A Transnational Extreme Right? New Right-Wing Tactics and the Use of the Internet

Manuela Caiani

Abstract:

The Internet is assuming a growing importance for civil society organizations, including the radical ones, for the freedom it offers to express political claims and for organizing mobilization and strategies, both nationally and transnationally. A crucial subject for scientific enquiry, as well as for policy analysts, is therefore to empirically investigate the role of this medium as a potential substitute for important face-to-face social and political processes. In this article, we combine quantitative and qualitative data derived from 45 interviews with representatives of the main extreme right organizations in six European countries (Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, the UK) and the USA, as well as a formalized web content analysis of 336 right-wing websites, and will investigate the degree and forms of 'trasnationalization' of the extreme right (in terms of mobilization, issues, targets, organizational contacts, etc.) and show how these developments can be related (although indirectly) to the online activism of these groups. The main differences and similarities among the different types of right-wing organizations (both political parties and not party organizations, even youth sub-cultural groups) and countries will be demonstrated.

Key words:

Far Right/Extreme Right, Social Movement approach, American and European comparative politics, Internet Politics, Web Content Analysis.

Introduction[1]

Community sovereignty is the prime interest of extreme right organizations. The ever-increasing level of globalization and European integration (a regional form of globalization) is perceived as a threat to this goal by the wide majority of them. And still, the relationship between these groups and global politics is not clear-cut. Despite opposing a global system (globalization is indicated by several scholars as an important explanation of the recent dynamism of right-wing extremism in many Western democracies, e.g. Hermet 2001; Mèny and Surel 2002), many extreme right movements consider it necessary to engage in politics on a transnational level. Moreover, in recent years, we can observe the emergence of an extreme right network that extends beyond national borders, and is made up of "close contacts throughout the EU" and supported by the participation of "like-minded nationals from all around the states at right-wing events, such as White Power Music (WPM) concerts" (Europol, 2011, p. 29). Indeed, as argued "(t)ransnational processes of exchange and learning play an important role in the success of right-wing extremism and right-wing populism in Europe" (Langenbacher & Schellenberg, 2011, p. 22)

In this regard, we cannot neglect the key role played by new forms of mobilization through the Web in the internationalization of the extreme right. As highlighted by recent studies, both European and American far right organizations are increasingly relying on the Internet for their activities, in order to avoid national laws and police investigation (Bartlett, Birdwell & Littler, 2011; Caiani & Wagemann, 2009; De Koster & Houtman, 2008; Ramalingam, 2012; Tateo, 2005; Whine, 2011). The new virtual means of action and communication offered by the Internet are considered to favour transnational solidarity (Chase-Dunn & Boswell, (2004). As observed by Whine (2011), "the development of information and communication technologies" and the "easing of Europe's border" are the "new enablers' allowing white supremacists and neo-Nazis to connect and cooperate" (p. 317). Studies on terrorism and political violence stress that isolated individual 'consumers' can find a common identity through extreme right websites, convincing themselves that they are not alone, but instead part of a community, albeit a 'virtual' one (Post 2005). Furthermore, as social movements scholars underline, the Internet can play an important role in helping the processes of mobilization, by reducing the cost of communication between a large number of individuals (della Porta and Mosca 2006: 542), solving the problem of leadership and coordination, and by allowing the organization of transnational and even global demonstrations (Petit 2004).

Although the emergence of a transnational extreme right, as well as the use of new ICTs (Information Communication Technologies), is a scientifically (and socially) relevant

issue, research on the topic is far from developed (this being the existing studies that are more focused on transnational left-wing movements and the internet, see for example della Porta & Mosca, 2004; Pianta & Silva, 2003).

This article aims to empirically fill this gap. We shall explore the new tactics of the extreme right in the context of transnational politics, namely its actual degree and forms of 'transnationalization' (in terms of mobilization, issues, targets, activities and organizational contacts) and the potential role of the internet [2]. By combining qualitative and quantitative interview and content analysis data, we will illustrate the use of the web by different types of right-wing groups (both political parties and not party organizations, even sub-cultural violent groups) for several functions related to their transnationalization and underline the main differences and similarities among these organizations and countries. The article will be led by the following empirical questions: *How and how much are extreme right movements able to adapt their tactics to the changes brought about by the processes of transnationalization and globalization, including the use of new ICTs for several different organizational purposes? How much are they involved in transnational politics (and what is their position toward it), in terms of issues, mobilization, activities, targets and organizational contacts? Finally, what is the role of the Internet on the transnationalization of the right-wing community?*

We shall address these issues by relying on 45 semi-structured interviews conducted with representatives of the main extreme right organizations in six European countries (Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, the UK) and the USA, and a formalized web content analysis of 336 right-wing websites in these selected countries[3]. As for our interview sampling strategy, in order to obtain a broad overview of the right wing sector, organizations were selected from within the three categories: extreme right political parties, political movements and sub-cultural youth groups. Most of the interviewees were either leaders or spokespersons of the respective organizations, or in charge of drawing up the general communication and mobilization strategies[4]. The semi-structured questionnaire (available from the authors on request) focused on several aspects related to the current changes in extreme right mobilization in the context of transnational politics: the scope of mobilization, action strategies at the national and at the transnational level, crossnational contacts, targets, etc., including the evaluation of the impact of the internet on them and the position of extreme right groups towards the processes of globalization/European integration.

The interview data was then integrated with a comparative formalized content analysis of the websites operated by radical right-wing organizations in order to address the

communicative dimension of right-wing radicalism (and transnationalization) through the Internet (e.g. propaganda, identity formation, etc.; for details about the codebook, see Caiani & Parenti, 2013)[5].

In the following, we shall therefore investigate the new tactics of the extreme right vis a vis a global world, illustrating (the degree and forms of) its transnationalization in terms of - the scope of mobilization and communication (section 2); issues (section 3); targets, organizational contacts and action strategies (section 4) and reflecting on the potential impact of the use of the internet on that. In addition, similarities and differences among different country and organizational contexts will be demonstrated (section 5).

Trasnational mobilization (and communication) and the internet

Despite strong nationalism being one of the core values of the extreme right ideology (Mudde, 2007), current right-wing movements appear to adapt (and adopt tactics accordingly) to the transformation of the context in which they mobilize and become more transnational, both in the scope of their mobilization and in the use of available new technologies for this purpose.

One indicator of the transnationalization of extreme right movements is the scope of their activities (i.e. the territorial extension of their mobilization), which can vary from the local to the international level. According to our interviews, in all countries, extreme right organizations appear as mainly focussed on the national (in 73% of cases) and, especially, local level (in 52% of cases) in their mobilization events (Figure 1). Nevertheless, the degree of internationalization of the European and US extreme-right is relevant (and higher than what has emerged from similar previous research[6]). About one third of organizations (30%) declare they are also active beyond national boundaries. In particular, from a recent study conducted in these same countries on the characteristics of (offline) mobilization of the extreme right based on protests reported in the press, it has been found that transnational right wing events in the last five years (2005-09) were well below the 10% of cases in all European countries under study (with the exception of Austria where about 15% of events were staged at the international level) (see Caiani & Parenti, 2013, ch.5).

INSERT FIGURE 1

However, despite this general trend, differences do emerge between countries. The most internationalized extreme right comes from the US, with 71% of the organizations (declaring to be) active beyond the country. In this respect, it is worth noting that many US

organizations are wholly Internet based, which, in their view, "helps a lot", in reaching a global audience. This is the case, for example, for the White Voice group whose spokesperson explains that they are "based on the internet and have a strong following around the world" (ID. 21); while the chairman of the Vanguard News Network stresses that they are "not a true 'organization', in formal legal terms", instead they are "websites and forums that do projects and [offline] rallies from time to time" and that they are active "supranationally, since anyone from any country can join our forum and post" (ID. 17). Similarly, the representative of the White Revolution highlights that his organization has for several years had an "internet outreach through online activism throughout North America, Europe, Australia and New Zealand, and South Africa", and that "in order to access people from different countries educational material was formatted to suit the specific speech laws of different countries, as well as in several different languages" (ID. 18).

The Austrian and British extreme right rank second as the most internationalized, with, in both cases, half of the organizations active internationally, followed by German organizations, active beyond their nation in 29% of cases. To the contrary, the "Mediterranean" extreme right seems to be, at least according to our interview data, the least internationalized, with the Italian and French organizations only rarely organizing their mobilization beyond national borders (in 12% and 11% of cases respectively), and the Spanish groups not being active at all abroad. These types of transnational right-wing mobilizations are, however, various and they might include cultural events, such as international concerts or cultural gatherings[7], and political party meetings and congresses, such as the conference 'Our Europe: Peoples and Tradition against Banks and Usury,' organized in March 2009 in Milan by the British National Party, the French National Front and the German Nationaldemokratische Partei with the aim of bringing together representatives of the main extreme right parties and followers in Europe[8]. They might also include the participation in the European elections by extreme right groups (e.g. ID. 02)[9]. Far right organizations in Spain, Italy and France were instead the most active at the local level, with 100% of Spanish, 88% of the Italian, and 56% of the French groups declaring to be committed even at the town level. Our analysis also shows that there were no significant differences among the different types of organizations in the scope of their mobilization, the only exception being sub-cultural groups and political movements more likely to mobilize, overall, at the very local and even district level (in around one fourth of both cases).

Suggesting a link between the use of new technologies and extreme right transnational mobilization, many right-wing organizations stress that the Internet has today become an

essential tool when it comes to their international activities, both in terms of enabling action and facilitating communication between organizations and individuals (see also Back, Keith & Solomos 1998). This is especially true for far right political groups, who, as they underline, can benefit from such an open space of action without the threat of (strict) state control and direct physical confrontations with opponents (i.e. the Left) (ibid, p. 73). In fact, 81% of the interviewed organizations (without significant differences across countries and types of groups) emphasize the effectiveness and "security" of cyberspace for the realization of all kinds of supranational activities[10] as for instance for the speaker of the Insurgent group, who declares that his network does not "operate as an organization, but as lone wolf in small cells (…) with the aim of avoiding prosecution by the state (…). In this respect, it is stressed, "the internet works quite well in reaching out to like-minded people", allowing his group not to have "meetings like a proper organization, where government agencies and so forth can infiltrate,, which they do all the time with organizations like us" (ID. 19).

The advantages offered by the Internet go, however, beyond the international activities of right-wing groups. Our web content analysis shows that the Web is exploited for a variety of different political purposes by these organizations, such as recruiting new members, raising funds, propagating the organizations' ideology and publicizing political campaigns (Figure 2). In particular, we found that the Internet is significantly relied upon by right-wing groups as an instrument for *communication and information[11]* for actual or potential members: for example, about one third (37.5%) of websites investigated have a 'search engine' and 4.8% offer a 'help function' to their visitors, with the aim presumably to increase the usability of their websites and therefore the effectiveness of their 'political education' (Caiani & Parenti, 2013). More than half of the analyzed websites contain information about the offline 'reachability' (56%) of the organization, such as a street address or a phone and fax number, and almost all groups (83.3%) provide an e-mail address.[12] Furthermore, extreme right organizations appear oriented to demonstrate their popularity to the users: 23.5% of them have a hit counter, which keeps track of the number of visitors. In respect to communication, more than half of the extremist right-wing organizations (57.7%) publish 'articles, papers and dossiers' on their websites for the political education of the people and 50.6% have a 'news section' where they make reference to media coverage and display newspaper articles, or provide their own news coverage, taking information from other newspapers or TV programs[13]. Finally, more than one-third (36.6%) offer bibliographical references to various texts of classical 'right-wing' literature[14] (for more details see Caiani & Parenti 2013, ch. 4).

Extreme right groups also appear to skillfully employ the multimedia opportunities provided by the Internet to diffuse their *ideology*, through video, music downloads, images and banners and to make *propaganda* through their websites. For example, more than one third of the analyzed websites (33%) contain 'hate symbols' such as swastikas or burning crosses, eagles, fascii littori and gladio (the traditional fascist symbols)[15], photos of Mussolini and Hitler, images related to the German Reich, Stems and flags from the fascist-Nazi past. 26.5% of them contain banners depicting representative figures, and graphic symbols or seals, inciting hatred against social and/or political adversaries[16]. In fact, many of the extreme right organizations interviewed underline the greatest advantage of the internet as being able to reach a great mass of people in a short amount of time and with very little expense (e.g. ID. 02, 04, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, and 23). As the operator of the Vanguard News Network (VNN) points out, "the internet allows you to find whatever political material you're interested in. You can find others interested in the same things. So it facilitates education and networking worldwide" (ID. 17). Multimedia materials (present on half of the right-wing websites, 49.7%) are especially used to recruit new members and directed above all toward young people, who are currently considered the main targets of these groups (Bartlett et al., 2011, p. 19). In this respect, video and music downloads containing political content are especially common (such as fascist and Nazi songs[17], as well as songs from far right bands[18]), in addition to audio files of sermons and speeches (e.g. by leaders of the Fascist/Nazi regimes). Extreme right organizations also make some attempt to promote *virtual debates* among members and sympathizers on their websites, through forums, mailing lists (present in 24.4% of cases), as well as chat-lines (in 8% of all cases) [19], and endeavor to construct their group *identity*, thorough sections providing basic information regarding the group (e.g. "about us", "who we are", etc.) in 74% of cases and the group's goals and mission (e.g. 'statement', 'constitution', 'manifesto') in 60.1% of cases. Indeed, many right wing organizations stress that they are more likely to become known by people due to the Internet, since "google and other web robots pick up the website and forum headlines which bring browsers from around the world" (e.g. ID. 20).

INSERT FIGURE 2

Moreover, our web content analysis shows that the Internet works as a sort of bridge between the online and offline reality of these groups. According to our data, extreme right organizations significantly use (although this use is still moderate when compared to their

other functions) the Internet for mobilizing people[20] and, most interestingly, to attempt to build a cyber *community transcending national boundaries*. In particular, one-third of right-wing organization websites (32.7%) have hyperlinks/ties to sovranational organizations or organizations in other countrys. On average, they have 15 cross-national and/or international links each. In regard to their form, these mainly constitute links to similar groups in other countries (i.e. political parties are linked to other political parties in Europe, sub-cultural skinhead groups to other youth groups, etc.)[21]. However, there are also organizations that have links to supranational right-wing 'federations', such as, the Italian site *Forza Nuova*[22] which is linked to the *European National Front*. In addition to this transnational 'networking' through the web, extreme right organizations also try to appeal to an international audience by offering website content in languages other than the language of their own country (in 11% of cases).

Nevertheless, as we see from Figure 2, there are also differences between the countries in the degree and form of political usage of the internet by right-wing groups both for their (transnational) mobilization and other political purposes[23]. Whereas American extreme right organizations are more active in the use of the Internet than their European counterparts, with regard to most of the functions analysed (showing the first or second highest values on almost all the indexes, namely on communication, information, propaganda/ideology and debate), [24] among the European cases, the Italian context seems particularly conducive to an active use of the Internet by extreme right organizations for political purposes.[25] The Spanish case appears the least favorable concerning the online political activism of these radical groups[26], and the German, Austrian, English and French contexts occupy an intermediate position, showing high values of Internet use by right-wing groups only regarding some specific functions linked to specific opportunities. In particular, Germany has a high score in communication (0.50) and mobilization (0.23) and France has a high score in information (0.49). Austria has the highest score in communication (0.51) and internationalization (0.38) and United Kingdom has medium scores in all functions.

Extreme right (new) issues and transnational politics as 'the danger from above'

Another important indicator of the transnationalization of right-wing movements is the scope of the issues that they mobilize. Although this is still an understudied aspect of right-wing extremism, existing literature on the matter; mostly focusing on political parties (e.g. Bar-On, 2013, Hooghe, Marks & Wilson, 2002; Mudde, 2007; Vasilopoulou, 2011;), agrees on the fact that Euro-scepticism is a common trait of these formations and that they are increasingly interested in transnational politics. According to Hooghe et al. (2002), this negative attitude

towards European integration stems from "a series of perceived threats to the national community" (p. 976), including, above all, immigration, multiculturalism, the loss of national sovereignty and traditional values (Ibid.). Our interviews confirm the existence of a remarkable euro-sceptic sentiment among European and American extreme right organizations (Figure 3), [27] which not only affects political parties but is also shared by less formalized extreme right groups such as political movements and youth subcultural organizations[28]. For example, the representative of the Spanish far right union, Unión Nacional de Trabajadores, stresses that his organization is "against European integration primarily when it comes to political and especially economic integration" (ID. 33), and the Jungen Nationaldemokraten (JN), the youth organization of the German NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands), especially disapproves the "abolishment of national sovereignties" (ID. 10). The Schengen Agreement which calls for "open borders" is identified by a German regional youth movement as another negative factor, since it enables "black africans to enter on Lampedusa" and to get a residence permit for all EU states (ID. 12).

INSERT FIGURE 3

A cross-national comparison, however, highlights some national specificities[29]. When asked about their position towards European integration, the totality of the Spanish, German, British and Austrian extreme right organizations stress that they are ('rather' or 'strongly') against it. "European misfortune" (ID. 03) is the first thing that comes to the mind for the spokesperson of the Austrian group AFP-Kommentare, whereas for the chairman of the political party, Die Bunten, this is "European nonsense" (ID. 01). "The EU Parliament in Brussels today takes more or less the same position as the Kreml for the whole Eastern bloc in the Cold War time", adds the representative of the German media network MUPINFO, defining it "EUdSSR" (ID. 13). Many (especially German and Austrian) groups underline that they would prefer a "Europe of the Fatherlands" (ID. 05, 06, 08, 09) with "strong individual states" (ID. 02), as once proclaimed by Charles de Gaulle, over the current form of the European Union "which interferes with national laws and budgets" (ID. 12).

On the contrary, many Italian and French right-wing organizations also consider the European integration as a positive development and they claim to be 'rather or strongly' in favour of the process (60% the former, 44% the latter ones). This is the case, for example, with the Italian youth movement Gioventù Italiana, whose leader complains about the lack of

"a true European people, at the social and cultural level" (ID. 25) or with the French Nouvelle Droite Populaire (NDP) whose representative stresses that "France cannot do it alone in spite of what is stated by our political partners" (ID. 44). In fact, when questioned about the impact of the European integration on the situation of their organizations, some extreme right groups express that there are not only disadvantages coming from the EU, but it is also perceived (as a sort of new resource to be spent at home (against the nation state). Indeed, according to the spokesperson of the German regional media MUPINFO "the European legislation is in some areas (still) less repressive than the German one" (ID. 13). Other organizations, referring to the attempt of the German government to ban the NPD party, consider the EU levels more open toward them than the national contexts. For example, "if the Federal Constitutional Court deals with the case" explains a German activist "there is a 50/50 percent chance of a judgement in their favour. If banned, the NPD can go to the European Court of Justice, where the chances of winning are probably much higher" (ID. 14). Similarly, concerning some strict Austrian rules against right-wing groups, the chairman of the political party, Die Bunten, points out that "one has the possibility to appeal the European Court of Justice and sometimes the Austrian state is forced by the EU to be more flexible" (ID.01). However, most of the organizations think that the negative effects of the EU outweigh the benefits. For instance, the spokesperson of the English Democrats asserts that "the EU costs [them] money" (ID. 16) and it is a negative consequence for all tax payers in his country.

Most interestingly, the Internet seems to be a useful tool for translating these positions into European and transnational politics in general in right wing political campaigns and propaganda. This is shown, for example in the case of the following campaigns: to boycott Chinese and American products,[30] against the accession of Turkey to the European Union,[31] against the euro,[32] against immigrants and multicultural society,[33] against American imperialism[34] and to protect 'white' people, globalization and economic crisis and the European integration[35]. Another example of ('transnational') right-wing actions launched and sustained through the web is the case of the Spanish online forum Europeans.org where Nazi and xenophobic ideas are discussed,[36] and finally there is the case of the French movement Bloc Identitaire, which launched an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist campaign from its website.[37] In this respect, it is worth noting that more than one-third of the groups (37.5%) use the Internet to do e-commerce, sell some kind of merchandise (e.g. militaria, etc.), and 54% provide the possibility to give online donations.

The US Extreme right's stand on globalization

Just as European extreme right organizations emerge as Eurosceptics, the great majority of the interviewed organizations from the US are very critical of globalization. Yet, the term "globalization" includes lot of different issues, such as the "inexorable integration of markets, nation-states, and technologies to a degree never witnessed before" (Friedman, 1999, p. 9), a point also emphasised by the organizations we studied. Our analysis shows that regardless of the organizational type, the American extreme right opposes the idea of globalization which they first and foremost define as "economic globalization and supra-national corporations" (ID. 23). For instance, the representative of the Third Party (A3P) explains that "globalism, thus the international connections in different fields, has done tremendous harm, not just to the European and white-Americans, but to all people worldwide" (ID. 22). Indeed, "globalization has in many respects hurt people, especially in terms of personal economic circumstances", because it "created ethnic resource competition" and due to this fact, one US ethno-political advocacy organization explains, its group has gained more members (ID. 23). Similarly, the spokesperson of the White Voice clarifies that his fellows are "racial socialist" and therefore "not interested in associating (…) with non-Whites" (ID. 21). In sum, it is commonly spread among right wing groups that "multinational corporations ship many jobs and production facilities to third world countries, while at the same time importing third world immigrants to take more jobs from Whites" (e.g. ID. 18).

Other US right-wing organizations heavily stress the aspect of 'political globalization', that is sharply opposed, as the leader of Vanguard News Network says, it means a "hyper-centralized" politics, whereas they advocate for a "decentralized politics" (ID. 17) in the form of "smaller governments, smaller entities of people and small nations" (ID. 19). This goes hand in hand with the general wish diffused among these organizations that the US does not interfere in other nations' business. In this respect, some groups criticize the "NATO in its past war against Serbians" (ID. 20). Accordingly, they reject other international organizations such as the WTO, NAFTA, GATT, UN and the NATO, "which enter into US affairs", and they illustrate that they quite often rely on the internet to organize (or take part in) events against such international global political institutions, such as demonstrations, petitions and letters to newspapers (ID. 18, 19, 23). Finally, especially when asked about the impact of globalization on the situation of their organizations, some groups underline the negative consequences of 'cultural globalization', stressing that "the White percentage of the U.S. and the world population decreases every year", and this "has produced a backlash in the White population that has helped to bring America to the brink of disintegration" (ID. 19). However

other aspects of globalization, such as the increasing interconnection of communication worldwide (i.e. technological globalization) are considered an advantage by extreme right organizations, as the "internet" "makes it easier to get reports from different places around the world" (ID. 17). According to them, the spread of the internet converts the world into a global village and a global exchange of information and opinions has become possible through the use of new communication technology.

These findings on the (conflictual) participation of right-wing actors in transnational politics may be better interpreted by looking at the ideology and political objectives of extreme right organizations. According to our analysis, extreme right organizations, whatever their outlook and practices and despite the presence of a strong cultural dimension, are characterized by an undeniable prevailing political nature. This is confirmed by the interviews, as when asked about the nature of their organizations, the great majority (83%) define themselves, in the first place, as "political". However, a significant distinction between the European and the US extreme right organizations appears. While the European extreme right organizations are concerned about the sovereignty of their national community which is endangered by the supranational nature of the European Union, capitalism and the international finance system, the US extreme right organizations mainly fight for the survival of the White ethnic group, which is related to their American-European ancestry. Consequently, the US extreme right organizations are guided by a clear racist attitude.

Organizing for targeting the transnational level

While clearly opposing transnational politics itself, many extreme right organizations are organizing on a transnational level. Indeed radical right organizations, as any other kind of political organization, do not exist in a vacuum, but instead are embedded in a larger context of multilevel governance.

Our questionnaire asked about the political contacts the organizations maintain at different political levels (from local to supranational), as an additional indicator of the potential sphere of influence and territorial extension of their activities[38]. Fig 4 shows that, overall, although national (and especially subnational) politicians are still the main target of right-wing organizations (59% vs. 82% local and 71% regional), European and supranational actors and institutions nevertheless have a role to play. Indeed almost half (45%) of the organizations (also) declare they have contacts with politicians operating at the supranational level.

INSERT FIGURE 4

Yet here, too, there are significant differences between the countries. The British, French and Austrian right-wing organizations emerge as those more likely to have contacts with supranational politicians (in, respectively, 100, 67, and 58% of cases). For instance, the president of the French organization, Bloc Identitaire, explains that his group has contacts with some members of the European Parliament, among which is the Italian deputy Borghezio, from the Northern League (ID. 37). Similarly, the spokesperson for the British Freedom Party declares that his party speaks with "politicians from the local council level all the way up to MEPs from Britain and other European countries" (ID. 15) and the representative of an Austrian political party confirms that he is in touch with "members of the European Parliament and representatives of other parties" (ID. 02). Conversely, extreme right organizations from Germany and Spain are those that least address the supranational level of politics (with respectively 14 and 20% of cases with supranational political contacts). Our data do not show any significant differences among different types of extreme right organizations in this respect.

Beyond institutional contacts with politicians, the interviews reveal that extreme-right groups are characterized by frequent transnational contacts with similar organizations in other countries. 71% of them declare to have contacts with right wing groups in other countries or at the international level (i.e. with 'federations'[39]), either in Europe and/or in the USA. This high degree of "transnational embeddedness" might be related to the weak institutionalization of supranational right wing actors, which pushes national movement organizations to be directly involved in multilevel pressures. We can observe a higher degree of supranational embeddedness among American, English, French, and Austrian extreme right organizations and a lower level for the Italian organizations, and the Spanish and German organizations are somewhere in between[40] (Figure 5).

INSERT FIGURE 5

For example, the spokesperson of the English Democrats stresses that while international contacts are not their main interest, they "have been approached by several foreign organizations such as the Vlaams Belang (the Flamish Nationalist Party) and the Austrian Freedom Party" (ID. 16). Also the German movement Junge Nationaldemokraten are in touch with a variety of youth right-wing organizations in Europe, one of which being the

Nordisk Ungdom (ID. 10), and the NPD is partners with many other European extreme right parties such as the Falange Española de las JONS from Spain, the British National Party from the UK and Dělnická Strana from the Czech Republic (ID. 09). Similarly, the representative of the American Third Position explains that his group has recently had 'transoceanic' contacts with the French Front National (ID. 22), and other American organizations have had contacts with Imperium Europe or the British National Party (e.g. ID. 23).

From a cross-organizational type perspective, transnational contacts do seem typical for the most institutionalized and resourceful organizations (sub-cultural groups 43% vs. 78% and 75% political parties and movements respectively). Moreover, the Internet seems to play a role in the transnational networking of right-wing organizations (78% of them consider it a "very useful" tool for this function[41]). In this regard, we can mention the recent birth of the European movement Stop Islamification of Europe, founded in 2007 in the United Kingdom against "the overt and covert expansion of Islam in Europe"[42] which is now active in several European countries, or the famous international neo-Nazi organization Blood and Honour, active in both Europe and the United States with many affiliated groups,[43] as well as the extreme right neo-Nazi network Stormfront.[44] Indeed, as confirmed by the spokesperson of the Vanguard News Network "the Internet helps you find people who think the same way, regardless of where they reside" (ID. 17). Similarly, the representative of an Austrian organization explained that "via the internet, like-minded organizations can be searched, as many of the organizations are represented by their own homepage" (ID. 06), and the group White Revolution adds that "networking can be done between rank and file members, and by people who otherwise would never meet or communicate. This exponentially increases and speeds up the dissemination of ideas and activism globally" (ID. 18). In this sense, due to the Internet, "there is some kind of exchange with organizations from other countries as they follow each others reports and sometimes they use articles and documents taken from the respective websites" (ID. 05). In particular, almost all of the organizations interviewed stress the importance of e-mail, Skype and social networks in getting in touch with 'like-minded' foreign groups from the same milieu (ID. 02, 07, 10, 14, 15, 19, 22, 23). The 'ideal' for these groups is to create a transnational right wing community or "Pan-Aryanism", which is "a broad idea of supporting White people all over the world" (ID. 19). And they are well aware that the difficulty threshold to make contact with a like-minded activist or organization is much lower with the internet ("one is only a mouse-click away from communicating with each other", says the spokesperson of the organization Jungen Nationaldemokraten, ID. 10), which also have, according to them a sort of 'reputational' effect, "if one has their own page

on the web and a certain status within the movement, then it's also easier to get in touch with the others" (ID. 12).

INSERT TABLE 1

But what do right-wing groups actually do when they address supranational institutions? Table 1 presents the number and types of action forms used by extreme right organizations at the national as well as at the supranational level[45]. According to our interviews, the majority of right-wing organizations (79%, without any significant difference across country and type of organization) have undertaken activities concerning European integration in the course of the last five years. That is, if we observe a quite rich and various repertoire of action at the national level. However the same cannot be said with regard to actions undertaken at the supranational level. Overall, all right-wing organizations in all countries, tend to mainly use 'conventional political actions' (especially the French, German, English and Austria groups) and 'media-related strategies' (especially the German, English and Austria groups) at the European level. Examples of these actions are taking part in the European Elections as in the cases of the French parties Parti de la France, Mouvement National Republicaine, the English Democrats and an Austrian political party (ID. 39, 43, 16, 02) or maintain contact with members of the European Parliament, as explained by the delegate of the French political movement Nouvelle Droite Populaire (ID. 44). This can, however, include more informal and 'expressive' cultural actions, as in the case of the German NPD which sends its delegates to European meetings and conferences "for example when they have the anniversary of the death of Franco" or "a Party congress in the Czech republic", which "is all about building a network between European Nationalists" (ID. 09) or the case of an Austrian political movement that takes part "in commemoration marches" and "public assemblies" on an EU level (ID. 07). Finally, although less frequent, protest actions can take several different forms, such as the case of "campaigns against the Euro", as organized by the Spanish phalangist Unión Nacional de Trabajadores (ID. 33), the NPD (ID. 09) and other German organizations (ID. 14); "petitions calling for referendums" on the EU as that organized by the British Freedom Party (ID. 15); and finally, various demonstrations against the EU (e.g. the one in which the German party BGD has taken part ID. 08). The US-based movement, White Revolution, amongst other things, "has also taken part in boycotts and demonstrations on the supranational level" (ID. 20). Protest actions (but also

confrontational and violent strategies) are much more frequent when they mobilize at the national level.

We also find interesting cross-country differences, between French, German, and American extreme right organizations who are all more active than the others at the supranational level when it comes to conventional mobilization activities. Our analysis also shows that in a comparison between the different organizational variants, sub-cultural youth groups are those which resort the least to activities at the supranational level.

As observed for other characteristics of right-wing mobilization, the emerging trend toward a transnationalization of activity seems to be helped by the organizations' use of ICTs. For example, in 2008, the German extreme right group Blood and Honour, after being banned in Germany, could survive and continue its activities through its website hosted by non-German servers, thus allowing the group to keep advertising and organizing mobilization events such as concerts in the country and abroad.[46] Similarly, in 2005, some neo-Nazi organizations in the United Kingdom sent a virus around Europe, created to diffuse Nazi propaganda via email;[47] and several neo-Nazi organizations in Germany used to 'meet' on a blog in order to celebrate the international commemoration of an old German Nazi leader.[48]

Indeed, as confirmed by our interviews, the internet plays an important role in the overall communication and information activities of the extreme right groups either at the national or the supranational level. As explained by the leader of the Insurgent group, "Almost everything we do has something to do with the internet. We deal constantly with public information, propaganda and of course the internet is a great place for that" (ID. 19). Indeed, as our interviews show, there are strong links between the actions staged by right-wing groups offline and the Internet arena "mostly public appearances like demonstrations, vigils, rallies and so on" (ID.14), helping, it seems, is the diffusion of some actions even beyond national borders. For example, an Italian neo-Nazi group used Internet blogs to exchange Nazi material with other groups and to set up a cell of Hitler's Youth Naturnser Hitlerjugend, taking inspiration from the analogous German organization that was banned in the country. Among the evidence against them, was a video in which some of the suspects were practicing to prepare and throw Molotov cocktails.[49] The Internet's important role, as stressed by these groups might be related to the fact that they are often physically located in countries where they are constrained by laws and so are at risk of being banned (e.g. in Germany), especially when their actions border on being illegal and violent.

Conclusion: Between real (context) and virtual (tactics), the extreme right and transnational politics

While some scholars may consider the cyber world to be limited and without connection to what might be called the 'real' world, we do not agree, arguing that this is apparently not the case for those organizations, as the right-wing ones analyzed in this study, "who contribute regularly and with purpose within the online communities they have helped to create and forge within cyberspace" (Bowman-Grieve, 2009, p. 1005). In this article we moved from the observation that an important aspect to be explored, in order to capture a broader picture of the current developments in the political mobilization of right-wing groups, is whether we are witnessing an internationalization of the extreme right, which, as mentioned by social movement scholars, might be enhanced by the use of new technologies (e.g. Bennett, 2003; Petit, 2004; Langenbacher & Schellenberg, 2011). We therefore investigated the intensity and trends of extreme right 'trasnationalization' (in terms of mobilization, issues, targets and organizational contacts)- at least those emerged from the analysis of interviews and web content- in the seven selected countries, and related them, beyond the country's contexts and the group characteristics, to the online activism of these groups.

First, our study has pointed out that all right-wing organizations, regardless of their prevalent nature and country, are slowly adapting towards a transnationalization of their activities, either in terms of political communication and tactics and political mobilization. In particular, although in all countries, extreme right events takes mainly place at a local level (especially in the case of the more informal groups of the extreme right sector, namely the sub-cultural youth ones and political movements), also the transnational arena is increasingly assuming a role. As we have seen from our data, one out of three organizations mobilize also beyond national borders (scope of mobilization), almost half of them have contacts with transnational institutions and politicians and half of them have organizational contacts with similar groups in other countries. In sum, our data confirm that American and European extreme right organizations are acquiring a strong 'international approach' (Gerstenfeld, Grant & Chiang 2003, 37). Furthermore, as shown by our web content data as well as the interviews, transnational issues (such as the topic of EU integration and globalization) are clearly present in right-wing discourses in the selected European countries and the USA and they are mobilizing around them, with some similarities but also notable differences among countries. If, in all countries, the various aspects of Europeanization and globalization are addressed (and opposed), from the global(ized) economic system, to international migration and the emergence of multicultural societies, to the threat of globalization for traditional

values as well as societal, cultural, and political changes in the nation-states themselves, the focus of opposition by the extreme right towards these trends is more on the loss of national sovereignty in Europe and on the racial threats coming from globalizations in the USA . Even if extreme right groups are strongly opposed to political globalization and European integration, they become entrepreneurs of a sort of transnationalization of the right-wing movement itself. This confirms the observation made by Bar-On (2013) that the "stances of most of the extreme right-wing political parties" within the European Union "have become identical: support for pan European unity, and rejection of the contemporary 'technocratic' EU" (p. 208).

Secondly, most interestingly, our research indicates that the internet, and in particular their websites, which they appeared to skillfully exploit for several different purposes related to their political communication and mobilization- seems to be a useful tool for these kinds of actions involving a supranational dimension, as demonstrated by our interviews, both in terms of increasing supranational targets, to stage supranational mobilization and give birth to supranational organizations. As we have seen, they indeed use the Internet to attract new members, with appealing websites, animations and interactive elements (such as surveys, chats, forums and guest-books), propagate their ideals among like-minded people, and connect individuals and organizations, attempting to create right-wing cyber communities that transcend national borders (for further details see Caiani & Parenti 2013). One note of optimism for policy makers, is that supranational strategies used by right-wing groups seem less confrontational (and violent) than those used in the domestic sphere.

Finally, our analysis does not offer any definitive answer, solution or strategy for dealing with the assumption that the Internet can increase the (transnantional) mobilization capacity of extreme right organizations. However our data highlight some common characteristics in the offline (trends) and online mobilization of right-wing groups which are worth underlining. First, our research indicates that, even if the transnationalization of extreme right tactics is a notable and widespread phenomenon in all the countries analyzed, then this is especially true in the United States, in relation to all considered aspects (scope of mobilization, target, activities and contacts). The US has also emerged as the country characterized by the highest levels of extreme right activism on the Web (on most of the functions, for a synthetic overview, see Figure 6 in Appendix B). Trasnationalization of (offline) tactics includes the capacity of the extreme right groups to be internationally embedded in a dense net of crossnational and international contacts with similar groups in other countries, a trend which appears particularly prominent in Great Britain and France,

where a special commitment on the part of right-wing groups to internationalization through the Web (see section 2) was demonstrated. Apparently these efforts on the Net are able to exit the virtual sphere and reach the real world. Similarly, there is the German extreme right, the most active in using the internet for the function of people mobilization which is also the most active outside the web (together with USA and partly France) in staging transnational activities.

While research on the extreme right has usually focused either on electoral behaviour or on violent actions (della Porta 2012), future studies are needed that integrate this aspect (the online activism and tactics) with the theoretical models for understanding right-wing political participation (and changes) in the era of the Internet. [50]

Notes

1. This article is part of the comparative project on "The Dark Side of the Web: Right-Wing Political Mobilization Using the Internet", coordinated by Manuela Caiani at the IHS (Vienna) and sponsored by the Austrian National Bank (Jubiläumsfondsprojekt ONB, Nr. 14035). We thank Rossella Borri for conducting the interviews and for her useful suggestions concerning this part.
2. Despite the still open debate on conceptual definition and terminology (which is beyond the scope of this article to address in detail), we use, interchangeably, the term extreme/radical right to refer to those groups that exhibit in their common ideological core the characteristics of nationalism, xenophobia (ethno-nationalist xenophobia), antiestablishment critiques and socio-cultural authoritarianism (law and order, family values) (Mudde 2007). It goes without saying that in the empirical reality many of these groups are not easily placed according to traditional political categories, often combining elements of leftwing and rightwing philosophy, mixed with populist language and rhetoric.
3. The interviews were held between 2010 and 2011 and were conducted by telephone (using Skype). Establishing contact and obtaining a positive response to an interview-request from these organizations has proven to be particularly complex and time consuming. Our response rate was lower than 40 %. In addition, many interview partners wanted to stay completely anonymous in regard to their and their group's identity (see the appendix).
4. More specifically, with regard to political parties, they were party leaders (presidents or general secretaries) and senior/leading members of the party (e.g. members of the executive boards, spokesmen, or regional party leaders). In the political movements they were presidents, general delegates or secretaries or web-site chief editors in the case of online groups. In the case of sub-cultural youth groups, we relied on group leaders (in two cases even the founder) and people responsible for the web-communications (experts in the interview's main topic).
5. The web content analysis has been conducted for the Spanish case between March and June 2009, and for the American case between August 2009 and January 2010. For UK, France and all the other cases between December 2010 to April 2011. The web content analysis has been done by coders (country language speakers) trained in the sampling selection and coding procedure. We visited each website and used a codebook to record data on specific features (e.g. propaganda, ideology, mobilization, etc.).
6. For example, research on protest events, collected mainly from newspaper sources and focused on left-wing movements stresses the paucity of protests directly targeting supranational European institutions (e.g. Imig & Tarrow; della Porta & Caiani 2009).
7. Such as the international neo-Nazi gathering, organized by some French skinhead groups, involving 300–400 participants coming from different countries, above all Germany (*Le Monde*, January 24, 2005) or the music festival Hammerfest organized in the United States in 2005, involving extreme

right bands from all over the United States and Europe (*The Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, October 1, 2005).

8. *La Repubblica*, "Naziskin d'Europa in arrivo a Milano" ("European Naziskin Coming to Milan"), March 25, 2009, see also *Le Monde*, January 13, 2007. Another example of transnational campaign is the European congress organized by the German party Republikaner in Rosenheim in 2008, involving extreme right parties from all over Europe (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, June 19, 2008).

9. An example is the foundation in October 2009 of the far right alliance "European National movements", a network of various right-wing parties in several European countries, aiming to become a political group within the European Parliament.

10. The question of the questionnaire was: "Does the Internet help you to be active beyond the national boundaries?"

11. For more details about the lower level indicators used for each dimensions of right-wing political activism on the web, see Caiani & Parenti 2013.

12. The websites of the more institutionalized/formalized extreme right organizations appear more sophisticated on this respect. For example, in all countries, political parties are the most likely to provide tools for communication with the public than political movements and right wing subcultural groups (e.g. 77.3% for the reachability of the organization and 84.1% percent provide an e-mail address).

13. In addition, 14.3 % of the analyzed right-wing websites also have an archive of the group's press releases, keeping track of the historical 'memory' of the group.

14. For some examples of this informative material, see e.g. the websites of the Italian *Il Duce* (http://www.ilduce.altervista.org/home.htm); *Aryan Unity* http://www.aryanunity.com/page1.html); the Austrian sub-cultural group *Der Funke* (http://www.der-funke.info); the French Party *Alsace d'Abord* (www.alsacedabord.org); American Nazi group *National Socialist Movement* (http://www.nsm88.org/).

15. See for example the website *Brigata Nera* (http://it.geocities.com/brigatanera88/).

16. For example, in 2007 some French far right activists posted negationist videos on YouTube, with the aim of reaching an international audience (*Le Monde*, April 24, 2007).

17. As found on the website *Benito Mussolini. Un omaggio al Duce*. See: http://spazioinwind.libero.it/mussolini/index2.htm

18. See for example the German site http://www.freies-netz-sued.net/.

19. 10.4% of the right wing websites analyzed also contain 'online surveys' and 'questionnaires' to test and solicit the opinion of their members.

20. More than one quarter (26.8%) of right wing organization websites have a 'newsletter' (to which it is possible to subscribe), providing information about the possibilities for participation in upcoming offline events organized by the group. Another 25.6% of them offer an 'event calendar/agenda' on their website as well as those of other organizations (11%).

21. For example American right-wing music groups and the sites of neo- Nazi organizations are generally connected with other groups related to Third Reich and German history in Europe (e.g. the site *Parole dal Terzo Reich)*.

22. http://www.forzanuova.org/

23. Each of these six additional indexes of the forms of Internet usage derive from the sum of the lower lever indicators used for each dimension which have been normalized, in order to vary between 0 and 1. Finally, each index has been standardized to the 0 to 1 range by dividing the resulting score by the maximum possible value (see Caiani & Parenti 2013).

24. They are the following values: propaganda/ideology (0.51), communication (0.51), information (0.47) and debate. With respect to the index of transnationalization, the USA (0.21) is overcome by Austria (0.38) and Italy (0.28).

25. Showing the first or second highest value on 5 out of 6 indexes, for the Italian case they are the following values: ideology/propaganda (0.57), information (0.43), debate/virtual community (0.23) internationalization (0.28) and mobilization (0.13).

26. Showing the lowest scores on almost all indexes (0.37, propaganda/ideology; 0.36 communication; 0.35 information; 0.14 debate; 0.09 mobilization).

27. The question on the questionnaire was: "Is your organization in favor or against an increasing European integration?" (4 points scale from zero 'strongly against' to 3 'strongly in favor').

28. Indeed, as confirmed by a not significant Cramer's V coefficient, there are no relevant differences in the attitudes towards European integration between the three organizational types.

29. The existence of a strong relationship between the organizations' attitudes towards European integration and the country is confirmed by a strong and significant Cramer's V (.51*).

30. e.g. GipuzkoA88 (http://www.libreopinion.com/members/aberriadohil/).

31. e.g. Turquia no gracias (http://www.turquianogracias.tk/).

32. See for example http://www.bppmanchester.blogspot.com/.

33. Some sites have been created specifically by right wing organizations with the goal of supporting anti-immigrant campaigns (see for example the site Inmigración Masiva in Spain and Campaign for a Referendum on Immigration in the United Kingdom).

34. http://www.nwbb.org/index1.html.

35. "Go out from the crisis! Go out from Europe of Brussels!" says a campaing on the website of the French Front National; and on the website of the Austrian FPÖ party the visitor can read "The social party of the homeland. Instead of Euro-billions for EU- broke-countries. Our money for our people. Us for Austria, SPÖ/ÖVP for speculators & counterfeiters of financial statements" (Source: http://www.fpoe.at). For other similar examples see the sites of the German party NPD and the American National Socialist Movement.

36. *El País*, May 9, 2005.

37. *Le Monde*, November 15, 2009.

38. The question on the questionnaire was : "During the last year, which level of political decision making did your organization try to influence? " (local, regional, national own country, national other countries, EU, supranational. Multiple choice possible).

39. The question on the questionnaire was: "During the last year, did your association/ group have regular contacts with other associations/ groups in your country?"

40. As indicated by the Cramer's V coefficient the correlation between the number of international contacts of right wing groups and the country is strong and significant (0.58*).

41. The question on the questionnaire was: "Does the internet help your organization to have cross-national or international contacts?"

42. *Guardian*, October 24, 2007.

43. E.g. ADL Archive, August 30, 2008 and *El País*, April 27, 2005.

44. ADL Archive, April 13, 2008.

45. Our interviewees were asked to indicate which actions their organizations perform both at the national and European level. We developed five detailed indicators for the action repertoire at the national and the EU level: (1) "publicizing activities", which includes strategies aiming at informing the public or getting informed about the preferences of the public, for example, via opinion polls; as well as the media-related repertoire including activities such as distributing press releases or giving interviews to the media; (2) "conventional political actions", including actions addressing the political-institutional sphere such as contributing to specific political campaigns or establishing/maintaining contacts with members of the parliament or government; (3) "court action", including actions such as, filing suit or engaging in some sort of litigation; (4) "mobilization" activities (including petitions, protesting, organizing boycotts, striking); (5) "confrontational or violent actions" (including actions such as taking part in illegal demonstrations, clashes with the police or with political adversaries). All of these indicators are based on the question about the use of the corresponding strategies. Finally, each indicator is standardized to the 0 to 1 range by dividing the resulting score by the maximum possible value.

46. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, August 30, 2008.

47. *Guardian*, December 10, 2005.

48. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, October 7, 2008.

49. *La Repubblica*, November 12, 2009.

References

Back, L., Keith, M. & Solomos, J. (1998). Racism on the internet: Mapping neo-fascist subcultures in cyberspace. In J. Kaplan & T. Bjorgo (Eds.), *Nation and race: The developing Euro-American racist subculture* (pp. 73-102). New York, NY: New York University Press.

Bartlett, J., Birdwell J. & Littler, M. (2011). *"The rise of populism in Europe can be traced through online behaviour…": The new phase of digital populism.* Retrieved October 12, 2012 from http://www.demos.co.uk/publications/thenewfaceofdigitalpopulism

Bar-On, T. (2011). Transnationalism and the French Nouvelle Droite. *Patterns of Prejudice, 45*(3), 199-223. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0031322X.2011.585013

Bennett, W.L. (2003). Communicating global activism: Strengths and vulnerabilities of networked politics. *Information, Communication & Society*, *6*(2), 143–168. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1369118032000093860a

Bowman-Grieve, L. (2009). Exploring "Stormfront": A virtual community of the radical right. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, *32*(11), 989–1007. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10576100903259951.

Caiani, M. & Wagemann, C. (2009). The extreme right, networks, and the internet: A study with network analysis of the multi-organizational field of the extreme right in Italy and Germany. *Information, Communication and Society*, 12 (1), 66-109.

Caiani, M. & Parenti, L. (2013). *European and American extreme right groups and the internet*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate

Castells, M. (2009). *Communication power*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Chase-Dunn, C. & Boswell, T. (2004). Global democracy: a world-systems perspective. *Protosociology, 20*, 15-29.

De Koster, W. & Houtman, D. (2008). "Stormfront is like a second home to me": On virtual community formation by right-wing extremists. *Information, Communication and Society*, *11* (8), 1153-1175. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13691180802266665

della Porta, D. & Mosca, L. (2004). Global-net for global movements? A network of networks for a movement of movement. *Journal of Public Policy, 25*, 165-190.

della Porta, D. & Caiani, M. (2009). *Social movements and Europeanization: a comparative study on seven European countries*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

della Porta, D. (2012). The action repertoires of the radical right: Violence and beyond. In M. Caiani, D. della Porta & C. Wagemann (Eds): *Mobilizing on the extreme right: Germany, Italy, and the United States* (pp. 76-102). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Europol. (2011). *EU terrorism situation and trend report* (TE-SAT 2011). Retrieved June 2, 2013 from https://www.europol.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/te-sat2011_0.pdf

Friedman, T. L. (1999). *The lexus and the olive tree: Understanding globalization.* New York, NY: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux.

Gerstenfeld, P.B., Grant, D.R. & Chiang, C. (2003). Hate online: A content analysis of extremist internet sites. *Analysis of Social Issues and Public Policy*, *3*, 29–44. doi: 10.1111/j.1530-2415.2003.00013.x

Hermet, G. (2001). *Les Populismes dans le monde : Une histoire sociologique XIXe-XXe siècle (espace du politique).* Paris: Fayard.

Hooghe L., Marks, G. &. Wilson, C. (2002). Does left/right structure party positions on European integration? *Comparative Political Studies*, *35*, 965-989. doi: 10.1177/001041402236310

Imig, D. & Tarrow, S. (Eds.). (2001). *Conentionous Europeans: Protest and politics in a Europeanizing polity.* Lanham, MA: Rowman and Littlefield.

Langenbacher, N. & Schellenberg, B. (2011). *Is Europe on the right path? Right-wing extremism and right-wing populism in Europe*. Berlin: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

Mény, Y. & Surel, Y. (2002). *Democracies and the populist challenge*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mudde, C. (2007). *Populist radical right parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Petit, C. (2004). *Social movements networks in internet discourse*. IROWS Working Paper, 25. Department of Sociology, University of California. Retrieved October 4, 2012 from http://irows.ucr.edu/paper/irows25/irows25.htm.

Pianta, M. & Silva, F. (2003). Parallel summits of global civil society: An update. In H. Anheier, M. Glasius & M. Kaldor (Eds.), *Global Civil Society Yearbook* (pp. 169-194). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ramalingam, V. (2012). *Far-right extremism: Trends and methods for response and prevention* (Policy Briefing). Institute for Strategic Dialogue. Retrieved June, 2, 2013 from http://www.strategicdialogue.org/Policy_Briefing_-_Far_Right_Extremism_FINAL.pdf

Tateo, L. (2005). The Italian extreme right on-line network: An exploratory study using an integrated social network analysis and content analysis approach. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 10* (2), article 10. http://jcmc.indiana.edu/

Vasilopoulou, S. (2011). European integration and the radical right: Three patterns of opposition. *Government and Opposition*, *46*(2), 223-244. doi:10.1111/j.1477-7053.2010.01337.x

Whine, M. (2012). Trans-European trends in right-wing extremism. In A. Mammone, E. Godin & B. Jenkins (Eds.). *Mapping the extreme right in contemporary Europe* (pp. 317-334). Abingdon: Routledge.

Figure 1. Scope of right-wing mobilization (all countries; %).
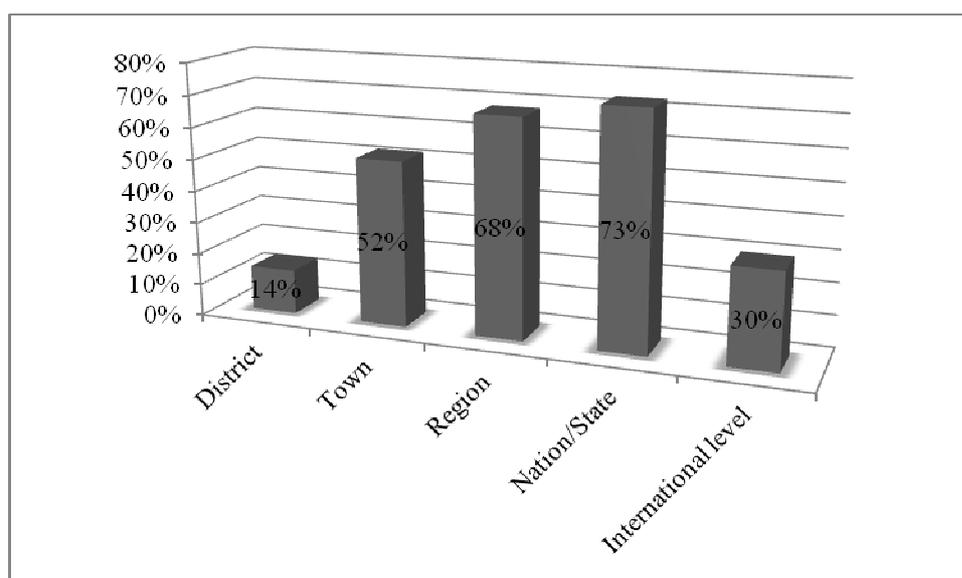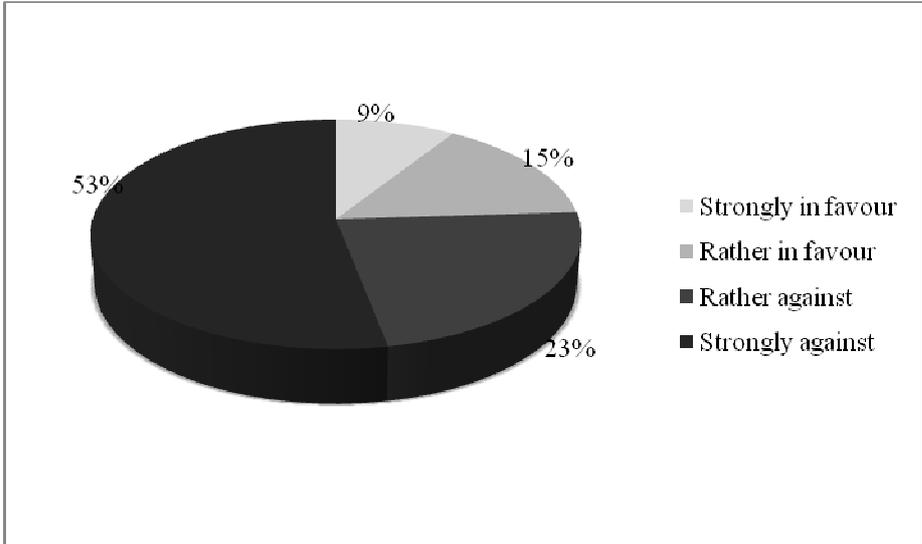

Note. N = 45; Source: data from our interviews.

Figure 2. Forms of extreme right online political activism, by countries (indexes, mean values).
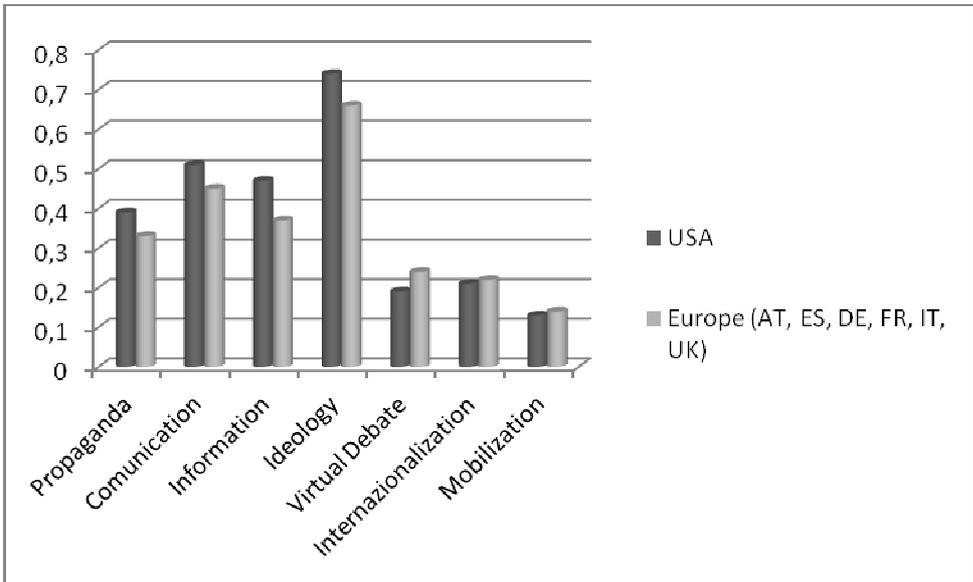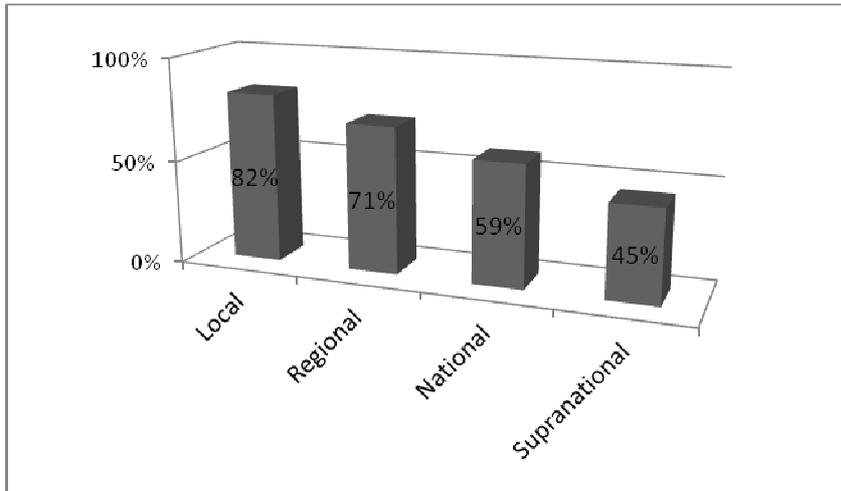

Note. N = 336; Source: data from our web content analysis.

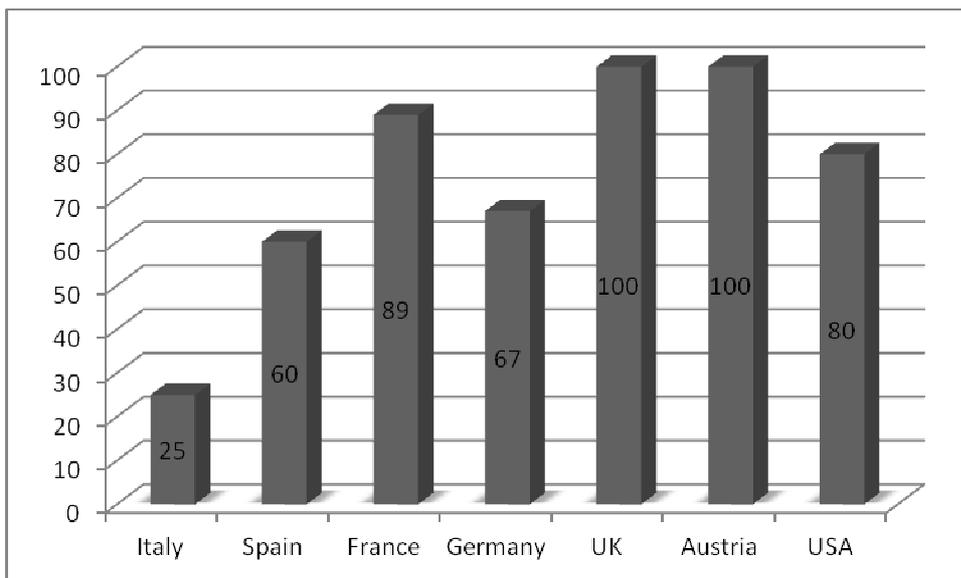Figure 3. Position of right wing organizations toward European integration (all countries; %).

Note. N = 45; Source: data from our interviews.

Figure 4. Scope of the targets of extreme right organizations (all countries, in %).

Note. N = 45; Source: data from our interviews.

Figure 5. Right-wing International and Cross-national contacts, by country (%).

Note. N=45; Source: data from our interviews.

Appendix B

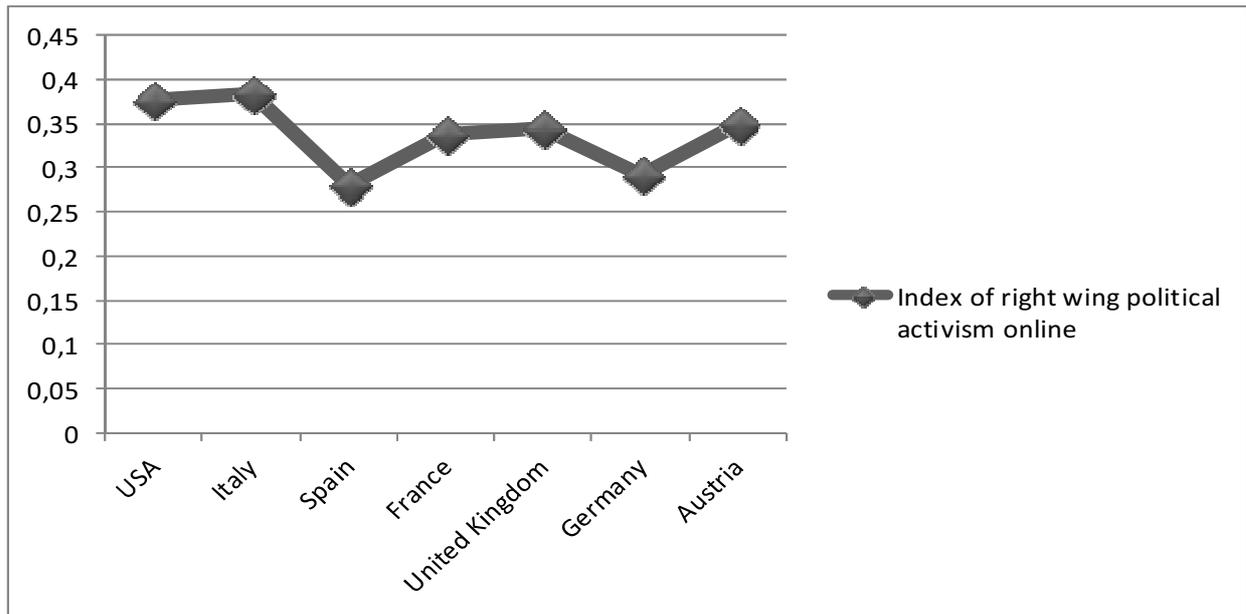Figure 6. General index of right-wing political activism online, by Country[49].

Table 1. Right-wing strategies (action forms) in addressing the transnational level.

	ACTION FORMS									
	Publicizing activities		Conventional political actions		Court action		Mobilization/ Protest		Confrontational mobilization	
Countries	NAT	EU	NAT	EU	NAT	EU	NAT	EU	NAT	EU
Italy	0.7	0.01	0.5	0.04	0.9	0	0.8	0	0.3	0
Spain	0.7	0	0.2	0	0.8	0	0.6	0	0.04	0
France	0.6	0.2	0.7	0.2	0.6	0	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.07
Germany	0.6	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.2	0
UK	0.8	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.5	0	0.7	0.05	0	0
Austria	0.6	0.3	0.6	0.2	0.9	0.1	0.4	0.09	0.03	0.03
USA	0.6	0.2	0.6	0.04	0.6	0	0.5	0.1	0.4	0
ORG type										
Political party	0.7	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.6	0.06	0.6	0.1	0.09	0
Political mov.	0.6	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.7	0.06	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.05
Subcult. group	0.6	0.02	0.7	0.07	0.7	0	0.6	0	0.2	0

All actors	**0.7**	**0.2**	**0.5**	**0.1**	**0.7**	**0.05**	**0.5**	**0.09**	**0.2**	**0.02**

Note. N = 45; Source: data from our interviews.

Table 2. Forms of Internet usage by extreme right organizations, by country (indexes).

	Propaganda	Comunication	Information	Ideology	Debate/Virtual Community	Internazional-ization	Mobilization
USA	0.39	0.51	0.47	0.74	0.19	0.21	0.13
Italy	0.48	0.40	0.43	0.75	0.23	0.28	0.13
Spain	0.30	0.36	0.35	0.53	0.14	0.20	0.09
France	0.29	0.48	0.49	0.68	0.11	0.18	0.13
United Kingdom	0.35	0.44	0.43	0.73	0.14	0.20	0.13
Germany	0.32	0.50	0.21	0.54	0.16	0.09	0.23
Austria	0.24	0.51	0.29	0.73	0.17	0.38	0.13

Note. N= 336; mean values are showed

Appendix A.

Quoted interviews with right-wing organizations:

ID. 01 Political party "Die Bunten". Austria, October 7, 2011.

ID. 02 Political party. Austria, November 9, 2011.

ID. 03 Organization. "AFP-Kommentare". Austria, November 10, 2011.

ID. 04 Political party "Heimatpartei Österreich (HPÖ)". Austria, November 25, 2011.

ID. 05 Media organization. Austria, November 28, 2011.

ID. 06 Organization. Austria, December 2, 2012.

ID. 07 Political movement. Austria, December 2, 2012.

ID. 08 Political party "Bund für Gesamtdeutschland (BGD)". Germany, October 28, 2011.

ID. 09 Political party "Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD)". Germany, November 4, 2011.

ID. 10 Political movement "Junge Nationaldemokraten (JN)". Germany, January 9, 2012.

ID. 12 Regional youth organization. Germany, February 5, 2012.

ID. 13 Regional media network "MUPINFO". Germany, March 3, 2012.

ID. 14, Single activist "Christian Worch". Germany. March 16, 2012.

ID. 15 Political party "British Freedom Party (BFP)". United Kingdom, February 19, 2012.

ID. 16 Political party "The English Democrats". United Kingdom, March 29, 2012.

ID. 17 Media network "Vanguard News Network (VNN)". USA, January 10, 2012.

ID. 18 Political movement "White Revolution". USA, January 10, 2012.

ID. 19 Organization "The Insurgent." USA, January 19, 2012.

ID. 20 White nationalist network. USA, February 4, 2012.

ID. 21 Organization "White Voice". USA, February 17, 2012.

ID. 22 Political party "American Third Position (A3P)". USA, February 22, 2012.

ID. 23 Ethno-political advocacy organization. USA, May 11, 2012.

ID. 25 Youth Group "Gioventù Italiana". Italy, January 16, 2012.

ID. 29 Political Movement "Fronte Sociale Nazionale". Italy, February 13, 2012.

ID. 30 Political Party "La Destra". Italy, February 13, 2012.

ID. 31 Organization "Casapound." Italy, March 6, 2012.

ID. 33 Political Movement "Unión Nacional de Trabajadores (UNT)". Spain, February 2, 2012.

ID. 34 Political party "Falange de Las JONS". Spain, February 16, 2012.

ID. 36 Political party "Falange Autentica". Spain, April 11, 2012.

ID. 37 Organization "Bloc Identitaire". France, January 31, 2012.

ID. 39 Political Pary "Parti de la France". France, February 18, 2012.

ID. 43 Political Party "Mouvement National Republicaine (MNR)". France, March 8, 2012.

ID. 44 Political Movement "Nouvelle Droite Populaire (NDP)". France, March 8, 2012.

Appendix B.

INSERT FIGURE 6

INSERT TABLE 2