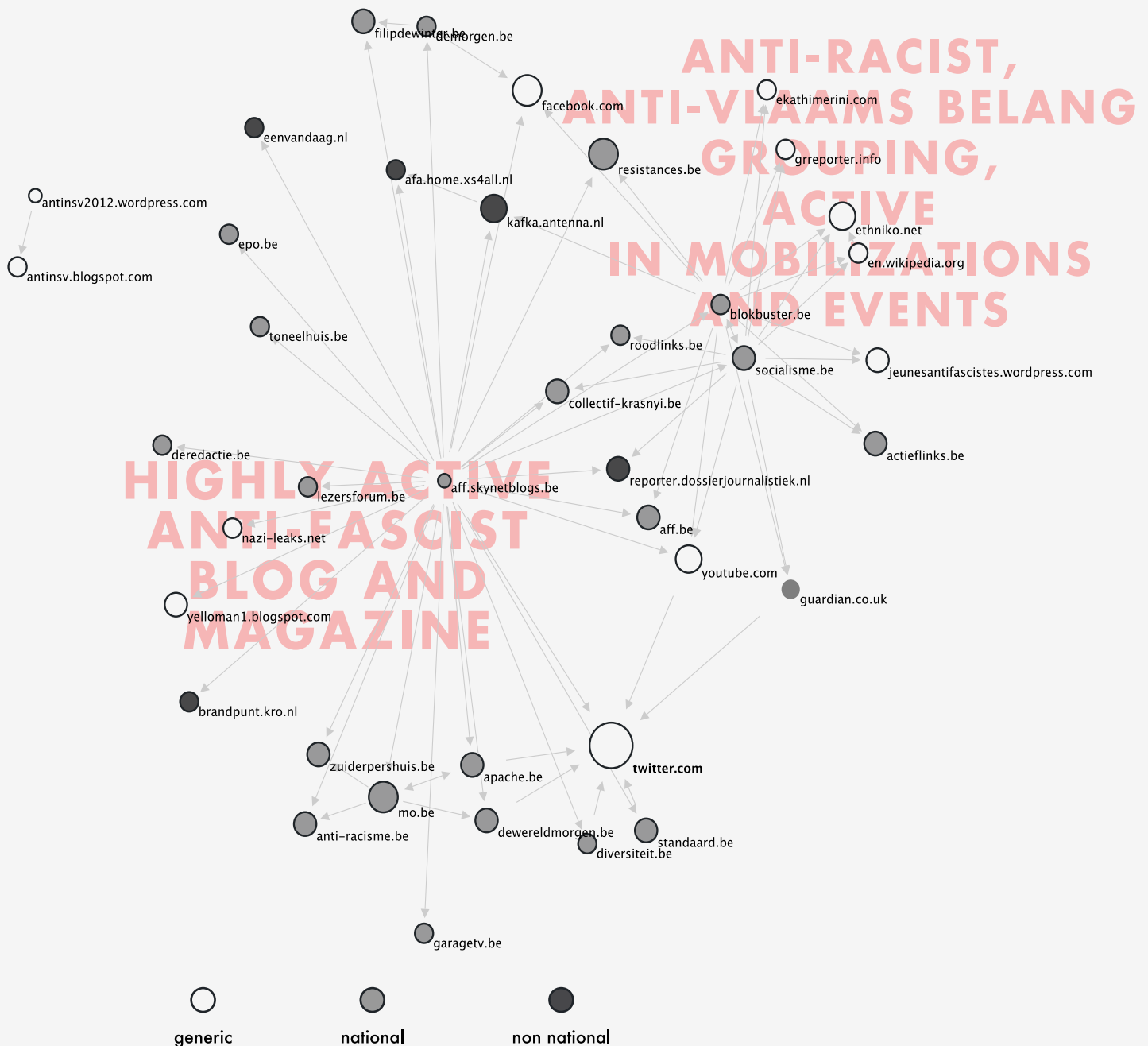


BELGIUM

- DECAY ON THE WEB -

Starting points		
HET LVV		
N-VA		
NATIONAAL JONGSTUDENTENVERBOND		
VLAAMS BELANG JONGEREN		
VLAAMS BELANG		
VMO		
VLAAMS NATIONAAL JEUGDVERBOND		
VOORPOST		
VERBOND VOS		
DWARS DOOR RODE		
GULDEN SINJOREN		
HALLE VILVOORDE KOMITEE		
IJZERBEDEVAARTCOMITEE		
IJZERWAKE		
NEDERVLAAMS		
PUNT VL		
TAAL AKTIE KOMITEE		
TREK EEN STREEP DOOR		
VLAANDEREN FLANDERS		
VLAAMSE VOLKSBEWEGING		
Description of the seeds	Query	
The lion's share of the seed list consists of separatist movements striving for an independent Flemish state. Also included are the populist right and the extreme right, which are sometimes difficult to differentiate from one another, as the link analysis also found, whereby certain clusters contain more than one actor type. Youth and student organisations are also on the list, which is important for the recruitment analysis, with links leading to youth organizations and the festival, <i>Ijzerwake</i> .	<p>extreem rechts groepen belgie</p> <p>extreem rechts belgie</p> <p>populisme belgie</p> <p>extreme right belgium</p>	





Counter-measure network

The counter-measure network is a small, but tightly interconnected sphere of actors who do not exclusively deal with offering counter narratives but rather counter activities, actively seeking out cooperations and engaging in the organisation of events. The concentration on providing counter-right activities, including rallies, specifically

aimed at the Belgian youth provides a concrete counter-measure against the right-wing and separatist movements which are highly embedded in youth culture, across all ranks, from young kids to students. The [aff.skynetblogs.be](#) is the blog of the *Anti-Fascistisch Front / Verzet*, which is the digital extension of bimonthly magazine AFF/Verzet, from the AFF. It is highly active with daily blog post updates. It comes in as a central actor in the counter map, but it does not receive any incoming links from the

actors it refers to.

At the center of the second cluster is [blokbuster.de](#), which is a blog that receives daily updates. Blokbuster functions primarily as an anti-racism organisation, founded in 1991 to organize the youth against racism. It has a particular political agenda against the right-wing *Vlaams Belang* party. They proclaim explicitly that they do not 'just' want to provide counter-information, but also act in the form of organised protest, i.e., through the organization of an annual

anti-NSV (*Nationalistische Studenten Vereniging*) event ('betoging').

Another central actor in the cluster is the *LSP* (Left Socialist Party), which is tightly connected with *Blokbuster* to engage with the youth, with a motto: "Whoever has the youth, has the future." They also work together with *ALS* (*Actief Linkse Studenten*) (www.socialisme.be/actieflinks), co-organizing activities and protests.

The *Antifascistische Onderzoeksgroep Kafka* (kafka.antenna.nl) is an independent anti-fascism research group specializing in researching extreme-right trends. They advise journalists and scientists, who are interested in this subject. The only prominent French language actor is *resistances.be*, also a journalistic outlet which specializes in right-wing trends ("web-journal de l'observatoire belge de l'extreme droit").

Word clouds finding

A keyword analysis of the groups' websites indicates the significance of *Ijzerwake*, and its youth event. ♦

Total cloud

Analyse van een politieke ideologie (104) Dwars door Rode (471) Filip de Winter (838)
Philip Claeys (1048) Revolte (1051) VNJ (804)
Vlaams Nationaal Jeugdverband (434) De Nieuwe Kolonisatie (461) Gouwkamp (11) **Ijzerwake (1387)**

Stormfront cloud

Analyse van een politieke ideologie (0) Dwars door Rode (0) Filip de Winter (57) Philip Claeys (23) Revolte (116) VNJ (23) Vlaams Nationaal Jeugdverband (7)
de nieuwe kolonisatie (1) gouwkamp (0) **Ijzerwake (203)**

ITALY

- A GHOST NETWORK: THE MAINSTREAMING OF THE FAR RIGHT -

Starting Points - Right wing

WWW.NUOVO-ORDINE-NAZIONALE.ORG

WWW.FASCIITALIANI.IT

WWW.BLOCCOSTUDENTESCO.ORG

WWW.VENETOFRONTESKINHEADS.ORG

WWW.LEALTA-AZIONE.IT

WWW.FORZANUOVA.ORG

WWW.CASAPOUNDITALIA.ORG

WWW.FASCISMOELIBERTA.INFO

WWW.GIOVENTUITALIANA.ORG

WWW.DESTRANAZIONALE.ORG

WWW.AREADESTRA.IT

MOVIMENTOSOCIALENAZIONALISTA.BLOGSPOT.IT

WWW.SOCIALISMONAZIONALE.IT

WWW.GIOVANEITALIA.IT

WWW.MOVIMENTOPOLITICOFRATELLIDITALIA.IT

WWW.ALLEANZANAZIONALE.IT

WWW.MILITIACHRISTI.IT

WWW.MOVIMENTOZERO.ORG

ALTERNATIVATRICOLORE.BLOGSPOT.IT

WWW.LEGANORD.ORG

WWW.FIAMMATRICOLORE.COM

Query

google.it

“gruppi di estrema destra in Italia”

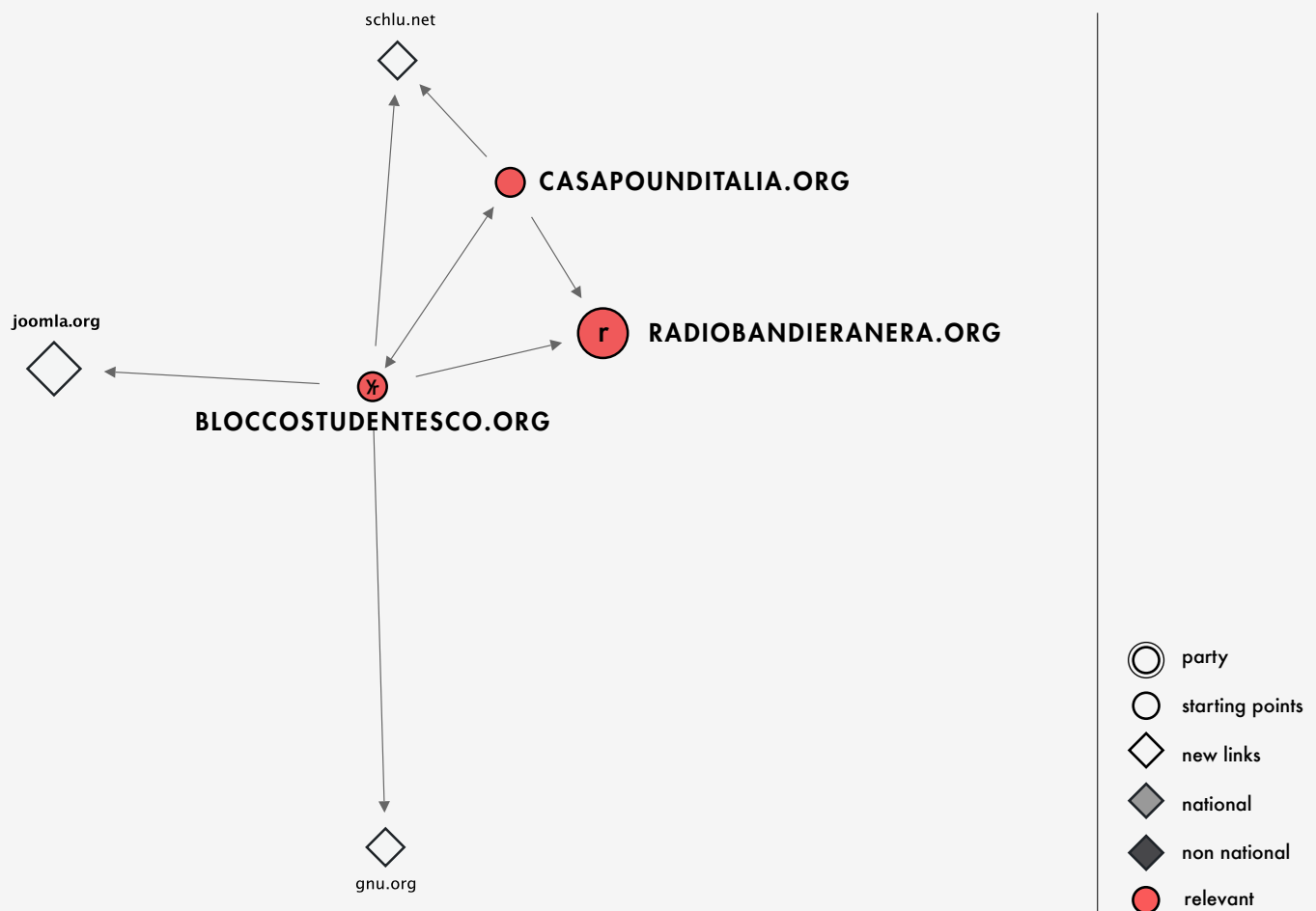
“estrema destra italiana”

scholar.google.com

“gruppi di estrema destra in Italia”

“estrema destra italiana”

“partiti di estrema destra in Italia”



Right-wing network

Using the “snowball” query techniques with the queries “gruppi di estrema destra in Italia” and “estrema destra italiana” in [google.it](#) and “gruppi di estrema destra in Italia”, “estrema destra italiana” and “partiti di estrema destra in Italia” in [scholar.google.com](#), we compiled a list of 21 extreme right-wing and populist actor URLs. From this original list of 21 URLs only two reappeared on the final co-link map, namely [casapounditalia.org](#) and [bloccostudentesco.org](#). The final map merely shows seven website-actors in total, only three of which are relevant to this analysis as the other four are generic online content management websites ([joomla.org](#), [gnu.org](#), [schlu.net](#) and [shynistat.com](#)). One might therefore state that the crawl resulted in the almost complete disappearance of the Italian right-wing and populist landscape

and the appearance of one very reduced cluster. A close analysis of URLs listed as starting points for the crawl, most of which are absent on the final co-link map, gives insight into their disappearance as a result of the absorption into mainstream Italian politics since the mid-1990s of the main (traditional) far-right political party, the *Italian Social Movement* (MSI), formed in 1946 by supporters of Mussolini. Indeed, the MSI was dissolved under the leadership of Gianfranco Fini in 1995 as the party mainstreamed under Berlusconi.

Since the mid-1990s as a result of both the collapse of the “First Republic” and the end of the Cold War, the MSI was able to gain unprecedented public support as the party had not been involved in the corruption stories that had shaken the country. Under the leadership of Gianfranco Fini who downplayed the fascist origins of the MSI, in 1995 the party was re-baptized *Alleanza Nazionale* (AN) ([alleanzana-](#)

[zionale.it](#); [movimentosocialenazionalista.blogspot.it](#)). It was allowed to join the coalition under Berlusconi’s government, and in 2008, it formed a joint ‘list’ together with Berlusconi’s party, *Forza Italia*, and *Lega Nord* under the name, the *People of Freedom* (PdL). The success of the PdL list in the 2008 general elections recently led to the permanent fusion of the AN into the PdL and the dissolution of the AN. Listed as a starting point for the crawl was the youth organization of the PdL, *Giovane Italia* ([giovaneitalia.it](#)). Following Fini’s rejection of the MSI’s fascist origins and decidedly mainstream position, MSI hard-liners founded their own party, the *Tricolour Flame Social Movement* (*Movimento Sociale Fiamma Tricolore*, MS-FT) in the wake of the dissolution of the MSI in 1995 ([fiammatricolore.com](#); [alternativatricolore.blogspot.it](#)). Members of the party also include marginal far-right figures such as Pietro Puschio, founder of the Veneto Front

Skinheads (venetofronteskinheads.org).

In its turn, MS-FT (with its series of different positions) witnessed internal disagreements and different “secessions” took place, which gave way to other offshoots leading to a further fragmentation of the far-right landscape in Italy. This is the case for a number of website-actors listed as starting points such as *Area Destra* (areadestra.it), *Nuovo Ordine* (nuovo-ordine-nazionale.org), *Destra Nazionale* (destranazionale.org), *Socialismo Nazionale* (socialismonazionale.it) and *Forza Nuova*, which also calls itself a “componente interna” of the MS-FT or “*Fiamma Futura*” (forzanuova.org).

The PdL (Berlusconi and Fini) also recognized the need to satisfy the hardliners of the defunct MSI and gave their approval to the foundation of the more radical Brother of Italy party as an officially sanctioned and openly far-right offshoot of the PdL (movimentopolitico-fratelliditalia.it). On the other hand, *Fiamma Tricolore* also rejects regionalism and therefore political parties such as *Lega Nord* for an independent “Padania” (leganord.org) and also seeks to attract the youth. According to Wikipedia, *Fiamma Tricolore* is therefore said to be “very close” to the *CasaPound*, which leads us now to consider the actual co-link map.

Central to the Italian far-right “ghost” online network (and also “survivors” of the crawl as they were listed as starting points) is *CasaPound*, a social center of fascist inspiration founded in Rome in 2003, and its national youth organization, *Blocco Studentesco* (Student’s Block), founded in 2006 (bloccostudentesco.org). The crawl result also returned *CasaPound*’s online radio station, *Radio Bandieranera* (radiobandieranera.org), which forms together with *CasaPound* and *Blocco Studentesco*, the only cluster visible on the final map.

The *CasaPound* movement originated with the squatting of a state-owned building in the neighbourhood of Esquilino in Rome, with 23 families (82 people in total) living there. It was

initially a movement with housing as its central issue -- hence the adoption of the word “casa” meaning “home” in Italian. Since 2008 it has become a larger movement to advance first housing related and subsequently other social issues under the name, *CasaPound Italy* (CPI). Next to the right to housing, the other current issues for the *CasaPound* political party include the need to stop financial speculation around real estate (“*Mutuo Sociale*” project), to lower the currently high interest rates on bank loans (“*Ferma Equitalia*” law) and to reduce the number of working hours per day from 8 to 6 for mothers of children up to 6 years of age (“*Tempo di essere madre*” law).

CasaPound also offers commercial, fiscal and legal consulting. The “*Ferma Equitalia*” project specially fits its self-chosen artistic and political patronage under the figure of Ezra Pound (hence the name) and especially his work *Cantos* against usury, connecting to the concern about high interest rates on bank loans. With its references to literary and artistic Modernism (Pound’s patronage but also references to W.B. Yeats as well as Marinetti, the ideologue of Futurism, Italy’s historical avant-garde), *CasaPound* places itself in a tradition of both rupture with the past and political engagement that sets itself against the establishment. This is in accordance with *CasaPound Italy*’s (CPI) ideology said to be close to the so-called Third Way, which seeks to reconcile right-wing and left-wing politics. Although *CasaPound* now has social welfare centers all over Italy, no dedicated local CPI websites were found in the crawl results. Perhaps it is an indication of the above mentioned rejection of regionalism by parties and organizations close to *Fiamma Tricolore*. *CasaPound* however does make generous use of Twitter (it has its own hashtag), Youtube, Google+ and Facebook, with pages dedicated to specific regions and local elections. They appear in the drop-down menu under the homepage tab, CPI 2.0. Besides demonstrations, *CasaPound* or-

ganizes a broad range of activities from agit-prop-like artistic manifestations to a variety of sports (hiking, diving and parachuting). It also launched its own online radio station (radiobandieranera.org), which is the third node on the co-link map to which both *CasaPound* and its youth organization link. A close reading of the website of *Blocco Studentesco* reveals the ambition of CPI’s youth organization to centralize student protest in high schools and universities throughout Italy with a list of local initiatives located in different parts of the country. A drop-down menu reveals their action radius across the “Nord,” “Centro” and “Sud” of Italy under the tab “Territorio.” However the local chapters of the youth organization do not constitute website-actors on their own. *Blocco Studentesco* seems to rather make use of Facebook with groups and pages dedicated to regions and cities, which correspond to its local chapters. They often gain more “likes” than the national Facebook pages.

In their manifesto *Blocco Studentesco* makes clear its dedication to fighting individualism and atomization -- hence its adoption of the term “Blocco” (to erase differences and “form a bloc”), a common denomination among far right-wing European parties (*Bloc Identitaire* in France, the now defunct *Vlaamse Blok* in Flanders, etc.). The importance of solidarity in the face of modern life’s alienation and loss of natural family and community ties in the city is also symbolized by the logo of *Blocco Studentesco*, the thunder, which stands for the efficiency of common action. Just like most political parties of the far-right, *CasaPound* is decidedly anti-capitalist and critical of globalization’s negative effects on local economies and the general life standards of middle-class Italians. All in all the analysis of the starting points and final map shows then that MSI’s mainstreaming under Berlusconi has led to the fragmentation of the far-right landscape online. ♦

Query

google.it

“gruppi antifascisti in Italia”

“movimenti antifascisti italiani”

Starting Points - Counter-measures

WWW.INVENTATI.ORG

WWW.SUPPORTOLEGALE.ORG

PATRIOTTISMO.FORUMCOMMUNITY.NET

WWW.CRITICALMASS.IT

WWW.MILITANT-BLOG.ORG

WWW.ONDAROSSA.INFO

WWW.STUDENTIFEDERICOSECONDO.ORG

ROMA.INDYMEDIA.ORG

WWW.NUCLEISTUDENTESCHI.COM

WWW.INDYMEDIA.ORGITINDEX.SHTML

WWW.DAXRESISTE.ORG

ITALY.INDYMEDIA.ORG

ROSSAGIOVENTU.BLOGSPOT.NL

WWW.AUTISTICI.ORGITINDEX.HTML

WWW.MYSPACE.COMSAFIUMARA

WWW.SINISTRA.NET

WWW.MYSPACE.COM/NUCLEOPISANOHC

WWW.BIBLIOTECAMARXISTA.ORG

TALPALAB.BLOGSPOT.NL

WWW.RETI-INVISIBILI.NET

WWW.GUIDOVOLPI.COM

WWW.CONTROAPPUNTO.ORG

WWW.COORDINAMENTO.INFOHOME

RESISTENZATOSCANA.IT

WWW.SPORTSOTTOASSEDIO.IT

WWW.ECN.ORG

ANTIFA.ECN.ORG

WWW.OSSERVATORIODEMOCRATICO.ORG

MALDESTRA.NOBLOGS.ORG

WWW.ANPI.IT

WWW.FUSORADIO.NET

WWW.INFOAUT.ORG

INK4RIOT.ALTERVISTA.ORG

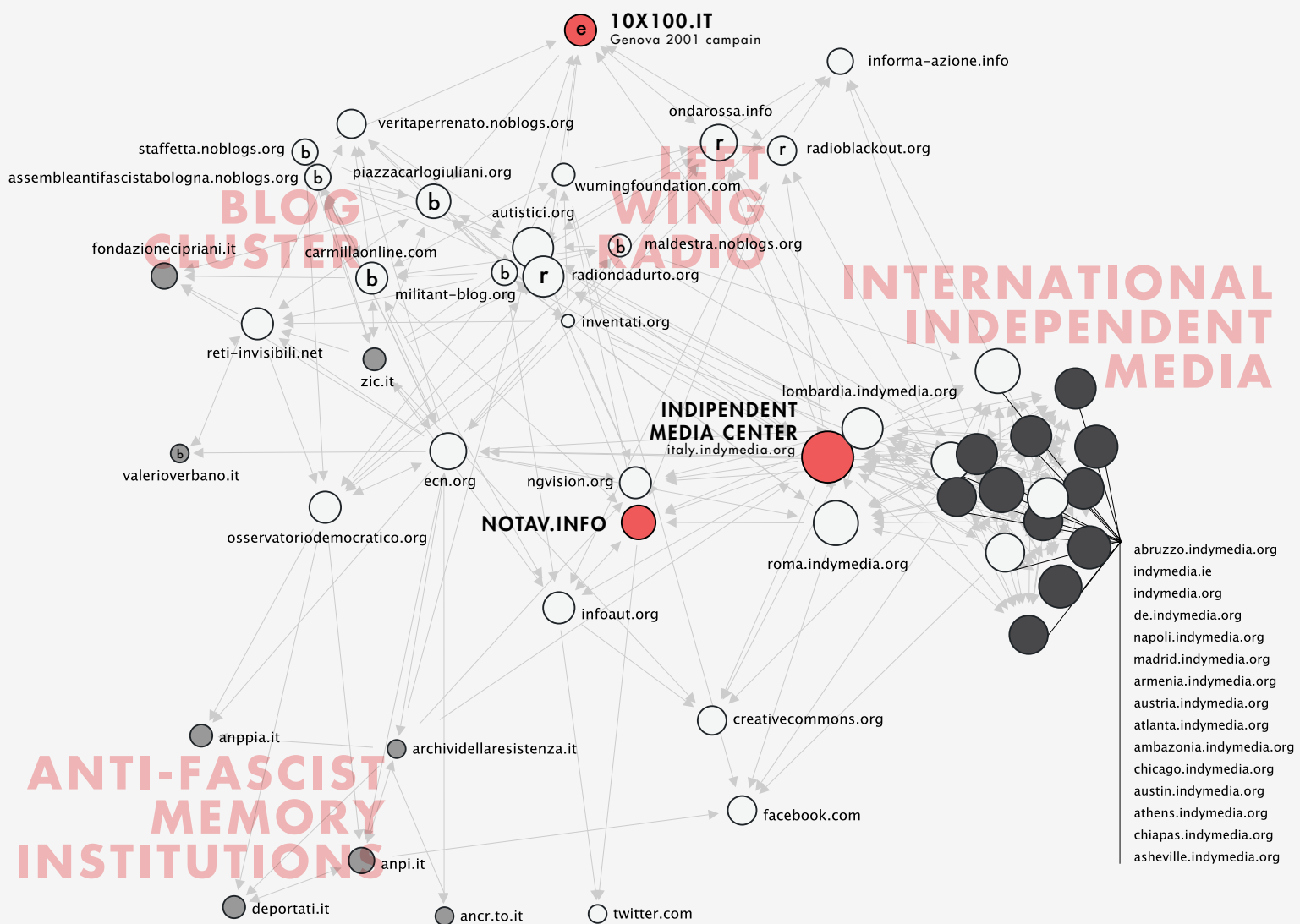
WWW.INFORMA-AZIONE.INFO

ROMATTIVA.WORDPRESS.COM

WWW.RADIONDADURTO.ORG

WWW.OSSERVATORIODEMOCRATICO.ORG

WWW.UMANITANOVA.ORG



○ generic ● national ● relevant ● non national

Counter-measures - the movement of movements

Compared to the Italian right-wing network, the counter-measures organizations appear to be well networked with various actors from information websites and forums, over blogs and radio stations, to specific historical organizations. There are several prominent clusters.

The cluster around *italy.indymedia.org* networks the Indymedia international chapters from Austin (USA), Chiapas (Mexico), Atlanta (USA), Madrid (Spain), Armenia, Athens

(Greece) etc. The Italian Indymedia chapter appears to be the central node of the counter-measures network, but it recently experienced financial difficulties and has been offline since February 2013.

Central to the counter-measures network is *notav.info*, an important movement especially in the contemporary Italian political context. It is a collective fighting a substantial infrastructural project with an impact on a large tract of land in Piemonte used for agriculture and local artisanal production. It fights against the oppression of power as well as social and environmental devastation. Central to the counter-

measures network is also *ngvision.org*, a platform for publishing and archiving videos connected to different types of movements in various eco-areas.

The top of the counter-measures network is concentrated with blogs, all well connected to three radio stations (*radiondadurto.org*, *ondarossa.info* and *radioblackout.org*). Central to this cluster are *autistici.org*, a hosting company focusing on providing free communication tools; *piazzacarlogiuliani.org* dedicated to the events that took place in Genoa in 2001, the death of Carlo Giuliani, remembrance and prevention; *militant-blog.org* a communist collective with housing, community centres

and anti-fascism on their agenda. Other significant nodes in this cluster are assembleantifascistabologna.noblogs.org (anti-fascist, anti-racist; anti-sexist); ondarossa.info (a radio station dedicated to all of the left's struggle / movement since the 60s); carmillaonline.com (literature, imagination and culture in the leftist framework); reti-invisibili.net (network of Italian associations seeking justice and remembering the victims of police, neo-fascist and mafia related violence); zic.it (partisan news site, supporting struggles and founded on open contributions).

In the periphery of the network are 10x100.it (Genoa related; July 2012 ten protesters to be convicted or not); veritaperrenato.noblogs.org and vale-rioverbano.it (seeking justice and telling stories about victims of neo-fascist violence).

The connectors to the progressivist, historical cluster on the lower left of the map are ecn.org (meta site and link aggregator referred to as 'a network within a network of networks'); osservatoriodemocratico.org (offers information

and knowledge on the past and present Italian neo-fascism, research and historical memory oriented); infoaut.org (aggregation of Italian and global stories on various movements).

The historical cluster is comprised of 5 websites (anppia.it, archividellaresistenza.it, anpi.it, deportati.it and ancr.to.it) that have a much more historical and institutional significance. This cluster is represented by different (non-governmental) institutional and cultural associations born of the "militants of the partisanship against fascist regime during WWII" and survivors of deportation. The counter-measures also have a presence of social network platforms as Twitter and Facebook.

The map of the Italian counter-measures shows a broader issue agenda related to solidarity with international left movements and domestic social, political and economical struggles in which anti-far right plays an important role. Moreover memory and reminiscing are important for the positioning of the countermeasures' in historical continuity with the broader left movements. ♦

Counter-measure network- overall findings

The counter-right movement matches right-wing politics in the sense that both the extreme right-wing and their left-wing counterpart share a common agenda, with both concerned with housing and a struggle against capitalism and globalization more generally. They seem to both spring from different historical and antagonist forms of socialism.

They both seek to offer solutions to economic problems and inequalities, and put the emphasis on the corruption that goes along with real-estate speculation and the world of global finance. They also both place emphasis on the narrative that politics should move beyond the regionalist, grounding their initiatives historically. ♦

DENMARK

- THE FACEBOOK RESEARCH EXPERIMENT -

Description

The literature considers the Danish right wing the result of two overall tendencies; national socialism and right extremism (Larsen, 2012). The radical right wing consists of considerably few groupings and only one party on the ballot. There is also a growing counter-jihadist network.

Most of Danish right became visible through using the snowball technique on *google.dk*, whilst *scholar.google.com* proved useful in identifying historical groupings. Hence it demonstrated that the 'known' Danish right wing overall has a digital representation. ♦

Query

google.dk

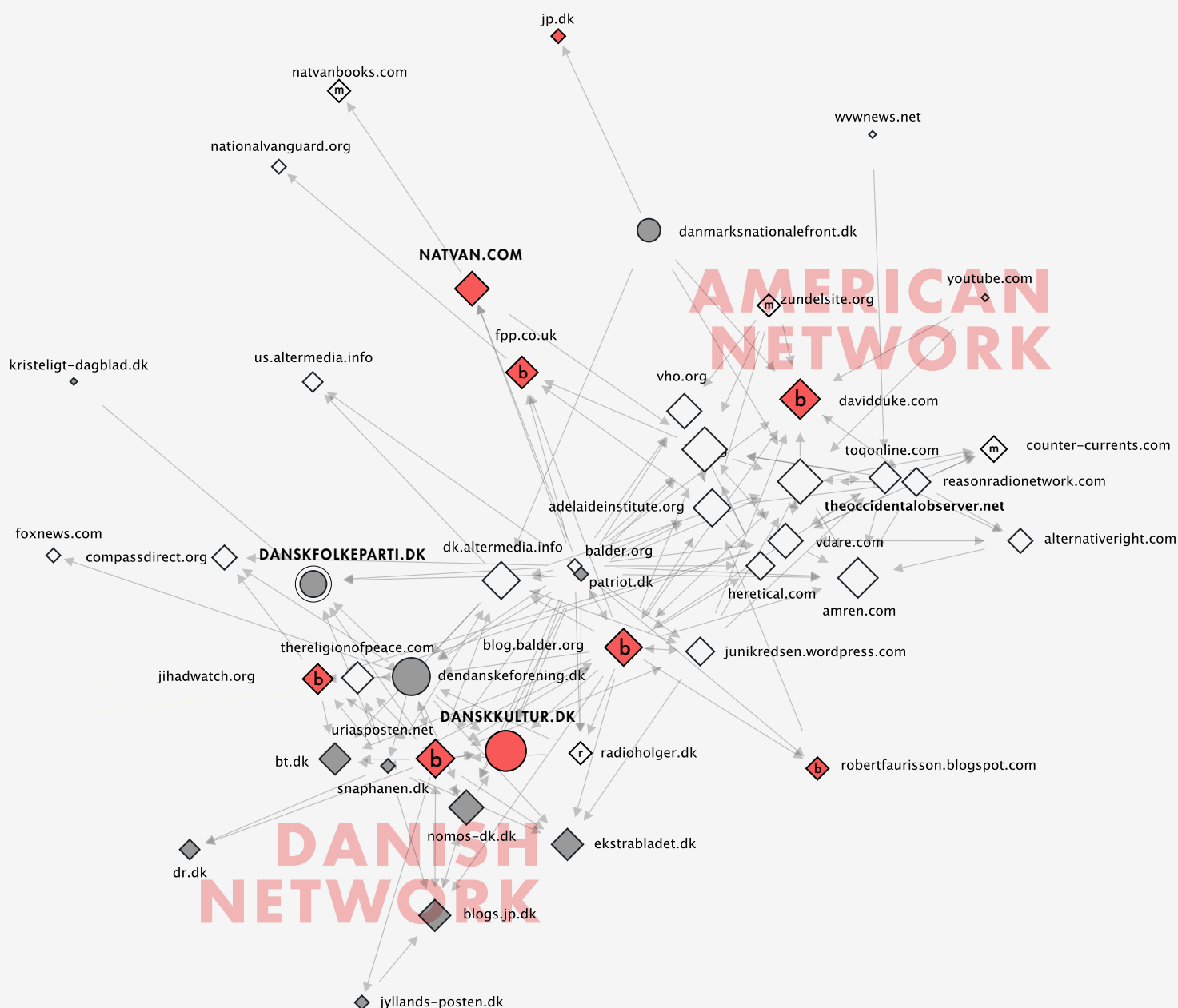
“ekstreme højrefløj”

scholar.google.com

“ekstreme højrefløj Danmark”

Starting points

DANSK FOLKEPARTI
 DANMARKS NATIONALSOCIALISTISKE BEVÆGELSE
 DANMARKS NATIONALE FRONT
 PRIDE WHITE
 DANSKERNES PARTI
 DANSK FRONT
 COMBAT 18
 VEDERFØLNER
 DEN DANSKE FORENING
 FREMSKRIDTSPARTIET
 DANISH DEFENCE LEAGUE
 29. AUGUST INITIATIVET
 DANSK KULTUR
 DANSK SELSKAB FOR FRI HISTORISK FORSKNING
 FRIT DANMARK
 STOP ISLAMERINGEN AF DANMARK



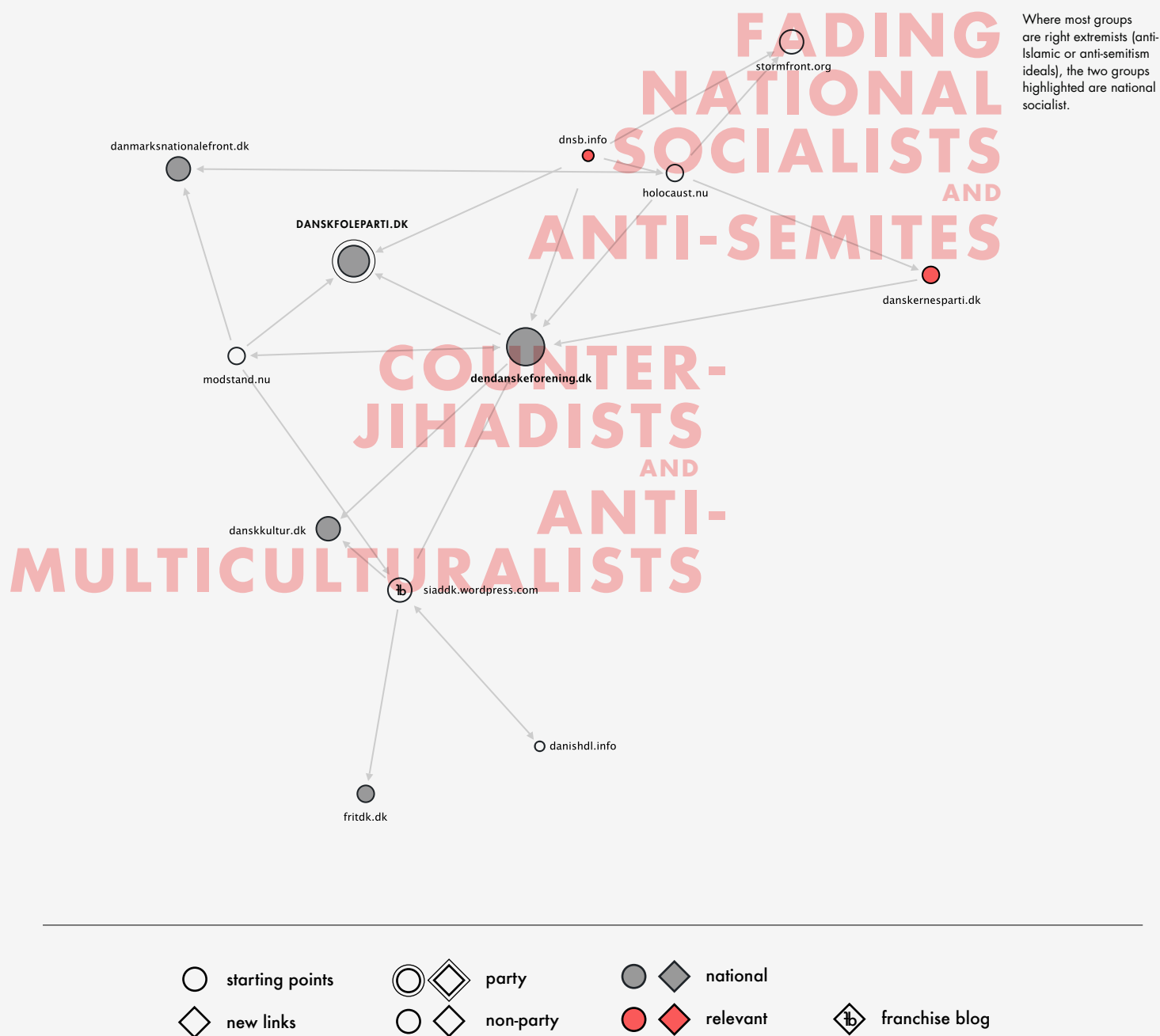
Network - co-link analysis

While it is noticeable that only a few of the starting points (4 of 14) had a networked online representation, the remainder *Dansk Folkeparti* (party on the ballot), *Dansk Kultur*, *Den Danske Forening* and *Dansk Nationale Front* were highly networked.

The co-link study shows that the mentioned groups' websites link to a number of other actors in the radical right field. In-

terestingly, the crawl illustrates that these groups are digitally associated with the American radical right websphere, which includes publishers, lone bloggers and right wing groupings, especially counter-jihadists. A closer look at the websites verified this relationship, as the *natvan.com* (the national alliance) refers to an *American-Nordic Alliance*.

Moreover, the co-link crawl also demonstrates how the Danish right wing and the Danish media have a digital grounded relationship, with the tabloids having the closest ties. ♦



Network - Inter-actor analysis

As the Danish right wing is well represented in the online space, several of them also benefit from their common area of interest. When crawling the sites for links internally in the right-wing network, it was found that most of the identified radical right groups are highly networked, leaving most (12 of 14) present in the interactor map. As such, it is suggested that the Danish right wing, compared to other European right wings, has a high level of digital interactions. Notably, this does not necessarily mean that the actors communicate with each other; rather several examples were found of the actors discussing each others' activity and ideology.

The Danish right-wing groups not only have well-established web presence, but their digital interactions show their internal network and indicate its positioning also externally.

Den Danske Forening, which is the most linked group in the network focuses on collecting and distributing information about immigrants and refugees in Denmark. The marginal groups (*Danmarks Nationale Front*, *Stormfront*, *Frit Danmark*, *Danskernes Parti*) are more focused on mobilising people.

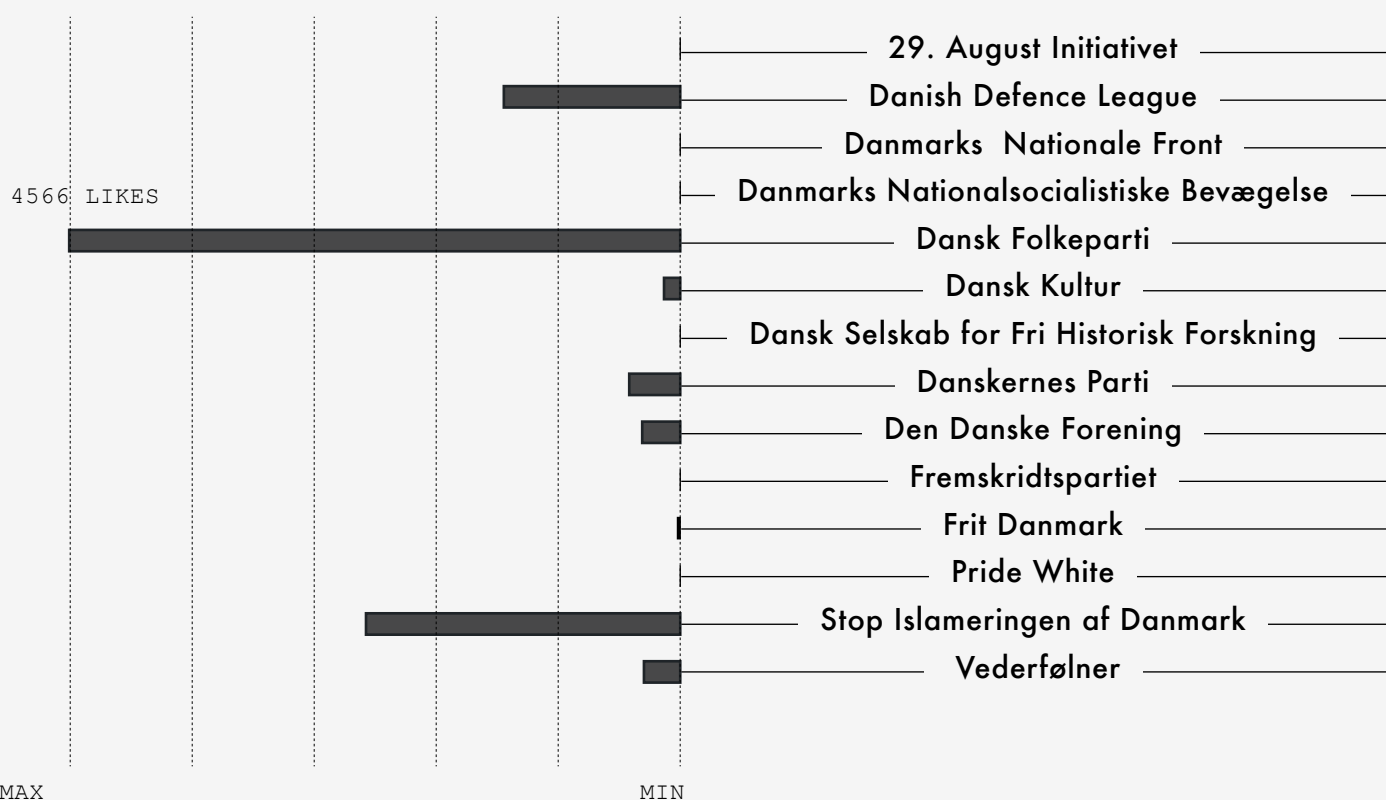
More specifically there are two clusters, one with national socialists and an anti-semitic historical research site (which has been discontinued), and a more thriving counter-jihadist, anti-immigrant and anti-multiculturalist cluster, with fresh and active websites. ♦

COUNTRY

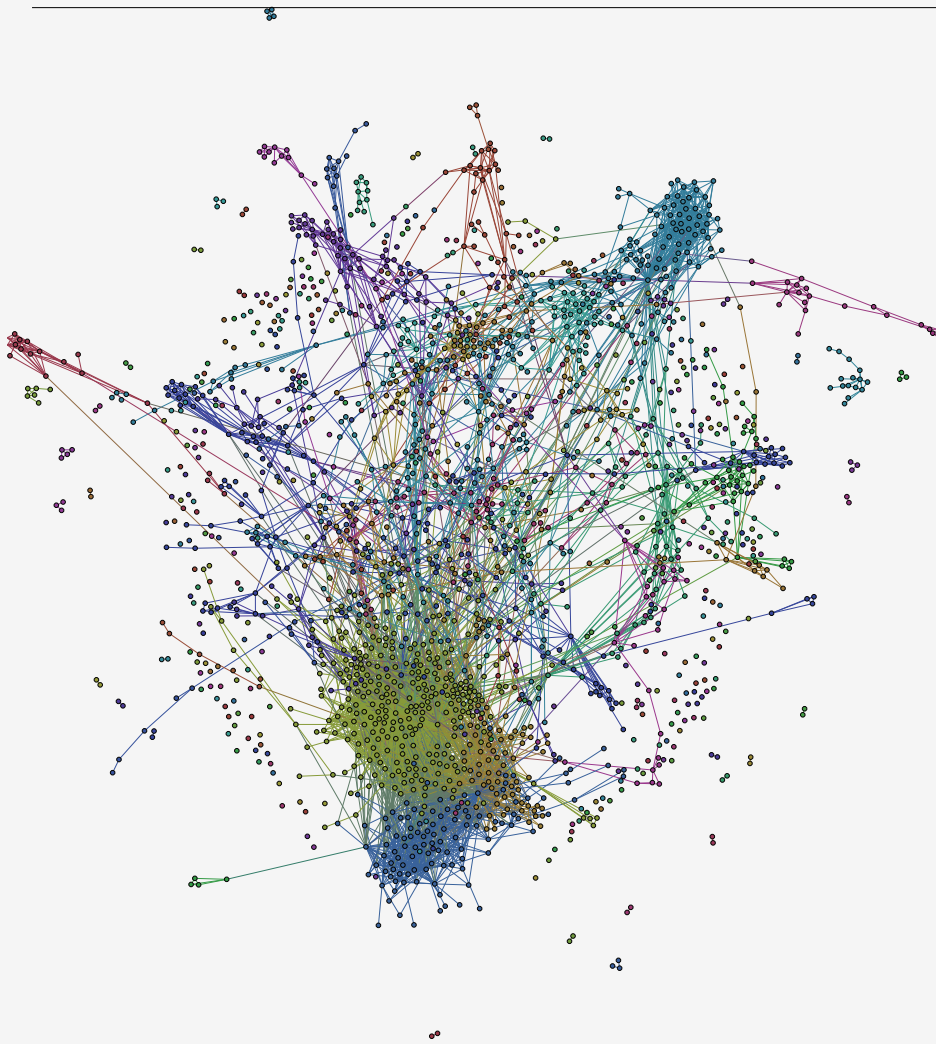
facebook / twitter
likes / followers

Social media analysis

Though the groups are all represented on a website, the majority of the Danish right wing has yet to deploy social media in a smooth way. While the Danish right wing does have sporadic social media accounts, their activity is limited to Facebook by using pages or groups. These Facebook spaces are used to communicate with each other, and to some extent reach out to “like minded” in public. That being said, the groups might also be using social media for means that are intentionally not publicly available. ♦



Stop Islameringen Af Danmark



Dansk Kultur



Facebook research experiment

As an experiment we tried to investigate the right wing Facebook groups, anticipating that it would give us insight into how the groups communicate and organize. After setting up a Facebook research account profile, we joined the four Facebook groups that are open.

Two groups (*Dansk Kultur*, *Stop Islameringen af Danmark*) confirmed the request, and hereafter we used the Netvizz application to harvest their networks and store the data in a relational database. We then mapped the respective networks and more specifically the individuals in them. The two networks are different in size (121 and 2156 members), but both groups have clusters and specific individuals who are connected to a high number of nodes – possibly indicating which of the individuals in the Facebook group are highly involved in the group's activity. The experiment demonstrates an approach to studying extremism in Facebook. ♦

NORWAY

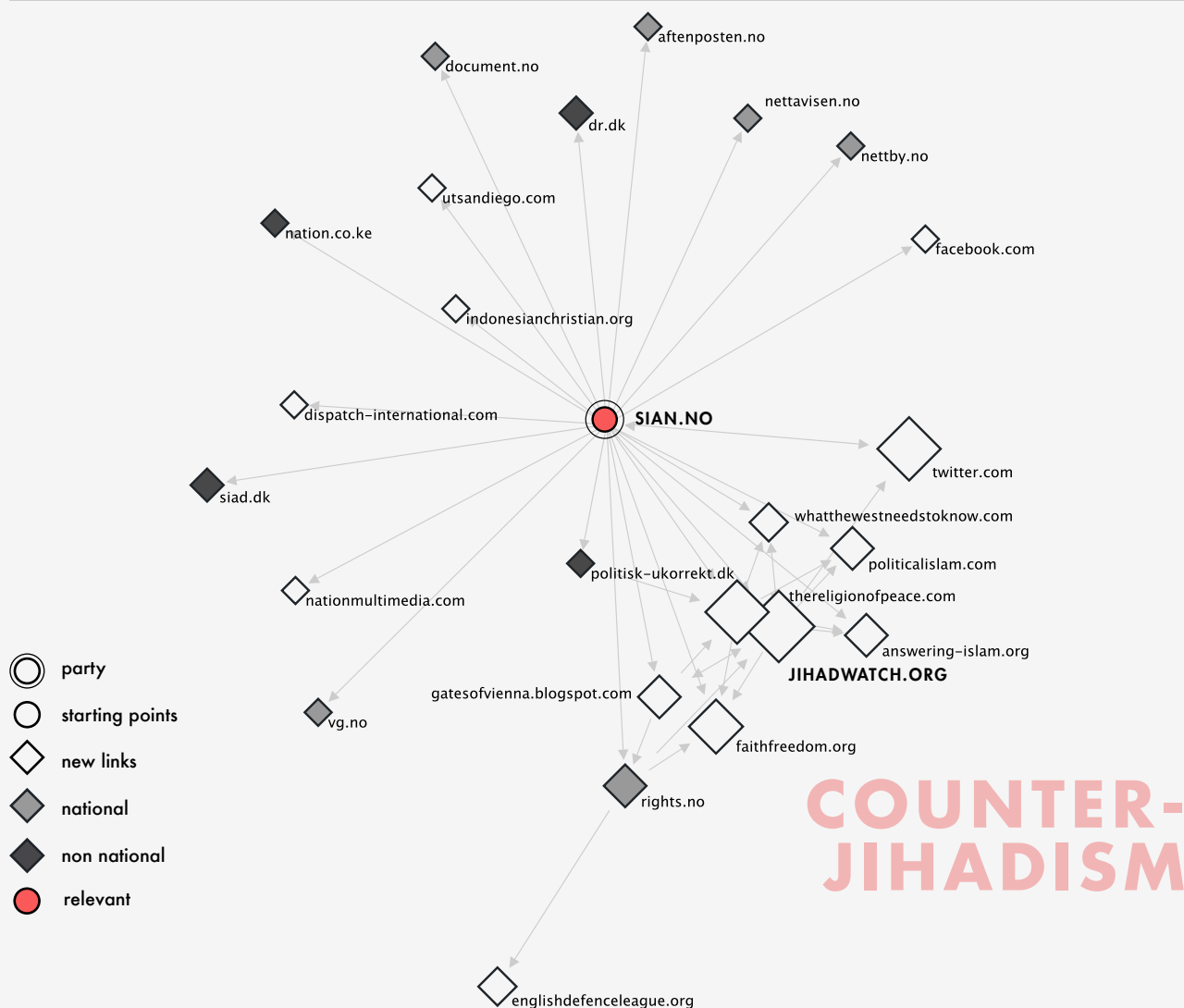
- COUNTER-JIHADIST NETWORK -

Query

“høyreekstremisme”

Starting points

DEMOKRATERNE
DEN NORSKE MOTSTANDSBEVEGELSEN
FEDRELANDSPARTIET
FOLKEBEVEGELSEN MOT INNVANDRING
FORUM MOT ISLAMISERING
NASJONALDEMOKRATENE
NORWEGIAN DEFENCE LEAGUE
SETERPARTIET
SIOE NORGE
STOPP ISLAMISERINGEN AV NORGE
TJEN FOLKET
VIGRID



Network - colink analysis

On the map we can see that the only starting point that maintains its presence is the anti-Islamic organisation, SIAN. On their website they say they wish to enlighten Norwegians about what so-called Islamization is doing to Norway. It links to a number of international counter-jihadist websites and blogs, which also cluster on the map. This cluster consists of the sites, *jihadwatch.org*, *politicalislam.com*, *thereligionofpeace.com*, *faithfreedom.org*, *whattthewestneedstoknow.com* and *gatesofvienna.blogspot.com*, which was reportedly shut down by the host *blog-ger.com* and then moved to *gatesofvienna.net*. It is an international counter-jihadist network, with many sites based in the US.

Amongst this cluster of international counter-jihadists is a Danish site of the same character: *politiskt-ukorrekt.dk*.

One of the most prominent sites in the cluster is the Norwegian website *rights.no*. It is the site of the organisation *Human Rights Service* that also has a counter-jihad character though more subtle than the other blogs and organisations. It publishes news and articles based on documentation that they then analyse and interpret in a counter-jihadist manner.

Online news sites as *Aftenposten* and *Nettavisen* are present in a ring around the SIAN organisation. The ring of newspapers is a mix of traditional news outlets and some more radical news sites. The *dispatch-international.com* is the website of the recently started newspaper *Dispatch International* which today is published online in Danish, Swedish and English. The

articles on the news site also display counter-jihadist sentiments.

These counter-jihadist groups are also present in the list of the top nodes in the network shown on the map. Also present in the top nodes are the *English Defence League* and the *Danish Defence League*. They appear in the list of top nodes together with social media sites Facebook, Twitter and Nettby.

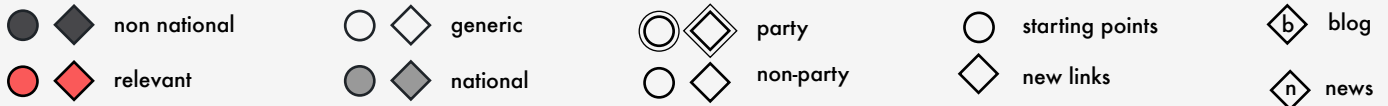
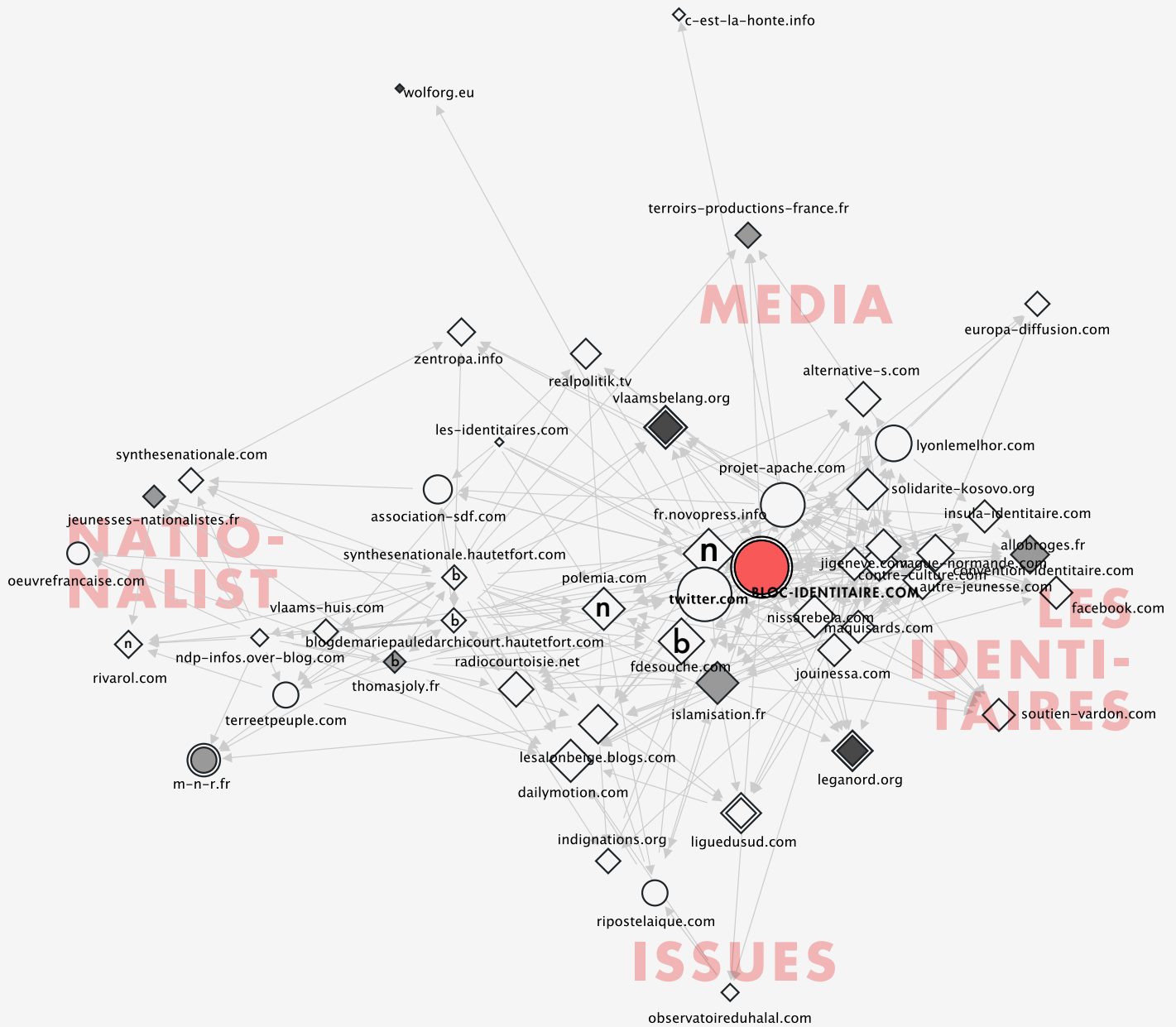
The links to Facebook and Twitter are to the SIAN organisation's Twitter account and Facebook group. Nettby used to be the second largest community network in Norway after Facebook but closed down over two years ago.

Overall the findings indicate that the most present websites in the network are related to counter-jihadism websites, organisations and blogs. Furthermore, news websites, both traditional as well as counter-jihadist are connected in right-wing network. ♦

FRANCE

- THE EMERGENCE OF IDENTITARIANISM -

Starting points		Query
3E VOIE	PROJET APACHE REBEYNE	"Groupes d'extrême droite en France"
ACTION SOCIALE ET POPULAIRE	RECONQUISTA	"Extrême droite en France"
BLOC IDENTITAIRE	RENOUVEAU FRANÇAIS	"Droite en France"
CONSEIL REPRÉSENTATIF DES ASSOCIATIONS BLANCHES	RESEAU RADICAL	"Groupes de droite en France"
CRAB	RÉSISTANCE RÉPUBLICAINE	
FRONT COMTOIS	RIPOSTE LAÏQUE	
FRONT NATIONAL DE LA JEUNESSE (FNJ)	SDF	
FRONT NATIONAL FN	SOLIDARITÉ ALSACIENNE	
GUD	TERRE ET PEUPLE	
JEUNES POUR LA FRANCE (JPF)	UNION POUR UN MOUVEMENT POPULAIRE (UMP)	
JEUNESSE IDENTITAIRE	MOUVEMENT POUR LA FRANCE (MPF)	
JNR	CENTRE NATIONAL DES INDÉPENDANTS ET PAYSANS (CNIP)	
LES JEUNESSES NATIONALISTES RÉVOLUTIONNAIRES	DEBOUT LA RÉPUBLIQUE (DLR)	
LE MOUVEMENT NATIONAL RÉPUBLICAIN MNR	PARTI CHRÉTIEN-DÉMOCRATE (PCD)	
MOUVEMENT IDENTITAIRE GENEVOIS	PARTI NATIONAL RADICAL (PNR)	
MOUVEMENT POUR LA FRANCE (MPF)	OEUVRE FRANCAISE	
NATIONALISTES AUTONOMES		
NOUVELLE DROITE POPULAIRE		
NDP		
PARTI DE L'INNOCENCE		
PARTI DE LA FRANCE PDF		
		Description
		Using the snowball method for list-building, with the queries "Groupes d'extrême droite en France", "Extrême droite en France", "Droite en France" and "Groupes de droite en France" in both google.fr and scholar.google.com , we compiled a list of 28 extreme right-wing and populist actor URLs. From the websites harvested 12 are organizations, 13 parties, and 3 blogs. They are all hosted in France. ♦



Co-link network analysis

The disappearance of main traditional right-wing parties and their youth organizations included in the starting URL list such as the *Front National*, *FN Jeunesse* and *Parti de la France* as a result of the crawl on the final map is striking. What the mapping shows, however,

is the overwhelming online presence of the highly interconnected *mouvance identitaire* (identitarian movement); the crawl on the basis of the original list of URLs including some of them (*bloc-identitaire.com*; *jeunesses-identitaires.com*; *projet-apache.com*) has uncovered a whole range of new actor-websites of identitarian pedigree.

The *mouvance identitaire* is a Euro-

pean political movement that emerged in the late 1990s under the influence of specific authors such as the Belgian Robert Steuckers of the “*révolution conservatrice*” movement (conservative revolution). In France the term “*Les Identitaires*” (identitarianists) was originally conceptualized by the French ideologue Guillaume Faye and has become widespread among the far right.

The term also recurs throughout the actor websites of the countermeasure map as “*Les Identitaires*”, used in a derogatory manner by “Antifa” (anti-fascist) organizations to describe the mouvance identitaire.

The mapping of the populist right and extremism in France shows that the mouvance identitaire cluster is dominated by the political party *Bloc Identitaire* and its coordinated online effort to bridge the North-South divide in France and to reach the youth across the country. It makes use of several recruitment strategies, media platforms and events in order to achieve its goals.

We performed two types of network analysis using the Issue Crawler. In the first one, “Right Wing total (co-link),” the software crawled the seed urls, in this case the 28 actor websites, and the map visualizes those that are linked by at two of the seeds. In this manner, the graph shows is those outlinks shared by actors.

Actor Rankings

(core network and periphery, by page)

- 1 - [twitter.com](#) - 3813
(Bloc Identitaire)
- 2 - [islamisation.fr](#) - 3629
- 3 - [fdesouche.com](#) - 3540
- 4 - [fr.novopress.info](#) - 3127
- 5 - [bloc-identitaire.com](#) - 3106
- 6 - [autre-jeunesse.com](#) - 2375
- 7 - [alternative-s.com](#) - 2227
- 8 - [synthesenationale.hautetfort.com](#) - 2080
- 9 - [terroirs-productions-france.fr](#) - 1897 (offline)
- 10 - [projet-apache.com](#) - 1659

The mapping displays the overwhelming online presence of one large cluster corresponding to *Bloc Identitaire*, its use of Twitter, its local chapters (Liguedusud.com), local youth organizations ([Jouinessa.com](#); [projet-appache.com](#), [lyonlemelhor.org](#)), blogs by local personalities affiliated to the party such as Philippe Vardon and his respective personal, promotional and local movement websites ([soutien-vardon.com](#), [contre-culture.com](#) and [nissarebela.com](#)).

Bloc Identitaire also launched a news site and press agency *Novopress* ([novopress.info](#)), and has links to regional political parties just across the border to the North- and South-east of France ([vlaamsbelang.org](#) and [leganord.org](#)). Further, *Bloc Identitaire*’s strategic use of the web for targeting the French youth is visible through the proliferation of websites bearing different names, yet all automatically redirected to *Bloc Identitaire*’s main youth organization “*Jeunesses Identitaires*” ([jeunesses-identitaires.com](#)). These “ghost” youth organization websites were discovered by the Issue Crawler as a result of the mapping ([Autre-jeunesse.com](#), [Jigeneve.com](#) and [maquisards.com](#)).

Although starting points included *Bloc Identitaire* and some of its local youth organizations, the mapping reveals the prominent online presence of the mouvance identitaire and in particular of the political party *Bloc Identitaire*, its structures, main personalities and issues/themes. The mouvance identitaire power cluster organized around the political party *Bloc Identitaire*, its use of Twitter, and its own online press agency, *Novopress*, also includes the blog by François Desouche, a very influential right-wing opinion maker with identitarian affinities ([fdesouche.info](#)) and *Polémia* ([polemia.com](#)). This main mouvance identitaire cluster dominated by *Bloc Identitaire* links to a set of three other main clusters by a series of actor-websites that act as connecting agents between this new political movement and actor-websites of more traditional right-wing and nationalist pedigrees such as the skinhead organization, *Jeunesses nationalistes révolutionnaires* ([jeunesses-nationalistes.fr](#)) and the political party *Mouvement National Républicain* ([m-n-r.fr](#)). Other political parties of identitarian affinities such as *Terre et peuple*, included in the original list of URLs, also appear on the final map but as satellite entities to the main *Bloc Identitaire* cluster.

The “connecting” actor-websites are mostly personalities of the *Union de la Droite Nationale* (UDN, Union of

the National Right Wing), a French political confederation regrouping several right-wing formations among which the *Mouvement National Républicain* (MNR), *Nouvelle Droite Populaire* (NDP) and *Parti de la France* (PDF). Although neither the UDN, nor NDP, nor PDF appear on the final map (PDF being originally listed as a starting point), prominent PDF personalities such as Marie-Paule and Yves Darchicourt and Thomas Joly do appear, along with online versions of traditional news providers of the far right called *Presse Nationale* by the UDN on their official blog ([udn.hautetfort.com](#)) such as *Rivarol* ([rivarol.com](#)), the oldest right-wing weekly founded in 1951, and *Synthèse Nationale* ([synthesenationale.com](#), [synthesenationale.hautetfort.com](#)). These connecting actor-websites also link the *Bloc Identitaire* cluster to the more “classic” *Nouvelle Droite* nationalist right-wing party, the *Mouvement National Républicain* ([m-n-r.fr](#)), which was originally listed as one of the seed URLs. It appears marginal to the main *Bloc Identitaire* cluster.

Unlike the MNR, NDP or PDF, the mouvance identitaire emphasises the fact that it does not promote “nationalism” but rather “patriotism.” Against traditional right-wing nationalist movements and political parties, the mouvance identitaire profiles itself emphasizing attachment to a soil, a region, and Europe at large, rather than to ‘just’ the nation state or region. As Guillaume Luyt writes on the website of *Bloc Identitaire*:

“Au nationalisme, idéologie de la Nation, nous préférons le patriotisme, attachment charnel à notre terre. Un patriotisme que nous osons affirmer triple: régional (patrie charnelle), français (patrie historique), européen (patrie civilisationnelle)”

This inclusiveness accounts for the presence of the separatist Flemish and North Italian, regional right wing political parties ([vlaamsbelang.org](#), [leganord.org](#)), together with the virtual absence

of the use of national domain names (such as .fr for France, .be for Belgium or .it for Italy) for website actors of the mouvance identitaire, in contrast to more traditional right-wing actors such as the (*m-n-r.fr*) and the *Jeunesse Nationales* (*jeunesses-nationales.fr*) which do use the country's domain name .fr. As the map shows, the use of the .com domain name is common among website-actors of the mouvance identitaire.

The rest of the mapped actor-websites set linked to and organized around the main *Bloc Identitaire* cluster can be divided into two main categories: media with identitarian affinities (*realpolitik.tv*) and issue-driven ones dealing with religion mainly.

On the one hand, the mouvance identitaire and *Bloc Identitaire* cluster links to pro-Catholic organizations such as *indignations.org*, a blog with the motto "*Assez d'actes anti-catholiques*" ("enough anti-catholic deeds" in France and abroad); it organizes actions, demonstrations, and petitions has not been posting since 2005. The *Bloc Identitaire* cluster also links to *lesalonbeige.blogs.com*, a newsblog "about and for lay catholics ("*Blog quotidien d'actualité par des laïcs catholiques*"). It corresponds to the militant stance against gay rights and gay marriage, and for traditional family values characteristic of the activity agenda of many youth organizations and movements of the mouvance identitaire, also visible through their common use of the expression "*père de famille*" ("family man") in official presentations of their main public figures (*nissarebela.com/presentation-du-mouvement/*).

Such is however common across the right-wing spectrum from the mouvance identitaire to the *Parti de la France* and skinhead organizations. The PDF organized the "*Manifestation contre la dénaturation du mariage*" (*thomasjoly.fr*) and the youth skinhead organization "*Jeunesse Nationalistes*" organized in Lyon and Marseilles, simultaneously, a "*manifestation contre la loi sur l'accouplement sodomite*" (demonstration against the law on gay sex) and a

"*démonstration pour le droit de l'enfant à avoir un père et une mère*" ("demonstration for children's rights to have a father and a mother"), shifting the discourse to rights. Also, part of the activities of the *Generation Identitaire* among which the *Projet Apache* is the help to homeless (SDF) under the name "*Génération Solidaire*" (*projet-apache.com/2013/03/une-fois-par-semaine*).

On the other hand, the mouvance identitaire and *Bloc Identitaire* cluster intensively link to the counter-jihadist *Observatoire de l'islamisation* (*islamisation.fr*) and their satellite issue-dedicated website, *Observatoire du halal* (*observatoireduhalal.com*). It also links to the pro-Serbian support organization, *Solidarité Kosovo*, founded in 2004 and which uses derogatory language towards Muslims, ubiquitous throughout the whole network. The news item about the "*9ème anniversaire commémoratif des pogroms anti-serbe au Kosovo*" mentioned on the website, for instance, returns on the blog of Marie-Paule and Yves Darchicourt as:

"Kosovo: 9e anniversaire de l'agression musulmane, les terroristes toujours impunis!"

What the mapping shows then is that next to anti-semitism mentioned by the *Commission Nationale Consultative des Droits de l'Homme* (National Human Rights Consultation Commission), counter-jihadism is also characteristic for the mouvance identitaire in France.

From an ideological point of view, sympathizers of the identitarian movement put the emphasis on the defence of white Europeans and thus have an ethnic vision of political engagement. Some are self-declared "racialists" or "ethno-differentialists." It is in accordance with the ubiquitous promotion within the mouvance identitaire cluster of the book, *Sale Blanc*, by Gérard Pichon, concerning racism against white Europeans. It is promoted across the network from news items on *Novopress* to the organization of lectures by the author of the book on *Generation Iden-*

itaire (another organization linked to the *Bloc Identitaire* political party, yet not visible as such on the map).

The close analysis of websites included on the map also shows that youth recruitment strategies of the mouvance identitaire span a broader range of activities and services than the traditional skinhead youth organization, *Jeunesses Nationales*. Whereas this latter organizes (support) dinners, nationalist hiking expeditions ("*randonnées nationalistes*"), Christmas teas ("*gouter de Noël*"), bonding *soirées* ("*soirée de cohésion*"), nationalist commemorations (on the 20th of November, the date of Franco's death and the 1936 execution of José-António Primo de Rivera, chief of the Spanish Falange), and trips abroad (Italy). *Projet Apache* (the local Parisian chapter of the *Generation Identitaire* and the "brand" of the *Bloc Identitaire* youth organization) also includes a radio channel (*Radio Apache*). It links to a music production company (*alternative-s.com*) and organizes football matches.

And whereas the skinhead youth movement *Jeunesses Nationales* still uses Nazi-inspired imagery such as the Imperial Eagle and the laurel wreath, the *Projet Apache* in particular loosely references the Beat Generation and the hippie counterculture of the 1960s. Their emblem brings together James Dean and Naichez of the Apache Chiricahua clan. Hence the name of the youth organization "Apache." The online *Projet Apache* manifest states:

"C'est sous le double patronage du dernier grand chef d'un peuple d'hommes libres et de la figure du mauvais garçon en lutte contre la société bourgeoise nourrie de misère et d'injustice que nous plaçons notre action qui est avant tout un cri de révolte."

Here, the native Americans romantically represent freedom (and a reverence for the land) and James Dean, the revolt of a marginalized youth against the old guard and the bourgeoisie. *Projet Apache* targets the youth by profiling

itself as rebel counter-culture. In fact, the book by *Bloc Identitaire*'s prominent public figure, Philippe Vardon, is entitled *Eléments pour une contre-culture identitaire*, promoted on an eponymous website visible on the map (*contre-culture.com*).

Furthermore, *Projet Apache* appropriates the traditionally left-wing emblematic event of the Commune de Paris (1871), which has become over the years a symbol for the city of Paris and for class-struggle and resistance in general. Moreover, *Projet Apache* links traditional themes of the far right such as urban alienation, the rejection of "cosmopolitanism," the fear of uniformity and physical, sexual and emotional degeneration as a result of the corrupting influence of immigrants

pictured as a malignant foreign body, to left-wing, anti-globalization and other issues such as surveillance, state control, materialism, ecological disaster, genetically modified organisms (food) and (American) Imperialism. It calls for a revolution:

"Révolte contre la grisaille de l'avenir que l'on nous construit, révolte contre l'uniformisation et l'indifférenciation d'un cosmopolitisme sans âme, révolte contre une société matérialiste pour qui la nature n'est synonyme que de terrain d'exploitation, projet immobilier ou espace de loisirs, n'offrant aux familles parisiennes que l'intoxication alimentaire et environnementale et les mirages consuméristes, révolte contre la violence

qui menace nos frères et nos sœurs au coin des rues et au bas des immeubles, révolte contre l'Etat complice des barbares qui sont la fausse justification de son omniprésence flicarde dans nos vies, révolte contre la tyrannie financière qui nous voudrait moutons acculturés, asexués et déneuvés."

Paradoxically enough perhaps considering the anti-consumerist undertone of the previous quote from the *Projet Apache* manifesto, both skinheads and the generation identitaire sell their merchandise online. *Projet Apache* does so under the "boutique" tab whereas the *Jeunesses Nationales* under the tab, "Matériel". They all sell posters, stickers and t-shirts. ♦

SPAIN

- ECO-IDEALS FROM THE RIGHT -

Description

Using the ‘snowball’ query technique, [grupos de de extrema derecha en España], in both google.es and Google Scholar, we compiled a list of 15 extreme right and populist right actors, and their URLs. (No new actors were identified using Google Scholar.) Of the websites harvested, 4 are organizations, 9 are parties, and 2 are forums. 9 are hosted in Spain, 4 in the US, and 2 have hosting arrangements which are undetermined. ♦

Query

google.es

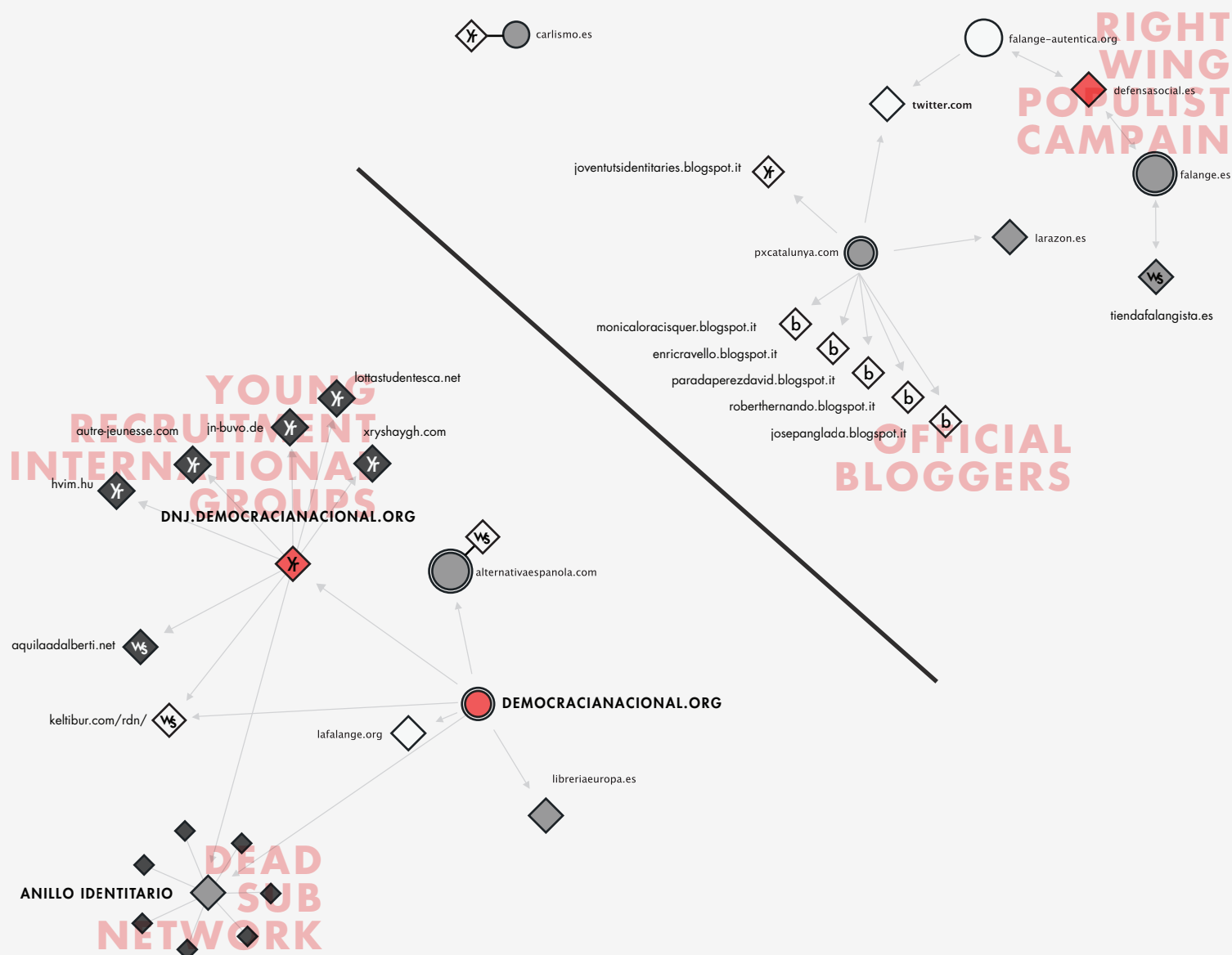
“grupos de extrema derecha en España”

scholar.google.com

“grupos de extrema derecha en España”

List

CIRCULO RUIZ DE ALDA
COMUNIÓN TRADICIONALISTA
DEMOCRACIA NACIONAL
FALANGE ESPAÑOLA AUTÈNTICA
FALANGE ESPAÑOLA INDEPENDIENTE
PLATAFORMA PER CATALUNYA
ESPAÑA 2000
DERECHA NAVARRA Y ESPAÑOLA
ALTERNATIVA ESPAÑOLA
ALIANZA NACIONAL
FUERZA NUEVA
MOVIMIENTO CATÓLICO ESPAÑOL
MOVIMIENTO FALANGISTA DE ESPAÑA
MOVIMIENTO SOCIAL REPUBLICANO
ESTADO NACIONAL EUROPEO (FILONAZI)
PARTIDO NACIONAL DE LOS TRABAJADORES



Network co-link analysis

The mapping depicts two clusters, and one isolated actor. The first cluster is

made of the following actor-websites: *alternativaespanola.com*, *democracianacional.org*, *lafalange.org* and *libreriaeuropa.es*.

At the center of the cluster is *democracianacional.org*, the extreme right political party, which links to the other

three websites. Two of them are other political parties and the third one a website for a bookstore for political and right-wing literature.

Below is a description of the actors in this cluster and an analysis of what links them together. ♦

Node analysis - Cluster I

democracianacional.org

Democracia Nacional is an extreme right political party, and the website acts mainly as a news aggregator, organized chronologically. The top 'banner' says, "*No seas burro, reacciona de una vez!*", or "don't be an ass, react already!" They state their issues in an animated flash book, with such matters of concern as greater efficiency in the prosecution of illegal immigrants. Ecology is one of their issues, too. They advocate reforestation, and investment in the eco-economy. It also denounces the violence by the left [*violencia esquerdista stop!*]. They have online surveys on the website as well as a Q&A section, with such questions as, "what to do if you are forced to enroll your son in a private school?" A banner links to a webshop, keltibur.com/rdn/. Here the "radical look" is advertised; styles include ancestral Europe, with products such as historical flags. Books include *La conspiración del movimiento gay*. There are hats with the iron cross. Music from Brigada 1238 includes *Sangre guerrera*, and *Identidad*. One special offer is a DVD, *Fest der Völker 2009* (live in Deutschland), with 11 songs from 'brother nations'. It also has a youth section, dnj.democracianacional.org. To gain a sense of some of the issues, they are against Halloween (for it is too commercial), and are pro Day of the Dead. The first entry at the moment of the query (from 19 March 2013) is a flyer promoting a concert by the Iberian Wolves. The website promotes activism and shows images of people putting up posters and graffiti. They have a Youtube suggestion; it is the band Brigada whose music is also available in the web shop. They also have a forum, which is active and up to date, with discussions on immigrant delinquency. The content of the forum is user and administrator generated. It is graphic, explicit and direct, and also contains humor:

There was an earthquake in Morocco, and 3,000 died.
Italy sent 4000 kilos of pasta, France sent 1000 litres
of potable water, and Spain sent 3,000 Moroccans.

La alternativa social cristiana belongs to a political party focused on the promotion of Christian values, marginalized, according to them, in contemporary Spain. They are against abortion, wish to renegotiate international treaties, and favor "positive discrimination" for those who come from similar backgrounds. As modes of engagement they promote events, especially lectures and book launches. It is possible to become a member by filling out a questionnaire, which includes a financial donation.

La falange is an organization that considers itself the heirs to the national syndicalist ideals of the 1930s. They offer legal advice for their militants and participants in marches and demonstrations. There is a youth falange, with a link to the motorcycle club, the Spanish Totenkopf, escuadrontotenkopf.

wordpress.com. One of their videos provides a series of ways to build the movement: distribute thousands of flyers, create graffiti and attend marches and demonstrations.

[Libreriaeuropa.es](http://libreriaeuropa.es) is a bookstore with political books, including holocaust denial.

Generally, the values and issues named on the main websites become more operationalized in the youth organizations, and through links to web shops. For example, the ecological ideals espoused by various Spanish parties become concrete through a link to a hiking organization. The general claims become specific and the culture of extremism visible through engagement formats.

Node analysis - Cluster II

The second cluster is composed of pxcatalunya.com (political party), larazon.es (newspaper), falaange-autentica.org, defensasocial.es and falage.es as well as Twitter, with links to the groups' Twitter accounts. It is rather populist. One of the main themes of the cluster is the economic crisis. Pxcatalunya.com, the only page in the network in Catalans, has as its issues immigration and Islam. *Defensa social* is also falangista, and has a section dedicated to actions that include posters, banners, presence at the book fair, and banners in facebook. Their strategy is to accuse people and name them.

Counter-measures

The counter-right organizations in Spain have a relatively small presence online. Apparently they appear mostly on Facebook, with groups that organize anti-fascist events and marches. The only exception is the anti-plataforma per Catalunya, an organization explicitly against the PxCatalunya party. ♦

Social media analysis

COUNTRY

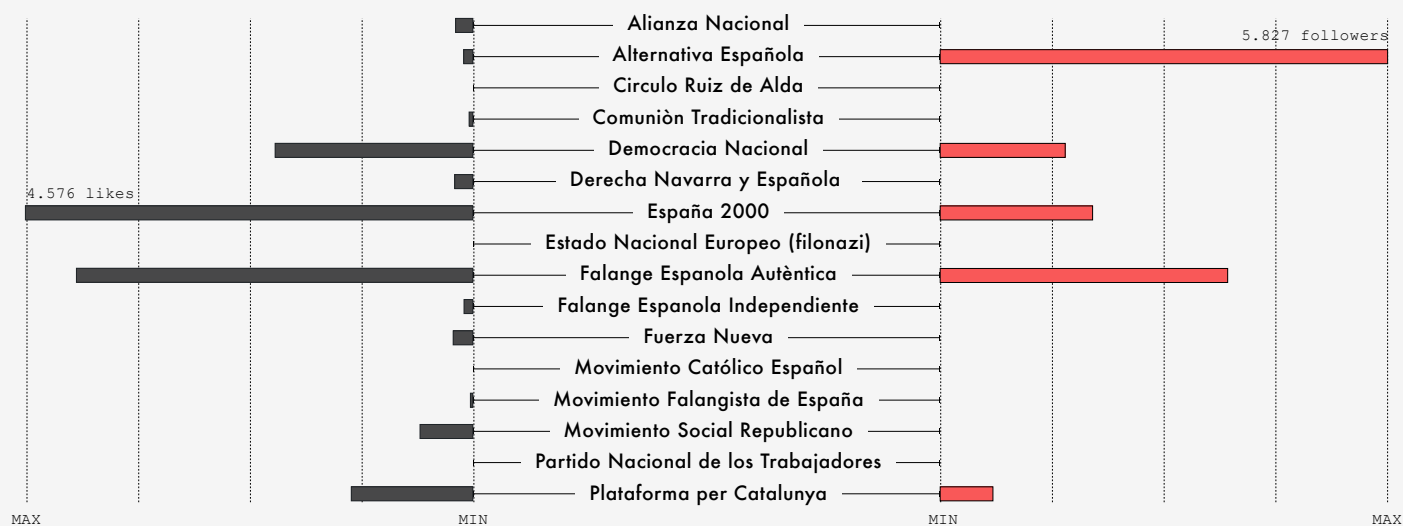
facebook / twitter
likes / followers



The Spanish right-wing does not have a strong social media presence in terms of numbers, and the highest amount of activity is registered mostly in Facebook pages and YouTube accounts. Larger parties have official Facebook pages; smaller ones have unofficial groups or fan pages. A few parties have a (non-broadcast) Twitter account. Almost all of them have a YouTube channel. Generally the amount of likes or followers is between 10 and 2000 (small).

SPAIN

13.253 / 13.871



BULGARIA

- HIGHLY WIDGETED -

Introduction

The Bulgarian political landscape has been dominated recently by a few major parties on the ballot and many smaller ones outside the parliament (over 70 parties were registered for the elections in May 2013). A similar pattern is found on the right with only 2 populist ones on the ballot and many existing

nationalist, populist and far right parties and organisations off of it. Here we are interested in the picture online, and the following is a brief analysis of the online presence of Bulgarian populist and extreme right parties and organisations. We found that there are only 2 prominent networks (despite the numerous starting points in our analysis), one around the traditional nationalist party, *VMRO*, and one around the extreme

right *BNRP*. The largest populist right-wing party on the ballot (*Ataka*) is isolated in the online link networks. The populist and extreme right are beginning to connect through a centralised online forum and both were also found to be extensively tracking and tracing user data. The countermeasures network also has been mapped. The counter right is well networked and the linking is dominated by human rights watchdogs. ♦

List and method

The seed list is built through the following query design: [крайно десни партии в България] ([far right parties in Bulgaria]), [радикални партии в България] ([radical parties in Bulgaria]); [екстремистки партии в България] ([extremist parties in Bulgaria]). The results are snowballed so as to build a list of the names of the parties and groups returned in google.bg. The list is checked against an expert list (from Wikipedia, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_political_parties_in_Bulgaria). The method results in an assemblage of 34 URLs, as starting points. Among them are the URLs of the far right (18) and extreme right (10) groups and parties, two online shops, an aggregated forum and a cultural organization. Some of the far and the extreme right parties are local franchises. Two URLs of the extreme left were added to the list to seek potential relationships. Four of the far right parties have an explicit franchise network with local URLs. ♦

Query

google.bg / scholar.google.com

“крайно десни партии в България”

“far right parties in Bulgaria”

“радикални партии в България”

“radical parties in Bulgaria”

“екстремистки партии в България”

“extremist parties in Bulgaria”

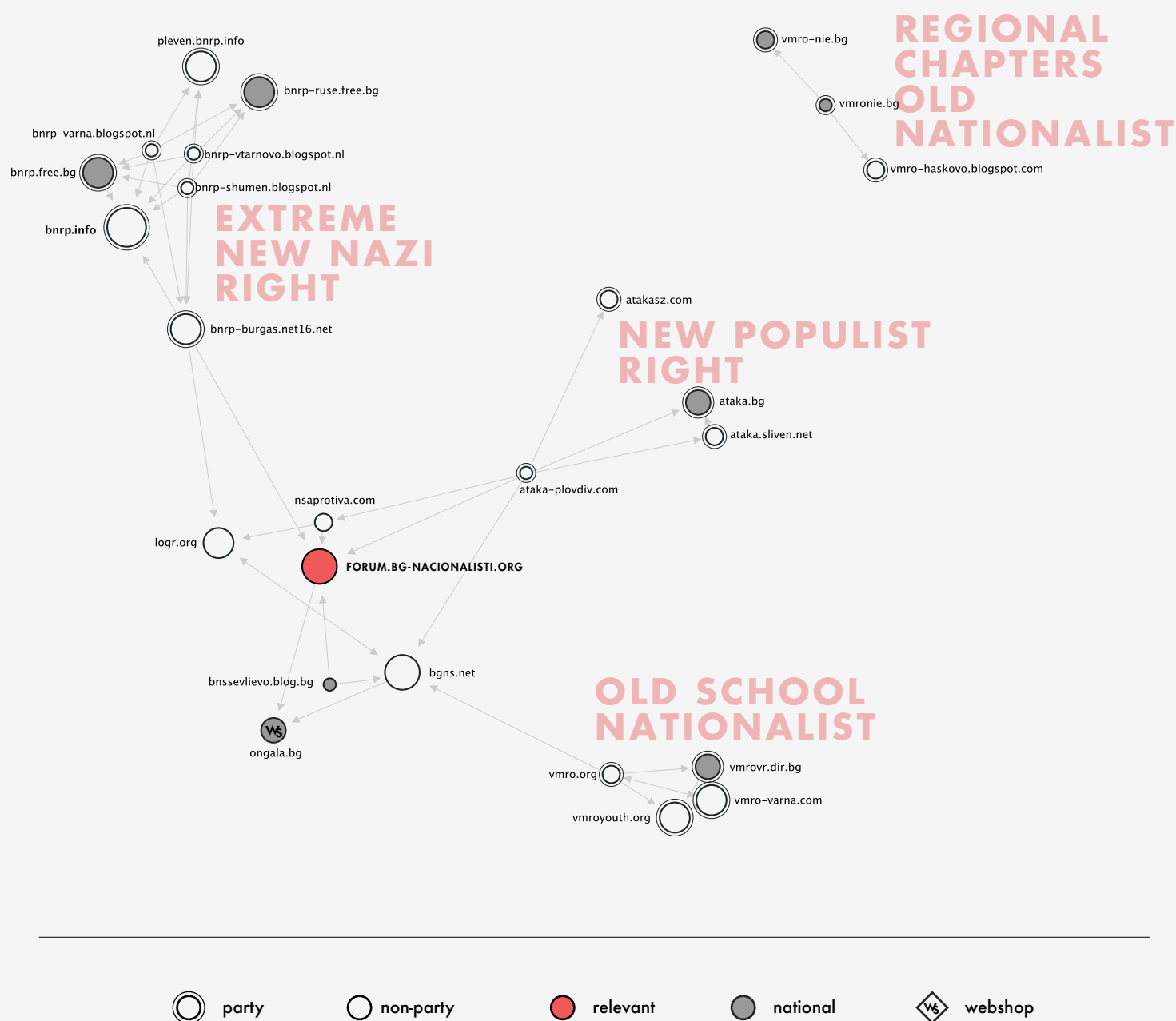
List

ATAKA
ATAKA SLIVEN
ATAKA STARA ZAGORA
ATAKA PLOVDIV
VMRO
VMRO VARNA
VMRO VRATSA
VMRO-WE
VMRO-WE PLOVDIV
VMRO-WE HASKOVO
NATIONAL YOUTH COMMITTEE VMRO
VMRO-BND
BULGARIAN NATIONAL UNION
BULGARIAN NATIONAL UNION SEVLIEVO
BULGARIAN NATIONAL UNION PAZARDJIK
BULGARIAN NATIONAL RADICAL PARTY
BULGARIAN NATIONAL RADICAL PARTY MONTANA
BULGARIAN NATIONAL RADICAL PARTY VARNA
BULGARIAN NATIONAL RADICAL PARTY BURGAS
BULGARIAN NATIONAL RADICAL PARTY RUSE
BULGARIAN NATIONAL RADICAL PARTY PLEVEN
BULGARIAN NATIONAL RADICAL PARTY SHUMEN
BULGARIAN NATIONAL RADICAL PARTY VEKIO TURNOVO
NATIONAL RESISTANCE
BLOOD AND HONOUR
NATIONAL FRONT TO SAVE BULGARIA
NATIONAL MOVEMENT TO SAVE THE HOMELAND
CITIZEN UNION FOR REAL DEMOCRACY
ORDER, LEGALITY, JUSTICE
UNION OF TRAKS ORGANIZATIONS IN BULGARIA
FEDERATION OF THE ANARCHISTS IN BULGARIA
NEW DAWN
VMRO VIRTUAL STORE
ONGALA
BULGARIAN NATIONALISTIC FORUM



The largest populist party on the ballot is isolated. Out of the 34 starting points URLs, 11 were returned in the network. The co-link map that is outputted by the Issue Crawler shows that the right and the extreme right parties in Bulgaria are not really networked. Three clusters are prominent: one around *VMRO* (nationalist / populist party with a long standing history related to reunification of the territories inhabited by Bulgarians that were taken away after the Congress in Berlin in 1878); one around the extreme right *Bulgarian National Radical Party* (top left on the map) and one around a neo-nazi blog featured in a generally popular Bulgarian hosting blog space. The cluster is likely an artefact of the blog space network since there are auto-generated links, but there is a finding of note.

The most popular of Bulgarian right-wing parties on the ballot *Ataka* (ataka.bg) is found isolated (middle left on the map). No right-wing groups link to it. Their online link is to their online TV channel (ataka.tv). ♦



Inter-actor analysis of the populist and extreme right

The right starts to connect through a forum (forum.bg-nationalisti.org). The inter-actor map confirms the pattern that the extreme right party (*the Bulgarian National Radical Party*) and the old nationalistic one (*VMRO*) are well franchised and networked. It also shows that the largest right-wing party *Ataka* (New Right) is neither franchised

nor networked. The map also shows that the right parties are not directly connected. However, they are found to have common online spaces - the forum, one webshop and several sites of right and extreme right formations. It is interesting to note that one of the franchises of the right-wing party on the ballot links to an extreme right union (*National Resistance*). We have found only two networks or clusters around 2 parties (out of 10), with the sites of their local subdivisions or a varied mix (in

the case of *VMRO*). The newly formed populist parties such as the *RZS* (*rzs.bg*) are either not present or in the case of *Ataka* an outlier. Although *Ataka* was found isolated and their site was ranked low (37th out of 55), one of their pages was ranked in the top 10 within the co-link network (the page announcing that their party's candidate had been elected to the Supreme Court). ♦

INTERNET USAGE AND POPULATION STATISTICS

YEAR	USERS	POP.	% POP.	USAGE SOURCE
2000.....	430.000	7.932.984	5,4%.....	ITU
2004.....	1.545.100	7.521.066	20,3%.....	ITU
2006.....	2.200.000	7.673.215	28,7%.....	ITU
2010.....	3.395.000	7.148.785	47,5%.....	ITU

Social media analysis: The right has separate web and social media spaces.

It can be said that social media is not smoothly integrated in the online (website) profiling of the right formations in Bulgaria, because the crawler did not detect links from the websites to Facebook; links to Twitter, YouTube and Google+ were also not found. The analysis of the deep pages of the network also shows no social media presence. Indeed, the extreme right *Bulgarian Radical party* and its franchises have no links to social media (their official site features a login/password). However, during a closer inspection of the starting points through searches in social media, 3 Twitter, 3 YouTube channels and 2 Google+ profiles of the parties (not individual accounts) were found. Thus there appears to be a divide between the right's websites, and their social media use, with a notable exception. The *VMRO* youth organisation has a near seamless social media presence. Links to a populist newspaper, online TV channel and a news site are featured.

The Bulgarian right is tracking and tracing user data. Although social media links were not returned on the co-link map, all the right formation sites are found to be well widgeted. We use the DMI Tracker Tracker tool that detects the presence of trackers, beacons, widgets and social media buttons correlating it to the Ghostery database. The most prominent trackers are Google analytics and AdSense. Facebook and Google+ widgets are also found. The presence of social media buttons, although limited, and the absence of the

links to the Facebook pages can feed-back to the state of the representation of the populist and far right organisations on the Bulgarian Web. It appears that linking is not considered as an important practice or a practice related to establishing associations and/or alliances. Moreover, there is a differentiation between the website and the social media presence since they are not linking to their Facebook pages.

With respect to hosting, the majority of the sites is hosted in Bulgaria. *The Bulgarian Radical party* subdivisions are also hosted in Bulgaria except for one; the *Burgas* franchise is hosted in USA).

Recruitment. The far right *BNRP* attends schools. The far right *National Resistance* organises concerts for young children and their parents in Sofia. The nationalist right *VMRO* has an online form membership (name / date of birth / address / house number). ♦

Social media analysis

COUNTRY

facebook / twitter
likes / followers

BULGARIA

7.365 / 108



Counter-measures - starting points

IVANYANAKIEV
BULGARIAN HELSINSKI
COMMITTEE
BULGARIAN ACTIVIST
ALLIANCE
PEOPLE AGAINST RACISM
STALIK
B'NAI B'RITH
GAY PARADE
YOUTH LGBT ORGANISATION
'ACTION'
ANARCHYRESISTANCE

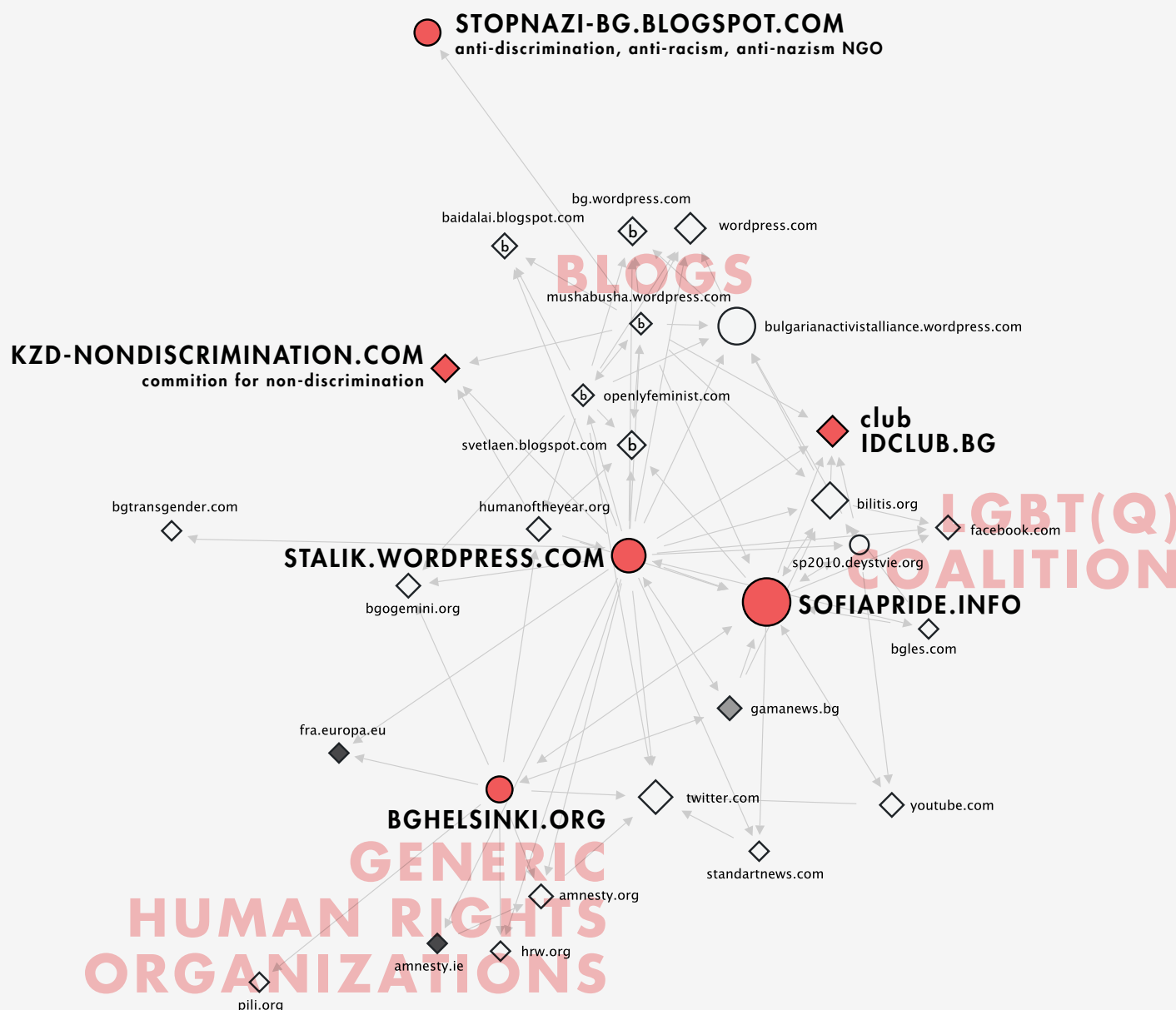
Query

google.bg

“анти крайно десни”
 (anti far right)

List and method

We used the query: “анти крайно десни” (anti far right) as a starting point for mapping the counter measures. Google.bg outputted prominent organisations: generic human rights NGOs (bgghelsinki.org; bulgarianactivistalliance.org) and gay and lesbian human rights groups and NGOs (stalik.wordpress.com; sofiapride.info). After “snowballing” them, 3 more appeared: 2 gay and lesbian human rights groups and 1 anti-far right organisation. It is interesting to note that the same actors appeared for the generic query: “правозащитни организации” [“human rights organisations”] suggesting that that portion of the public sphere is dominated by the actors considered prominent in the counter right space. ♦



Counter-measures network

The well networked counter right preemptively awaits the growing centralizing efforts of the right. The co-link map outputted by the Issuercrawler shows a highly linked and networked space of the counter right. There are several prominent nodes in the network: one around Bulgarian Helsinki Committee (*bghelsinki.org*), one around Sofia Pride (*sofiapride.info*) and one around a news blog for the LGBTQ communities (*stalik.wordpress.com*).

The actors surrounding the largest node

in the network (*sofiapride.info*) are gay and lesbian human rights groups, organisers of the LGBTQ parade, a club (*idclub.bg*), foundations dedicated to spreading and teaching tolerance towards the LGBTQ community (*bilitis.org*), and a specialised news site (*bgles.com*). They also form a coalition that supports the Sofia Pride parade and it is noteworthy that they include and consider business partners in their countermeasures. The actors around the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee (bottom left on the map) are international human rights organisations such as Amnesty International or Human Rights Watch (*amnesty.ie*; *hrw.org*). The actors on the top

part of the network around the LGBTQ news site (*stalik.wordpress.com*) are predominately blogs (*mushabusha.wordpress.com*), a governmental committee against discrimination (*kzd-nondiscrimination.com*), and a human rights NGO (*bulgarianactivistalliance.org*). A recently formed organisation against racism and neo-nazis (*stopnazi-bg.blogspot.nl*) appears isolated from the rest. The analysis of the deep pages shows links to a YouTube video on homophobia that was featured during Sofia Pride Film Fest in 2012 and a Facebook page of the Sofia Pride parade that was founded in 2013.

In conclusion, the counter measures,

in contrast to the populist and far right organisations in Bulgaria, are well networked and linking. The countermeasures space is dominated by generic human rights organisations (Bulgarian Helsinki Committee, for example) and those specialised in the LGBT rights. Personal, specialised news and community blogs constitute a big part of the network. The actors offer counter-measures to the populist and far right activities – the far right BNS party organizes a commemorative march, the counter right responds with a letter to the mayor of Sofia to ban it; the far right National Resistance organised a concert for young children and their parents in Sofia and the counter space has a foundation (*bilitis.org*) that aims to educate parents in tolerance. It can be also suggested that the strong network of the counter-measures preemptively awaits the increasing centralization of the populist and the far right organizations. (The inter-actor map shows that the populist and far right formations are beginning to connect through a forum, *forum.bg-nationalisti.org*). ♦

URL	TYPE	WIDGET
<i>www.vmrov.dir.bg</i>	ad	Gemius
<i>bnrp-sbumen.blogspot.nl</i>	ad	Google Adsense
<i>bnrp-sbumen.blogspot.nl</i>	ad	Google Adsense
<i>bnrp-varna.blogspot.nl</i>	ad	Google Adsense
<i>bnrp-varna.blogspot.nl</i>	ad	Google Adsense
<i>bnrp-utarnovo.blogspot.nl</i>	ad	Google Adsense
<i>bnrp-utarnovo.blogspot.nl</i>	ad	Google Adsense
<i>www.vmro-haskovo.blogspot.com</i>	ad	Google Adsense
<i>www.vmro-haskovo.blogspot.com</i>	ad	Google Adsense
<i>anarchy.bg</i>	analytics	Google Analytics
<i>anarchy.bg</i>	analytics	Google Analytics
<i>nfsb.bg</i>	analytics	Google Analytics
<i>nfsb.bg</i>	analytics	Google Analytics
<i>ongala.bg/page/3/za-nas.html</i>	analytics	Google Analytics
<i>ongala.bg/page/3/za-nas.html</i>	analytics	Google Analytics
<i>www.bgns.net</i>	analytics	Google Analytics
<i>www.bgns.net</i>	analytics	Google Analytics
<i>www.rzs.bg</i>	analytics	Google Analytics
<i>www.rzs.bg</i>	analytics	Google Analytics
<i>www.vmro-varna.com</i>	analytics	Google Analytics
<i>www.vmro-varna.com</i>	analytics	Google Analytics
<i>www.vmonie.bg</i>	analytics	Google Analytics
<i>www.vmonie.bg</i>	analytics	Google Analytics
<i>www.vmrov.dir.bg</i>	analytics	Google Analytics
<i>www.vmrov.dir.bg</i>	analytics	Google Analytics
<i>www.gord.bg</i>	widget	AddThis
<i>www.gord.bg</i>	widget	AddThis
<i>www.gord.bg</i>	widget	AddThis
<i>nfsb.bg</i>	widget	Facebook Connect
<i>www.bgns.net</i>	widget	Facebook Connect
<i>www.gord.bg</i>	widget	Facebook Connect
<i>ongala.bg/page/3/za-nas.html</i>	widget	Facebook Social Plugins
<i>www.vmroyouth.org</i>	widget	Facebook Social Plugins
<i>bnrp-sbumen.blogspot.nl</i>	widget	Google +1
<i>bnrp-varna.blogspot.nl</i>	widget	Google +1
<i>bnrp-utarnovo.blogspot.nl</i>	widget	Google +1
<i>www.vmro-haskovo.blogspot.com</i>	widget	Google +1
<i>www.vmro-nie.bg</i>	widget	LiveInternet
<i>www.vmro-nie.bg</i>	widget	LiveInternet
<i>www.gord.bg</i>	widget	Twitter Badge

SERBIA

- A RIGHT-WING CIVIL SOCIETY -

Introduction

The extreme right ideology in Serbia today is based on ideological principles as it had been in the past: radical nationalism and clericalism (religious fundamentalism), supporting the unity of the Serbian nation based on ethnic (also racial and denominational) prin-

ciples and historical prejudices (mythical pasts and futures), protection of the traditional values (patriotism, family, culture, honor, faith, etc.), extreme authoritarianism, support for the fascist ideals of old, anti-socialism and anti-liberalism, together with anti-Islamism and anti-Semitism, homophobia and xenophobia, sexism, Euroscepticism, and anti-globalization. The following zooms in on the composition of

the right online, concentrating on the interlinking between and among populist and extremist groups, together with other organizations their links draw in, particularly the emergence of a right-wing civil society, shaping the discourse of the right, largely on traditional questions of land and Kosovo. A lone counter-jihadist blogger also was found, but anti-islamist sentiment is not especially (or explicitly) central. ♦

Query

google.rs / scholar.google.com

extreme-right wing

“ultra desničarske organizacije u Srbiji”

[“extreme-right organizations in Serbia”]

“ekstremno desničarske organizacije u Srbiji”

[“extreme-right organizations in Serbia”]

“ultra desnica u Srbiji”

[“extreme-right in Serbia”]

“ekstremna desnica u Srbiji”

[“extreme-right in Serbia”]

populist right wing

“populističke partije u Srbiji”

[“populist parties in Serbia”]

“desničarske partije u Srbiji”

[“right-wing parties in Serbia”]

“desnica u Srbiji”

[“right-wing in Serbia”]

List

**SRPSKA RADIKALNA STRANKA- SRS
POKRET DVERI**

SRPSKI NARODNI POKRET 1389

SRPSKI NARODNI POKRET NAŠI

SRPSKI NACIONALNI POKRET SVETOZAR MILETIĆ

SRPSKI FRONT

POKRET ZA SRBIJU

SRBSKA AKCIJA

SLOBODNA SRBIJA

SRBSKI PATRIOTSKI POKRET

SRPSKI SLOBODARSKI POKRET

KRV I ČAST (BLOOD AND HONOR)

STORMFRONT

SRPSKI SABOR ZAVETNICI

NOMOKANON

BRANIOCI OTADŽBINE

SRBI NA OKUP

ULTRA ČETNICI

ČETNICKI POKRET

SNP ZBOR

FORUM VIDOVDAN

FORUM SRPSKI NACIONALISTI

FORUM SRPSKIH PATRIOTA

BLOG SRBSKO CARSTVO

Right-wing extreme

After searching Serbian *google.rs* for the above queries, the names of the organizations returned were snowballed and triangulated with a few lists found in experts' articles in *Google.rs* and Google Scholar ("Political Extremism in Serbia Today" by Jovo Bakic, professor of political science at the University of Belgrade, "Party Ideologies in European and Serbian Political Spaces," by Zoran Stojiljkovic, professor of political science in University of Belgrade, "New Serbian Right" by Misa Djurko-

vic, research fellow at the Institute for European Studies in Belgrade, and "The 2010 Annual Report on Human Rights and the Political Situation in Serbia" by the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia) and Wikipedia pages (e.g. List of political parties in Serbia, etc.). The website of the Serbian NGO "Peščanik" (*pescanik.net*) and articles found there were also used as a source of expert opinion on extreme-right groups and counter-right organizations. Many of the writers (experts) on this blog are esteemed Serbian and international scholars, professors, researchers, and public figures work-

ing in the domains of history, political science, law, sociology, philosophy, and human rights. "Peščanik" (first as a radio show, and then as a blog/multi-media portal) has been an active voice of democratic Serbia since the 2000, although its creators also were active critics of Serbian nationalism throughout the 1990s.

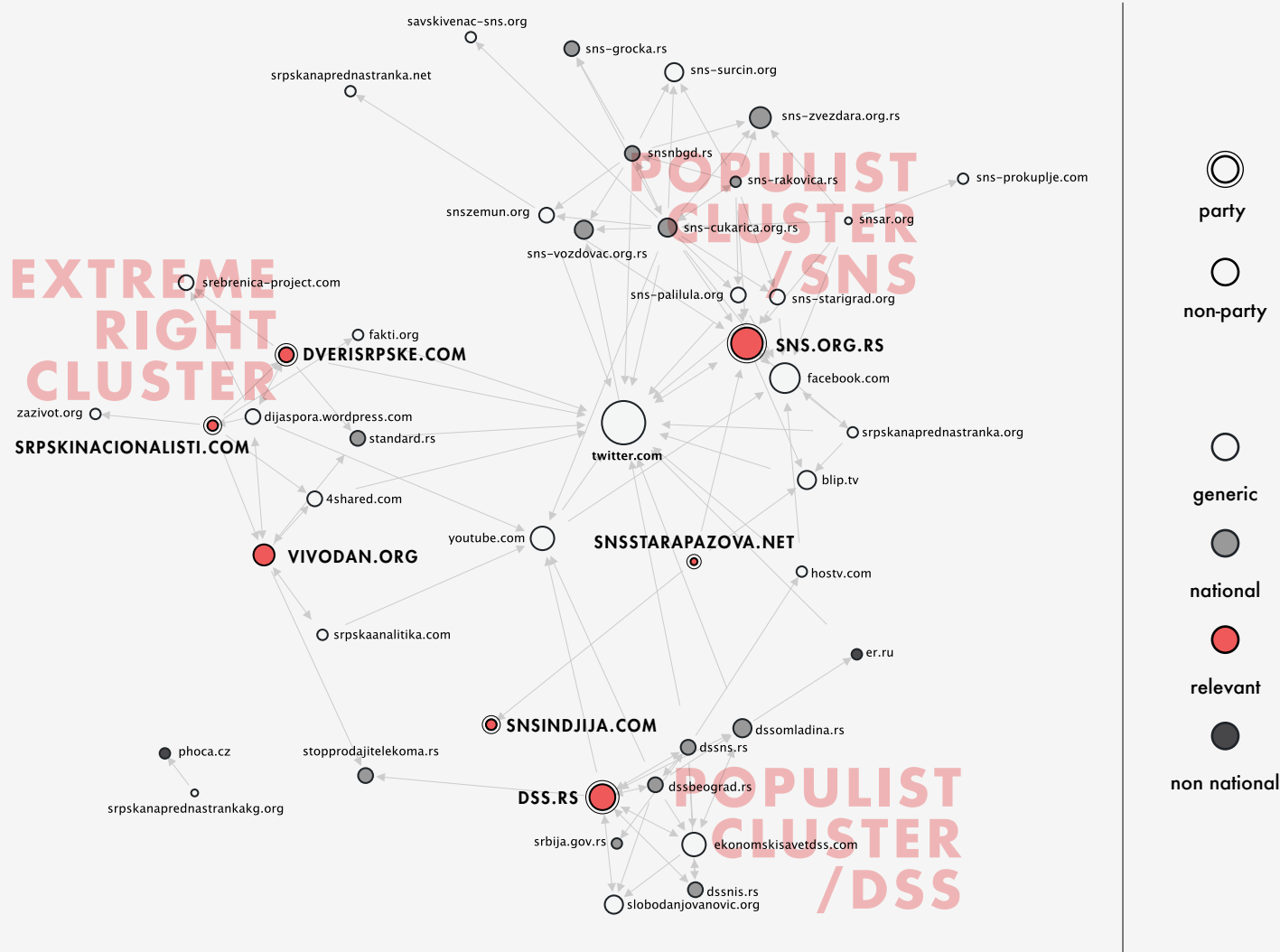
For the "right-wing extreme" organizations, 28 URLs were assembled as starting points – 2 parties on the ballot, 1 party franchise, 18 organizations on the fringe (one of them a student organization), and 4 extreme-right forums/web portals.

Right-wing populism

For the "right-wing populist" organizations, 68 URLs were gathered as starting points – 7 political parties on the ballot (and 57 local franchises of these parties), 2 Serbian NGOs, and 2 web portals.

Counter-right wing

For the "counter right-wing" organizations, 33 URLs were collected as starting points – 1 political party on the ballot (and 9 franchises of this party), 22 organizations/NGOs, and 1 web portal (Serbian media). Most of the names of these organizations appeared already in articles in the results for the query [extreme right organizations in Serbia] (as organizations that publicly oppose extreme right groups and their political activities), but another query was done for [anti-fascist organizations in Serbia], to triangulate the results and find more specific actors for the list. The *Liberal Democratic Party* (and its franchises) were included in this list owing to its prominence in the results for the query [extreme-right organizations in Serbia] (as a counter measure), given its noted public activity and political action against extreme right organizations, and because of its (previous) tight connections with Serbian civil society. ♦



Co-link Analysis Total

Populist and Extreme Right Disconnected.

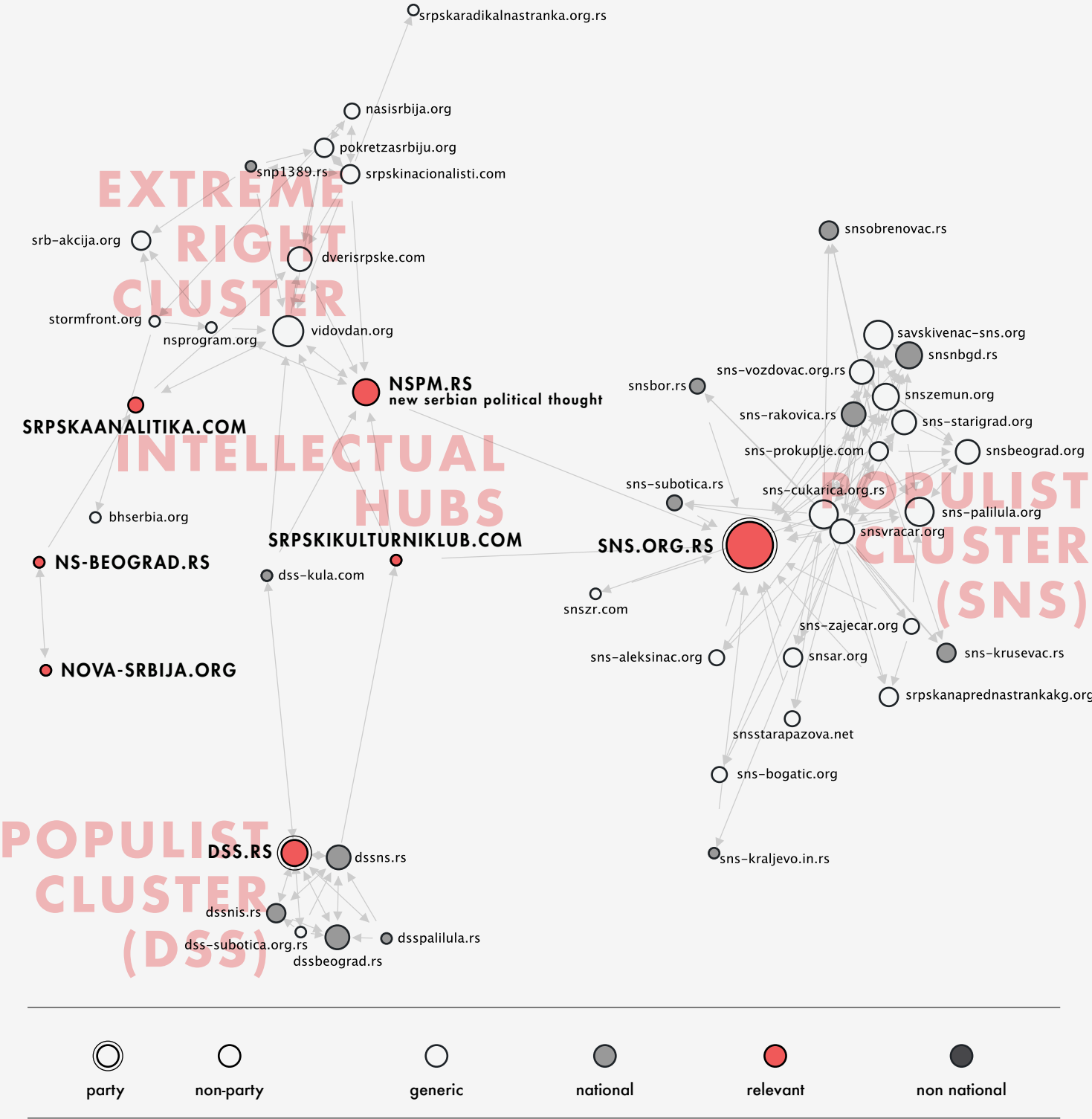
The co-link map that is outputted by the Issuecrawler shows that the right and the extreme right parties in Serbia are not really networked. The only connection seems to be between web portals “Srpska Analitika” [Serbian Analytics] (srpskaanalitika.com), which was one of the starting points in the populist-right list, and “Vidovdan” web portal, one of the starting points in the extreme-right list. There is another actor in the outputted map that connects the extreme (forum Vidovdan) and the populist right (*DSS party*), a website “Stop prodaji Telekom” (stopprodajitelekoma.rs), or Stop the sale of Serbian Telecom – an initiative from 2010 aimed to reverse the government’s decision to sell its part in the telecom-

munication company (though the page of this actor is down). Out of the 96 starting points URLs 24 are returned in the network. Three clusters are prominent: one around SNS [Serbian Progressive Party]; one around DSS [Democratic Party of Serbia]; and one around the extreme right actors.

The clusters surrounding SNS and DSS resemble the those outputted in the populist-right network map. These are primarily clusters of SNS and DSS party centrals and franchises. An international actor from the Russian top level domain, “United Russia” (er.ru), appears in the DSS cluster (as in the populist-right map). Another international actor, a political party from Bosnia and Herzegovina “Serbian Democratic Party” is outputted in the list of network actors (ranked very low among pages and sites), but does not appear on the map. In the extreme-right cluster there are only 3 actors from starting

points (“Dveri”, and web portals /forums “Vidovdan” and “Srpski Nacionalisti”).

Other actors in this cluster are Serbian media/web portals Fakti (fakti.org) and Novi Standard (standard.rs), the blog for Serbian expatriates “Glas Dijaspore” [The Voice of Diaspora] (dijaspora.wordpress.com), and an online document archive “Srebrenica Historical Project,” skeptical of the tribunal and other more official work on the massacre of 1995 (srebrenica-project.com). Social media are prominent on this map: Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and Blip.tv. Twitter is again the highest ranked actor, 1st among the actor pages (out of 57) and 1st among the actor sites (out of 58), while Facebook is ranked 4th among the actor pages and 3rd among the actor sites. Video sharing sites are also ranked high, YouTube 10th by page and 7th by site, and Blip.Tv 22nd and 9th. ♦

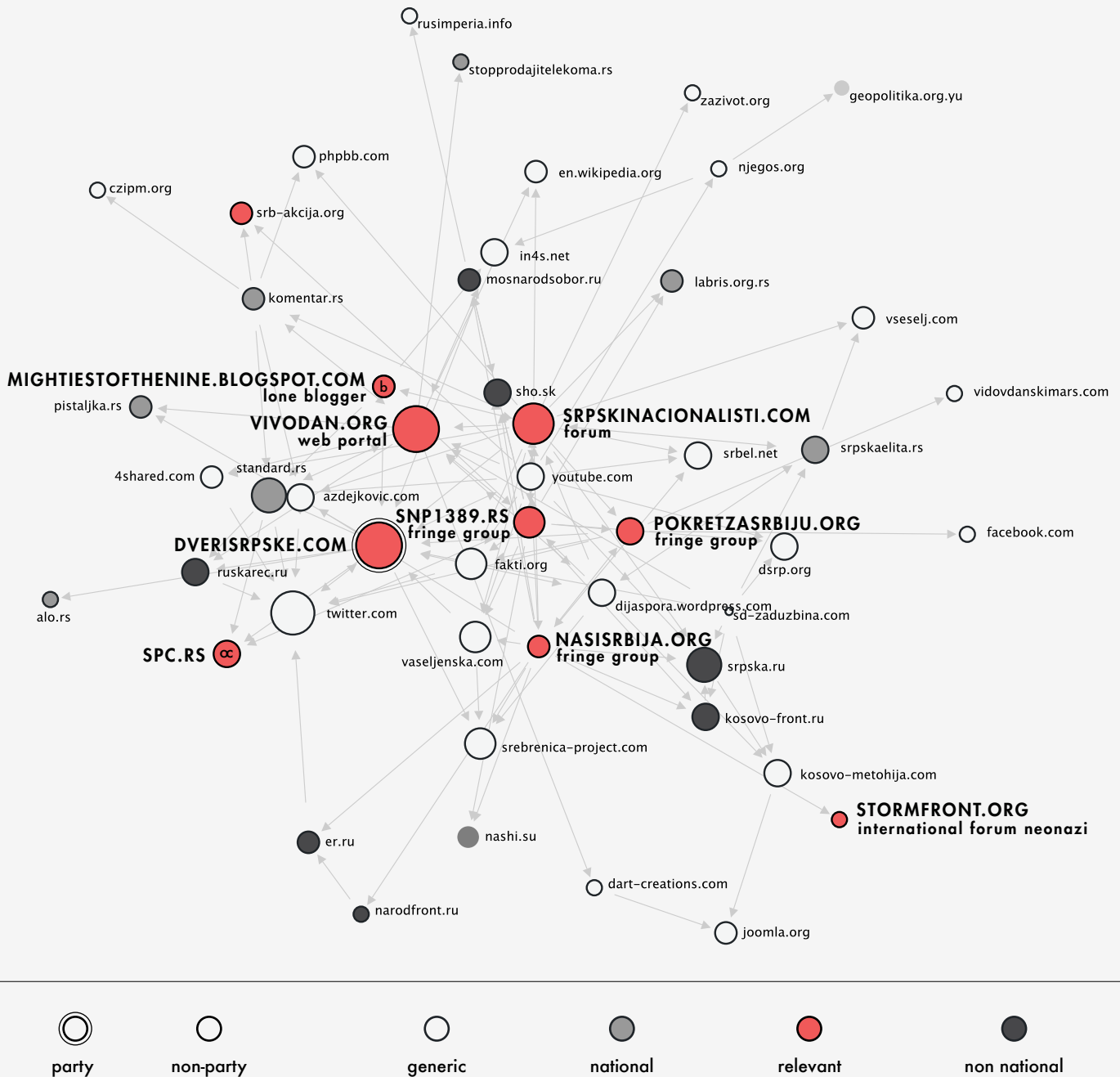


Interactor Analysis Total

Populist and Extreme Right Connect via Intellectual Hubs, a Right-wing Civil Society. The interactor map out-putted by the Issuecrawler shows that the populist right and the extreme right are not directly connected, and displays three prominent clusters, and one lesser

one: the largest one around SNS, much smaller one around DSS, a very small ‘cluster’ of Nova Srbija party [New Serbia] (*nova-srbija.org*) (only two nodes), and a cluster of extreme right organizations. However, in this map we can clearly observe three (NGO) web portals/forums that act as hubs for the extreme right and the populist right. These are web portals/NGOs “Srpski

Kulturni Klub” [Serbian Cultural Club] (*srpskaanalitika.com*), “Nova Srpska Politička Misao” (*nspm.rs*), and “Srpska Analitika” [Serbian Analytics] (*srpskaanalitika.com*). They connect some of the populist right parties (SNS, DSS, and NS [New Serbia]) with some of the extreme right actors (“Dveri”, forum “Srpski Nacionalisti”, “Vidovdan” and “Forum Srpskih Patriota”). ♦



Extreme right co-link

Co-link analysis of the extreme right. Presence of Russian, Slovakian and Polish sites, the Orthodox church and the lonely (counter-jihadist) blogger.

The co-link cluster map for the Serbian extreme-right, outputted by the Issue Crawler, shows that actors on the ballot and actors on the fringe are not particularly well networked among each other, but share some common online spaces (forums, web portals, websites related to Kosovo, websites related to Serbian interpretation of the mass-

acre in Srebrenica, websites of Russian nationalist organizations, etc.). Out of the 28 starting points URLs, 8 are returned in the network – 6 political parties/organizations and 2 web portals. All the major extreme right parties/organizations from the starting points appear in the network (*Dveri*, *SNP 1389*, *Nasi*, etc.), except for the *Serbian Radical Party (SRS)*, the longest lasting extreme right organization in Serbia, but with diminishing influence, also in the network. Most of the organizations on the fringe from the starting points were not returned in the network. No new Serbian extreme-right organiza-

tions appear in the network. The same actors appear in the deep pages analysis, and in the similar order. Further, the major extreme-right organizations in Serbia now, one party on the ballot (*Pokret Dveri*) and the three major organizations on the fringe (*SNP 1389*, *SNP Nasi*, and *Pokret za Srbiju*) appear to form a loose network; they do not all link directly to each other, and in a few instances they only share common public spaces (two forums/web portals, “Vidovdan” and “Srpski Nacionalisti”). There are also 9 Serbian right-wing web portals/forums present in the network, 2 Serbian right-wing media actors, and

2 right-wing organizations of Serbian expatriates (in US and Slovenia). Of interest is the presence of international right-wing organizations in the network, 5 from Russia, 1 from Slovakia, and 1 from Poland. There are also two other actors from Russia – Russian media (international edition) and Russian web portal/forum dedicated to Serbia.

The top node in the extreme-right network map is a Serbian political party (on the ballot) *Pokret Dveri* [The Dveri (Gates) Movement] (dverisrpske.com), with nine links from network (links from “Srpski Nacionalisti” and “Pokret za Srbiju”), followed by two web portals “Vidovdan” (vidovdan.org) (links from “SNP 1389” and “Srpski Nacionalisti”) and “Srpski Nacionalisti” [Serbian Nationalists] (srpskinacionalisti.com) (links from *SNP 1389* and *SNP Naši*) (all in starting points) – Serbian right-wing web portals and forums that in this map appear as hubs for the extreme right (many extreme-right actors link to these two portals). Other actors form starting points that appear in the network are extreme-right organizations *SNP 1389* [Serbian National Movement 1389] (snp1389.rs) (links from “Srpski Nacionalisti”); “*Pokret za Srbiju*” [Movement For Serbia] (pokretzasrbiju.org) (links from “*Srpski Nacionalisti*”, “*SNP 1389*”, and “*SNP Naši*”); “*SNP Naši*” [Serbian National Movement Nasi (Ours)] (nasisrbija.org) (links from “Srpski Nacionalisti” and “Pokret za Srbiju”) – all three groups on the fringe that in the last elections of 2012 participated in a few elections for local assemblies (in some cities “*SNP Naši*” were on the ticket of the populist-right party “*Nova Srbija*”); “*Srpska Akcija*” [Serbian Action] (srb-akcija.org), a militant extreme-right group; and Stormfront (stormfront.org/forum/f43), Serbian chapter of the international neo-Nazi organization (link from “*SNP Naši*”). The map shows the absence of the Serbian Radical Party (*SRS*) (starting point) from the network. According to connections in the network, “*SNP Naši*” appears to have the most extreme-right

international connections, since it is the only actor that links to Stormfront (international neo-nazi organization), 5 Russian right-wing and extreme-right actors (including *United Russia*, *All-Russia People's Front*, *National Union*, *Kosovo Front*, and “*Srpska*” web portal) and the *Slovak Revival Movement*. “*SNP 1389*” is linked to two Russian actors, Kosovo Front and National Union, and to the Slovakian and Polish actors. “*Dveri*” links only to a Russian media “*Ruska Reč*” (Russia Beyond the Headlines), which is an international project of the Rossiyskaya Gazeta, a Russian government daily newspaper. There is a prominent presence of the Serbian Orthodox Church (its official website – spc.rs) in the network. “*Dveri*” and “*SNP 1389*” have links to the official website of The Church in this network. In the actor rankings by site this organization ranks high (9th), and by page it ranks 31st. There is 1 lone blogger in the network. This is the blog “*Mightiest of the Nine*” (mightiestofthenine.blogspot.com), a right-wing/nationalist entry about Serbian and global politics, history, art sport, etc., which ranks 14th among the actor pages and 33rd among the actor sites. The name of the author is “Witch-king of Angmar,” real name unknown, who describes him/herself as

“a patriotic anti-jihad, anti-nazi, anti-whatever-post-modernism that plagues today’s world blogger from Serbia.”

The site has been active on Blogger since 2006. This actor has inlinks from “*Vidovdan*” and “*Srpski Nacionalisti*” and has six links to network, of which four are to the websites of actors from the starting points (“*Vidovdan*”, “*Srpski Nacionalisti*”, “*Dveri*”, and “*SNP 1389*”).

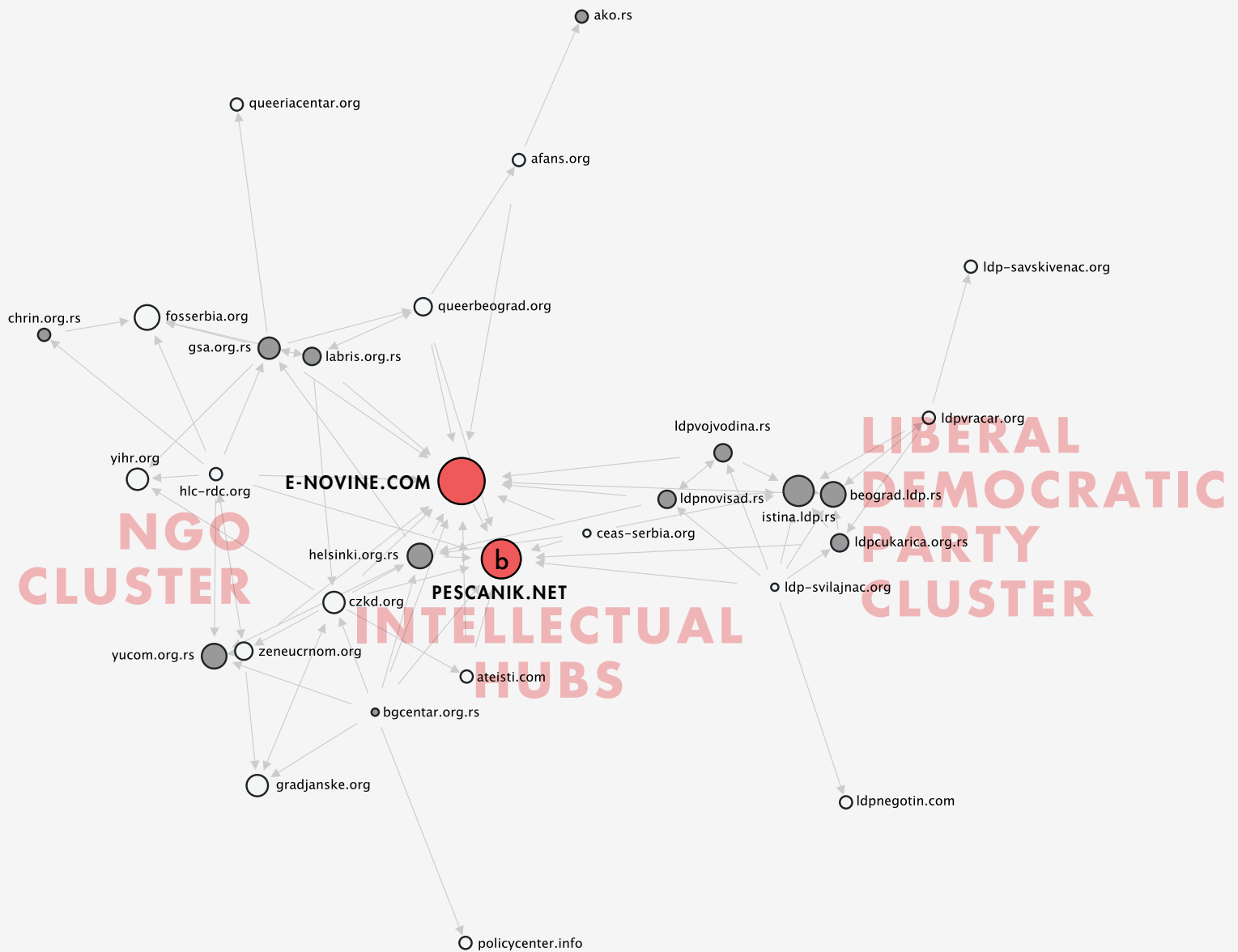
Social Media Analysis

Tens of thousands of members for Pokret Dveri. The social media analysis shows that a majority of actors from

the starting points have Facebook pages (20 of 28) and more than half have YouTube channels (15 of 28), while 7 of them have Twitter accounts, which they use for broadcasting (as opposed to communicating). Flickr and Google+ services are not extensively used. The *Serbian National Movement 1389* has a Facebook page with the most likes, 13,408, followed by the page of “*Pokret Dveri*” with 8240 likes, and the organization Serbs Together with more than 4286 likes. “*Pokret Dveri*” also has a Facebook group with almost 25,000 members. The most active Twitter (broadcast) user among the extreme right organizations is again “*Dveri*” with 1692 Twitter followers, followed by *Serbian Radical Party* with 933 followers. The other organizations have much less activity on Twitter or do not even have an account. YouTube channels are used more extensively by these organizations, especially if one considers video views (they are in 1000s and tens of 1000s for all the actors with a YouTube channel). The amount of subscribers to these channels is not high. The most subscribers and views are recorded in the *Serbian Radical Party* channel, 1489 subscribers and almost 6 million views.

The right is hosted abroad

All (but two) of the websites from the starting points are hosted abroad outside of Serbia (primarily in the US, but also in Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden). The websites of 8 organizations have been registered in Serbia, including almost all extreme right parties on the ballot (*Dveri*, *SRS*, *SNP 1389*, *Pokret za Srbiju*, etc.). “*SNP Naši*” is the only major extreme-right organization that has registered its site outside of Serbia, in Germany (it is hosted in the US). The countries of registration for the other organizations are the US, UK, Germany and Australia. Only one website from the list is registered, and hosted, in Russia – the outdated website of the organization “*SNP Svetozar Miletić*”. ♦



Counter-measures

Counter-measures interactor map: Intellectual left is central. In the interactor map of the counter-measures we can differentiate the cluster of *LDP* and its franchises, but we can also note a cluster of Serbian NGOs. However, there are not many backlinks in this cluster (the network is not strong).

The most prominent actor in this map is Serbian (independ-

ent) media portal “E-Novine” [E-News], *e-novine.com*, with 10 links from network. Also prominent is the NGO “Peščanik” [the Hourglass], *pescanik.net*, with 8 incoming links. These two actors also receive a lot of inlinks from the *LDP* cluster, and could be seen as counter-measures’ hubs. *Liberal Democratic Party* is not well networked with the other counter-right organizations from the civil sector (it shares only two links to NGOs Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia (*helsinki.org.rs*) and the Center for Euro-Atlantic Studies (*ceas-serbia.org*)). ♦

Conclusion

Populist right connects with extremists via right-wing civil society groups.

There are no direct connections between the extreme and the populist right organizations in Serbia, according to the network map of the total right in Serbia outputted by the Issue-crawler, but there are hubs that connect them. NGO web portals “Nova Srpska Politička Misao” [New Serbian Political Thought], *nspm.rs*, “Srpski Kulturni Klub” [Serbian Cultural Club], *srpski-kulturniklub.com*, and “Srpska Analitika” [Serbian Analytics], *srpskaanalitika.com*, are the common online places for these two groups of actors, receiving links or linking to at least one extreme right and one populist right organization. Nova srpska politička misao [New Serbian Political Thought] is a Serbian publisher and quarterly magazine dealing with politics, policy studies, and social issues. This magazine belongs to the Serbian conservative/nationalist bloc that strongly criticizes any fresh advance towards acceptance of European values and advocates the attainment of national goals at all cost, even refraining from EU. Srpski Kulturni Klub [Serbian Cultural Club] is a Serbian NGO formed in 2007 and involved in the organization of numerous public lectures, presentations, and debates on topics of political and social significance in Serbia. Its mission is to (re)shape the cultural identity of Serbia, inspired by the ideas of conservative Serbian politicians and philosophers from the early 20th century. Srpska Analitika [Serbian Analytics] is a conservative and nationalist quasi-intellectual Serbian internet magazine, launched in 2006, that primarily publishes texts dealing with patriotism, spirituality, globalization, but also politics and economy.

In comparison to the three hubs (intellectuals) that link the populist and the far-right organizations in Serbia, the counter-measures map has only two (“E-Novine” and “Peščanik”), but they appear stronger in terms of links

from the network. Comparing further the two cluster maps of the extreme-right and the counter-right in Serbia, two things are evident. First, the network of the extreme right appears far more developed than the network of counter-right organizations (more actors and more mutual connections). The major extreme right organizations are loosely networked together, while the organizations of the counter-right do not have as many mutual connections. There are also more common online spaces (web portals, forums, etc.) for the extreme right actors than for the counter-right ones. Second, although both networks have international actors, in the extreme-right network they are from Slavic countries - Russia, Slovakia, and Poland, and in the counter-right network they are from ‘Western’ countries (EU countries and the US). Also the types of these international actors are different. In the extreme-right network these international actors are all nationalist and extreme nationalist right-wing organizations, while in the counter-right network they are organizations for the protection of human rights, LGBT organizations, and official institutions of the European Union.

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The extreme right organizations in Serbia can be broadly divided into two groups: a smaller group of neo-Nazi

white supremacist organizations, mostly chapters of international organizations (popularly called the “neo-Nazis” or “fascists”), and a much larger group of Serbian orthodox nationalist organizations, which have a broader support among citizens and occupy much more media space (popularly called the “extreme nationalists” or “clero-fascists”). These two groups are not networked together and do not have common online spaces in the extreme right network map, and generally neo-Nazis in Serbia are condemned by Serbian nationalists. There is only one link recorded, from the organization “SNP Naši” to the forum *Stormfront*. The maps also show that within the second group, the ‘old’ extreme right party of the 90s (SRS) is not networked with ‘new’ (formed after 2000) extreme right parties (“Dveri”, “SNP 1389”, “SNP Naši”, etc.), that appear to have the same (or very similar) agenda. ♦

- CONCLUSIONS -

OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

The right and the state of their websites

One of the more poignant findings concerns the overall decay or decline of the right-wing web across Europe, with pages still featuring earlier versions of HTML and design styles hailing from the info-web as opposed to the social web, with its larger text and buttons. Link lists have broken links, website sections are not fresh and sites are run by webmasters as opposed to platform-like communities of users. For certain Western European countries (Germany) some websites found through link analysis have been abandoned for other websites, in a cat and mouse game with authorities. In other neighbouring countries (the Netherlands and Belgium), the right's websites suggest a vintage web. When the right-wing has moved into the blogosphere (e.g., Nor-

One of the more poignant findings concerns the overall decay or decline of the right-wing web across Europe, with pages still featuring earlier versions of HTML and design styles hailing from the info-web as opposed to the social web.

way), it is livelier, as bloggers link to (and react to) other bloggers. It is here where we sought lone bloggers, where the links were to other blogs, but necessarily not from the (vintage) websites. The rationale behind the search for lone bloggers has to do with Anders Breivik, the perpetrator of the mass killings in Norway (July 2011), who frequented the online postings of the far right and

cited at length certain bloggers, but who himself was not necessarily well known in that issue space. In Serbia, for example, we located a lone blogger in the network, whose 'loneliness' may well have to do with his particular form of right-wing thought, counter-jihadism, which otherwise was somewhat absent from the Serbian space.

The locations of counter-jihadism, and the link to identitarianism

This brings us to the second major finding, concerning the locations of counter-jihadism. It is largely a northern affair, with links to the major American counter-jihadist websites emanating from the Scandinavian countries (Denmark and Norway). From the Netherlands, it is the tweeting of populist right politician Geert Wilders that has counter-jihadist material. To date southern European countries have fewer counter-jihadist references and links, suggesting that counter-jihadism has a particular geography. There is a somewhat related movement, however, in identitarianism, which is centered in France, with links to regionalist groups in Belgium (*Vlaams Belang*) and Italy (*Lega Nord*). Its identity politics are soil-based, but they do not restrict themselves to being just regionalist or nationalist. Their web is lively, especially the social media use.

The right's move to social media (and which right?)

In the graphic showing a comparison of social media use across the right by country, one notes that Facebook is a leading platform for expression, cumulatively, throughout the right,

with Twitter popular in only specific countries (and instances). When looked at in relation to the decline or decay of the right-wing web in Europe, the question is which part of the right has moved to social media, so to speak, and which part has simply declined online.

Populist politicians as Geert Wilders use Twitter (as a broadcast medium). (Wilders only has followers, and follows no one.) Twitter's use also stands out in stands out in France, Spain and Belgium. Zooming on which groups use social media, the common thread is that populists (and identitarianists) tweet, and, like Wilders, tend to use it as a broadcast medium. Counter-jihadists, on the other hand, relate to one another on Facebook, as do youth organizations across the right-wing spectrum.

The new right issues, and the counter-measures' matches and mismatches

It is increasingly recognized (by organizations as the *Hope not hate campaign of London*) that anti-Islamic or counter-jihadist sentiment is organizing the right in Europe, especially in northern countries which also link to the American counter-jihadist websites such as *Gates of Vienna*. With counter-jihadism as well as identitarianism, there is also a growing sense that the new right's issue composition is shifting, or at least being reframed, as *Demos*, the London-based think tank, has written. We have made similar findings, and also specified the shifts further. For example, we have encountered eco-ideals in Spain and organic markets in Greece as principles and sites of the new right. The identitarianists in

Apart from what we could learn overall from the right's use of the web, the focal points of the research concerned youth recruitment activities (as well as lone wolves or lone bloggers). There is also a third focal point. We have been interested in the counter-measures, or the kind of responses to right-wing activities. Do the counter-measures address the right's activities, or are there mainly mismatches?

France speak out on children's rights. The anti-globalization (and anti-capitalist) message is a part of the right-wing repertoire in Austria. In Serbia there is a right-wing civil society that serves as intellectual hubs of the right. The above examples specify further the new right's issues.

Apart from what we could learn overall from the right's use of the web, the focal points of the research concerned youth recruitment activities (as well as lone wolves or lone bloggers, as related above). There is also a third focal point. We have been interested in the counter-measures, or the kind of responses to right-wing activities. Do the counter-measures address the right's activities, or are there mainly mismatches?

Camping and outdoors excursions are common right-wing youth recruitment strategies, and there are also concerts, festivals, radio stations as well as webshops where one purchases the goods of the right (and where one also is asked to come and pick up the items and be available for personalized home delivery, so contact is made). Just as readily there are youth divisions of parties and groups, with events and activities such as dinners. In most countries there is one or more right-wing cultural clusters where one may learn of the right-wing lifestyle. From the research we also have found cultural specificities, and asked how they are addressed. In Bulgaria we found a counter-measures infrastructure awaiting right-wing actions, and continually matching the right's events. In Serbia there is in a sense the opposite: a right-wing civil society preparing policy, with a progressive intellectual counter-measures net-

work (together with human rights organizations) working perhaps on other levels. Like in Bulgaria, in Belgium there are competing music festivals, right and left. In Hungary (where there are also competing music festivals) it appears that the right has seized a cultural symbol, the yurt, which relates to Hungarians' supposed cultural roots in Mongolia. The yurt, together with horseback riding (also in the Mongolian spirit) are part of the national festival and camping activities, and do not appear to be matched.

We also found mismatches. In Austria, for example, activity on the right, online, is populist, with the Freedom Party organizing the network, together with issue-based online initiatives concerning the retention of Austrian gold, critique of lavish Viennese balls and anti-globalization as well as anti-capitalist sentiment. The counter-measures located concern the 'brown' right, the fascists and their symbols and music, instead of the populists'. Something similar could be said of Germany, however much the brown right appears to be much more active and counter-measures of that variety do match. The right's message-spreading by graffiti in Germany does not seem to be matched, at least in the network activities found. The Netherlands has seen a gradual decline of activities to counter the right, especially its independent study, with the Anne Frank Foundation's discontinuation of extremism monitoring as one leading example. Here we found not so much a mismatch, but rather little activity countering the right, perhaps because the right has shifted to populism, and the previous activities were directed at extremism. ♦

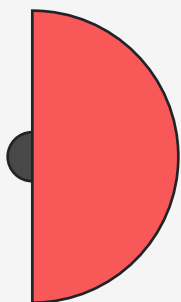
Studying the new right in social media

Populism may be thought of as attempts at filling in the identity of the majority of the people, and its study the resonance of those attempts, among other inquiries. It is here that a word should be said about future research, and especially its site, at least for online research. Generally speaking, it is not just the youth and youth organizations who use social media, and have left the web behind (or the open web, as it is sometimes referred to). Rather it is also the new right. It appears that the newer the right-wing formation, the newer the media used. Thus future work should concentrate, if not wholly, on social media networks and the appeal of the content and activities to the right's friends and followers, studying their engagement more specifically in terms of likes, shares, comments, liked comments and so forth (on Facebook), perhaps taking the so-called Facebook research experiment in the Danish case above as its starting point. Twitter analysis likewise may focus on retweeted content, and its circulation.

Considering the observation that the newer the right the newer the media used, the identitarian and counter-jihadist networks are the palpable starting points for continued work, together with counter-measures to their activities, which themselves may be within social media, such as comment clashes in unmoderated groups. Here one additional focus could be on medium-specific activities for addressing the new right in social media. ♦

THE NETHERLANDS

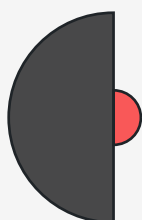
6,437 / 228,532

**PORTUGAL**

8,140 / 591

**ITALY**

117,863 / 7,950

**DENMARK**

9,308 / 0

**SPAIN**

13,253 / 13,871

**ROMANIA**

40,835 / 159

**AUSTRIA**

12,381 / 894

**GERMANY**

43,278 / 5,406

**NORWAY**

537 / x

**HUNGARY**

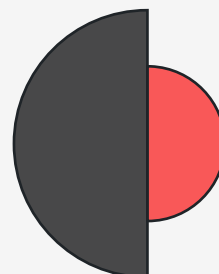
62,201 / x

**BELGIUM**

41,504 / 15,527

**FRANCE**

190,980 / 64,174

**GREECE**

3,111 / 2,213

**BULGARIA**

7,365 / 108

facebook
likestwitter
followers

- APPENDIX -

LIST-MAKING THROUGH ASSOCIATIVE QUERY-SNOWBALLING

MAKING URL LISTS OF THE POPULIST RIGHT AND RIGHT-WING EXTREMISTS

The objective of this preparatory task is to assemble three URL lists per country under study: Extreme Right, Right and Counter-Right. These are broad terms and they will probably change as the workshop advances. We do not categorize in advance, but instead follow the actors’ own language, from which any classification scheme emerges. Thus, please consider these initial themes as broad groupings and not as strict or fixed categorizations, names or classifications of any specific type. Each one of you will be in charge of creating a list for your country or countries, using your native language. The entire set of lists

will be a vital component in the mapping processes. Below please find the instructions on how to make a list. We used the example of “Extreme Right” for the country of Spain, however much the process is the same for any country and for all three themes (Extreme Right, Right and Counter-Right). ♦

Part I: Making a URL list using the technique

1

Log-out of you g-mail account. Go to the local Google search engine for your country. In case of Spain it is google.es. Design a broad query that you think will output extreme right groups in Spain. For example we used: “Grupos de Extrema derecha en España” (in English: Extreme right groups in Spain).

figure 01

2

After performing the query you will be returned a set of results, some of them will be “lists”. We use the terms list in a broad sense. For example, a news article in that reviews the most influential extreme right wing parties will usually include a number of these parties across the article. You might find that the article refers to parties or groups from not only the country in which you are querying but also refers to other international groupings.

For example, an article from a Spanish news site might give an overview of right wing in Europe, including Spain and others. From the article extract the names of the groups that correspond to your country in questions and ignore the rest, then find the URL and include in a Google Spread sheet. Let’s say in this first step you found two main groups: España 2000 and Plataforma per Catalunya.

figure 02

3

Go back to Google.es. Now use the names of the groups you found on the previous article as a query using quotation marks. In this case: [“España 2000” “Plataforma Catalunya”]. You will be returned a fresh set of results that contain ideally not the two groups used as query but also new ones that will be associated with them somehow (associational snowballing). Go through the results, select the names of the new groups and add them to the spreadsheet. For example: the article contained the new name of Democracia Nacional.

figure 03

4

Take the 2 initial two groups (España 2000 and Plataforma per Catalunya) and the new group (Democracia Nacional) and use them as a query in quotation marks. Again you will receive a new set of results in which this 3 groups will most likely be associated with other groups. Let’s say you found 4 new groups. Add them to the spreadsheet. Proceed to perform a new query this time using all 7 group names in quotation marks.

5

Repeat until either the same results keep coming back or you do not find any new group.

6

The last groups to come up in the lists can be thought of as more marginal. Therefore, one last step is to take the last 5 groups and use them as query terms. Ideally you will receive a new set of even more marginal groups. Repeat until no more results are found.

LIST-MAKING THROUGH ASSOCIATIVE QUERY-SNOWBALLING

Part II: Finding expert lists (for comparing with and eventually adding to the web list):

1

Search for literature that mentions the extreme right wing in Spain. Academic articles and case studies usually have their own collection of group names. We suggest using Google Scholar to query in the original language or in English, again in broad search terms. For example: [extreme right-wing Spain]. From the results explore and chose approximately three articles that you have detected containing “lists” (remember lists do not always look like lists).

2

Extract the names of the groups, and search for the groups’ URLs if they are not included. Make a list of all groups and URLs. This is the experts’ list.

3

Compare the web list (associative query-snowballing technique) with the experts’ list, using the list comparison tool, Compare Lists, <https://tools.digitalmethods.net/beta/analyse/>.

4

Take note of the cases that are unique to the expert list (or to the web). Query the group’s name in a leading search engine, and ascertain whether it has one or more URLs. Retain those groups on the experts’ lists that have a web presence, i.e., one or more associated URLs claiming to represent or give significant voice to the group.

5

You will have three sets of lists. In order to compile them into one final expert lists use the “list comparison tool”.

Part III: The Final list. Web list + expert list

In order to compile the web list and the expert list use again the comparison tool. Take note of the cases that are unique either for the expert or the web. Consider including the experts’ uniques in the spreadsheet, thereby comprising your final list.

Here one also takes note of what the web yields in comparison to the expert, comparing for example epistemologies (how lists are made) as well as ontologies (who makes the list).

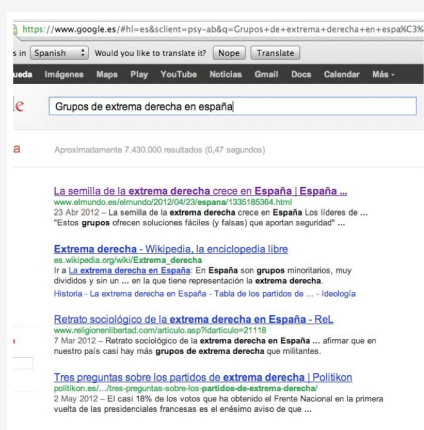


figure 01

Google.es results of a query for right-wing extremist groups in Spain. Screenshot, 4 September 2012.

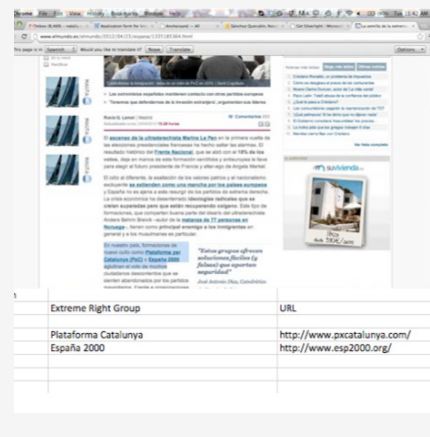


figure 02

First result from Google.es query for right-wing extremist groups in Spain, mentioning two groups, Plataforma Catalunya and Espana 2000 (highlighted by authors). Groups’ names and URLs entered into spreadsheet. Screenshots of web browser and Excel, 4 September 2012.



figure 03

Associative query- snowballing technique, second iteration. Results of the Google.es query for Plataforma Catalunya and Espana 2000 yields a third group, Democracia Nacional, which is then added to the spreadsheet, with its URL. Screenshots, 4 September 2012.