

Understanding and Contextualising Racial Hatred on the Internet:

A Study of Newsgroups and Websites

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Abstract

This thesis builds upon the growing body of criminological literature in the field of racially motivated offending by embracing two key aims. Firstly, it aims to investigate the way in which Internet newsgroups create an enabling environment for the expression and development of on-line racial hatred and therefore endeavours to understand how newsgroups may be used to facilitate criminal and other harmful activity. Secondly, the study examines three newsgroups in depth and a number of Websites with an aim to understand their structure, organisation and dynamics as well as aspects of recruitment, dissemination of hate literature and the command and control of members. This thesis also places online bias, prejudice and hate speech within a social and historical context by arguing that the foundations for online hate speech did not merely arise with the development of the Internet in the 1970s but is bound up within an historical and social context that began some three and a half centuries ago during the Atlantic slave trade and hardly curtail in the US and the UK until the 1960s.

Little evidence was found to suggest that the three newsgroups examined for this study are used for the dissemination of *illegal* words or behaviour or to facilitate activity that may pose a danger to community safety. However, the discourse could, potentially, create revulsion and distress amongst individuals and communities that are likely to disapprove of it. The methods by which biased, prejudiced and hateful viewpoints are expressed, depends largely upon the broad ideology of the particular newsgroup. In the main, the newsgroup *alt.politics.white-power* hosted anti-Semitic discourse whilst *alt.skinheads*, although not institutionally anti-Semitic or neo-Nazi, did, in fact, display tenets of this nature and skinhead associates often used this newsgroup to promote Nazi affiliated merchandise and other such material. Contributors to *alt.flame.niggers* appeared to display the most ardent racist hate speech towards Black African Americans.

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Chapter One: Introduction

In recent years, tackling racially motivated hate crime (RMHC) has been on the policy agenda of both the United Kingdom (UK) and United States (US) governments and police forces, predominantly in response to increasing concerns regarding the perceived seriousness of this type of crime and its perceived impact on victims and on the wider community. This intensified interest in public protection and community safety has been accompanied by an increase in criminological literature devoted to this area.

This thesis builds upon the growing body of criminological literature in the field of racially motivated offending by embracing two key aims. Firstly, it aims to investigate the way in which Internet newsgroups create an enabling environment for the expression and development of online racial hatred and therefore endeavours to understand how newsgroups may be used to facilitate criminal and other harmful activity. Secondly, the study examines three newsgroups in depth, and a number of websites, with an aim to understand their structure, organisation and dynamics as well as aspects of recruitment, dissemination of hate literature and the command and control of members. This thesis also places online biased, prejudiced and hate speech within a social and historical context by arguing that the foundations for online hate speech did not merely arise with the development of the Internet in the 1970s but is bound up within an historical and social context that began some three and a half centuries ago during the Atlantic slave trade and hardly curtail in the US and the UK until the 1960s.

Online Hate Speech: The Historical and Social Context

In the US, biased, prejudicial and hateful activity has been perpetrated overwhelmingly against African American people since the 1600s when they were forcibly transported from their African homeland to the British colonies in the US and the Caribbean, where they were forced to endure abhorrent acts of violence associated with institutionalised slavery. When slavery was legally abolished in 1806, African Americans continued to suffer oppression and severely restricted freedoms in the ante-bellum South. In particular, the Ku Klux Klan, formed in 1865, attacked and intimidated African Americans, largely in an attempt to prevent them from exercising the political rights that were eventually bestowed upon them. Accompanying this violence, the implementation of the Jim Crow laws provided a legal basis for bias, prejudice and hate continuing against the African American people.

Institutionalised slavery in the Caribbean Islands also resulted in large-scale immigration of Black Caribbean men, women and children to mainland Britain. Throughout the 20th century, additional waves of immigrants from the Caribbean and South Asia entered the UK along with other immigrants from East Asia.

Hatred against the Jewish people can also be traced back many thousands of years but motivation for hatred against this group cannot be definitively attributed to their racial background. Until the late nineteenth century, Jews were subject to persecution on religious grounds. However, from the late nineteenth century, *racial* anti-Semitism replaced *religious* anti-Semitism as the dominant form of Jewish hatred by replacing a hatred of *Judaism* as a religion with a hatred of the

Jews as *people*. This rise in racial anti-Semitism was accompanied by the emergence of conspiracy theories alleging Jewish plots to achieve global power and global domination. These stereotypes remained and hatred for the Jewish people continued into the 20th century as their quest to escape violence and oppression in Eastern Europe facilitated their immigration to the UK and US. So extensive was their immigration that in the early 1900s both countries felt the need to implement legislation to curtail it.

Persistent immigration patterns and the increase in interracial relationships that followed significantly increased the non-White populations of both the UK and US and resulted in competition for education, jobs, housing and welfare resources between a myriad of racial, religious and ethnic groups. It is against this backdrop that White racist bias, prejudice, hate crime and bigotry emerged to oppress the non-White minority and to reaffirm their lowly position amongst the White majority. This was most obviously highlighted by racially motivated riots in the US cities of Illinois, Chicago and Los Angeles and in cities such as Liverpool, Cardiff, Bristol, Nottingham and London in the UK. However, the most notable opposition to non-White residence has been manifested in the ideologies of the organised Far Right hate groups that have aimed to spread their bigoted and hateful racist rhetoric and to intimidate and spread fear within entire communities of people. Since the latter part of the 20th century, the dissemination of racial hatred has changed significantly, as racial hate groups have sought to further their cause through *cyberhate* by exploiting the Internet to spread their ideology to a global audience through this cheap, anonymous, pseudonymous, accessible and largely unregulated means of communication.

Introduction to Cyberhate

Figures published by Internetworldstats.com (2005) suggest that as of 23 July 2005, nearly one-sixth of the population on this planet are Internet users. The US heads the list of the World's top twenty Internet using countries with 202,888,307 Internet users; equating to 65.5% of that country's total population. Of all the countries in Western Europe, the UK has the largest proportion of Internet users per head (35,807,929 users – 59.8% of the total UK Population). Accompanying the constant growth in the use of this new technology are worries regarding its exploitation by the dishonest and deviant Internet criminal. Hence, Pease (2001) has argued that individuals now live in both 'meatspace' and 'cyberspace', and suggests that people who commit crime in the non-physical environment of 'cyberspace' are not restricted by some of the constraints imposed upon those who commit similar crimes in the physical environment of 'meatspace'. Certainly, the development of the Internet has increased the opportunities for those who harbour racist proclivities to disseminate offensive, harmful and obscene racist material to a wider global audience.

So, here we are - in the first decade of the 21st century - nearly 250 years after the Enlightenment thought spread across Europe and the US and Thomas Paine's 'The Rights of Man' replaced the Christian Bible as the statutory text in many homes; 200 years after the abolition of slavery; 40 years after the Civil Rights Movements were shaken to their depths after the death of Martin Luther King; and since the implementation of the first Race Relations Act in the UK - witnessing an online environment that enables like-minded racist individuals to

coalesce and, transcending the boundaries of space and time and evading the jurisdiction of law enforcement agencies, anonymously, pseudonymously, easily, cheaply and accessibly disseminate illegal, obscene, harmful and hateful speech to a global audience.

Hate crime facilitated by the Internet is commonly termed 'hate speech'. Using such a widely connotative expression serves to enforce the importance, first recognised by Akdeniz (2001), of distinguishing between hate acts that are *illegal* and those that are *harmful*: not illegal but still offensive, insulting or hateful from the standpoint of specific racial or ethnic groups and individuals thereof.

Wall (2001) has argued that the Internet has facilitated the commission of illegal and harmful activity (including the dissemination of bias, prejudice and hatred) in three main ways. Firstly, by acting as a communication vehicle to sustain existing patterns of illegal and harmful behaviour, such as hate speech and stalking; secondly, offenders are able to commit different forms of existing illegal and harmful activity, such as fraud and paedophilia. Finally, he argues that the Internet has created the opportunity to commit entirely new forms of crime, for example, the unauthorised appropriation of imagery, software and music products. Arguably, two further categories can be included within this inventory. Firstly, the Internet has allowed the accomplishment of preparatory acts online in order to perform illegal acts in the 'real world'. Secondly, in more recent years, the Internet has been used by organisations to glorify their hate crimes.

Much previous research conducted into racism on the Internet (Back, 2001; Whine, 2000; Gerstenfeld, Grant and Chiang, 2003) has focused upon the exploitation of websites which Far Right racist organisations have exploited as a vehicle through which to channel racist rhetoric. Although websites are not the entire Internet (Mann and Sutton, 1998), they are, along with email, the most used and, arguably, most well-known Internet application. Researchers and academics have yet to discover other areas of the Internet that lie under-researched but which still are, in fact, viable and important elements of potential investigation, such as Internet newsgroups, the subject of investigation of this thesis. Earlier research by Mann and Sutton (1998) found that this particular part of the Internet was being used to effectively plan and coordinate crimes. This thesis also builds upon findings from Mann, Sutton and Tuffin's (2001) more recent exploratory study of racist newsgroups by looking in greater depth at the social dynamics of such groups.

Structure of the Thesis

The first substantive chapter of this work, Chapter Two, explores, by way of introduction to this relatively new and under-researched area of criminological enquiry, the complex dynamics of hate crime. Primarily, the chapter draws upon present literature to explore the existing definitions of hate crime offered by only a handful of researchers. Without this explanation, hate speech in cyberspace has no context or background. The chapter explores the myriad of racially motivated offences that, in the UK and US, can constitute a 'hate crime' and the legal provisions that aim to prevent and punish such activity. In particular, the chapter argues that the term 'hate crime' must be used with caution as many acts motivated by hatred - particularly hate speech on the Internet - are not considered

illegal, notwithstanding that such acts still produce a harmful effect upon the victim concerned. The concept of harm is examined within a discussion of the 'victimology of hate' where it is argued that certain low level and racist but legal acts, such as derision and taunting, inflict 'hidden' psychological harm upon the victim, as opposed to the discerningly more serious physical harm that occurs through the use of physical violence. This discussion also draws upon the work of Bowling (1999) by focusing upon the relationship between victims and offenders, and offenders' motivation for their perpetration of biased, prejudiced and hateful acts.

As racially motivated hate crime is based upon the victims' (sometimes perceived) 'race' or 'ethnicity', it also seemed sensible in this chapter to include a discussion of the proffered meaning of these terms. The chapter continues to draw upon Perry's (2001) assertion that, according to Far Right ideology, one's racial identity denotes one's commensurate place within the societal racial hierarchy that places White people at the top and non-White people further down. According to Szwarc (2001: 8), such negative attitudes towards, beliefs about, or discrimination against people because they are of a different ethnicity, initiates racism that is manifested in powerlessness, exploitation, marginalisation and exclusion.

Chapters Three and Four aim to place modern day online hate speech within an historical and social context. Chapter Three examines the 'Atlantic slave trade' to explain the historical context within which modern online hate speech is manifested. From the 1600s, this trade conveyed Black people from their native African homeland to the British colonies of America and the Caribbean. Until this time, little was known about Black people by those who were White but, following their arrival, their differently coloured skin initiated the creation of wholly imaginary assumptions and myths regarding their nature, characteristics, capabilities and temperament. The slave trade was predominantly based upon a dichotomised power structure within which the White slaveholding masters were placed at the top and Black slaves at the bottom. This perception of a racial hierarchy remained following the 1600s and Black people in the US faced open and legitimised oppression and inequalities right into the 1960s before the Civil Rights Movement emerged.

The racial stereotypes that were developed as a consequence of the slave trade years have provided a basis for this continued oppression. According to modern Far Right ideology, Black people are labelled as de-human and animalistic, not only because of the physical cruelty to which they were subjected but additionally due to their requirement to, without exception, act upon every demand ordered by their slaveholding 'owners' and tolerate the eradication of their individualisation and personalisation. This most severe form of social control also depicted that Black people were lazy and indolent and wholly unable to exist outside the realms of their slaveholding master's authority. Black people were stereotyped as being uneducated and unintelligent because of their involuntary obligation to perform manual labour for no other remuneration than a little food or uncomfortable accommodation, whilst the 'more intelligent' White capitalist gained everything through his shrewdness of employing more menial labourers.

Whilst emancipation in the US offered Black people freedom from slavery for the very first time and enabled them to mix more freely with native White Americans, it exposed them to personal violence and rendered them susceptible to unjust accusations of criminality, particularly of a sexual nature. This stereotype is also continued as a motivation for hatred by the modern Far Right for which the Internet has provided an alternative means to spread their hate. The chapter concludes by explaining that the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, the implementation of the Jim Crow laws and a diminishing demand for agricultural labour caused the disorganised migration from the agrarian South to the industrialising cities of the US North.

Chapter Four begins by explaining the dynamics of this Northward mass migration of freed Black men and women in the US and aims to set online racial prejudice within this social context. The 20th century saw more racist stereotypes emerge as other immigrant groups, such as Jews and East Asians, emigrated to the US. In the US at this time, the disorganised migration north of former Black Southern American slaves continued, causing a racial imbalance to the status quo in their host cities.

In Britain, two prolific periods of immigration occurred. The first was during 1949 when many inhabitants of British colonies in Africa, the Caribbean and India were offered the opportunity to settle in Britain as a reward for helping the allies during the Second World War and to undertake employment in hard-to-fill occupations. The second period occurred after the implementation of the Nationality Act in 1948, which bestowed UK citizenship on all inhabitants of British colonies abroad. The UK, at that time experiencing more multi-racial immigration than that of the US, received a mixture of relatively uneducated people from the Caribbean, Pakistan and Bangladesh; the more educated doctors and professional classes from India; and the predominantly poor but usually industrious ethnic Indians from Uganda.

On their arrival into the UK and US, most immigrants were forced to reside in neglected areas and accept only manual work that White people refused to perform. In the US, this transpired principally due to the entrenched White racism that had pervaded that society for many years and was also due to the enduring faith in the racial stereotypes that emerged during the slave trade years that are discussed in Chapter Three. In the UK, this occurred primarily because of the impending competition for scarce resources such as employment and housing between the native White British and immigrants.

The chapter also highlights that much of the bias, prejudice and hate towards immigrants in both the US and UK was caused by their somewhat forced obligation to reside in all-immigrant areas, thereby often disassociating themselves from, and frequently failing to, assimilate with the native White population.

Significantly, it is argued that the racist stereotypes that emerged during the Atlantic slave trade and the social, environmental, and demographic changes that occurred as a consequence of the immigration waves described in Chapter Four have offered a further basis for the perpetration and ideology of the hate speech observed in the three newsgroups analysed in the final chapter of this work.

Much racist ideology in the newsgroups studied in the penultimate chapter of this thesis - particularly the newsgroups *alt.skinheads* and *alt.politics.white-power*, derives from the Nazi ideology that emerged in Germany as a consequence of the rise to power of Adolf Hitler during the 1930s. Subsequently, a small group of *Nazi sympathisers*, *Right Wing Christian faith adherent* groups and *skinhead* organisations emerged that seemed sympathetic to the racist beliefs formerly respected by supporters of Nazism. In addition, several *modern political fascist* groups emerged in the UK and US that, although mildly racist and typically labelled as 'Far Right', are actually advocates of a more 'Far Left' and traditional socialist political ideology and have attempted to encroach into mainstream politics by combining a traditional left wing socialist political agenda and Far Right racist dogma. The chapter ends by discussing how, from the 1970s, most of the hate groups analysed in the chapter began to use the Internet to spread their ideological message by a more discreet, unregulated and convenient means by establishing websites as a permanent feature of their regimes. Also discussed is what can arguably be described as the newest breed of hate group: *e-powered small haters*². These are individuals who, quite independently of these organised groups, exploit the interactivity of the Internet to disseminate hate speech online in interactive forums such as newsgroups. Hence, the penultimate chapter, Chapter Seven, reports the research findings of a study that explored the dynamics of three Far Right Internet newsgroups used by e-powered small haters to disseminate their online racist hate speech.

The primary purpose of Chapter Seven is to understand how racist newsgroups can be said to create an enabling environment for the expression, dissemination and development of online racial hatred, and to understand how these groups exploit the Internet to facilitate criminal and other related activities. The chapter reports the findings of a study that investigated the dynamics of three Far Right Internet newsgroups (*alt.flame.niggers*, *alt.politics.white-power* and *alt.skinheads*). As much of the hate speech evident in these newsgroups derives from the historical and social perspectives that are explored throughout this thesis, the chapter identifies, firstly, the means by which e-powered small haters inflame racism within the newsgroups to which they contribute; secondly, the motives for using such methods; and, thirdly and fourthly, the chapter examines 'who' primarily contributes in order to promote racist sentiments and hostilities and who becomes recognised as the primary targets of such racial hatred. Finally, the chapter analyses the effect of offender dynamics, both upon the structure and organisation of the online communities studied and upon the safety of the wider offline community.

Chapter Two: The Law and the Dynamics of Bias, Prejudice and Hate Crime

Introduction

Internet facilitated bias, prejudice and hate crime is, to say the least, an under-researched area of criminological enquiry. Thus, this chapter aims to place this new area of research within a well-defined sociological, criminological and legal

² See page 147 for an explanation of from where and why the author has derived this term.

context and to explore the small but growing body of literature devoted to the investigation of Racially Motivated Hate Crime (RMHC).

According to the US Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI), antagonism toward a particular race, religion, sexual orientation, ethnicity or physical or mental disability prompted hate crimes against 9,100 victims during 2003. Of these, 51.4% were racially motivated and 17.9% were caused by religious intolerance. Intimidation was the most often-reported hate crime, comprising 49.7% of the total offences against the person, with simple assault accounting for 32.8% of the total, and aggravated assault comprising 16.7%. Murder and forcible rape accounted for 0.3% and 0.1%, respectively. Among the 14 bias-motivated murders, six were committed as a result of racial prejudice and two because of a bias against ethnicity (FBI, 2003).

In the UK it is difficult to categorise hate crime because, unlike in the US where the offence is defined within specific hate crimes legislation, there is no such legal definition. Hate crime *per se* is not categorised as an offence and racially motivated crime can cover a wide range of offences. However, acts that can be considered racially motivated are prosecutable under the Public Order Act 1986 (POA) and, more effectively, under the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (CDA). Between April 2003 and April 2004 there were 3,616 cases of racially aggravated crime handed to the CPS by police (BBC News, 2005a).

Resoundingly, the figures suggest that RMHC is a significant problem. Given that research devoted to the study and reduction of hate crime is comparatively new, any study that aims to provide a comprehensive examination of it ought to begin with a discussion of exactly what is being investigated. To this end, this chapter commences with an analysis of the surprisingly sparse but emerging definitions of hate crime offered by law enforcement bodies, as well as those suggested by academics. Following this, the chapter provides an in-depth explanation of the legislative provisions in place that offer a remedy to victims of RMHC. The complex dynamics surrounding the acts which can be said to constitute hate crime, the type of offenders who perpetrate the acts, reasons for its occurrence, the methods by which it is executed and the impact that it has upon its victims are all discussed. As hate crimes are normally committed by groups, the chapter also includes a discussion of hate groups and their ideologies of power, with particular reference to the four-fold typology devised by Levin and McDevitt (1993). The final sections of this chapter explore how it is that minority groups are forced to endure exclusion, marginalisation and powerlessness in many spheres of modern White-dominated society and discuss the main explanations for this.

Defining Hate Crime

Although first used some 15 years ago by politicians and journalists in the US, there still appears to be no universally accepted definition of *hate crime*. In the US, a legal definition is provided by the Hate Crime Statistics Act 1990, which describes it as: ‘Crimes that manifest evidence of prejudice based on race, religion, or ethnicity’. Although in the UK there is no legally established definition, the Association of Chief Police Officers (2002, 1) describes it as: ‘...any crime where the perpetrator’s prejudice against an identifiable group of

people is a factor in determining who is victimised'. In addition, under the CDA 1998, certain offences against the person, acts of criminal damage or harassment, may constitute a racially motivated hate crime if they can be proved to have been committed with this intention.

Although only a handful of social scientists have penned an unambiguous, comprehensive and useful definition of hate crime, Wolfe and Copeland (1994, 201) go some way to providing a definition by outlining who is a victim of hate crime, which from this perspective is: 'Violence directed towards groups of people who generally are not valued by the majority of society, who suffer discrimination in other political arenas, and who do not have full access to remedy social, political and economic justice'.

Taking this definition to mean violence in the strict sense of violence against the person, as many people will, overlooks two important points. Firstly, racially motivated offending is manifested in other illegal activities such as criminal damage and making threats. Secondly, much of the hate violence to which Wolfe and Copeland (1994) refer, no doubt will represent a concluding incident of a systematic process of victimisation. Such incidents may have begun several months previously with the commission of possibly legal and relatively minor non-violent incidents, such as hate speech by the use of threatening, abusive or insulting words and behaviour towards the victim; provoking violence; and perpetrating harassment.

Sampson and Phillips (1992) found that hate motivated activity predominantly ranges from relatively trivial and minor incidents such as verbal abuse, being chased and being prevented from entering one's house, that are designed to degrade, humiliate and scare victims, through to major incidents such as robbery, threats to kill, criminal damage and physical violence. Sethi (1995) provides a good account of the range of hate activities, some of which are legal, some of which are illegal but all of which are nevertheless distressing for the victim, including an account of a barrage of racial abuse against Asian Indians in New Jersey. Their victimisation began with relatively trivial events such as verbal abuse in the streets. More serious criminal activity followed when houses and businesses were vandalised and smeared with racist graffiti. In one incident a 28-year old man was beaten into a coma and another incident involved a 30-year old being beaten with bricks, propped up against a wall when unconscious and subsequently beaten to death.

Sheffield (1995, 438) expands upon Wolfe and Copeland's (1994) definition by explaining why hate crime occurs and suggests that:

Hate violence is motivated by social and political factors and is bolstered by belief systems which legitimate such violence. It reveals that hate violence is a consequence of political culture which allocates rights, privileges and prestige according to biological or social characteristics.

Arguably, the most unambiguous and comprehensive definition is provided by Perry (2001, 10) who contends that: 'Hate crime is a mechanism of power and oppression involving acts of violence and intimidation against already stigmatised and marginalised groups, and intended to re-affirm the precarious hierarchies that

characterise the given social order'. With this definition Perry makes it clear that not all hate crime is manifested in violent criminal acts when, in actual fact, much of it can be classified as hate 'speech' that, although abusive, offensive or obscene to some people, is not always illegal and not 'violent' in the usual meaning attached to that word. That said, some forms of hate speech in the UK may amount to inciting racial hatred, which was first prohibited in the POA 1986.

Illegal Hate: The UK Perspective

The POA 1986 describes racial hatred as: '... hatred against a group of persons defined by reference to colour, race, nationality (including citizenship) or ethnic or national origins'. Sections 17 to 29 of this legislation prohibits the use of threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour, which are likely to stir up racial hatred, in the publication or distribution of written material, broadcasting and performance of plays. In addition, the POA 1986 seeks to criminalise the possession of racially inflammatory material, engaging in racist chanting at football matches and sending or making indecent, grossly offensive or obscene letters, articles or phone calls that are likely to cause distress or anxiety. The CDA 1998 represents the most significant legislation aimed at tackling racially motivated crime to date. It was derived from New Labour's 1997 General Election manifesto, in which the party asserted that existing legislation aimed at punishing racially motivated offending was insufficient. In a country as racially and culturally diverse as the UK, it is of paramount importance that relatively more vulnerable members of society, such as minority ethnic groups, are satisfactorily protected from the criminal activity to which they are particularly susceptible. To this end, sections 28 to 32 of the CDA 1998 provides for certain offences that were previously illegal under earlier legislation - such as the POA 1986, the Offences Against the Person Act 1861 (OAP) and the Criminal Damage Act 1971 - to be recognised as more serious if they are committed with a racially or religiously aggravated motive. Section 28 of the CDA 1998 states that In order to define an offence as racially aggravated, it must be: 'Motivated by racial hostility or committed with the expression of racial hostility towards the victim either at the time of committing the offence or immediately before or after it'.

The section includes cases where a person is attacked because of their membership of or relationship with a member or members of a racial group, which for the purpose of the Act is defined as: '...a group of persons defined by reference to race, colour, nationality (including citizenship) or ethnic or national origins'.

In order to identify whether an offence is prosecutable under sections 29 to 32, the court must be satisfied that it can be defined as racially or religiously aggravated in accordance with section 28. It seems that the phrase 'racial hostility', as used in this section, should be interpreted to mean an intentional and unambiguous hatred, rather than merely a spontaneous and unintended racist remark. Previously, convictions under the CDA 1998 have been overturned on appeal because, during an offence, the words used by the respondent to the victim did not satisfy the definition of section 28. In 2000, the Court of Appeal overturned a conviction for racially aggravated common assault, in which an Asian caretaker was called a 'white man's arse licker' and 'brown Englishman', because the words accompanying the assault did not make the offence racially aggravated

within the meaning of section 28. Similarly, in the 2002 case of McFarlane, it was held that calling somebody a ‘jungle bunny’, ‘black bastard’ and ‘wog’ was not motivated by hostility towards the victim’s membership of a racial group. Conversely, in the 2003 case of Norwood, the defendant displayed a poster supplied by the British National Party containing the words ‘Islam out of Britain’ and ‘Protect the British people’. It bore a photograph of one of the twin towers of the World Trade Centre in flames after it was attacked by Islamic terrorists on 11th September 2001. The court held that the poster was contrary to section 5(3)(c) of the POA because it was likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to followers of Islam and contrary to section 28(1)(b) of the CDA 1998 because it was motivated by hostility towards members of a religious group or based upon their affiliation to it.

The CDA 1998 considers that religious and racial hatred are indistinguishable and is the only existing legislation to specifically make hate crime that is motivated by religious hatred an offence by way of section 28(3), which provides that individuals charged with religious discrimination are not allowed to use the defence that they were not motivated by racial hatred, and a proposal put forward to add ‘religion’ to the definition of a racial group was defeated in the House of Commons by 268 to 146 votes (Padfield, 1998: 36). However, the provision of section 28(3) has been welcomed by religious groups. The Muslim Council of Great Britain viewed the amendment as: ‘...a small but significant first step towards the economic, social and political inclusion of the Muslim community in national life’ (Padfield, 1998). At the time of writing, the House of Lords refused to agree to a proposal to outlaw incitement to religious hatred within the new Serious and Organised Crime Bill ratified in April 2005 (BBC News, 2005b).

Illegal hate activity usually constitutes acts of physical injury, criminal damage and harassment.

Physical Assault

Hate crimes that culminate in physical violence are usually perpetrated in order for offenders to satisfy their need to feel powerful and dominant. Its compoment usually extends well beyond the level that may be necessary to merely subdue the victims (Levin and McDevitt, 1993). Bowling (1999) and Young (1990) both describe racial violence as systematic because it is specifically directed towards members of a particular group and because its occurrence or re-occurrence is not a reaction to any previous antagonisms or offences that the victim originally initiated. Young (1990: 62) comments that: ‘...regardless of what the Black man has done to escape the oppression to which he is subjected, he lives knowing that he may be subject to racist attacks’. Prior to the implementation of the POA 1986, victims of racially motivated offences could only rely on the OAP 1861 which does not provide a specific remedy for victims of racially aggravated or religiously motivated offences. Section 29 of the CDA 1998 criminalises racially or religiously aggravated assaults by considering it an offence to commit a crime of common assault or an offence under either section 20 (malicious wounding or grievous bodily harm) or section 47 (actual bodily harm) of the OAP 1861. Section 31 of the CDA introduces an offence of racially or religiously aggravated fear or provocation of violence (as is contrary to section 4 of the POA 1986).

Criminal Damage

Many hate crimes are directed against property and usually take the form of desecration and vandalism. Hate stimulated criminal damage is commonly perpetrated against selected places of worship, entertainment and other property that minority groups use to enhance their social and cultural life. Even the home is not a safe haven as a victim can do little to prevent a rock being hurled through the window, flung by an irate neighbour who hates Blacks, Asians, Jews or any other minority group. The Criminal Damage Act 1971 makes provision for charges to be brought against anyone who carries out, makes threats to carry out, has anything in their possession to enable them to carry out or permits the use of their equipment to enable someone else to carry out an offence of criminal damage. Section 30 of the CDA 1998 provides that a person is guilty of an offence under this section if he commits an offence under section 1(1) of the Criminal Damage Act 1971 (destroying or damaging property belonging to another) with a racially or religiously aggravated motive

Harassment

In common usage *harassment* means 'to continually worry or annoy' and although certain activities that can constitute harassment are illegal under the provisions of the Protection from Harassment Act 1997 (PHA), others are not but may still cause 'continued worry and annoyance' to victims who have few available means to remedy their situation. Section 31 of the CDA 1998 provides for a more stringent penalty for committing - with a racially aggravated motive - harassment, alarm or distress, which is deemed illegal under the POA 1986. Section 32 of the CDA 1998 also makes provision for a harsher penalty to be imposed on conviction of committing offences under section 2 (offence of harassment) and section 4 (putting people in fear of violence) of the PHA 1997 with a racially aggravated motive. Section 82 of the CDA 1998 makes provision for a court to treat an offence that was racially aggravated as more serious than if it had not been committed with a racially aggravated motive. Thus, more stringent penalties can be imposed upon offenders if convicted.

Illegal Hate: The US Perspective

Federal Legislation

The Anti Defamation League (ADL) claims that: 'Federal Government has an essential leadership role to play in confronting criminal activity motivated by prejudice' and there are currently six federal statutes in place to combat hate crime (ADL, 2001a).

The *Hate Crime Statistics Act* (HCSA) was the first hate crime legislation to be implemented and forms part of the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) programme, to which 17,381 agencies participated in 2003 (FBI, 2003). Under the Hate Crime Data Collection Programme (HCDCP), US law enforcement agencies are able to submit data concerning hate crimes in their jurisdiction, which are then published in the annual 'hate crime statistics' report. Although the FBI claims that 'reliable data' is collected throughout the year, agencies' involvement in this reporting programme is voluntary and those choosing to

participate are only required to submit data for the report one month per year. According to FBI statistics, 11,909 law enforcement agencies reported data to the HCDCP, although no figures are available to indicate the frequency with which each of these agencies reported data (FBI, 2003).

In 2003, the FBI reported that 52.3% of hate crime victims were targets of racial prejudice, of which 62.3% of known offenders were White and only 18.5% were Black. Ethnicity or national origin bias prompted 14.2% of the offences. Recorded data also shows that 63.3% of hate crimes were against the person and 36% involved destruction, damage or vandalism against property. Intimidation represented the most frequent offence against the person with nearly 60% of offenders being White. 16.4% of victims suffered hate crime as a consequence of their religious beliefs of which 68.8% were Jewish (FBI, 2003).

The Anti Defamation League claims that before its implementation, the US Government had previously ‘failed to recognise and effectively address this unique type of crime’ (ADL, 2001b). Enacted in 1990, the HCSA requires the Justice Department to acquire data on crimes which *manifest prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation or ethnicity* from law enforcement agencies across the country and to publish an annual summary of the findings. As the ADL recognises, compiling statistics and charting the geographic distribution of hate crimes may allow law enforcement officials to discern patterns of offending and anticipate an increase in racial tensions in a given jurisdiction. Of the 11,690 law enforcement agencies that provided data to the FBI’s Hate Crime Data Collection Program, 16.2% reported that at least one hate crime occurred in their jurisdiction, although the remaining 83.8% of participating agencies reported that no instances of hate crime occurred.

The *Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act* (HCSEA) implemented in 1994, provides a sentencing enhancement for perpetrators whose offences are proved, beyond reasonable doubt, to be hate crimes. A hate crime is defined within the legislation as ‘a crime in which the defendant intentionally selects a victim or, in the case of a property crime, the property that is the object of the crime, because of the actual or perceived race, colour, religion, national origin, ethnicity, gender, disability or sexual orientation of any person’. In the most recent case of *Apperendi v New Jersey* in June 2000, the Supreme Court upheld a decision to impose an increased sentence of 12 years upon a man who fired several shots into the home of an African American family and made a statement to the effect that ‘he did not want the family in his neighbourhood because of their race’. The prosecutor filed a motion to enhance the sentence under the HCSEA and, after considering the evidence, the jury found that the shooting was racially motivated.

The *Church Arsons Prevention Act* was implemented in 1996 in response to a series of attacks against places of worship, especially those predominantly frequented by African American congregations. The law allowed for a broader Federal criminal jurisdiction to aid criminal prosecutions and established a loan guarantee recovery fund for rebuilding.

The *Hate Crimes Prevention Act* 1997 prohibits intentional interference or threat of force with the enjoyment of a Federal right or benefit to activities such as voting, going to school or employment on the basis of race, colour, religion or

national origin (ADL, 2001c). The need for its implementation demonstrates that, despite the efforts made by the various Civil Rights Movements that emerged in the US from the 1950s, ethnic minority groups appear to still endure the social and political disenfranchisement placed upon them during the era of Jim Crow³ and that the methods used to enforce these restrictions may even now be as ruthless as the terror perpetrated by the early Ku Klux Klan movements a century and a half ago.

State Legislation

Some form of hate crimes legislation has been implemented in almost all of the 50 US states, and bias motivated violence and intimidation carries a criminal penalty in all states apart from Arkansas, Indiana, South Carolina and Wyoming; although statutory legislation in Arkansas endorses a civil penalty for this type of activity. Hence, there is neither a criminal nor civil penalty in any of the other three states but in 30 states both a criminal and civil remedy is available. In all four of the aforementioned states, along with Utah and Georgia, hate motivated offending based upon ethnicity, race or religion is not prohibited. More obscurely, in the states that do statutorily prohibit hate crime, the scope of protected groups significantly differs. For example, in the state of Connecticut, protection is provided on the grounds of race, religion, ethnicity and disability. On the other hand, the legislative provisions in Illinois protect people against hatred according to their 'colour, creed, ancestry and physical and mental disability'.

Similarly, a penalty enhancement statute (PES), independent of that implemented federally, has been enacted in Wisconsin and provides for an increased penalty for an offender found guilty of committing an existing offence against a person or property because of the actual or perceived race, religion, colour, disability, sexual orientation, national origin or ancestry of that person or of the owner of the damaged property. Specifically, the PES increases the maximum fine to between \$5,000 and \$10,000 and revises the maximum period of imprisonment to between one and five years depending on the severity of the offence.

The Victimology of Hate

Although the term 'victimology' was first coined in the 1940s in the UK, it is only since the 1970s that there has been a significant increase in the concern for the victims of crime. It was also during the 1970s that various 'victims' movements began to emerge. In particular, the civil rights movements in the UK and the US are composed of various organisations that represent the interests of a wide range of racial and ethnic minority groups. Over the past three decades this movement has directed its attention towards what it sees as the 'special threats' that hate motivated crimes pose. Karmen (2001, 6) claims that civil rights groups have been 'instrumental' in persuading legislatures to impose more stringent penalties on offenders who commit hate crimes and in establishing special police squads to deter or solve such crimes. Karmen (2001, 9) defines a victim as 'a person who individually, or collectively, has suffered harm including physical or mental

³ The Jim Crow laws were implemented in the US from the 1890s and provided for racial segregation in almost every area of society and for the denial of all civil rights for African American people.

injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or impairment of rights that are in *violation of criminal laws*, or because of a perpetrator's *abuse of power*'.

Hate activity is succinctly manifested in activities that instigate oppression of groups or individuals thereof in an attempt to assert power and authority over their victims. Björger and Witte (1993, 6) claim that:

In general, perpetrators of racist violence [hate activity] define their victims as 'them' who are distinguished from 'us' on the basis of skin colour, religion, cultural, ethnic or national origin. Often the presence of 'them' is experienced and portrayed as a threat to 'our' culture, lifestyle, welfare and race, and they should be excluded from various aspects of our lives: from obtaining social services, housing and employment, to living in the same country.

In order to apply Karmen's definition of victimology to the pursuit of hate activity, it may be useful to use Björger and Witte's (1993) three-fold typology to determine the type and level of harm that hate activities can potentially cause. Such harms include: 1) terrorist attacks (such as bombings, arson, and shootings); 2) street violence, and 3) vandalism, verbal abuse, threats and gestures (this category is likely to be characterised by repeat victimisation).

Racial hate activity is commonly recognised as a series of repeat offences against selected victims and should be viewed as an ongoing process of victimisation. According to Bowling (1993) such processual activity has a serious cumulative impact upon victims by beginning with low level verbal abuse, which leads to harassment and more serious activities as the perpetrator attempts gradually to 'wear the victim down' (Farrell, Phillips and Pease, 1995: 388). The first part of the process may entail the perpetrator emitting a warning signal - usually in the form of an act of hate speech - to an entire community, warning them that they are not welcome in a particular area. If the original activity or warning fails to elicit the desired result then the level of activity may escalate into criminal damage to property. Finally, the victimisation process may be concluded by the pursuit of violent activities, such as firebombing the victim's house or physically assaulting the victim. Although an individual may be a direct victim of an attack, the attack is expected to indicate, through fear and horror, that the entire religious or racial community to which the victim belongs is not accepted in a particular area and should move away for their own safety.

As hate crime is a process, Bowling (1999) and Perry (2001) clearly agree that we must analyse the dynamics of such acts, beginning the investigation with an analysis of the events that underpin the incidents and ending it with an analysis of the events that transpire after the incident has occurred. By failing to explain hate crime as a process, it becomes reduced to a 'static, fixed or de-contextualised snapshot' (Bowling, 1993: 231) and, according to Sethi (1995), may seem to trivialise the hate crime problem, although retaining the potential to inflict serious emotional harm upon victims. In addition, conceiving of hate activity as a dynamic process implies the existence of a complex interaction of social relationships between all individuals involved in the process of victimisation. Hence, investigations into racially motivated hate activity should include an analysis of the complex interactions between the vulnerability of suitable targets

and the gains and rewards of motivated offenders. The rewards may be either the satisfaction that they have successfully intimidated, humiliated, scared and oppressed individuals from minority ethnic groups, or that they have successfully induced members of victimised groups to re-locate to a different area where their propensity for victimisation may diminish (Farrell, Phillips and Pease, 1995). Frankenburg (1993) quite rightly argues that hate activists attempt to achieve their aims through rhetoric and castigation. In so doing, they seek to construct a racial opposition by emphasising either that minority ethnic groups are somehow different from the dominant traditional White society or by coercing them into modifying their persona to become compatible with it.

Much hate victimisation goes beyond the infliction of physical and financial harm upon the individual; rather, it is intended to subdue, and affect the emotions of an entire community to create fear and hostility therein (Bowling, 1993; Home Office, 1997). Hence, victimisation seems to be based upon a dual ontology: that of causing physical, emotional or financial harm to a specific victim and that of perpetrating emotional harm to entire communities.

The experience of racial hate crime can have an intense emotional and social impact upon victims. Anger, insecurity, stress and depression are common, especially among people who are experiencing persistent harassment (Fitzgerald and Hale, 1996). Modood and Berthoud et al (1997) carried out a study in which they analysed the action taken by people who fear racial harassment. Their report found that 14% of the ethnic minority population reported having taken measures to avoid being racially harassed. More than 60% of respondents claimed that they avoid going out at night, and almost as many took steps to make their home more secure. Other preventative measures included restricting their visits to the shops; avoiding going out alone; avoiding predominantly white areas; changing their travel routes; and refusing to go to certain pubs.

Racial hate activity has a clearly profound effect upon the lives of minority ethnic groups. So much so that Young (1990) argues that 'some groups live with the knowledge that they must fear random, unprovoked attacks on their person or property, which have no other motive than to damage, humiliate or destroy'. Harassment by strangers around a victim's home can create social isolation as friends may no longer visit due to their fear of crime while victims are often afraid to leave their home unattended. It can force victims to deny their children the freedom to play and it can damage the physical and emotional health of all members of the household (Chahal and Julienne, 1999). Perry (2001: 72) goes even further to suggest that: 'Hate crimes have the potential to throw an entire community into paralysis and potential victims can do nothing to reduce their chances of succumbing to hate victimisation and victims can seldom find a safe place to become free of the fear of a hate attack'.

The community in which victims live can also influence the incidence of 'racial' hate activity. In fact, Farrell, Phillips and Pease (1995) contend that the ethnic composition of an area substantially determines the level of victimisation. Sampson and Phillips (1992) found that minority ethnic groups experience a sense of fear and risk of harassment and violence, even in the absence of any direct racial attack imposed upon them. As any member of a victimised group may feel despised by potential perpetrators, victims who reside further away from the

perpetrator are as suitable for victimisation as those who live nearby. Sampson and Phillips (1992) assert that perpetrators of hate crime often live in close proximity to their victims and that the distance that perpetrators travel to commit their activities depends upon their motivation; the opportunity cost of failing to find a victim is low if the offender has not travelled far to seek out their victim.

Hate activity, either illegal or not, is usually perpetrated by multiple offenders who feel personally threatened by the groups that they hate. Perpetrators of hate activity are not readily prepared to accept the heterogeneous society which emerges when different 'racial' and ethnic groups exist within the ideological homogenous society for which they so strive. A key component of hate victimisation is the existence of bias and prejudice based upon 'what', someone is, rather than 'who' they actually are (Perry, 2001). Thus, personal attributes become irrelevant for the purpose of identifying potential hate crime targets who can do very little to reduce their likelihood of victimisation because they are unable to transcend or reject their group identity.

Levin and McDevitt (1993) have devised a four-fold typology which they suggest may provide an explanation for the motivation of hate crime:

1. *Thrill* hate crimes are committed by youngsters with the aim of boosting their self-esteem which has been ravaged because of their poor living standards, poor standard of education and their failure to achieve success. It is claimed that just as some young people socialise on a Saturday night with a game of cards or a drink at the pub, thrill hate activists get together to assault members of minority ethnic groups or destroy their property. They do not commit their activities for material gain and their reward is derived from the psychological satisfaction that they have generated pain and suffering to their victims and commanded respect from their peers. Generally, thrill activists do not commit their activities alone and the leader may be the only person within the group who has an authentic hatred for the victim. However, others are manipulated to participate in hate activity due to their need to prove loyalty to the other members who would perceive them as cowards if they were to withdraw.
2. *Retaliatory* hate crime is motivated by the quest for revenge for a previous attack on a particular group. Interestingly, such attacks will target any member of a specific group of people and the victim may not necessarily be the specific perpetrator of a previous crime. That said, retaliatory hate activists will attempt to justify their actions by seizing upon triggering incidents to function as a catalyst for the expression of their anger.
3. *Mission* hate crime attacks are usually committed by members of organised groups. They inspire offences such as murder, assault and vandalism. Their ideology is to 'rid the world of evil by disposing of the members of a despised group' (Levin and McDevitt, 1993: 76). Perpetrators are often psychotic and suffer from severe mental illness that causes hallucinations and impaired ability to reason. This leads to the belief that a higher order gives them a purpose to carry out the crime. The mission is sometimes suicidal but, before taking their own lives, they must

attempt to eliminate an entire category of people whom they are convinced are responsible for their personal frustrations (Levin and McDevitt, 1993).

4. Finally, *defence* hate attacks are designed to *protect* neighbourhood, workplaces and schools from outsiders, who are believed by perpetrators to threaten the commonplace lives of 'traditional' White members of the community. In order to justify their activities, hate perpetrators declare themselves to be honourable members of the community who are protecting their people against impostors. Thus, they rarely leave their own area to search for targets.

Although hate crime perpetrated by *organised* hate groups⁴ constitutes only about 5% of all hate crime in the US, such groups have significant influence over the mobilisation of others who are attracted to the racist principles and racially motivated violent proclivities of such groups by their slogans and ideologies (Levin and McDevitt, 1993: 104). In an attempt to justify (or as Matza, 1964 refers to it, 'neutralise') their views and behaviour, hate groups often claim to be 'protecting' the rights of traditional groups, rather than advocating the 'hatred' of particular groups. White supremacists may speak of 'protecting the White race' rather than 'hating' the so-called 'Black race'.

Levin and McDevitt (1993: 21) claim that learning to hate (and, it can be argued, recognising the reason for it), is as inescapable as breathing. Van Ausdale and Feagin's (2001) excellent research into how children learn race and racism seems to suggest that racism need not be taught directly to them. Rather, children learn the White identity role by observing the world around them and, over time, assume the language and behaviour of whiteness. Hence, 'race' and difference can, in fact, be recognised subconsciously. Van Aysdale and Feagin (2001) substantiate Levin and McDevitt's (1993) assertion by stating:

Fathers and mothers bring home tales of work, older brothers or sisters share stories about school and there are almost always trips to the market, church or other social settings. Even a baby gathers some information from these experiences.

Thus, children grow up in a culture that stereotypes and labels certain groups of people and subsequently develop generalisations about people who are different from themselves. According to Omi and Winant (1994), no minority group can escape the application of stereotypical labels. Typically, Black peoples, Hispanics and Chinese share the unfortunate fate of being categorised by racists as dishonest, deceitful, violent and criminal; and African Americans are deemed to lack intelligence. Asians, despite their regional distinctions, are bunched together and stigmatised as too serious, cunning and submissive. Unquestioned and unconsciously recognised norms, attitudes and assumptions cause racial and ethnic classification to appear natural (Omi and Winant, 1994).

⁴ See chapter 5 for a discussion of the emanation, ideologies and activities of what can be characterised as 'organised' hate groups

Categorising Race and Ethnicity

Issues surrounding ‘race’ and ethnicity are becoming increasingly important to social scientists and criminological researchers. Although the use of such terms is reasonably common, there is little agreement about their precise meaning. As a consequence, they are often used interchangeably despite being conceptually different. The aim of this part of the chapter is not to provide an authoritative meaning of either term but to explore the different offered definitions. However, it must be said that after a wide exploration, the definitions cited are those that the author feels best enhance an understanding of these important but misunderstood terms.

In a bid to enhance an understanding of these important concepts, an overview of the many definitions may serve to highlight the themes or ideas that pervade such concepts. Szwarc (2001) comprehensively describes a ‘racial group’ as: ‘a homogenous collection of people that are distinguished by skin colour, religious beliefs or any other population groups with which people identify themselves, think of themselves to be members or to which they think they belong’. Arguably, this definition is quite wide and, given that ethnicity (debated below) encompasses many more cultural attributes, it may be more sensible to narrow down the attributes of ‘race’ to *skin colour* alone in order to achieve a tighter and more comprehensible definition. Bulmer and Solomos (1999) contend that a racist ideology can be said to emerge if such attributes serve to enforce the belief that a designated group is either biologically or culturally inferior to another. Thus, those who believe that race determines a person’s characteristics and that some races are superior to others, can be typified as racists (Sutton, 2003) whose commitment to ‘racism’ transpires due to their ‘negative attitudes towards, beliefs about or discrimination against people because they are of a different race’, as defined by Szwarc (2001: 8).

Without ignoring the importance of the everyday meaning of the word ‘race’ as a crude ethnic marker, accepting that there are no separate ‘races’ as we are all members of one human ‘race’, the term ‘race’ can also be understood as merely one component of a range of attributes that depicts a group identity, which includes physical distinctiveness. Bulmer and Solomos (1999: 4) claim that the term ‘ethnicity’ refers to ‘social groups that differ in terms of language, culture, and place of origin’.

It seems that, as far back as 1935, Huxley and Hudson (1935) became the first known theorists to distinguish ‘ethnic’ groups from ‘racial’ groups and explained this difference by contending that the former are political and cultural units, whereas the latter are biological ones (Banton, 2000). Szwarc somewhat extends this definition by describing an ethnic grouping as a cluster of people with shared cultural, linguistic and historical backgrounds. This definition is comparatively less complex than Klegg's (1993, cited in Bowling and Phillips, 2002: 24) who defines ethnicity as: ‘a group bound together by ties of cultural homogeneity and common way of perceiving, thinking, feeling and interacting with reality.’

Nowadays, many societies are more heterogeneous and culturally plural, and manifested in the existence of two or more different cultural traditions, which characterise the population of a given society. This may lead to struggles for

supremacy as different groups become victims of hate related activity by having blame apportioned upon them because of the cultural or demographic changes that a particular society experiences. Perry (2001) argues that hate crime is prone to change as the cultural identity of a nation changes. As a culture is 'exported' from its native country, its adherents are encouraged to form their own communities. Thus, racial and minority ethnic groups mobilise and demand a voice in a society that represents their identity. The amalgamation of such cultures may act as a contributory factor for racist hate activity as a sense of insecurity and uncertainty is created amongst the traditional White majority. During the last two decades of the 20th century, the US national identity experienced a dramatic change as immigration patterns reshaped the demographics of that country. It is estimated that by 2050 Whites will represent a mathematical minority of the US population (Perry, 2001: 60). Thus, problems may occur rapidly if Du Bois (2000: 83) has correctly claimed that: 'It is manifested that peoples from a different territory with different laws, languages and religions, cannot live in the same territory without fatal collision'.

Although this assertion may be, *prima facie*, correct, much hate activity is perpetrated solely on the basis of the offenders' dislike for the skin colour of their potential victim which, Gilman (2000) correctly contends, remains the most salient indicator of racial identity in the US and Western Europe.

In the US, the Black and White colour line has been rigidly defined. For those harbouring a racial bigotry, Whiteness is seen as 'purity' and a person of any other 'race' or 'racial' mixture engenders a feeling that they are in some way tainted. Racial minorities in the US have traditionally been conceptualised by the state into four identities: Black (African Americans); Brown (Latin or Asian Americans); Red (Native Americans); and Yellow (East Asian Americans). Within racist ideology, the term 'Black' is usually applied to all 'non-Whites', who have also used it to describe their own identity and distinguish themselves from other ethnic groups that are neither strictly Black or White (Omi and Winant, 1994). In the UK, most ethnic group classifications generally categorise ethnicity according to ten categories, only five of which correspond to solely 'Black' (Black Caribbean or Black African) or 'White' (British, Irish or European) racial origin. For the first time, in the 2001 UK Census, people were able to describe themselves as mixed ethnicity. Speaking of a Black and White dichotomy ultimately excludes a huge range of people who may be more correctly identified as South Asian (Indian; Pakistani; and Bangladeshi) and East Asian, such as Chinese. Both of these are minority ethnic groups but cannot be described as 'Black'. Likewise, different forms of White can be readily identified as some people are perceived as 'whiter' than other 'Whites'. Latinos, Spanish, Southern French and Italians are generally darker skinned than native Northern Europeans.

Although enforcing a Black and White dichotomy is unequivocally central to racist thought (Dyer, 2001), which commonly stands by the construction of directly oppositional categories, the perception that one is either 'Black' or 'White' also exists in mainstream society. Sethi (1995), an Asian Woman, recalls:

When I started my first job after college, Steve Riley, an African American asked me, 'So, how do you feel being Black?' When I confessed that I

wasn't black, Riley responded, 'In America, if you're not black, you're white'.

Omi and Winant (1995: 16) claim that: 'Without a racial identity, one is in danger of having no identity'. It may be more correct to argue that one may perceive oneself to possess no identity. In a homogenous society everyone is alike and difference is not a concern. Hall (2000: 149) explains that being brought up in Jamaica, where 98% of the population is Black, he never heard anybody either identify themselves or identify anybody else as Black. It is only when one enters a multi-racial or multi-cultural environment that *difference* acquires an identity. It seems that assigning identities to nineteenth century immigrant groups has been particularly problematic. Traditionally, 'White' referred to Anglo Saxon peoples, and at the turn of the nineteenth century definitional 'problems' emerged over such peoples as those from Southern Europe, Ireland and Jews.

In the US, race has been carefully constructed as a hierarchy so that minority ethnic groups are not merely different from White people but their difference is understood as a deviance from the 'acceptable' norm. Dyer (2000) adds that within White culture it is endemic for White people to assume that they are 'people', whereas other colours are something else and thus promotes the ideological presumption of innate biological differences between races.

Perry (2001) claims that for many, a person's biological 'race' is seen to denote their essence, which is then extrapolated to intellectual, cultural, ethical and physical differences. Since the 18th century, society has defined and labelled the action or phenomena that should be considered as normal. The standardisation of whiteness encourages the construction of racial boundaries, which upholds whiteness as the standard against which everyone else is judged. Such racial classifications tend to enforce mutually exclusive categories of belonging as they assume a dichotomous identity whereby one is Black or White, Jewish or Christian, which forces one to choose a 'side'. Each side is composed of individuals with opposing heterogeneities which must be accepted or, at the very least, tolerated or successfully managed (Perry, 2001). Failure to do so may hasten the formation of racial boundaries which compound several homogenous groups and serve to denigrate aspects of each other's difference and induce the application of labels leading to, as Young (1990) describes, powerlessness, marginalisation and exploitation within many spheres of society; most significantly, within the education system, the labour market and housing.

Powerlessness

The imposition of a sense of powerless among minority ethnic groups pervades racist ideology. The 'top down' circulation of power of which Karl Marx was so critical, is similar to the distribution of power that hate groups advocate. Hate groups seek to exercise power to exert various forms of coercive restraint to alienate and oppress a group of people whom they perceive as being inferior to, and who exist lower down the social order than themselves. Contrast this with the view of power advocated by Foucault (1980), who disregards the view that power is a 'top down', negativistic mechanism which emanates from an individual power, in favour of the notion that the threads of power are dispersed, albeit they

are sometimes unequally dispersed, throughout the whole of society. Perry (2001) asserts that the restraining of power is 'an obvious hallmark of racism', and that racially motivated violence is directly implicated in efforts to maintain unequal relations of power. For Young (1990: 56), the powerless are: 'individuals who lack the power or authority in even such a mediated sense, and over whom power is exercised without their capability of exercising it'. Moreover, the powerless lack authority, status and sense of self-worth and must receive orders but do not possess the authority to give them. Young (1990: 31) claims that, although such unequal distribution is typical in the majority of societies, in Western democratic societies there exists a 'distributive paradigm' of power which is characterised by many agents, possessing widely dispersed powers, each of whom use their 'portion' to mediate the decisions of others. She situates oppression within the three fields of exploitation, marginalisation and exclusion.

Labour Market Marginalisation

Young (1990) argues that minority ethnic groups are frequently oppressed within the labour market, which under the capitalist system becomes fragmented with skilled, highly paid, unionised jobs that are invariably reserved for White people. Thus, only menial work becomes available to them (Young, 1990: 52). Eysenck (1973) argues that, among employees, employers look for qualities that favour White people, rather than Black people, for whom menial work consequently represents a more available option. As this type of employment often lacks autonomy, employees are compelled to receive orders from many other people, thus limiting their power within the labour market and subjecting them to coercion and harassment. In the UK, the Race Relations Act 1976 (RRA) outlaws discrimination and victimisation on the grounds of 'race' within the fields of employment and education. The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 extends the scope of the former legislation by making it unlawful for a person to discriminate against employees by affording them inferior access to opportunities, training or promotion because of their racial grouping. In the US, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits employment discrimination based on race, colour, religion, sex or national origin. The provisions of the legislation are, very literally, all encompassing and render it illegal to discriminate in virtually every aspect of employment.

Members of minority ethnic groups can be singled out in favourable ways, such as through positive (affirmative) action. The RRA 1976 allows employers to try to recruit ethnic minorities if they are under-represented among their employees, are concentrated in lower grades or work only in certain sections of the business. Positive action offers minority ethnic groups the encouragement to apply for jobs, particular training opportunities and the support to allow them to compete for employment on equal terms with members of other ethnic groups. In the US, the Supreme Court has ruled that positive action on the grounds of race may be invoked as a means to redress the unequal racial employment balance. Supporters of the decision in 2003 included business people from General Motors, Microsoft and many senior members of the US military (Campbell and Woodward, 2003).

That said, there may be a danger that the policy will have an adverse affect on the minority ethnic groups that it aims to help if a widespread consensus emerges amongst the White population that unqualified minority workers are perceived as

more favourable to employers than potential White employees because of the effects of ‘positive discrimination’. Likewise, job advertisements that state: ‘*We are an equal opportunities employer and particularly welcome applications from people from ethnic minorities*’, may be interpreted as *whites need not apply*. In America, positive discrimination is termed ‘affirmative action’ and is widely regarded as ‘reverse discrimination’. It can be argued that neither positive discrimination nor affirmative action amount to reverse discrimination because, as Omi and Winant (1994) correctly highlight, the purpose of such policies seeks to overcome specific employment inequalities. However, the policy fuels anger among some White people because minority groups are seen to get special treatment over Whites and so it provides a motive for the harassment of and violence towards minority workers.

Statistics from the US show that in a 45-year career, a White male can expect to work, on average, for 36 years and be unemployed for 9 years. For Black men the figures change to 29 years and 16 years respectively (Business Higher Education Forum, 1995). Statistics from the US Department of Labour (2004) showed unemployment for Black people running at 16.5%, higher than all other minority groups. However, the figure of 14% for Hispanics was similar to that of the Asian population, which was positioned further behind at a little over 10%. Expectedly, White people enjoyed the lowest rate of unemployment at 4.8%

Whilst defending the right of minority ethnic groups to gain equal employment opportunities, it must be acknowledged that at times menial work is bestowed upon minority groups because many of them lack the qualifications and skills necessary for employment in more specialised and skilful occupations. Perry (2001) seems to support this argument by suggesting that many poor, Black males do not seem to have acquired the skills necessary to compete for employment and thus reduce their opportunity of achieving social mobility and economic prosperity.

That said, it is clear that some particular minority group members have succeeded in the labour market. Perry (2001: 123) documents that in the US many East Asians, particularly those of Korean origin, have established successful businesses, predominantly in the retail trade. They are also estimated to account for almost 7% of all small businesses in the UK where African Caribbean and Bangladeshi people are less likely to be self-employed than White people. By establishing their own businesses, East Asians are able to overcome the language and educational barriers that prevent them from gaining traditional employment. Moreover, such accounts of success have facilitated the recommendation that the less successful minority groups look to their more successful counterparts as proof that the dream of success and wealth creation is, potentially, universal. This is, however, a complex area and discussions surrounding the reasons for the successes of some minority groups compared with others are outside the parameters of this thesis.

The US census (2000) reported that the poverty rate for Black people was 24.4%; unchanged from the previous year. The Business Higher Education Forum in America claims that poverty rates are ‘significantly higher’ for Black people than for Whites and are ‘extraordinarily high’ for other minority groups, thus relegating them to a lower social strata. Data from the US Census conducted in

2000 shows a poverty rate of 39% for Black people, whilst the figure for Hispanics is 43%. Of all minority groups, East Asians enjoy the lowest level of poverty at 23%, which is slightly more than the 20% figure for White people.

The UK Social Exclusion Unit suggests that minority ethnic groups are more likely than the rest of the UK population to be poor. Latest employment statistics for the years 2001 to 2002 indicate that in the UK there were marked differences between economic activity rates of different ethnic groups, with White men and women far more likely to be economically active than their minority ethnic counterparts (White, 2002). Statistics for the same years show that people from minority ethnic groups had higher unemployment rates than White people. In particular, the unemployment rate of Bangladeshi men was four times higher than that of White males (White, 2002). There are about 2.2 million people of working age from minority ethnic groups in Britain. Between the summer of 1998 and the spring of 1999 the average employment rate for people of minority ethnic groups was 55%, compared to 75% among White people (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002).

Educational Marginalisation

In their study, Day, Hall and Griffiths (1988) found that economic status in the UK, such as that covered above, is positively correlated with educational achievement. Statistics suggest that Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls and boys, and Black boys, are less likely to achieve five good GCSEs than any other ethnic group (White, 2002). That said, Indians, Chinese and African Caribbeans were more likely to have higher education degrees than White people. At the other end of the scale, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are most likely to have no qualifications at all. Although such research findings appear to be detrimental to certain minority ethnic groups, the low educational attainment that they display may, partly at least, be as a result of exclusion in the education system. In his study, Mason (1995) concluded that: 'Many schools and teachers have been at best ill informed, insensitive and ethnocentric, and at worst explicitly racist in their treatment of pupils of minority ethnic origin'. The Social Exclusion Unit (2002) also claims that some qualitative research suggests that there are relatively high levels of tension between White teachers and Black pupils, with teachers complaining about troublesome Black pupils and disproportionately criticising them.

The scope of the UK Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 is sufficiently wide to ensure that pupils are not discriminated against on 'racial' grounds in the education system. Section 17(a) and (b) of the 2000 Act make it unlawful for an education establishment to refuse to accept an application or refuse to admit a pupil to an establishment because of their 'racial' grouping. Section 17(c) of the Act attempts to safeguard the rights of existing pupils at education establishments by making it unlawful to discriminate against a person on racial grounds in (c)(i), the way they are afforded access to benefits, facilities or services, or by being denied access to them, or by (c)(ii), excluding them from the establishment or subjecting them to any other detriment.

Stoops (2004) reports that in the US in 2003, 84% of Black people between the ages of 18 and 24 achieved a high school diploma compared to 92% of White people. Only 64% of Hispanic young people accomplished this. Statistics by

Stoops (2004) also show that 85.1% of White people aged 25 years and over graduated from high school. This compares with 80% of Black people, 87.6% of Asians. All of these figures contrast sharply with the high school achievements of Hispanics, of whom less than 60% graduated. They, along with Black people, also obtained the lowest number of further and higher education qualifications, followed by White people, of whom 59.2% gained further education qualifications and 28.6% graduated with a Bachelors degree. Asians in the US gained the most post-high school qualifications with 67.4% gaining college awards and 49.8% gaining a degree.

Marginalisation in the education system is a potentially serious problem because education is evidence of one's skills and abilities. The low educational attainment of minority ethnic groups only contributes to the perception that they are not worthy employees. Hence, their marginalisation and exploitation in the labour market will invariably continue and detrimentally affect their chances of equal socio-economic progress.

Housing Marginalisation

Minority ethnic groups may also be excluded within the housing market, face significant difficulties in acquiring good quality housing, are likely to be less satisfied than White people with their homes and live in poorer quality and less popular types of accommodation, regardless of tenure (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002). In particular, in the UK, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are more likely than White people to live in low-income households. Day, Hall and Griffiths assert that ethnic minorities are disproportionately affected by housing problems as they are offered council housing that is of a poorer quality than that of White peoples, their housing is located on unpopular housing estates and they live in constant fear of crime. It was maybe this realisation that prompted the government's objective to create 'balanced, thriving and mixed communities and to ensure everyone has the chance of a decent home' (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002). However, The UK Commission for Racial Equality suggests that 70% of all people from ethnic minorities live in the most 88 deprived local authority districts (Commission for Racial Equality, 2003). This seems consistent with a report (BBC News, 2003a) which claims that 73% of Bangladeshi and Pakistani children are living in poverty in Britain. In 2000/2001 over 60% of the UK Bangladeshi and Pakistani population were revealed to be living in low-income households (White, 2000). Conversely, the White population are least likely to be living in low-income households (White, 2002).

In the US, the Fair Housing Act (USC 3601 - 3619) prohibits discrimination in housing on the basis of race, colour, religion, sex, national origin, familial status and disability. Despite this, the Department of Housing and Urban Development estimates that more than two million instances of housing discrimination occur each year but fewer than 1% are reported (National Fair Housing Alliance, 2004). African Americans and Latinos experienced more than three million instances of illegal housing discrimination in 2003, although the US Department of Housing and Urban Development prosecuted only four race discrimination cases in that year (National Fair Housing Alliance, 2004). The report also revealed that racial prejudice accounted for 29% of the housing discrimination complaints heard by that organisation in 2003.

The above report also found significant levels of housing discrimination against almost all non-native American groups during 2003 and details instances of racial discrimination covering issues concerning the availability of apartments and houses for rent and purchase; the prohibition of Black people inspecting properties; and White people being shown superior properties to rent than those of African Americans. In the US, minority ethnic groups are significantly more likely to reside in lower income households than White people. Information from the US Bureau of the Census (2003) shows the median household income for a White person as \$44,517, and \$29,470 and \$33,565 respectively for Black people and Hispanics. The US Bureau of the Census also reported that in 2003, the median annual earnings for Black men was 78.2% that of White men. This figure reduces further for Hispanics, whose median income stood at 63.3%.

Motivations for Hate

Hate motivated activity predominantly occurs within an 'enabling environment' that allows it to flourish. Bjorgo and Witte (1993) have suggested several explanations that may function as the motivation for hate activity. Firstly, the size or increase of certain minority populations, such as an influx of asylum seekers or illegal immigrants, can cause instability within the existing White populace. When an unprecedented number of immigrants travelled to Britain from Asia during the 1960s and to America from Eastern Europe during the 1990s, instability and insecurity gripped the traditionally White inhabited countries. This is linked with Bjorgo and Witte's (1993) second explanation: the competition for scarce resources. As the population of an area grows, so too does the demand for economic and social resources. Therefore, large-scale immigration of minority ethnic groups necessitates their competing for resources with traditional white citizens.

Secondly, state procedure can increase antagonism if minority groups perceive it to be weak in representing their interests. Perry (2001) argues that state practices often provide the framework within which hate crime emerges. Forbes (1988) has identified that the criminal justice system in England and Wales also succumbs to limitations in its quest to tackle issues of racial harassment, which are imposed by 'a legal system that understands crime only as a single event and that only permits the disclosure of facts that are relevant to a particular offence, rather than those which can demonstrate the occurrence of a sustained period of harassment'. Bowling (1993: 237) affirms that: 'There is little evidence to suggest that statutory policies directed towards tackling perpetrators, assisting victims and preventing and controlling racial violence have been effective'. In the case cited by Sethi (1995) of the 30-year old man being bludgeoned to death in the US with bricks, the offence was not perceived as racially motivated even though his White companion was not touched and the county prosecutor admitted: 'There was no apparent motive for the assault other than the fact that the victim was an Asian American'.

Thirdly, the state response - or lack of it - to racist activity provides another explanation. In some instances, law enforcement agencies stand accused of failing to adequately protect minority ethnic groups from racially motivated hate activity. Occasionally, on-duty law enforcement agencies may carry out attacks

on minority ethnic groups or individuals thereof and are subsequently acquitted of wrongdoing. In his autobiographical account Wright (1995) writes:

While working as a porter in a clothing store, the boss and his 20-year old son got out of the car and half dragged and half kicked a negro woman into the store. A policeman standing in a corner looked on twirling his nightstick. Later, when the woman stumbled out bleeding and crying and holding her stomach, the policeman accused her of being drunk and threw her into a patrol car.

Perry (2001) even goes as far to say that the demographics and ideologies of the police in America are often strikingly similar to White supremacist groups in that they largely operate in White, male institutions; they are committed to maintaining and establishing order; they share the 'them and us' mentality; they are committed to suppressing threats to the hierarchy of the state; they care less for people of colour than for Whites. Perry (2001) also declares that the police forces in the USA have also been known to facilitate the activities of White supremacist groups through their explicit and implicit support for such groups; through failure to police White supremacist rallies; off-duty police providing the security for such rallies; suppressing anti-supremacist demonstrations; and aiming brutality at protestors who resist White supremacist activities.

Concerns regarding 'institutional racism' within UK police forces emerged in 1993 after the murder of Black teenager Stephen Lawrence in London. The Macpherson report (1999), ordered by the Home Secretary to identify the lessons to be learnt for the investigation and prosecution of racially motivated crimes, concluded that the police investigation was marred by, amongst many other factors, institutional racism within the Metropolitan Police Force. The report contained 70 key recommendations, including measures aimed at improving the accountability of the police (BBC News, 1999a). In response to the report, the then Home Secretary, Jack Straw, proposed an action plan setting out how the Government proposed to implement Macpherson's recommendations (BBC News, 1999b). Although the Government has engendered significant efforts to eradicate racism within the police service, worryingly, officers with Far Right racist views are still managing to slip through the net and secure recruitment in the UK (BBC, 2003a).

In 2003 three officers from the UK's Greater Manchester police force were suspended from duty after a BBC investigation, in which journalist Mark Daly posed as a trainee police officer to examine whether racism remains in the UK's police forces. During his investigation, several officers were heard making comments such as: '... I can't condone the gassing of the Jews; they've done nothing to me but Pakis are taking over this country and should be gassed.' Another officer quite unashamedly revealed: 'I'll admit it ... I'm a racist bastard.' Talking about 'stop and search', one officer commented: 'I'll stop him 'cos he's a Paki and I'm fucking stopping him.' Hence, as Mark Daly pointed out, not only was the officer a racist, he was prepared to allow his views to interfere with law enforcement. One of the officers admitted imposing a £200 fine and six penalty points upon an Asian man for driving without insurance but excusing a White woman for committing exactly the same offence. And another officer was seen cutting eye holes into a white pillowcase and masquerading as a member of the

Ku Klux Klan before lunging forward whilst punching the palm of his hand with his clenched fist. This officer also admitted that only his employment in the police force prevented him from voting for the Far Right British National Party. It must be noted here that, although police officers in England and Wales are banned from being members of the British National Party, this only prevents them from expressing their racist views in public and the policy may do little to prevent an officer from conveying them in the privacy of the ballot box at a General Election. Another British National Party supporter within the force expressed the view that ethnic minorities should be thrown out of the country and that: 'Armed guards at Calais should shoot them all.' It was discovered that two of the officers had a previous history of racially motivated bias, prejudice and hate. One had viciously assaulted an Asian man in a bar and, during the documentary, admitted he would kill a 'Paki' if he knew he would get away with it, and another admitted that, in a previous job, he would include *Black Added Tax* (or BAT as he referred to it) upon the goods bought by Black customers, thus charging them more than White customers (BBC, 2003a).

Such morally and legally concerning circumstances may serve as the vindication for Omi and Winant's (1994) claim that some societies are characterised by a 'war of manoeuvre', in which 'subordinate groups have been forced into a 'self-preservation' role against the threats of violence and danger'. Perry (2001) also highlights the need for minority ethnic groups in the US to consider the ways in which they may take steps to defend themselves from hostilities. The need for such self-preservation may be particularly necessary if victims do not perceive that law enforcement or legislation protects them from the hostilities they experience. The lack of support from state agencies to the plight of minority ethnic groups may be a cause of 'inter-ethnic violence', whereby minority ethnic groups do not only fight against the oppression instigated by the White majority but must also fight to preserve themselves against the activities that other oppressed groups pursue against them.

Perry (2001, 122) examines issues regarding regular violence between various minority ethnic groups and explains that it 'represents efforts to negotiate identity and place in response to their oppression'. Perry continues to argue that the same diversity that threatens the White majority, and thus underlies hate crime, often takes place between oppressed groups, rather than between White people and those who are members of oppressed racial groups. The diversity of violence of which Perry writes is founded in the struggle to form an identity and obtain recognition in the face of a barrage of hate related crime and prejudice. Perry (2001) argues that such acts of hatred may produce two responses from oppressed groups: counter solidarity or counter oppression. Counter solidarity assumes that the common experiences of exploitation, marginalisation and powerlessness of oppressed groups provide a basis for solidarity. However, occasionally a shared commitment to racial justice does not emerge; rather, antagonisms and hostilities between marginalised groups do. Thus, such a reaction can be categorised as one of counter oppression, which assumes that in response to their disempowerment, minority groups direct their frustration or rage sideways or downwards, rather than upwards. Hence, powerlessness becomes the basis for conflict, rather than community (Perry, 2001: 121). The issue of counter oppression also highlights the issue surrounding the needs of ethnic groups to preserve their power base,

which erodes as a consequence of hostility from White suppressors. Specifically, minority-on-minority violence is about apportioning blame for their positions of inferiority whereby they hold other groups responsible for the aforementioned hostilities. Historically, inter-ethnic hate activity has also occurred because, despite competing for the same scarce resources, some minority groups are better educated than others. Therefore, minority ethnic groups find themselves competing for scarce resources with, not only individuals from the White majority, but also with other more adequately educated minority groups.

Sethi (1995) points out that racial discrimination against the Asian population has often been manifested as class competition. In both the UK and US, East Asians and Indian Asians are perceived to be the model minority because of their recognisable commitment to hard work and because of their commensurate financial rewards. Because of their cultural emphasis upon a good education and hard work, Asian peoples are thought to save more, study more, work more and ultimately achieve more (Woo, 1995). However, clearly this does not apply to all Asian people. As previously stated, the unemployment rate of those from Bangladesh and Pakistan is higher than that of other South Indian Asians. In addition, although the well documented successes of Asian business people may serve to endorse envy of their work ethic and success, it may also serve to denigrate other groups if other perceptions are extrapolated from Asians' acknowledged achievements. Such extrapolations include the perception that Asians work considerably harder than non-Asians, who have not adopted the work ethic and values of hard work and discipline that are needed to succeed economically, and that successes of other minority groups are likely to be eclipsed by the perpetually documented success of Asians. By realising and striving to emulate the success of Asian people, many other minority ethnic groups may be lured into a false hope that *all hard work equates to commensurate rewards even if you are not White*. Such a perception is inaccurate given that many members of minority ethnic groups are not afforded the same opportunities of success as Whites.

Bowling and Phillips (2002: 115) consider 'economic scapegoating' to be a common cause of hate hostility towards minority ethnic groups. Perry (2001) reaffirms such a claim by arguing that economic gains produce a profound impact on the place of minority groups within the labour market. During the 1980s, the lifting of immigration restrictions in Asia led to a large influx of Asian immigrants into the US. The new arrivals faced great resentment from many Americans because of the growing competition for employment between workers at the lower end of the occupational scale. Faulks (1998) presumes that societal status and 'social citizenship' is dependent upon employment circumstances, and governmental economic policies seem to strongly influence the inequalities that bring about oppression of minority groups.

In Britain and America during the 1980s, a decline of the manufacturing industry was 'compensated' for by an increase in the service sector, which provided poorly paid employment and few opportunities for upward mobility. Simultaneously, economic policies that the British Government implemented contributed to the inequalities within society. In Britain during the 1980s, Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Government strongly advocated the *laissez faire* approach to

economics and relied upon the 'invisible hand' of the market to solve many economic problems, including unemployment (Griffiths and Wall, 1997). In some circumstances, economic policies and employment competition creates tension between groups as the White workers see 'their' jobs being performed by 'immigrants' from ethnic communities with whom they must compete for scarce resources in the labour market. Similarly, the economic policies of Ronald Reagan's Republican administration in America was based upon supply side economic policies and contributed to immense competition for scarce resources within the American employment market. In his autobiographical account, Wright (1995) explains:

My first job was with an optical company in Jackson, Mississippi. I worked hard trying to please. One day I asked Morrie to tell me about the work. He grew red and asked, 'What you trying to do nigger? Get smart. You think you're white, don't you? This is white man's work ... and you'd better watch yourself'.

Levin and McDevitt (1993) claim that in America - and it could be argued that it is true in the UK also - most people believe in equality in an abstract sense, yet many are not prepared to abide by this in practice if it entails a personal sacrifice, such as surrendering their employment advantages.

In addition to competition for employment and the accompanying benefits that employment brings about, White people also find themselves in competition with minority ethnic groups for unemployment benefits as well as for a range of other state distributed resources. The situation becomes less satisfactory if it is perceived that ethnic minority newcomers are receiving state benefits to which they have not contributed previously through taxation. Levin and McDevitt (1993: 58) cite a case of a 27-year old Chinese American who two White Americans beat to death with baseball bats. After the incident, one of the White men reportedly shouted: 'That's because you're out of work' at the Chinese American as he lay battered upon the ground. From this case another issue arose: was the man beaten to death because he was Chinese American, or was it because he was an unemployed Chinese American? Either way, after confessing to the murder, a seemingly lenient sentence of three years probation and a \$3,780 dollar fine was imposed upon both of the two men. After sentencing the judge remarked: 'These are not the kind of people you send to prison ... these men are not going to harm anyone else'.

Bowling (1993) brings to our attention the possibility that such pessimism could result from the dissemination of unfounded or inaccurate information. Consequently, Bowling (1999) recommends that the media must refrain from communicating inaccurate information regarding the details and extent of racially motivated offending and the sufficiency of the statutory responses that the offences merit. Several authors, (Bowling, 1993: 214; Perry, 2001: 133; Mann, Sutton and Tuffin, 2003) for example, speak of the possibility that media reports may promote what Cohen (1972) refers to as a moral panic, whereby media reports, sometimes inadvertently, encourage the public to form a distorted view of reality and augment their anxiety regarding the extent and prevalence of racially motivated attacks, and underplay the action that criminal justice agencies take to reduce such incidents and prosecute the perpetrators.

Conclusions

This chapter provided an explanation of the dynamics of offline racially motivated bias, prejudice and hatred by drawing on much of the existing literature to enhance our understanding of the social and environmental circumstances that facilitate its occurrence. By exploring the various definitions provided by ACPO in the UK, HCSA in the US and academic researchers, there has emerged a crucial and clear distinction between hate ‘crime’, which is manifested in criminal acts of violence or harassment, and hate ‘speech’, which is typically manifested in obscene, offensive or abusive behaviour or expressions such as the words disseminated by e-powered small haters in the newsgroups studied in Chapter Seven of this thesis.

Perpetrators of hate speech are seldom prosecuted but the impact of such behaviour can cause widespread emotional harm amongst minority ethnic communities. Moreover, such behaviour may represent merely the first stage of an enduring process of racist victimisation that may conclude with the infliction of physical harm upon the victim in order to enforce their marginalisation, exploitation and powerlessness within White-dominated society.

The following two chapters continue the explanation of the complex social and historical chronology of immigration into the UK and US. This forms the basis and rationale for the emergence of the myriad of Far Right hate groups that emerged in the UK and US from the mid-nineteenth century. These are discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis. The next two chapters also explore the background factors behind the racially motivated hate speech that is observed in the three racist Internet newsgroups analysed in Chapter Seven of this thesis.

Chapter Three: The Atlantic Slave Trade

‘My Father was born a slave and laboured under the disadvantages to which my unfortunate race was subjected’ (Northup, 1996: 12)

Introduction

The continuation of racially prejudiced dogma in the Western world, including that disseminated in racist Internet newsgroups, is attributed to a variety of sources but the practices to which Black people were subjected from the beginning of the slave trade right up until the 1960s ensures that slavery is high on the list of attributed explanations. Although slavery has been manifested in many forms throughout history, it is for the Atlantic slave trade, which began in 1610 and lasted for two centuries thereafter, and the racial prejudices that accompanied and followed it, that slavery is most renowned. Throughout this period, the trade in human cargo was Black people from their native African homeland, to the British colonies of the Caribbean and North America. Some literature in this area contends that slavery was principally instigated either purely for the economic benefit of planters or more generally as a consequence of their racist ideology. Williams (1964) argues strongly in favour of the former whilst totally overlooking the latter. On the other hand, researchers such as Jacobs (2000) and Walvin (1973) argue the latter, whilst somewhat disregarding the former possibility. It is

not the aim of this chapter to replicate in depth old arguments or to substantiate one or other of these points of view, nor is it to chart a history of slavery.

The purpose is to examine the extent to which the Atlantic slave trade successfully promoted the ideas and practices of inferiority, subordination and oppression, which to this day continue to befall minority groups in the UK and US and which continue to be rehearsed and rehashed on the Internet. This chapter also explores slaves' life after emancipation when, although free, they endured discrimination as they were seen to be a defective, disorganised, ill disciplined threat to the freedom and existence of traditional White society.

The Bias, Prejudices and Hate of Slavery

Before African slaves became introduced to the Caribbean and the English colonies of America, labour was primarily procured from native American Indians (Amerindians). As it became quickly acknowledged that they were not suited to the excessive demands of the required work, were very susceptible to disease and were severely weakened as a result of poor diet, their labour was replaced by that of the English, Irish and Scottish. Three other prominent reasons can be attributed to this conversion. Firstly, the supply of potential American Indian slaves was deficient, possibly due to the Spanish Cedula of 1511 which allowed inhabitants of the Caribbean to be forcibly sent to work in the Puerto Rican mines where most of them died. Secondly, the English were not financially able to purchase transport and exploit Black people as their primary source of labour. Thirdly, in the aftermath of the Civil War in England, many of the English were eager to evade the deteriorating political and economic conditions that existed at that time. The early production of tobacco and cotton in Barbados was heavily dependent upon thousands of British indentured workers. In addition, the Thirty Years War produced an influx of German people into the Caribbean and many Irish immigrants entered into serfdom as indentured servants in their quest to escape their oppressive landlords. Hence, large populations of White people relocated from cities such as Bristol, Liverpool and London to North America and the Caribbean and the supply of industrial labour in those cities significantly diminished. The situation became particularly problematic during the Industrial Revolution in the UK between 1780 and 1830 when the need for industrial labour increased. Hence, to avoid problems of labour shortages, it became preferable for colonists not to employ UK citizens overseas.

As the Industrial Revolution gained momentum colonists began using Black people rather than White indentured servants to satisfy the demands for labour in the colonies in the Caribbean and America, and sought to kidnap and deceitfully appropriate Black (and a small number of White) workers. Children were often the preferred commodity as they were fitter and thus presumably more productive, and Talty (2003) argues that children would be less able to recall in court the events that occurred during their slavery. In addition, children were more vulnerable, hence likely to be taken in by the deception and less able to defend themselves from kidnap. In his work Talty (2003: 10) cites a description of a 'common kidnap scenario,' involving '... an often female child being snatched from a lonely country lane and being forcibly transported to a pit filled with water, citric acid and walnut bark to darken her skin colour ...'. This latter element of the procedure was essential to guarantee the successful sale of the

young, potential slave at auction; a deal that traders were much more likely to complete if their 'goods' were Black rather than White. In addition, some traders purchased White slaves - whose monetary worth proved significantly less than Black slaves - at auction and dyed their skin Black before transporting them to the South and selling them on for a profit (Talty, 2003). This must represent one of the earliest situations of 'passing off', whereby in order to progress in the market place it is advantageous to exhibit a different skin colour⁵. Talty (2003: 6) comments that 'a slave whose colouring was too close to that of the buyers was often impossible to sell'.

Arguably, Black slaves were not only more valuable in monetary value but were also additionally precious in terms of their perceived greater physical functionality. Usually, often for racist reasons, White slaves would only be used as house servants, whereas the Black ones would be employed in the fields, where the work was much harder and from where most of the traders' profits were derived.

Although slave traders were reluctant to deal in White people, those with a mere 'hint' of Black ancestry were considered suitable for commercial purposes. Talty (2003) cites the case of a so defined 'pale skinned' Irishman whose purchase was seen as a legitimate business transaction because his mother was Black.

Thus, the premise that pervaded the notion of slavery was social control based on the composition of a racist power structure within which Black inferiority and White supremacy was clearly dichotomised, not least by the process of personality construction whereby slaves were compelled to accept their subordinate position by strict discipline, belief in White superiority and infliction of helplessness and dependence.

Dehumanisation in the Colonies

African people were first introduced to Barbados in 1627 when a Dutch slave trader exchanged 20 of them for food and tobacco in Jamestown. Their numbers increased slowly until 1636 when the newly appointed Governor of Barbados, Henry Hawley, proclaimed that all Blacks and Indians transported to the Caribbean, and the offspring thereof, were to be designated as slaves for life. On several grounds this successfully served to facilitate dehumanisation and remove every aspect of identity that Africans in the Caribbean originally possessed. Firstly, whilst enslaved, they were under the comprehensive authority of their owners, who renamed them with a title they did not recognise. Northup (1996: 49) recalls a conversation with his designated owner by whom he was assigned the name 'Platt' and told: 'Your name is Platt; you will learn it and you won't forget it either.' Secondly, children born into slavery were denied their cultural, historical and familial identity. One such descendant, Booker T Washington, disclosed: 'I was born a slave on a plantation in Franklin County, Virginia. I am

⁵ A discussion of this is included in Chapter Four but from the opposite viewpoint. In the 1960s, Black Americans suffered such bias, prejudice and hate that those of later generations who, because of the biological process exhibited a lighter skin colour, were often less discriminated against than earlier African American generations who were a darker shade of 'Black'.

not quite sure of the exact place or date but I expect I must have been born somewhere and at some time' (Washington, 1901).

Initially, Africans became indentured servants thus holding a similar position to the predominantly poor English, Scottish and Irish before them who offered their labour in exchange for passage to America. That they were referred to as servants somewhat negated the racist perspective of slavery because it inferred that they enjoyed equivalent status to indentured White people. However, upon further examination, this is clearly nothing more than terminological fallacy because, according to McColley (1988), the word 'slave', as we now understand it, did not appear in common usage until well into the nineteenth century; somewhat paradoxically several years after slavery was statutorily abolished (Williams, 1964). Secondly, although in excess of 50% of White people entering Barbados during the 1600s were employed as indentured servants, they worked according to determinate contracts. In addition, if lucky enough to survive until their agreement expired, they were able to leave the plantation and purchase their own land and usually received a 'golden handshake' in return for their service.

Most African 'servants' enjoyed no such conditions; their serfdom was for life, they were seldom able to acquire land or any form of property and their opportunity for social mobility was vastly thwarted. Their involuntary recruitment also involved some form of coercion and so it was necessary for capitalists to develop an ideological justification for their conscription regime. The arrival of slaves to the English colonies provided existing inhabitants with the first opportunity to view people who were of a colour different to themselves. To the traditional White westerner, these people were a new 'breed' of person, and knowledge of their characteristics and evolution was wholly imaginary. However, speculation preceded supposition and the opinion that the stereotypical Black was unclean, because of their colour, and uncivilised, because of their unfamiliar culture, emerged. To this end, slaveholders were able to deceive Whites into accepting any explanation of their disposition and so 'race' developed as an increasingly identifiable characteristic of Black inadequacy. Hence, in an accepted perversity, it allowed holders to justify the oppressive and inferior treatment that they were permitted to assign. The Black and White dichotomy became clearly apparent to the slave and public alike. Whilst there is much evidence to highlight that all slaves, be they African, Indian or English, were forced to endure widespread intolerant treatment, Kolchin (1973: 58) suggests that: 'The level of repression directed at ... African slaves was of a different magnitude from that experienced by White Americans'.

Modern racist ideology exemplifies minority ethnic groups' inferiority by enforcing the view that they are inhuman. Similarly, during slavery, it was not untypical for them to endure animal-like management by being shackled two-by-two in metal cuffs and collars. Shyllon (1974: 9) cites an advertisement in a 1756 edition of *The London Advertiser* which offered for sale 'silver padlocks - suitable for blacks and dogs'. Such announcements were accustomed and served to demonstrate the sheer contempt with which African slaves were treated in White societies. To further discern dehumanisation, the 1661 slave codes, which were eventually implemented in all English colonies, claimed to protect slaves as property, thus dictating that White people were perceived as 'people', whereas

Black people were understood as chattels and things. Slaves were additionally forbidden from holding property themselves, thus placing severe restrictions upon their social mobility as political and economic power was overwhelmingly possessed by the property-owning White elite.

Congruently to the manner in which they were treated in life, Black slaves were handled with very similar heartlessness and derision after death. Jacobs (2000) makes reference to a slave's burial being similar to that of a dog whereby, as a consequence of the permanent absence of a coffin, the slave was merely thrown into the ground and covered with earth. Even today in Barbados, people who are not members of a church are buried in common burial ground outside the churchyard and without gravestones or any other significant memorial. Additionally, the inhumanity with which runaway slaves were treated during their slaveholder's quest to return them to their plantations must not be ignored. Vivid descriptions from Jacobs (2000) and Northup (1996) convey several incidents of slaves being chased across land and water by packs of hounds, and illustrate the merciless manner with which they were contemptuously ripped to shreds or had their legs broken to disable their ability to abscond again. In 1640, an escapee slave by the name of Emanuel was reported to have been subjected to 30 lashes and had the letter R for 'runaway' branded on his cheek on his capture. Walvin (1973: 56) declares that 'physical punishment of slaves was an *inescapable*⁶ aspect of their working life'.

Wood (2000) argues that acts of torture were designed to destroy the personality of the slave and render them as automatons of their owners, thus stealing their ability to make free choices and decisions as well as discouraging them from taking any personal responsibility in many areas of their lives, a predicament that was a key cause of their severe crises on emancipation. The slaveholder's use of control was a crucial means by which the absolutist power structure that characterised the legally binding slaveholding relationship could be maintained. In an attempt to encourage their obedience and elucidate the power affiliation, owners typically saturated their slaves with a fear of violence and pursued torturous acts such as whippings and brandings toward them. In 1767 a Black slave called Jonathan Strong was beaten so severely that his 'health finally broke down' (Tree, 1972).

That only Black slaves succumbed to this treatment is incorrect. Williams (1964: 16) cites examples of White indentured servants receiving the same unsympathetic treatment and being 'whipped at whipping posts for the master's pleasure'. However, many of these entered slavery as a means of retribution for breaking the law in the UK. Until 1857, transportation was utilised as one of England's primary penalties and from the 1500s many offences that previously would have been punishable by death were re-categorised so to be punishable in this alternative 'benevolent' manner. In 1611, the Governor of Virginia claimed he was 'willing to welcome convicts reprieved from death as a way of furnishing the colony with labour'. This situation became so common that the verb 'to barbados' originated as a reference to the myriad of convicts that were transported to the Caribbean to serve their alternative and, arguably, more

⁶ The italics were inserted by the author of this work in an attempt to highlight the importance of the word '*inescapable*' in Walvin's (1973) argument.

‘humane’ penalty than execution. As the public perception of the felon during that time was no less contemptuous than it is today, and given the perceived seriousness of the crimes which the death penalty warranted, transportation was, at that time, arguably the least the 17th century criminal was seen to deserve.

Although not all slaves were exiled convicts, the stigma that was attached to this practice facilitated the imposition of a deviant label upon all who were involved. White racists have long since attributed deviancy as a characteristic of Black people and it was not unusual for African slaves to be recognised as such. On the discovery of a criminal act, of which the nature was usually irrelevant, it was more often than not they who were identified as the offenders. Many slaves were often accused, devoid of evidence or without the right to establish a defence, of heinous offences such as poisoning or murdering their owners. Invariably, such acts were observed as purposeful and planned rather than impulsive, thus repudiating the opportunity for reason or excuse. Even when a reason was present, Black slaves had no chance of accordingly convincing those who held the legal power, hence facilitating Black people’s marginalisation within the legal and justice systems.

Legal Marginalisation

African conscripts experienced marginalisation from the legal system both throughout their enslavement and during their journey across the Atlantic. During transportation, slave owners were able to manipulate the phraseology of the Law to facilitate their hateful treatment. Legislation of the 17th and 18th centuries, apart from recognising only Whites as worthy of legal protection, permitted owners to insure their slaves against ‘unavoidable death in transit’ and ‘perils of the sea’. There is an obvious problem of interpretation here because both terms were exceedingly ill defined and there are a myriad of perils which could be faced during a six-week voyage across the Atlantic Ocean. Equally, it was explicit that there was no provision for acquiring insurance against death from disease, sickness or suicide. Thus, if a slave were to drown after being thrown overboard, the slaveholder could recoup the trade price of the slave from his insurers provided that he was able to verify that some form of unavoidability surrounded the incident. Given the difficulties of establishing satisfactory proof of this, slave owners were able to drown their slaves either before their natural death ensued, for which they were not insured, or before a suspected fall in their value materialised. Although one could surmise that for the slave owner there existed an unenviable choice between killing a Black man and securing financial necessity, it can be argued that the pursuit of the latter significantly prevailed over humanity towards the former. Many legal debates arose regarding the prospect of such acts counting as crimes of murder but very rarely did such instances become subject to court action. One of the few test cases was that of *Tatham v Hodgson* in 1760, in which it was held that a shortage of food did not amount to a peril of the sea and thus was not an adequate reason for starving a slave to death. However, this case may demonstrate that if similar indictments had been summoned, they may possibly have been successful, thus setting a more beneficial precedent regarding the manner in which slaves ought to have been treated. Tree (1972) claims that: ‘No one will ever know how many slaves were

thrown overboard when the spread of infection or disease was in danger of ruining the chance of a profit’.

Those who survived the arduous journey across the Atlantic were afforded just as feeble legal protection once enslaved. All English colonies implemented a body of legislation to regulate many aspects of their existence, beginning with the legalisation of the institution itself. There seems to be a dual reason for this initial measure. Firstly, slave labour was so essential to the colonies that losing it would have been economically disastrous. This indispensability brought about a vast number of immigrants into the colonies and by the end of the 18th century over 650,000 Africans had been forcibly transported. As slavery became the established system of trade, first generation slaves produced subsequent generations who were born into slavery themselves. During the transitional period from White to Black servitude, the definitive colour line became less transparent as interracial relationships formed and the American Indian then African American emerged. Consequently, darker skinned people began to outnumber the White population, which became so threatened by the flourishing populace of migrants that legislative controls were felt necessary in order to restrict their liberty and regulate almost every aspect of the slaves’ existence.

Initially, this was achieved through the Slave Codes of 1661 which were first implemented in Virginia but soon became adopted throughout the whole of Northern America and the Caribbean. This legislation categorised slaves as property describing them as heathenish, brutish, dangerous and naturally wicked. Thus, they served ‘to defend White society from an alien and savage race’. The 1661 codes severely restricted slaves’ mobility by providing that no master should allow slaves to leave their plantations without a ticket stating their date and time of return. It was within any White person’s remit to request to see this permit from any Black person found wandering around alone. The Slave Codes also assisted the slave owners’ quest to prevent free White citizens from demonstrating humane and compassionate sentiments towards them and discourage them from sheltering escapees.

In England, Black slaves were primarily transported to the then predominantly all White cities of London, Liverpool and Bristol. Therefore, in a crowd of White people, any slave that escaped could be identified easily and returned to their dwelling. White inhabitants not only stood at liberty to arrest absconders but, moreover, they understood it as their duty to do so (Eakin and Logsdon, 1968). Jacobs (2000) cites a public notice that her owner placed in a local newspaper in response to his realisation that she had run away. The advert stated: ‘Runaway slave: all persons are forbidden under penalty of law to harbour her’. White people who failed to surrender slaves whom they discovered were fined, with the informer receiving half of the money. Thus, a double incentive emerged. Firstly, to prevent a fine and surrender a slave; secondly, to earn money by informing on those who fail to do so. Imposition of monetary charges was a chief penalty for White people who sheltered runaways.

So strong was the authorities’ belief in the prejudicial legal system that, whilst Black people were executed, burned at the stake and dismembered for offences such as violent behaviour or theft, Whites would receive a mere fine. Even if an owner was to wilfully kill a slave, a £25 penalty was imposed upon conviction.

Perversely, the Codes stipulated that if a slave should die whilst being punished by his owner, any sentence would be disregarded if the existence of malice could not be proved. To this end, Shyllon (1974: 199) suggests that: ‘The vast carnage of murders committed by British instigators of slavery demonstrated that they considered the slaves as their own property and that taking the life of a Black man is of no more account than taking away the life of a beast’. Such penalties were also enforced against Whites for entertaining a Black man, improper policing of slaves and assisting a slave to escape. This discriminatory method of justice was merely the foundation in a long line of intolerance that Africans suffered whilst at the mercy of a biased legal system that judged according to ‘what’ someone is rather than ‘who’ they are and took no account of individual circumstances. Their ‘racial identity’ elicited their imagined barbarous, savage and wild characteristics and rendered them wholly incapable of being governed as equals by the laws, customs and practices of a Western nation.

Powerlessness was enforced by legislation passed throughout the 18th century which served to further stipulate the terms and conditions of slaves’ lives and sanctioned their denial of almost all rights. The Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes and Slaves, implemented in the US in 1712, prescribed the lack of leave or holidays, deficiency of mobility, the form of punishment to be imposed for various crimes and the right to search slave homes every 14 days for fugitives. Incidents of escapes were regulated by the Fugitive Slave laws, passed by the US congress in 1793 and 1850, which also allowed for the recapture of runaway slaves and specified the subsequent penalties that could be imposed upon them. Power relations and the creation of a Black and White dualism permeated slavery and served to exemplify the disparity in authority between White slave owners and their slaves. In 1804, the state of Ohio introduced the first of its ‘Black Laws,’ which restricted the rights and movements of all free Blacks, and Illinois, Indiana and Oregon subsequently implemented anti-immigration legislation. There was an accepted ‘legitimacy’ of this prejudicial legal system, which, according to Mr Justice Powell: ‘... treated Black people as different from other men, afforded Whites unreserved protection from virtually everything and took no notice of Negroes’ (Shyllon, 1974: 32).

Slavery produced a paradox of responsibility: on the one hand, slaves were treated as inanimate chattels; on the other, they were expected to assume a certain level of responsibility for their actions and punished if they defaulted. Slaveholders’ legal superiority was facilitated by the fact that slaves were not recognised as credible witnesses to any illegal act that was committed against them. Legal inferiority was certainly affirmed by the slaveholder’s role as both legislator and law enforcer. It would have seemed quite contradictory to have governed society in any other way since slavery would not have survived if planters and the property owning elite were not distinguished as the highest form of existing authority.

Kolchin (1993) claims that Black people were not bought as slaves simply because of slaveholders’ racist inclinations but because they were more physically capable of managing the intense labour that slavery involved. White people were, in fact, made to work on the plantations but were found to be highly unsuited for this type of employment. In particular, they were exposed to ridicule from the

Black slaves, who nicknamed them ‘red legs’ as a reference to their fair skin becoming burnt under the tropical sun. Whether this rendered them as an object of pity or derision is debateable, but it was a wholly unforeseen situation for them and an exceptionally serendipitous one from the standpoint of the Africans. Arguably, these deprived Whites had a fortunate escape from the potential distress that their Black substitutes proceeded to suffer but, without doubt, they were now superfluous to society’s needs. However, the need to employ those who were sufficiently acclimatised to the heat and sun was essential.

Prima facie it seems that some commentators (for example Shyllon, 1974: 7) are correct to incisively conclude that ‘planters ... brought blacks’ to the colonies for their own selfish ends and for nothing more than cheap labour. White Barbadians and Americans were also aided in their entrepreneurial quest by Dutch venture capitalists who provided them with valuable help by allowing them access to capital technology, provided a market for their goods and supplied credit lines through which they could acquire assets for their business enterprise. Economic achievement across the Atlantic was largely due to the planters’ ability to borrow this financial capital and also because slaveholders refused to pay wages to Black slaves. However, White servants in England were adequately housed, clothed and fed at their owners’ expense. They were conveyed to large eminent cities and employed as waiters and household servants. Announcements in national newspapers of the time routinely advertised for servants of between 8 and 20 years old that could perform as waiters in cafes, do needlework and carry out household chores such as washing and cleaning. They resided in the comparatively comfortable surroundings of their owners’ homes and although their accommodation cannot be described as luxurious, they enjoyed a substantially better standard of living than African plantation workers who, in addition to their struggle for space in the cramped holds of the slave ship, lived in wooden ‘log houses’ which were cold and damp, offered poor protection from adverse weather conditions and lacked appropriate ventilation.

In the Caribbean, cold weather was less of a problem although field slaves’ accommodation was extremely simple. Their windows contained no glass and the roofs were so low that standing up proved a great difficulty for the occupants. Slaveholders were able to procure their own luxurious surroundings as a result of slave labour and it was seldom acknowledged that the wealth which they gained was the result of the skills and labour of Black people and, indeed for a while, poor White labourers (Walvin, 1973). Less prosperous White people, who were unable to hold slaves, did not direct their antagonism towards the affluent White slaveholders. In fact, it promoted a rather more profound effect upon the enforcement of White solidarity. Their deprived social and economic position may have situated them on an equivalent status to Black slaves but their sentiment remained steadfast; they may have been poor but at least they were White.

Whites further demonstrated racial cohesion and their adherence to the English culture by wearing very fine English attire which was unreservedly inappropriate for the tropical climate of Barbados. Furthermore, underprivileged Whites held a significant advantage over poorer Black people in that they were offered a limited opportunity to enhance their educational skills and thus augment their employability and social mobility.

However, slave owners' racist ideologies that served as the justification for this marginalisation were sometimes negated by the fact that some slaves were 'Blacker' than others and did not fit comfortably within the dichotomous categories of *Black and marginalised* and *White and not marginalised*. As mentioned previously, in the early years of slavery a very clear division of labour policy could be established: White slaves would only be used as house servants whereas the Black ones would only be employed in the fields. Over the years this clear and dichotomous division of labour diminished as fairer skinned people emerged, as a result of the interracial intimacies or rape between landowners and overseers, and were predominantly employed as house servants rather than field workers.

Educational Marginalisation

During the years of slavery, most education was in the form of religious study, whereby Christianity and the roots of its principles were predominantly taught. Slaveholders seemed to place an emphasis upon the Bible as a justification for their trade and slaves were usually perceived as either heathens, if they possessed no religious affiliation, or as the wrong type of Christian, given that before the slave trade commenced, such believers were always identified as being White. As Christianity was considered to promote White solidarity, slaveholders were not prepared to accept the legitimacy of any other African orientated religious practices. At certain times Caribbean slaves were denied religious worship or religious education. Later, many public notices that advertised the sale of possible slaves highlighted their adherence to Christianity or claimed that they were blessed with the potential to be converted to the religion. In a further demonstration of marginalisation, African slaves were denied access to all other educational resources and were strictly forbidden to read and write or proceed to improve their educational ability. Some African conscripts were reasonably well educated having received their tuition in Africa, but those not as fortunate were denied educational opportunity by way of the Act Prohibiting the Teaching of Slaves to Read, which was implemented in most of the British colonies in 1831. Advocating exceptionally inequitable prejudice, the legislation specified that a White person found teaching a slave to read would be fined, while a Black person would, additionally, be imprisoned and subjected to 39 lashes. It was also contrary for slaves to teach each other to read and write. Douglas (1982) recalls: 'I was deprived of pen and paper and was asked whether I could read and write. When I said I could, I was assured that I must never be caught with a book or pen and paper because niggers were bought to work and not to get educated'. Douglas (1982) recalls that one of his slaveholders began to teach him to read but was forbidden to continue by her husband on the basis that this was strictly unlawful, and that 'a nigger must know nothing but to obey his master'. The presumption that slaves were inherently incapable of possessing any educational ability was emphasised by Pinckard (1806), who considered that all children with mixed parentage and 'any Blacks that might display any peculiar marks of intellect' ought to be sent to England to receive education.

The short-term economic dangers of this liberal policy are abundantly clear: firstly, it would have provided Black people with the excellent opportunity to form solidarity with each other and organised resistance to White domination; and

secondly, it would allow them to benefit from and increase the demand for this country's far superior education system. A competition for scarce resources could have occurred in many spheres of society and, as the English would have been keen to avoid this, the slaves were kept at work on the overseas plantations.

Occupational Marginalisation

Occupational opportunities for Black slaves were severely restricted and, unlike White servants, they laboured incessantly in the fields with little or no prospect of engaging in skilled work. Jacobs (2000) declared that: 'White men knew nothing of the half-starved black man toiling from dawn until dark on the plantations'. Although some slaves possessed a skill which they utilised prior to their enslavement, they were predominantly excluded from utilising it during their incarceration. So much so that menial employment seemed to be especially allotted to African slaves and 'a white man working in a field was perceived to be an unusual spectacle' (Eakin and Logsdon, 1996: 176). Northup (1996) explains that although he was a carpenter he was afforded no opportunity to use this skill during his years in slavery. Rather, he was coerced into working the agricultural land from 'dawn until dusk'. Whilst Walvin (1973) claims that 'slaves were generally kept at work by a combination of inducements and punishment', it seems clear that White and Black slaves were not offered the same enticements to encourage them to work. In their autobiographies, authors such as (Jacobs, 2000, Douglas, 1982 and Northup, 1996) make no mention of their being offered a little extra food, an extra day off or extra clothing in return for their labour. Walvin (1973) puts forward a similar argument by suggesting that the offer of incentives was secondary to their being coerced into work by the threat of physical harm.

If inducements to conform followed physical violence, it seems that the sequence of victimisation that those of a different ethnicity were forced to endure during the slave trade years was a reversal of that to which minority ethnic groups suffer in the modern epoch, where hate related activity begins with inducements to conform through verbal threats and ends with physical harm. Interestingly, few autobiographical accounts (Jacobs, 2000; Douglas, 1982; and Northup, 1996) refer to the slave owner's use of non-aggressive enticements. Rather, they overwhelmingly refer to the violent behaviour that was used toward slaves for reasons that range from failing to attend work, carrying out their duties incorrectly and not producing a satisfactory quantity of commodities. Slaves were initially supervised by White overseers and although, exceptionally, Black people were promoted to such positions, they seldom achieved this. As the slave trade depended upon heritable labour, many children born to African parents in servitude in America were granted employment as overseers by way of their American nationality, and some of them progressed to becoming slave owners themselves. This state of affairs saw White people both working in the fields with, and under the supervision of, people whom they perceived to be inferior, which may have contributed to their being driven out of the plantations as field labour came to be viewed as beneath the racial dignity of even the humblest White worker (Walvin, 1973).

On leaving the fields, most White people were unable to find permanent and well paid employment. Planters were prepared to coach their slaves to carry out work beneficial to the plantation. Hence, they acquired a handful of specialised

mechanical skills thus relegating poor Whites who were now observed as ‘profligate and extravagant’ to the lowest level of existence (Beckles, 1990: 49). Their diminished status as ‘poor white trash’ in the plantation society was a cause of concern for the governing elite and that Black people must not be elevated into a higher social or economic condition than Whites was universally accepted. According to Beckles (1990: 50), Philip Poyer, a prominent slave master in Barbados, was constantly adamant that ‘the general defence of the slave system rested upon the ‘natural’ principle of White racial superiority’. Debates regarding the future social position of African slaves arose throughout the latter decades of the 18th century as it was feared their societal advancement could not be achieved by the routine means of enhancing their skills. In 1789, another prominent Barbadian slave owner, Joshua Steele, seemed to agree with this and argued that on emancipation slaves would be thrust into a social order in which they would be judged, not on the basis of their meagre but enhanced abilities, but according to the stereotypical views that had developed over the previous 150 years (Beckles, 1990: 48).

Political Marginalisation

Those who were uneducated also lacked status, held no property and possessed no political rights (Beckles, 1990: 43). As slaves were prohibited from owning property and forbidden to enhance their education, their opportunity for upward mobility to facilitate the likelihood of augmenting their political involvement was, to say the least, limited. Furthermore, in order to satisfy the White landowners, Governor Henry Hawley aspired to create an elected general assembly so as to give them entire political authority throughout the Caribbean. Only those who owned in excess of ten acres of land were eligible to take part in the process and, as land was predominantly allocated to colonists with known financial and social connections to England, there emerged in Barbados a small number of prominent men who acquired the vast majority of arable land and who were able to impose their social, political and financial power upon the colony.

Emancipation and Prejudice in the USA⁷

Upon the abolition of slavery in 1865, the racist ideology, upon which the practice was underpinned, continued whilst it seems that three schools of White supremacist thought emerged. Firstly, ‘Darwinism’ advocated the survival of the fitter and more superior White person and the eradication of the African American who was stereotyped as weak and defective; a thought upon which Hitler was to draw some 150 years later. Secondly, ‘Turnerism’ emerged. Nat Turner was born in 1800 and was bought into slavery before the age of 21. After many years he sought to form a rebellion against the practice and in 1831 he and four other revolutionaries succeeded in killing his slave owner and the latter’s entire family as they lay sleeping. They continued on, from house to house, killing all of the White people they encountered. Hence, it can be argued that Turnerism emerged

⁷ Before the last slaves were finally freed in 1865, the American Revolution had ended British control of middle north America resulting in the formation of the United States of America. Hence, it is appropriate at this juncture to refer to the ‘USA’ or ‘America’ rather than to the British Colonies in America as before

⁸ 1865 is considered the last date in America when the last slaves were finally freed

as a school of thought pertaining to the ideology of ‘White extermination’ through violence, fear, murder and bloodshed⁹. Finally, ‘amalgamism’ advocates the eradication of the Black race through the forming of interracial relationships involving the miscegenation between people that are Black, Yellow, Red and White in order to produce an entirely new racial breed of American.

Upon emancipation, Black people’s political marginalisation continued. The governing Republicans supported the abolition of slavery and endorsed the bestowal of equal rights upon former slaves but this standpoint was fiercely opposed by Democrats, whose leader James Buchanan dismissed his Republican adversaries as ‘dangerous revolutionaries’ and ‘nigger lovers’ (Kolchin, 1993: 207). In 1853, Thomas Carlyle approved this stance and publicised his hatred for Black people in ‘On The Nigger Question’ in which he berated them for ‘representing a threat to white society’, a discourse which contemporary racists often display (Gratus, 1973). The Democrat position served little purpose as the Republican Party, under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln, governed America throughout the US Civil War period between 1860 and 1865, winning governorships in eight of the former English colonies in the 1860 election; a contest in which Black people were prohibited from participating as the native White populace failed to accept any policies that would reduce their own advantaged position in society (Levin and McDevitt, 1993). Illustratively, Douglas (1982) recalls working on a shipbuilding plant as a carpenter soon after his liberation. In a show of dissent to their employers, his White colleagues staged a walkout and claimed that they were not prepared to work with freed ‘coloured’ workmen. They justified their actions on the basis that allowing Black people to learn a trade or work in a skilled industry would enable them to acquire employment that ought to be the sole privilege of White men, who subsequently would become unemployed. The prevailing opinion was that emancipation had afforded them everything, whilst offering very little apart from the disadvantage of a competition for scarce resources with White people.

The beginning of significant industrialisation in North America from 1860 encouraged a flood of internal migrants from the newly independent South, which clearly became unable to rely upon an entirely agrarian economy for its livelihood. The consequent depression pushed vast numbers of Southern agricultural workers to the urban cities of New York, Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles to search for work. In these cities the high demand for cheap labour was significantly surpassed by the vast supply of migrant workers, whose opportunity was thwarted by an ever decreasing job market and the harsh reality of pitiful wages and working 6 days a week for 12 hours a day (Lilley, Cullen and Ball, 1995). That Black workers were not deemed by the White majority to be worthy of any other treatment was substantiated by reflecting on their activities immediately after emancipation, when some celebrated with what was viewed as indiscriminate disorder, not only refusing to work under the coercive forces of

⁹ This can be contrasted to ‘Garveyism’ which, as is explained in more detail in the next chapter, emerged almost a century later and was derived from the ideas of Black supremacist Marcus Garvey, who believed his policy of Black separatism could be achieved through peaceful means by Black people emigrating back to the African homeland, claiming this to be the only way they could rid themselves of the racial stereotypes that emerged during the slave trade years.

Whites but refusing to work under any kind of supervision at all (Kolchin, 1995). Arguably, by pursuing actions that, at the time, must have amounted to anarchic rebellion, they may not have been aware that they were securing a reputation that would not serve them well thereafter.

Their exuberance at independence from White oppression was construed as a confirmation of Black people's inability to work alone without supervision. The rhetoric of White racism limited their opportunities for economic advancement and many former slaves continued to suffer exploitation, poverty and hardship (Kolchin, 1995). Steinburg (2001: 562) goes as far as to suggest that the rights which Black people had bestowed upon them, 'scarcely began to address the needs of an expropriated people'. Hence, the dilemma of how American society should help and support the unemployed Blacks emerged. Douglas (1982) formed the opinion that the best way for society to help Black people was to leave them alone and just let them help themselves. A little callous maybe, but the policy was essentially acknowledged by former slaves who wanted to demonstrate that they really were free. Perhaps more importantly, they did their utmost to establish themselves as successful people in their own right but the connection between Black people and oppression and their seeming inappropriateness for freedom remained for a long time within the White public consciousness (Gratus, 1973).

By the end of the Civil War in 1865, supporters of the governing Republican Party believed that too many rights had been assigned to former slaves and subsequently switched their allegiance to the remotely less liberal Democrats, who swept to power under the leadership of Andrew Johnson in consecutive states across America. In the North, where less than 40% of the voting population was Black, White voters were effortlessly convinced to vote for the Party. In the South, where Black people represented over 50% of the voting population, more radical forms of persuasion such as routine intimidation and threats of violence were used. Once elected in 1865, the Democrats immediately reversed the equal rights policies that had so benefited former slaves for a decade by implementing the Black Codes. These laws imposed severe restrictions, such as prohibiting their right to vote, forbidding them from working in certain occupations, preventing them from sitting on juries and limiting their right to testify against White men.

Although freedom from slavery had been secured, the Black Codes left African Americans with very little freedom. Although laws were different in each state, most embodied the same kinds of restrictions by compelling freed men to work, and in many states unemployed African Americans faced being arrested and charged with vagrancy. Their right to ownership was left up to local authorities and, in similar circumstances to their lives in servitude, they were prohibited from entering towns without permission and needed written permission to do so, stating the nature and length of the visit. Any Black person found without a note after ten o'clock at night was subject to imprisonment. Residency within towns and cities was also discouraged. Local ordinances in Louisiana made it almost impossible for Blacks to live within towns or cities; residency was only possible if a white employer agreed to take responsibility for his employee's conduct.

The gains of reconstruction and bestowal of privileges upon Black people were short-lived as, only a decade after the end of the Civil War in 1865, they again

succumbed to oppression and restriction of rights, many of which were quickly and entirely removed from 1890 as southern states began enacting Jim Crow laws. By the turn of the 20th century, the term 'Jim Crow' had become synonymous with segregation of, and deprived civil rights for, the African American community from 'cradle to grave' (Davis, 2004). Although most notable for facilitating the political disenfranchisement of Black people, the codes also provided a legal means to forbid African Americans from virtually all public places frequented by Whites including hotels, libraries, theatres, public parks and swimming pools. Their access to education, housing and health care was also rigorously denied.

In the British colonies, it was thought that freedom for slaves would reduce their partiality to work, realise their imagined criminal proclivities and engender laziness. This view was endorsed by the British Colonial Secretary, Edward Stanley, who alleged that 'throwing a slave into freedom will destroy all of his inclinations to work and will expose him to the temptation of returning to his primitive habits of savage life'. It can be argued that slavery itself contributed to the impending problems because, whilst under the charge of their masters, slaves were not encouraged to assume personal accountability or afforded any guidance of how to do so. Thus, releasing them was fraught with danger but it was jeopardy that most White slaveholding countries had instigated themselves. In an attempt to prove that they were capable of sustaining an existence exclusive of Whites, former slaves proceeded to entirely marginalise themselves from customary White society by vacating predominantly White areas, abandoning membership of White churches and forming their own schools.

Educational solidarity mobilised Blacks into the community as they volunteered their labour to erect school buildings, pooled their limited financial stocks to buy resources and even worked as teachers themselves. Such commendable feats seemed to produce rewards. The proportion of Black people who were unable to read and write reduced from 85% in 1870 to 54% in 1890 (Kolchin, 1993: 225); a reflection upon their willingness to learn in their newly acquired free society maybe but, ultimately, over half of the Black population in America remained unable to reach a basic standard of reading and writing. Their increasing desire to access the US education system represented a competition for scarce resources, and White people began to resent the vast increase in taxation to finance an education system that Black people were ever more utilising, and to have their hard-earned wages redistributed in excessive benefits to what was believed to be an undeserving people.

In a rather strange but novel argument, Kolchin (1993) recognises a paradox that emerged during emancipation of the slaves and the violent backlash it accompanied. During the years of slavery, slaveholders viewed their slaves as their 'property' and thus were recognised as possessing a paternal instinct for their slaves whom they would protect. Kolchin (1993) argues this point as if owners overwhelmed their slaves with paternalistic affection and fondness, rather than for the more accurate reasons of economic protection and personal manipulation. He continues by claiming that slaves' detachment from their defensive owners exposed them to hostility from which they subsequently had to protect themselves. The methods by which their safety could be assured were somewhat

uncertain but Marcus Garvey was an eminent campaigner against the violence to which Black people had become accustomed, in addition to canvassing in opposition to the denial of Black voting rights and other forms of racial discrimination. Garvey became a somewhat outspoken defender of Black separatism in the US during the early 20th century, when Black people's marginalisation, exploitation and powerlessness continued.

Conclusion

The Atlantic slave trade represents one of the earliest justifications for racial hatred and heralded the formation of many racist stereotypes that remain attributed to Black people in the US and the UK today. During their time in slavery, Black people were subjected to powerlessness and legal, political, educational and occupational marginalisation. They were stripped of their identity, dehumanised, oppressed and subordinated by their slave owners. They were further oppressed following the implementation of draconian legislation such as the Black Codes of 1661, the Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes of 1712, the Fugitive Slave Laws of 1793 and 1859 and the Act Prohibiting the Teaching of Slaves to Read of 1831.

The end of slavery signalled a continuation of this racist oppression with the emergence of the Ku Klux Klan - one of the most infamous and oldest hate groups - as discussed at the beginning of Chapter Five of this thesis. The group formed to prevent emancipated slaves in the South from enjoying the basic freedoms bestowed upon them after the abolition of slavery and also in response to the perception amongst White people that liberation would result in millions of unemployed, uneducated and anarchic Black people roaming freely and, without restraint, stealing from and killing White people and sexually assaulting White women.

The prejudices and stereotypes to which Black people succumbed during the Atlantic slave trade, in part, laid the foundations for online racial hatred as the belief that Black people were worthy of their enslaved status and the stereotypical view that they were deviant, criminal and lechers of White women is clearly evident in the hate speech disseminated in the Internet newsgroups (particularly the newsgroup *alt.flame.niggers*) that are analysed in Chapter Seven of this thesis. Subsequent waves of immigration experienced in the US and UK during the 20th century underpin, in part, the justifications for the racist conversations observed in the *alt.politics.white-power* and *alt.skinheads* newsgroups discussed in Chapter Seven. The consequential social, environmental, and demographic changes in both countries, provides an essential historical context that facilitates our understanding of the ideologies of the myriad of other Far Right hate groups that emerged throughout this period and which are discussed in Chapter Five. Hence, a discussion of immigration, social exclusion, assimilation and social cohesion in the US and UK during the 20th century is presented in the next chapter, Chapter Four.

Chapter Four: Immigration, Social Exclusion, Assimilation and Social Cohesion in the twentieth century

'Hate is the consequence of fear; we fear something before we hate it'
(Connolly, 1974)

Introduction

During the early 20th century In the US, the voluntary and disorganised migration¹⁰ of recently emancipated slaves from the agrarian South to the industrialising North continued and was accompanied by immigrant groups from the Caribbean and Korea. From the outbreak of the Second World War, British colonialism provided the opportunity for an initial small scale movement to Britain from its dependent countries of India, the Caribbean islands and several African countries. This immigration has been encircled by a complex collection of social dynamics that have promoted a lasting legacy of intolerance, in both Britain and the US. This chapter discusses many of the problems that immigrants faced upon their arrival, including the difficult search for employment and the struggle to overcome discriminatory housing policies that denied them the chance of fulfilling their need for acceptable accommodation. Occasionally, some of the earlier immigrants to the US, arriving from Korea at the turn of the 20th century and from China from the 1940s, were able to establish their own businesses and enjoy a more lucrative standard of living than the many immigrants who succumbed to unskilled and low paid employment. However, this chapter highlights that even the well paid and successful were not able to achieve their desired social mobility into the higher class suburbs in order to escape the slum-like ghettos into which they settled on their arrival, because the native White populace sought to reject any suggestion that immigrant groups may be able to assimilate successfully into the upwardly social mobile world reserved mainly for them. The influx of immigrants to the UK and the US led to the emergence, from the mid-19th century, of the several types of racist hate groups that are discussed in Chapters Five and Seven. This chapter now begins with an explanation of immigration to the US before continuing to discuss the impact of immigration in the UK.

US Immigration

African American Migration

By 1900, virtually every southern US state had adopted government endorsed legal restrictions that provided for racial segregation in nearly all societal spheres. Hence, the biased, prejudicial and hateful regimes that enforced Black people's civil marginalisation during their years in slavery were now enforced by a legal mandate from the state and represented an authorisation for their absolute oppression. Thus, from the early years of their arrival, most immigrants faced little choice but to form involuntary racial solidarity that compelled them to

¹⁰ In this chapter, the term 'migration' is used to denote the movement of people within the same country (typically, freed black African slaves and their children who travelled from South to North America from around 1807 (when slavery was officially abolished) to the early 1900s). The term 'immigration' is used to denote the inward movement of people from overseas to the US and the UK. Conversely, the term 'emigration' is used to denote outward movement.

isolate from the majority White population in many social spheres including that of employment. So racist was US society at this time that Black people need not have bothered applying for any work in many sectors as most jobs were reserved for Whites, and were invariably supplemented with significantly greater remuneration than those designated as suitable for Black people.

Out of necessity, successive generations of African Americans, born out of interracial relationships or rape by white employees and employers whose skin was often of a lighter shade than that of their African descendants, succumbed to 'passing off' by denying their natural identity and sought to deliberately masquerade as White when applying for work in an attempt to acquire better employment (Gaudin, 2004). The extent of one's 'blackness' remained identifiable and the term 'Black' was reserved for the very 'blackest'.

Some people have gone further than merely 'passing off' as lighter skinned. As recently as 1983, Suzie Guillory unsuccessfully attempted to irreversibly change her racial classification from Black to White. However, in accordance with Louisiana State law, its records bureau concluded that she was correctly classified as Black on her birth certificate on the grounds that she possessed at least 1/32nd of 'negro blood' (Omi and Winant, 1994). Thus, she failed in her endeavour. In some places, people were deemed 'coloured' if they carried 1/32nd 'African blood'; in others, 1/16th or 1/8th was adequate for the purpose of applying racist labels. Light (1972: 5) claims: 'No matter how much education Black people pump into their black skin, they constantly encountered powerful whites who want to treat them like field hands and exclude them from remunerate positions'. In the second volume of her autobiographical account, Angelou (1994: 9) recalls her feelings of sheer disgrace when, in the 1940s, despite successfully completing an insultingly easy aptitude test, 'a silly white woman looked me in the face and said sorry, I hadn't passed'. Consequently, despite possessing a high school diploma, she had no realistic opportunity of gaining employment as a bus conductor; instead being appointed to a more menial position as a table waitress.

Many Black migrants established private enterprises and by so doing rarely encountered competition for usual employment resources with White people. However, due to the competition for elevated status between themselves, many upwardly mobile self-employed and increasingly affluent Black people encountered hostility from a White community, which seemingly found it unacceptable for a perceived lazy and unintelligent Black person to achieve an equivalent social position to themselves. Elevated status inspired successful Black people to move from the poverty-stricken ghettos and detach themselves from the working class element of other Black people by relocating to the suburbs. Here, they competed for housing resources with the White population who believed that traditional White neighbourhoods were no place for Black people, whatever their social or economic position. The extensive racial prejudice amongst property landlords pushed migrants and immigrants into areas already populated with ethnic minorities where they could be relatively certain of acceptance. In addition to being extensively populated by immigrants, these neglected areas were also inhabited by impoverished Whites who, as more Black people moved into these areas, aspired to leave and offered their homes for sale at vastly reduced prices. However, the inequitably paid Black people could not

afford to buy them (Meyer, 2000). Taking advantage of racial segregation, a small but affluent group of entrepreneurial middle-class Black people emerged to supply goods and services to these immigrant communities.

Immigrants' poor health was understood to have jeopardised the well being of existing residents and reduced the respectability of formerly White areas. However, there is little proof of such a correlation. Many of the people already living in these areas were themselves recently arrived immigrants, thus, disease and social deprivation had probably occurred well before the influx of Black people. Benedict, O'Brien and Tiwana (1999) highlight the conditions in which immigrants were forced to survive. Their report includes a list of 24 causes of death. Three of the most common were tuberculosis, pneumonia and bronchitis, all of which could potentially kill those infected. Moreover, all three of the conditions can be correlated with one's standard of living or quality of life. Evidence suggests that certain areas of Chicago were significantly susceptible to these diseases. Benedict, O'Brien and Tiwana (1999) also suggest that in 1900 nearly one million residents were without bathing facilities and that the city's worst urban problems included: '...unpaved and unclean streets, poor garbage removal and inadequate sanitation that posed serious health threats'.

So prominent were concerns that formerly all White areas were quickly degenerating into ghettos that nationwide legislation was implemented to control the quota of non-White residents. In Chicago, the authorities permitted home owners, estate agents and letting agencies to refuse to sell, rent or let their homes to Black people in White neighbourhoods (Meyer, 2000). However, it seems that such unofficial agreements achieved little, as immense population pressure in the poorest and dilapidated areas forced Black migrants to move into White areas. This, and the onset of the First World War, caused significant demographic changes in northern US cities.

The First World War provided many African Americans with their first opportunity to assimilate into US society, seizing the potential opportunity to fight shoulder to shoulder with their fellow White citizens and put their faith in the premise that unstinting patriotic service could, they hoped, help improve opportunities and treatment in their country. Once they had overcome the significant opposition to their involvement, 367,710 African Americans were recruited into the US army and Navy (although none were recruited into the Marines). Almost three-quarters were enlisted as manual labourers with the remainder serving in one of the four strictly segregated Black units under the command of White officers (Sellman, 1999). Arguably, Black people in the US military had come to expect little in the way of recognition for their service because in every area of the military Whites were placed in superior positions of authority and charged with commanding Black units. The reverse was never possible as racially motivated biased and prejudiced attitudes dictated that Black people did not possess the innate capability or willingness to fight effectively. So manifestly prejudicial was the US that, even in the desperate times of war, there was an absolute refusal to administer blood to White fighters that had been donated by Black people (Reeves, 2000; Cashman, 1989). Sellman (1999) claims that African American soldiers faced harsh treatment, intimidation and lynching but no White citizen was ever punished for these crimes. However, he provides

no robust evidence to suggest that White soldiers or *only* White soldiers carried out the assaults. During the war, no Black soldier received any medals of honour for their military service, although in 1991 the Congressional Medal of Honour, America's highest award for military heroism, was presented to relatives of Corporal Freddie Stowers (Sellman, 1999) and, nearly one century too late, two African American veterans were awarded France's highest honour in 1999 for their service there. Corporal Herbert Young, a retired mechanic, and Private Robert Thomas, a former construction worker, were named knights in the National Order of the Legion of Honour (CNN, 1999).

Segregation rather than assimilation based on cooperative effort and bravery continued into the 1940s as the US entered the Second World War, in which nearly two million African American men and women registered to serve in the Army and Navy. They were, however, permitted only to join as auxiliaries and as servants to White sailors and were prohibited from joining the Air or Marine Corps (Reeves, 2000). Rigidly segregated units remained, as did the racial hierarchy of command. It was not until President Harry Truman signed Order 981 in 1948, to officially end racial segregation in the armed forces, that Black fighters were able to gain access to sectors of the military that were previously forbidden to them. Unlike in the First World War, their bravery was rewarded immediately as the war ended and many were bestowed with honours such as the Bronze and Silver Stars and the Navy Cross (Historyplace, 1996). After the war victory to which African Americans obviously contributed significantly, they continued to suffer discrimination in all occupations and succumbed to poverty and unemployment. However, former GIs were given the opportunity to attend college after the war, facilitating the emergence of a superiorly educated migrant class.

The Increased population expansion brought about by the War, social disorganisation, widespread over-crowding, trepidation over the social ills that accompanied the rise in impoverished people and concern that the authorities were powerless to prevent an augmented alien invasion, created the desire for a more radical means of maintaining White social supremacy. Seemingly, this was achieved firstly, by the plethora of hate groups that were to eventually flock to and grow within the industrialising states on the Eastern side of the US, and secondly, by the government implementing stringent legislation to establish population controls. The first was the Emergency Quota Act 1921, which somewhat confusingly aimed to restrict the proportion of migrants and immigrants to 3% of the country's 1910 total population. Secondly, the National Origins Quotas Act 1924 reduced the migration quota further, to 2% of the total population in 1890. Through this legislation, a complete ban was placed upon all Asian immigration and it probably provides a viable reason for the curtailing of the immigration of peoples from the Caribbean in the mid-1920s. However, African Americans - the largest and, perceptively, most problematic migrant group - remained and their population continued to rise sharply. Statistics from historydetroit.com (2001) suggest that the Black population of Detroit increased seven fold to 40,000 between 1910 and 1920 and had reached 120,000 by 1930. According to statistics from the New York Public Library (2004), by 1910 the population of African Americans (who even now the library refers to as 'negroes' for the purpose of classification) in New York had reached 134,000 out of a

population of over nine million. By 1930 that number had more than tripled.¹¹ Since then, New York has been the favoured location for Puerto Rican immigrants who predominantly settled in Northeast Manhattan that became subsequently known as 'Spanish Harlem'. In congruence with all immigrant groups, Puerto Ricans, particularly those with darker skin, struggled against racial discrimination and Jackson (1981) found that, along with African Americans, Puerto Ricans were amongst the most highly segregated groups and found that darker skinned Puerto Ricans predominantly lived in the most deprived areas with other Black immigrants, whereas the lighter skinned resided on the more immediate peripheries of White neighbourhoods. It can also be argued that lighter skinned Puerto Ricans were afraid that associating with their darker skinned compatriots would allow White American racists to discriminate against them also.

The Chicago School

In Chicago, the population growth from 41,000 in 1833 (Lilly, Cullen & Ball, 1995) to over 230,000 by 1930, was attributed to the plethora of poor, southern, Black migrants. Chicago's emergence as a significantly populated multi-ethnic city rendered it a focal area of criminological research at the University of Chicago where sociologists aspired to investigate the extent to which social disorganisation propelled its populace into a life of crime. Shaw and McKay (1942) observed that certain districts in the US were predominantly occupied by persons of low economic status and others by the very rich; and that certain neighbourhoods were characterised by the native White population and others by foreign-born persons whose first language was not English. Using Burgess' concentric zone theory, Shaw and McKay (1942) detected that the oldest and most decaying houses surrounded the central business district in the 'zone of transition', characterised by decidedly unpleasant areas inflicted with smoke, soot and noise. They found that as the business district expands, it encroaches upon the zone of transition which, consequently, deteriorates further. It was in this area that immigrants with the lowest socio-economic status resided. There developed a high concentration of immigrants in these areas who were able to move into the outer zones as they became more economically successful, whilst other immigrant groups took their place.

If young socio-economically disadvantaged native White people were in a similar situation (moving from the lower to higher socio-economic zones), then the earlier contention that White people moved out of their traditional areas solely as a reaction to immigrants moving in is surely over-simplified. Rather, one primary motive for relocation would be improving socio-economic status which, arguably, could be achieved more rapidly for Whites than Black people. Nevertheless, Shaw and McKay (1942) found a positive correlation between both the immigrant nationality of an area and the nationality of its criminal fraternity *and* that, as immigrants and migrants (of whatever ethnicity or nationality) moved out of the city and into the suburbs, their delinquency rates decreased. Thus, as successive groups relocated to the outer zone, delinquency rates did not increase in these areas but remained highest in the 'zone of transition'. In the main, migrants and immigrants were compelled to reside with two or three other families in three-

¹¹ According to statistics from the New York Public Library, just over 412,000 resided in New York in 1930.

storey tenements that ‘slumlords built jaw-to-jaw ... on every available space’ (Palen, 1981: 64).

The Harlem district of New York is still credited as being the most largely populated predominantly Black city and has been since the early 20th century when a sizeable housing programme created a plethora of spare homes which were sold at discounted prices due to their excess supply. Although Black people could afford them (and more became available as White people moved out of the area), they were charged very high rents and, arguably, their standard of living became commensurate with their lack of disposable income and Harlem degenerated into a neglected and poorly maintained area.

During the 1930s, several federal committees were established and convened on a regular basis to discuss the accommodation problems faced by minority ethnic groups whose housing was predominantly in neglected and crime-ridden areas, old and costly to repair and in short supply. The Federal Division of Building and Housing estimated that nearly half a million new homes per year were required to replace dilapidated dwellings and satisfy the demand of an increasing immigrant population (Meyer, 2000: 51). However, the Committee on Negro Housing (CNH) favoured policies of active citizenship and defensible space by suggesting that residents take proactive steps to clean up and beautify their property by repainting their dwellings, planting shrubs and growing grass (Meyer, 2000). Although a flourishing policy from the latter 20th century, it would have posed many problems in the 1930s’ Chicago or New York ghettos which required significantly better policies that were geared towards urban regeneration rather than synthetic cover.

The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People also focused much of its civil rights agenda upon saving the urban Black population from inferior housing and high rents by encouraging a national building programme of low cost housing (Meyer, 2000). Hopes that this had been recognised were raised with the implementation of the Wagner-Steagle Housing Act in 1937, which, according to Meyer (2000), was advertised as a panacea to the problem of unsafe, insanitary and expensive housing. Primarily, the Act provided for urban regeneration by firstly, allowing the removal of old and substandard dwellings from the local housing supply and, secondly, affirming that such demolition must be matched by the construction of new public housing; hence, on the face of it, assigning better quality housing to previously deprived immigrants.

Unfortunately, the Act proved vastly inadequate to the very people whom it was meant to help. Although it required that one new unit of housing be rebuilt for each one demolished, there was no obligation for the new dwellings to be in the same place as the old one nor was there an insistence for the same inhabitants to be re-housed. In fact, Meyer (2000) claims that, very often, old slum dwellings were demolished to make way for parks, flowerbeds and greenery rather than replacement housing and that new housing was often rebuilt in more pleasant areas which, arguably, may have been dominated by White inhabitants and where the encroachment of Black people was not welcome. Re-housing affluent minority ethnic and racial groups in such areas at the same time, and encouraging them to live alongside each other, may have facilitated racial assimilation and Black people might not have been perceived so much as invaders of an existing

area traditionally inhabited by all White people but as neighbours in some of the most pristine properties in the district. Sadly, this was not the policy at that time.

Modern Times

From 1940 until 1970, in excess of three million African Americans migrated from the rural South to the urban North America. The Black population rose by over 300,000 in New York and increased by almost 250,000 in Los Angeles and Chicago. The federal housing authority refused to provide mortgages for immigrants. This required them to find the cheapest housing in the poorest areas. The housing situation became seemingly so bad that, in 1940, the Chicago housing authority claimed the city to be worse than the slums of Calcutta. In Detroit, the Black population more than doubled between 1940 and 1960. Immigrants seemed able to do little about the housing predicament which would be exacerbated due to the failure of the Detroit Housing Commission (DHC) to meet the housing demand that had been inflated as a consequence of pre-war migration from the South. The DHC had moved the first Black families into new homes as part of its project to build priority housing for employees in war-related industries. Initially, the Federal Government approved two sites on which to build homes (Baulch and Zacharias, 2002). Somewhat erroneously, both were situated in White neighbourhoods (Meyer, 2000). The reason for this choice is unclear and particularly baffling as, some months previously, the DHC had allotted two available sites in Black areas. The decision to allow Black people to inhabit the completed homes in predominantly White areas is one of the reasons attributed the race riots in that city in 1942.

African Americans were not the only Black people to migrate from the Deep South of America to Northern cities. Former slaves from the Caribbean also arrived in around 1900. They became somewhat renowned for their propensity for hard work and capacity for owning successful businesses. Light (1972: 33) quotes a comment from Domingo who, in 1925, disclosed that: ‘West Indians are forever launching out in business. Mainly, they tended to own jewellers, grocery stores, tailors, and fruit and vegetable shops. Thus, not only were the striving but unsuccessful Black Americans inclined to resent White people and East Asians (who also became successful business proprietors), but the realisation that incoming Black Caribbean’s were operating profitable business ventures must have represented a considerable setback.

Light (1972: 4) claims that during the 1970s there was a ‘distinct absence of a Black business class’ in the US and, although the likely reasons are ardently debated, some things are certain. Firstly, they experienced problematic accesses to credit facilities because White bankers refused to lend money to them. Secondly, those that did agree to lend money demanded a very high rate of interest. Finally, whereas Whites tended to own larger businesses and were, arguably, able to keep their costs low and patronage high, Black people tended, owing to lack of operational capital, to operate as small, usually one man ventures, thus arguably receiving a smaller turnover. Kinzer and Sogarin (1950) speculate that South and East Asian immigrants to the UK and the US thrived because they had specific ethnic customary consumer demands that White retailers did not understand or appreciate. However, White businessmen in the US were able to trade with Black people because they sold goods that they knew

the latter wanted to buy. Thus, potential Black retailers faced vigorous rivalry with Whites; and it was a competition that the latter always had the best chance of winning. Finally, it is worth mentioning here that some Korean immigrants have clearly surpassed the economic mobility of both White and Black people in the US North.

Chinese Immigration

Chinese immigration to the US seems to have been initially fuelled by the Gold Rush, which began in 1848 and which the Chinese immigrants, many of whom were young single males, hoped would allow them to accumulate sufficient wealth to both send back to their families in poor rural China and finance their eventual passage home. Some realised this ambition and returned to China but many did not and their financial constraints compelled them to remain in the US to seek out alternative employment. Approximately 15,000 immigrants were hired during the construction of the Trans-Continental Railroad (Campi, 2004). Like other US immigrants, the Chinese were prepared to work for lower wages than native Americans and were seemingly required to carry out the most dangerous tasks. Documents often cite that many Chinese workers were injured and killed but seldom mention the fate of the White or Black American labourers. The Library of Congress (2004a) pays tribute to the contribution made by the Chinese immigrants by acknowledging:

The railroad could never have been completed as quickly as it was without the toil of Chinese railway men, unknown hundreds of whom lost their lives along its route.

Hence, the Chinese immigrants acquired little from their efforts and, on completion of the railroad, most succumbed to acquiring further menial employment in agriculture, wool mills and light manufacturing. In the highly competitive atmosphere they, like many minority group members, were made scapegoats during times of economic stress and were viciously attacked and murdered by gangs of White labourers. In a less violent attempt to oppress them they were forbidden to become American citizens and prohibited to marry. Thus, a conglomerate of almost exclusively male 'Chinatowns' were formed in the West coast cities which exposed them to the assertion that they were haters of women, sexually promiscuous and anti-familial. These communities were primarily characterised by gambling, prostitution and opium smoking which served to generalise the Chinese populace as immoral and deviant, thus fuelling anti-immigrant sentiment (Norton, 1924). This racial hostility and population pressure led to the implementation of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 to virtually end Chinese immigration to the US, although diplomats and students were still permitted entry. Between 1910 and 1940 approximately 175,000 Chinese immigrants entered the US. Under the premise that any child born in that country automatically became a US citizen, many parents brought property and established businesses. Their enhanced financial success enabled them to move from urban areas into suburbs but Chinese neighbourhoods became targets of White mob violence. The Chinese endured an epidemic of violent racist attacks being forced out of business, run out of town, beaten, tortured, lynched and massacred, usually with little hope of help from the law.

So, like many immigrants in the UK and US, the Chinese established their own communities in specific areas of their residing city. These 'Chinatowns', as they became known, have since become something of a visiting attraction to the non-Chinese population. The same cannot be said for areas that became settlements for other immigrant groups as, it can be argued, tourists rarely demonstrate the same desire to visit the ghettos of New York or Chicago.

Hate crime towards the Chinese curtailed at the outbreak of the Second World War when they serendipitously became the 'good' Asians in contrast to the 'evil' Japanese (Hess, Markson and Stein, 1995), although their immigration to the US began almost a century before this event.

Japanese Immigration

Japanese immigration in the US initially occurred at much the same time and for similar reasons to immigration from China, and the Japanese were met with comparable hostility. The Library of Congress (2004b) reports that the most significant period of Japanese immigration occurred between 1884 and 1921, during which time more than 400,000 men and women arrived in the US to work on the sugar plantations of Hawaii. Japanese labour was so important that, in an attempt to procure more of it, agents frequently travelled to that country to sign long-term and legally binding three to five-year contracts with young men and transported them from there to the US. By the 1930s, several generations of Japanese families had established communities in Hawaii. By 1930, half of the Japanese in the US were second generation Japanese Americans, known as the *Nisei*¹² who, by birthright, enjoyed an automatic entitlement to American citizenship (Library of Congress, 2004b). The *Issei* (first generation Japanese born immigrants) benefited from no such entitlement and, as a consequence, many were denoted as alien (Cashman, 1989).

Arrivals to the US mainland found labouring employment on farms, mines, canneries and railroads. Eventually, however, many were able to launch their own businesses, at first serving the needs of their own community with Japanese restaurants, boarding houses and shops, but soon opening department stores and tailoring chains that catered to the general public. Japanese cooperative societies, such as the Japanese associations, provided financial support and advice to many such enterprises.

Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour on 7th December 1941, the US joined the Second World War and public opinion seemed to suggest support for the removal of all Japanese and Japanese Americans from mainstream US society. The government relented and all Japanese residing on the West Coast were forcibly removed and interned in camps until the end of the war (Hess, Markson and Stein, 1995). Not only were they faced with the prospect of years in detention, the Japanese were forced to hand over all of their possessions to the US Government without a guarantee of their return. According to Cashman (1989), property losses of interned Japanese totalled approximately \$350,000,000 and many lost their homes, forcing them to relocate to other areas upon their release.

¹² As opposed to the *Issei*, who were first generation Japanese immigrants, and the *Sansei*, who were the third generation.

Arguably, as an enemy country, the US considered their treatment of the Japanese as justifiable. By the end of the war in 1945, 125,000 people had been 'transferred hundreds or thousands of miles away from home' (Library of Congress, 2004c). Although President Roosevelt eventually denoted these camps as 'concentration camps', instances of severe cruelty are not readily documented and the Japanese were able to follow some sort of normal routine. Students were sent to school every morning, and adult internees were given jobs, usually farming or maintaining the physical plant. Within each camp, there was evidence of a continuation of 'normal' community life - newspapers, businesses, sports teams, concerts, places of worship - grew and thrived (Library of Congress, 2004c).

Many detainees believed that cooperation with their supervisors would earn them respect and facilitate their endeavours to attain US citizenship at the end of the war. In reality, their cooperation was essential to avoid being transported to special camps operated with more severe discipline (Cashman, 1989). According to Levin and McDevitt (1993), interning the Japanese was perceived by native US population as defensive strategy necessary to minimise any activity that could expound anti-American feeling in a country that boasted a high non-American population with potentially divided loyalties. It must be noted here that Italian Americans and - albeit less frequently - German Americans were also interned after the attack on Pearl Harbour.

In 1943 the Japanese Nisei were presented with an opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty to the US by being recruited into the US army to join new, all Japanese American units. More than 300,000 such men served in uniform, mostly in Europe. One all Nisei, and presumably exceptionally loyal unit, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, went on to become the most decorated unit of its size in US history, having received more than 18,000 individual decorations, including 52 Distinguished Service Crosses and one Congressional Medal of Honour (Library of Congress, 2004c).

Korean Immigration

At the beginning of the 20th century, Korean immigrants settled on the US mainland, from where labourers were recruited to work on the sugar plantations. The malicious treatment to which they were subjected during their early years of immigration is remarkably similar to that endured by African slaves, notwithstanding that that trade was abolished 100 years previously. Treated as factors of production rather than human beings, Koreans lived on their plantations and worked for ten hours each day, usually under a sweltering sun. They were forced to adhere to strict rules and were exposed to severe beatings if they failed to do so. As indentured servants, they agreed to work for their plantation owners for four to seven years. Hence, they were forcibly marginalised and excluded from the freedoms and human rights that US society offered to White people, and were subjected to seemingly acceptable oppression and hate, to which White society turned a blind eye.

Because Korean immigrants realised that, as a minority group in the US they were unlikely to enjoy a reasonable standard of living in regular work, they saved much of their wages to fulfil their powerful commitment to self-employment and established their own businesses (Zihn, 2002). Much of the credit for this

advancement ought to be bestowed upon their spouses with whom they were permitted to live on the plantations and who encouraged the former servants to aspire to a more enhanced standard of living (Choy, 1979). There were only a very small number of already married plantation workers, and women were significantly outnumbered by men; sometimes, according to Choy (1979), by as much as a ratio of 4:1. Unmarried Koreans had the opportunity to meet a partner through the 'picture bride arrangement'. Under this system, photographs of eligible Korean women were circulated amongst the lonely Korean bachelors for whom matches were arranged. Eager to make vast socio-economic progress, subsequent generations of Korean Americans relocated from the rural to the urban areas of mainland US where they performed manual work in industry rather than manual labour in agriculture.

Akin to the subsequent Jewish generations, the occupations that second and third generation Korean Americans procured set them apart from Black South American migrants and West Indian immigrants and, although Koreans were unable to escape the racial discrimination to which all immigrant groups in the US were subjected, it seems that, compared to the immigrant and migrant Black people, Koreans avoided the worst. In fact, by the 1940s, discrimination against this group seemed to have subsided notably: firstly, because White people no longer perceived Koreans as a competitive threat within mainstream employment opportunities due to their move into private businesses; and, secondly, many of these enterprises were founded by tailors, cobblers and furniture manufacturers, all of whom were tradesmen with the practical skills that many White Americans simply did not possess. The wealth that second generation Korean Americans were able to accumulate from their thriving business interests enabled their offspring to receive a high standard of education in good quality schools. As such, educational establishments were predominantly frequented by White American children, the opportunity for multi-racial and multi-cultural assimilation between themselves and Korean Americans emerging from an early age, on condition that their parents did not exhibit any form of racial enmity.

From the 1970s, subsequent generations of Korean people entered well-respected professions (Choy, 1979). There seems to be very little literature devoted to detailing the nature of Korean business but they recognised the changing economic structure as an opportunity to establish commercial enterprises in the service sector. Food and provisions outlets seemed extremely attractive but rather heralded the enduring stereotype that associates East Asians with their somewhat eccentric eating habits. In particular, the Korean custom of eating dog flesh has served as a means to portray them as inhuman and emphasize this obvious clash with US culture. This engendered a problematic integration into civilised society for them, in addition to facilitating hate crime against their business premises. According to Suh (2004), eating dogs ranks as one of the main reasons for Korea's tarnished image in the USA. Hence, the representation remains despite the fact that their cultural image is demonstrably changing. Myong-sik (2001) claims that:

The dietary pattern in Korea is changing as more and more people enjoy Western food. Therefore, one can reasonably expect that interest in the consumption of dog flesh, already marginal, will diminish further. In addition, the rapid rise in the number of people raising pets in Korea will

certainly have a considerable impact on the custom of eating dogs in this country.

The establishment of grocery stores proved very popular with Korean American entrepreneurs who, in addition to selling oriental goods, have also created a market for traditional American commodities to break from 'cultural exclusivity'.¹³ Koreans are also currently engaged in many other industries that are unlikely to produce any sort of cultural clash: for example, travel agents, ice cream shops, petrol stations, electrical retail outlets and liquor stores (Choy, 1979). However, probably as a sign of resentment that Koreans have gained success so soon after initial immigration, since the 1970s, interracial hostility and antagonism has been generated from Black Americans, who have claimed that Korean shopkeepers treated them neither fairly nor respectfully. Although demonstrating much of their displeasure by boycotting shops, Levin and McDevitt (1993: 141) claim that in one incident an area of Brooklyn 'exploded with racial hatred' after a Black American woman was accused of shoplifting from a Korean retail store. The destruction of Korean-owned businesses was a focal form of hostility during the race riots in Los Angeles in 1992.

Relations between the Black community and the Koreans had collapsed following the Harlins incident and its judicial result. In an argument over a \$1.79 bottle of orange juice, Latasha Harlins, a 15-year old Black girl, was shot in the back of the head by a Korean grocer, Soon Ja Du, who was then let off with a \$500 fine and some community service. This prompted Black people - for so long the recipients of racially motivated hate crime - to become the aggressors. They destroyed 2,000 Korean businesses whilst those owned by Black people remained untouched (Davis, 1998).

Vietnamese Immigration

The Vietnamese are one of the most recent groups of immigrants to arrive in the US. Although a small number arrived before 1975, it was in that year when most began to appear after fighters in Saigon, the former capital of South Vietnam, surrendered to the North Vietnamese fighters during the Vietnam War. As South Vietnam was non-communist, its capture by North Vietnamese forces (supported by Chinese forces), threatened the liberty of its people. Hence, the US, which supported the efforts of South Vietnamese forces, readily accepted over 100,000 Vietnamese immigrants.

A second wave of immigration from Vietnam emerged from 1978 and, although laws were implemented to allow children of American servicemen and former political prisoners and their families to enter the US, many of these second wave immigrants were the 'boat people'. They usually ended up in asylum camps in Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Hong Kong or the Philippines.

What is documented in this chapter regarding immigrant groups' propensity to establish small businesses in the US can also be said about Vietnamese immigrants. Like other immigrant groups, they settled in specific areas of the US

¹³ In this context, the author uses the term 'cultural exclusivity' to denote that suppliers only provide the goods and services that are predominantly required by one racial or ethnic group.

and the Chinese settlements. Their areas of inhabitation were also denoted as 'Chinatowns'. Vietnamese Americans have enjoyed a significant advantage over other immigrants in that they have been readily accepted as American citizens through naturalisation.

Jewish Immigration

There is little documentation regarding Jewish immigration to the United States. A number of German Jews began arriving from the 1850s, although they totalled barely 17,000. Between 1880 and the First World War, nearly a quarter of a million had emigrated from Eastern Europe, most of whom moved to New York which, at this time, had a Jewish population of about 180,000 (Spiro, 1995). Most were young, single, unskilled and uneducated and desperately impoverished but full of aspiration to begin a new life in a country they perceived as the Promised Land (Gay, 1996: 19). Although most found work only in clothing factories, many managed to successfully accumulate sufficient wealth to establish their own clothing businesses. For example, Joseph Seligman started as a peddler and became one of the most important bankers in America. In addition, Marcus Goldman founded Goldman, Sachs & Co, and Charles Bloomingdale founded the Bloomingdale's department store (Spiro, 1995). Advantageously, manual work in industry attracted better remuneration rates than similar employment in Europe (Gay, 1996). Yet, for many, life remained intolerably uneasy. Spiro (1995) claims that at the beginning of the 1900s there were 64,000 families packed into 6,000 tenement houses of the Lower East Side of Manhattan. By 1915 the number of Jews in New York totalled almost 1.5 million (Gay, 1996: 6). With the Jews, as is argued throughout this chapter for other groups, residential solidarity became a boon for some immigrants as their cohesiveness facilitated support and encouragement in towns, cities and countries that were totally alien to them. The most influential aspect of this camaraderie was, arguably, an adherence to their religion.

UK Immigration

Immigration to the UK was somewhat more centrally orchestrated and organised than that of the US and was generally authenticated via official government policies. However, immigrant groups remained marginalised and excluded in the towns and cities in which they settled.

Jewish Immigration

Large scale immigration of Jewish people to Britain began during the 1700s, and their numbers increased significantly by the beginning of the 20th century when many more sought to escape the violent pogroms that occurred in Poland and many Russian cities from which they received very little protection from the Tsarist Government, army or police. For example, at the Russian city of Hamel in 1902, soldiers fired into a crowd of Jews, of which three were killed. In 1903, 45 were murdered in a pogrom, apparently organised by the Russian Government, at Kishinev where their property and places of worship were attacked and destroyed. In 1904 and 1905 Tsarist soldiers partook in dozens of pogroms by attacking Jewish immigrants and destroying and looting their homes (Grosser and Halperin, 1978: 243). Their safety was further compromised by the newly founded anti-

Semitic 'League of Russian People'. The extent to which this group enjoyed an affiliation with the Tsarist Government is unclear. Grosser and Halperin (1978) assert the group to have been no more than 'pro-Tsarist'. However, there are claims that it benefited from the 'blessing and encouragement' of Tsar Nicholas II. Hence, Jewish flight and immigration to new countries such as the UK was somewhat necessary and enforced, and widespread concern emerged in the UK due to perceived economic pressures and an impending competition for scarce resources. Such was the disquiet that the UK Government felt it necessary to implement the 1905 Aliens Act to reduce the numbers of Jewish immigrants. Although it is claimed that this legislation was initially designed to *prevent* Jewish immigration (Bowling and Phillips, 2002), the reality was somewhat different. Firstly, rather than being altogether prevented, Jewish immigration was restricted to 14 English ports, and immigration officers were given the power to inspect refugees and reject those who were categorised as insane, criminal or diseased. However, such undesirables were accepted if they were at a proven risk of persecution in the country from which they came. Further concessions were also granted to rejected refugees, who were entitled to be informed of the reason for their refusal and afforded an automatic right of appeal (Gainer, 1972). Hence, the Act served to restrict immigration whilst representing a willingness to welcome refugees to Britain on a conditional basis.

Akin with other immigrants, Jews were, in one way or another, excluded from most occupations in Britain and virtually all were thoroughly impoverished, having been marginalised from any employment in their former land. Most procured very lowly employment such as market trading and door-to-door selling, although a select few were talented furniture makers and tailors, which set them apart from other immigrants as it afforded them the opportunity to establish arts and crafts businesses and earn a reasonable living. Many were not so fortunate and were required to accept any unskilled work on offer. Most found employment in the clothing and textiles industries but their working conditions were notoriously inadequate. Endelman (2002) writes that they were housed in any available space, such as cellars, sheds and stables, and claims that they commonly contracted serious illnesses, such as asbestosis and other respiratory and lung diseases, owing to the damp conditions and inhalation of toxic fibre particles. Workers also suffered myopia by carrying out their tasks in poor light.

It seems that the first acknowledgement of such situations was published in an 1884 edition of *The Lancet*. According to Black (1994), the journal found: '... 18 people working in searing heat and crowded in a small room measuring eight yards by four and a half yards and not quite eight feet high'. The study claimed that the workers were 'surrounded by mounds of dust, breathing in such injurious dyes that it is not surprising that a large proportion of working tailors break down from diseases of the respiratory organs'. Their acceptance of long working hours and low remuneration rendered them attractive to employers, who arguably preferred their labour to that of the probably less contented existing working-class population. Despite this, it seems that, compared to immigrants of other ethnicities, far more Jews were, in some form at least, self-employed. Hence, their working hours were sufficiently flexible to allow adequate time to enjoy alternative social and religious pursuits in which the Jewish people were intensely engaged.

People in conventional employment must have realised quickly that adhering to their religious orthodoxy would prove problematic since factories closed only on a Sunday in accordance with traditional Christian faith, rather than on Saturdays, the Jewish Sabbath. As many Britons enjoyed a rather strong attachment to their Christian faith, Jews were arguably widely typified as heathenish due to their ‘decision’ to work rather than strictly respect their religious beliefs. The grounds on which they rejected their spiritual practices were manifestly different and seemed to depend upon the area in which they lived. For example, in his study of the lives of Jewish immigrants in London’s West End, Black (1994) claims that immigrants residing there had fewer opportunities to practice their religion compared to those who settled in the East End, where the majority of synagogues were situated. Exasperatingly, worshippers living more than six miles away from their nearest synagogue were forbidden from attending its services; hence accusations that West End immigrants were ‘more easily seduced by their new surroundings’¹⁴ (Black, 1994: 25), are arguably inaccurate. Most inhabited London’s East End and bolstered the familiar pattern of immigrant settlers moving into inferior housing in already overcrowded areas. As usual, the existing residents felt displaced, overrun and viewed immigration as a foreign invasion; although unscrupulous White landlords benefited substantially by charging inflated rents as there was an increase in demand for rooms.

At the outbreak of World War One, Jews, like other immigrant groups in Britain drew on the conflict as an opportunity to demonstrate their patriotism. According to Endelman (2002), a 1914 edition of the *Jewish Chronicle* declared: ‘England has been all she could to the Jews and Jews will be all they can to England’. Despite this seeming willingness, only British-born sons of first generation immigrants were accepted into the British army. As the only group of able-bodied men to escape wartime service, Jews were targeted by anti-Semites as ‘slackers’ and ‘war-profiteers’ (Endelman, 2002: 185). Arguably, the Far Right fostered the stereotype of Jews being dominated by self-interest and egotism. This was exemplified by lies regarding their willingness to fight and their appropriation of jobs from brave British fighters, who were selflessly sacrificing their lives to fight against the enemy.

That said, a small number of entrepreneurial Jewish people prospered through the conflict by owning businesses that were vital to the war effort. Endelman (2002) claims that military contracts benefited the Jewish community over and above other groups and there is evidence to suggest that they achieved speedy socio-economic advances after the war. Arguably, Jewish success was, in no small part, due to their own innovation and a possession of talent that other immigrants and, indeed, many native Britons lacked. Among them were many competent craftsmen who plied their trade making furniture or clothing. Some developed novel ideas that became established UK traditions, for which Britons would be ultimately grateful. For example, Isaac Levy introduced a new type of pub that was not merely a ‘gin house’ but also a place where food was available, particularly at lunch times (Black, 1994). Their vast economic progress enabled more of them to cross the socio-economic threshold and enter the lower middle classes. Hence, they moved into London’s more affluent West End, which Black

¹⁴ Black’s (1994) study highlights the superiority of life in London’s West End compared to that of the East End.

(1994) claims was well supplied with schools, comprised larger houses and, due to its less industrial nature, boasted cleaner air. The more impoverished Jews moved to the more neglected areas, such as Soho, where, according to Black (1994), overcrowding was so much a part of life that it was common to see advertisements offering only 'part of a room' to let. This marginalisation was typical to all immigrant groups, particularly during the early years of their arrival. However, the perceived opportunities that awaited them ensured a steady flow of immigrants to certain areas during the first few decades of the 20th century. For example, in London, Golders Green was established as, and remains to this day, a predominantly Jewish area.

World War One

The First World War provided the first meaningful job opportunities for previously unemployed and impoverished immigrants (Hiro, 1972). Large numbers of ethnic minority people were recruited for civilian employment in war dependent industries. Their willingness to relocate throughout the country and acceptance of work at low wages severely added to their exploitation within the labour market and significantly increased their presence in UK cities (Killingray, 1994). Over one million men from various parts of the British Empire served as fighters, which concluded with over 100,000 killed or wounded. Nearly 1.5 million fighters from India were enlisted and nearly 200,000 African soldiers were also heavily involved, serving in uniformed labour units which provided logistic support to front line troops (Ministry of Defence, 2003a) but at considerably lower wages than their White comrades.

For the next ten years after the war, South Asians represented the most prominent immigrant group to arrive in the UK.

South Asian Immigration

From the 1920s, a small number of Indian peddlers selling cotton, silk, voile and woollen goods arrived in Britain and, after the Second World War, a further trickle of semi-skilled and unskilled immigrants arrived to take up employment in the textile and steel industries (Lahiri and Chohan, 2003a), where they were to remain throughout the latter end of the 20th century. In 1947, India gained independence after nearly 150 years of British colonial rule and Pakistan split from India to form a separate Muslim country. Hence, as immigrants subsequently began arriving from two separate South Asian countries, there emerged two main distinct religious groups: Hindu Indians and Muslim Pakistanis. Immigration of both groups increased rapidly upon implementation of the 1948 Nationality Act, which paved the way for considerable, but relatively organised, immigration by granting British citizenship to all residents of the country's present and former colonies and bestowed the right upon Commonwealth citizens to settle and work there. The legislation represented an 'open door' policy that aimed to fill long-term employment vacancies that had arisen because of a shortage of suitably skilled White people or because of their refusal to accept certain types of available work. The Indian Asian migrant population included a small number of professionals, such as university lecturers, journalists and lawyers. Skilled and professional Indians progressed reasonably well in Britain from the 1960s. As many were able to gain undeniably essential

employment as teachers, hospital doctors, general practitioners and other healthcare professionals, they had little problem fulfilling the necessary requirements of the employment voucher scheme; introduced by the 1962 Immigration Act¹⁵. This recruitment policy was positively encouraged by the soon to be ousted government Health Minister, Enoch Powell¹⁶, who recognised that controlled immigration could solve acute and imminent labour shortages. Arguably, that the controlled immigration of professional workers could have a potential benefit upon UK society was often unappreciated in favour of the view that ‘disorganised’ immigrants were travelling to the UK merely to escape the existing hardships in South Asia and in the hope of procuring any possible unskilled employment.

From the 1960s, the manufacturing industry in the UK began a steady decline as cheap imports of goods and materials, manufacturers’ investment in new automated machinery and the growth of the service sector reduced the need for manual labour. Accordingly, many unskilled, low paid and unemployed South Asian immigrants, many of whom were formerly from Pakistan and Bangladesh, were able to occupy industrial positions that became vacant as White British manual workers seized upon the opportunity to acquire less arduous employment in the expanding service industries. In particular, the night shifts, which were unpopular with the existing White workforce, soon became the domain of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants who settled in the mill towns and who were prepared to accept lower wages and longer working hours than many White employees.

Consequently, the further decline in the UK manufacturing industry in the 1970s and 1980s disproportionately hit the South Asian population. Unable to continue their employment in this sector, many immigrants were forced to diversify into the service sector (Lahiri and Chohan, 2003b). For many immigrants, the growth of this industry further promoted their labour market marginalisation and augmented the potential for racial discrimination because, having previously not been required to deal with the general public as consumers, they did not possess the necessary skills or attributes to do so. To retain patronage, potential employees were required to be proficient in English, well groomed, efficient and highly trained in order to meet public expectation. Many foreign workers demanding employment were considered ill equipped to meet this set of criteria. For those whose language skills were suitably advanced, self-employment represented the only means for self-advancement.

For redundant workers, the restraints placed upon immigrant groups were circumvented by using their redundancy money, seeking help from their families and, in some cases, bank loans to enable them to set up their own food stores, textiles businesses and butchers after recognising that emigration to Britain had deprived their communities of customary commodities. Although self-

¹⁵ As is explained previously, the aim of this Act was to limit the number of unskilled immigrants into Britain.

¹⁶ Enoch Powell was British Secretary of State for Health and Conservative MP for Wolverhampton South West. Although during the early 1960s he supported controlled immigration, his eventual strong stance, five years later, against what he considered to be disastrously relaxed immigration policies led to his sacking from the shadow cabinet, following his infamous ‘Rivers of Blood’ speech in Birmingham in April 1968.

employment enriched the lives of certain poor immigrants, with it emerged the enduring stigma that the typical Asian always owned a 'corner shop' at the expense of any other employment. Hence, 'off licences', became labelled as 'Paki shops' by White people in the many local areas where they were established. The BBC TV comedy series 'Only Fools and Horses' somewhat epitomised the stereotype during an episode in which the three characters constructed a DIY air raid shelter in which to hide on the outbreak of a nuclear war. The Granddad character asserts that there would be: '... no point in surviving because we won't be able to eat 'cos all the animals will be dead and we won't be able to grow nothing 'cos the earth will all be contaminated'. Del replies: 'Well, there's bound to be a little Paki shop open somewhere' (BBC, 1981).

Some South Asian entrepreneurs have made fortunes. Three hundred of Britain's 15,000 millionaires are South Asian, many of whom were amongst the tens of thousands of Asians who were expelled from Uganda in 1972 by its military dictator, Idi Amin (Somerville, 2002). He ordered approximately 80,000 inhabitants (whether Ugandan citizens or not) to leave within 90 days following a dream in which God told him to expel them. Many had lived in the country for generations and had formed a very wealthy mercantile class as shop, factory and plantation owners. They progressed to become comfortably rich in the UK and, according to Harris (2002), have most significantly impacted in business. To illustrate, Manubhai Madhvani lost everything in 1972 but is now a regular name in the annual rich list thanks to his world sugar, brewing and tourism empire worth nearly \$250 million. Pimenta Kapasi has made his fortune by establishing Kapasi & Co (financial and legal consultants). Others, who, according to Harris (2002), arrived with 'nothing but the clothes on their back' have risen to the top in many walks of British life. As examples, he cites Shailesh Vara, who became vice chairman of the Conservative Party, columnist Yasmin Alibhai Brown, accomplished Warwickshire cricketer Asif Din and Tarique Ghaffur who is currently an Assistant Commissioner of the London Metropolitan Police.

Britain was the favoured destination for the largest group of Ugandans who had previously been seized from India as cheap labour to build railways and perform other menial tasks in Uganda. The Prime Minister in 1972, Edward Heath, said that Britain had a moral responsibility to help all those Asians who had British passports. As the resettlement started and many Asians tried to find friends and relatives in the UK who could help them, Leicester City Council, afraid that it could not cope with a large influx of Asians, placed adverts in Ugandan newspapers urging the Asians to stay away from Leicester because it already had a significant South Asian population and jobs were scarce, schools were full and housing short (Somerville, 2002). However, the objective failed as their attraction to solidarity encouraged them to flock to such areas with an already high immigrant population. Jenkins (2002) estimates that by 2011 Leicester will become the first British City in which White people are a minority. Statistics from the UK Census reveals that in 2001, that city's non-White population had reached 36.2%. However, the census also reveals that in some areas of London, the non-White population now outnumbers that of White people. For example, Newham and Brent have non-White populations of 60.6% and 54.7% respectively (Commission for Racial Equality, 2005).

This changing nature of British society is epitomised by the reality that by the end of the 20th century, Indian restaurants - virtually unknown in Britain before the 1970s - had a higher financial turnover than the previously dominant industries of coal, steel and shipbuilding combined (Hopkins Burke, 1998). Aldrich et al (1981) claim this to be their focal method of identity preservation, and subsequent diversification into photographic dealing, bookselling, travel agency and dry-cleaning (Hiro, 1971) further transplanted an Asian culture into previously all-White communities which, it seemed, became occupied by people who were not only non-White but who spoke with an unrecognisable and strange dialect and wore traditional South Asian clothing, such as saris and hijab scarves for the women and kurtas and turbans for the men. Many of the garments were to become the object of ridicule and their general lack of acquaintance with the British culture served to emphasise their perceived eccentricity. As many possessed little knowledge of the English language, their strange dialect generated the perception that they were illiterate as many could speak Punjabi, Urdu and Gujarat but not English. Hence, many were obliged to rely on linguistically superior companions to assist them in their daily routine activities. A better command of the English language would undoubtedly have aided their assimilation but, given the racial prejudices in existence during the middle of the 20th century, help and sympathy either to aid their daily lives or improve upon their ability to integrate into British culture could hardly have been expected from the White community.

That immigrant groups often chose to reside in the same neighbourhood highlighted their need for social support. This solidarity remains in existence in certain UK cities where large numbers of Asian people reside in fairly small geographical areas. Hall (2005b), citing his interview with a second-generation South Asian immigrant recalls:

Among the 50,000 strong Bangladeshi Community in London's East End, there was hardly a person to whom everyone wasn't related or didn't know by sight ... Whenever someone needed something there was usually someone with a relative expertise: the doctor, solicitor, travel agent, builder all lived in the same community.

Such residential clustering and social cohesion may serve, however, to promote a sense of 'exclusive' cohesion that threatens non-ethnic communities (Sethi, 1995) and thus acts as a stimulant of bias, prejudice and hate activity.

Caribbean Immigration

The Caribbean comprises three main island groups: the Bahamas to the North, the Greater Antilles in the middle and the Lesser Antilles to the Southeast. The Bahamas consist of over 3,000 individual islands and reefs. The Greater Antilles include the island countries of Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti and the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico. The Lesser Antilles are the much smaller islands to the southeast and they are divided into two groups: the Leeward Islands and Windward Islands. The former include the Virgin Islands, Dominica, Guadeloupe, Montserrat, Antigua, Barbuda, St. Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla, and the latter encompasses the South Eastern islands of Martinique, St. Lucia, St.

Vincent, the Grenadines, Grenada and Barbados. Since the end of World War Two, the overall area has become commonly referred to as the Caribbean.

British colonisation of the Caribbean islands served as a precursor for a steady flow of emigration from there to the UK from the 1930s with inhabitants of Jamaica and Barbados accounting for nearly three-quarters of the total West Indian immigration to Britain (Hiro, 1971: 19). Whether the majority were that keen to assimilate with native Britons is unclear, especially when the very influential Jamaican political activist, Marcus Garvey, argued that they should look beyond the White culture in which they were raised and rediscover their cultural roots in Africa. Garvey advocated social and racial solidarity on the grounds of race by encouraging segregation from White people, claiming this to be the only way in which Black people could rid themselves of the racial stereotypes that emerged during the slave trade years.

Garvey stopped short of organising or coordinating racist violence, although it may be somewhat naïve to suggest categorically that his dislike of White people and his affirmation of Black solidarity did nothing to promote authentic acts of hatred. However, Garvey demonstrated his propensity to instigate such behaviour with his declaration that, as Americans ought to reside in America and African Americans in Africa, Africa must be rid of Whites and the remnants of White culture. Thus, Garvey appealed to all African Americans residing in America to join him in his quest to ‘clear out the White invaders’ of Africa.

Garvey’s ideas inspired the founding of Rastafarianism that, from there on in, was to be associated with much Black Jamaican and Caribbean culture. The followers of Rastafarianism became known colloquially as ‘Rastas’ and regarded White society as the corrupt Babylon (Heywood, 1992). Rastafarianism has enabled Afro-Caribbeans to produce a unique cultural identification characterised by cannabis smoking and Reggae music in the UK and produce their own solidarity independent of the White community.

That said, Caribbean immigrants constituted a significant quota of the three million immigrants who contributed vitally to the Second World War effort. Endemic White racial prejudice equating all Black people with low intelligence and an apparent awareness of their inadequate contribution to the First World War, created a strong belief that they were unsuitable to fight in the second conflict. Consequently, many were recruited into housekeeping roles. However, after October 1939 all Commonwealth people became eligible to join the Royal Air Force but racial segregation occurred in most units while intimate interracial relationships were vehemently discouraged, and even prohibited after a Black US GI was discovered performing a sexual act with a young White girl.

Throughout the duration of the war, the formation of stereotypes was a crucial means by which many White native Britons were able to continue disseminating their prejudicial ideology. Smith (1987) claims that allegations of deviance against Black troops emanated from a variety of sources but cites incidents of fights between Black officers and White sergeants and civilians and also highlights a case of one soldier wanting to ‘loan’ a White civilian’s daughter. By the end of the conflict, in excess of 17,500 Black Caribbean men and women had volunteered to join in a variety of roles, and a further 25,000 Black Caribbeans

served in the Royal Indian Air Force. Their progression through the ranks was, to say the least, sluggish, usually impossible and their chances of attaining a highly ranked position minimal. Exceptional ethnic minorities did highly achieve; for example, Idi Amin was recognised as an *effendi* (the highest rank possible for a Black African). During the two world wars, 27 fighters from British India received the Victoria Cross and almost 100 more collected the Distinguished Service Cross and the Distinguished Service Medal (Ministry of Defence, 2003b). However, there was no similar gratitude paid to Black servicemen, such as Walter Tull, the first British-born Black army officer and the first Black officer to lead White British troops into battle (Great Black Britons, 2003). The conflict increased employment opportunities for immigrants as the recruitment of White people into the armed forces resulted in an acute shortage of industrial labour. This shortage was satisfied by employing existing immigrant Caribbeans, some of whom were able to acquire work for the first time.

On implementation of the Nationality Act 1948, more Caribbean people enthusiastically seized upon the opportunity to emigrate to Britain, attracted by their desire to reside in the kingdom recognised as their 'mother country' (Phillips, 2003). Their employment interests were usually of paramount importance. Selvon's (1956) novel, *The Lonely Londoners*, is credited with helping to form a picture of the lives of Caribbean people in the UK. He quotes a conversation in a social security office where one remarks:

They put the mark 'J – A col' on the papers; that means you are from Jamaica and black. So first they will find out if the firm wants coloured fellas before they send you (Selvon, 1956: 46).

Unlike Indian immigrants, a substantial number of whom were skilled or possessed the potential to benefit from the British education system, most West Indian immigrants of the 1950s were unskilled tradesmen and farmers.

Vast immigration appears to have placed an immense strain on ever more limited resources, as illustrated by Selvon (1956: 39), who quoted one immigrant as commenting: 'When I was first here, when London only had a few West Indians, things were good enough. Now, the English people don't like us coming to work and live.' Consequently, the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act introduced the first entry restrictions upon British Commonwealth citizens by limiting the number of unskilled immigrants and making subsequent immigration dependent upon the possession of a work voucher. The issue of these were confined to skilled workers; many of whom emerged from the contingent of South Asian Indian immigrants rather than that from the Caribbean.

Arguably, many White Britons assumed this employment position to be the result of Black Caribbeans' stereotypical educational inadequacy, low intellect, indolence and laziness, rather than because of entrenched ideological racism or unequal opportunities. Despite this, virtually all were unable to obtain commensurate employment and were forced to accept any available work, usually at lower wages than their White counterparts. Hiro (1971: 18) reports that professional and clerical Caribbean males endured maximum marginalisation with a one-in-four probability of acquiring a job. He cites the circumstances of Kenneth Gooding, a teacher from British Guiana who arrived in the UK with nine

years experience as a teacher and, unable to obtain a teaching post in London, ultimately accepted labouring work despite holding six A-levels. Also, until 1954, Birmingham City Transport refused to employ people from any minority group and, in 1955, members of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) at two Bristol bus depots voted against having Black drivers and conductors. The reason, according to the management, was to prevent a competition for scarce resources, as employing additional workers would have threatened earnings of the many drivers dependent on overtime. However, this is somewhat undermined by his later admission that: 'We would be employing coloured people and chasing away the White people we already had'. In fact, White bus drivers from the company chose to strike to demonstrate their repugnance at the recruitment of ethnic minority drivers. Although bus driving ought not to be perceived as the most glamorous employment, seemingly, minority groups were only accepted by the White majority on the condition that they accepted the very least skilled and manual jobs.

As in the US, immigrants experienced extreme difficulties when trying to acquire suitable accommodation. Often residing in lodging houses, they were usually denied access to mortgages and council tenancies (Rex, 1981). Local authorities invariably placed them in inferior quality housing in neglected areas. Hence, immigrants were constrained to consult private landlords, whose racially prejudiced tendencies initiated their refusal to rent rooms to minority ethnic groups by commonly displaying signs expressing: 'No dogs, no blacks' (Padfield, 1998). In his novel, Selvon (1956: 89) writes that: 'The West Indian man was standing there looking in a window at advertisements for rooms to rent. A notice read, 'No blacks; keep the water white''.

Rex (1981) claims that during the Second World War social housing was reserved for crucial workers in war dependent industries; some of whom would certainly have been from minority ethnic groups and ought to have been entitled to housing under this precondition. However, information provided by the Housing Finance Review (2000) states that, in 1945, the government pledged to provide a separate house for 'every family that wished to have one' and promised to build nearly a quarter of a million homes a year. This policy seems to have continued well into the 1950s under a Conservative Government that authorised a building programme to increase vastly the supply of council housing. Prime Minister Harold Macmillan announced a commitment to build 300,000 homes a year. The target was reached in 1953 (Pearce, 2005). The high demand for housing during the 1960s led to the construction of many high-rise buildings that the Institute for Public Policy Research now describes as, '... some of the country's worst failures in urban planning ...', of which environmental criminologists, such as Alice Coleman (1985) and Oscar Newman (1972) became very critical.

In fact, it was during this 1960s building programme that most immigrants suffered their most significant period of housing exclusion as racial inequality in Britain became rife. In their sociological study of the Sparkbrook area of Birmingham, Rex and Moore (1967) found that ethnic minorities resided in streets that were littered with broken bricks and glass, where the litter bins overflowed, and resided in dwellings that had crumbling facades and paint peeling from the walls. Despite the desperate conditions in which many of the minority ethnic

groups lived, anger emanating from the constant competition for social and environmental resources emerged. White residents believed that the ‘social disease’ spreading through Sparkbrook ought to be prevented and that *coloured people* made the area deteriorate to such an extent that they would never have moved there if they had known that ‘ethnics would live next door’ (Rex and Moore, 1967: 60). In reality, ethnic groups had little choice but to move to already run-down areas of Sparkbrook, where they ultimately settled, because of the racist housing allocation policy that prevailed at that time and marginalised ethnic minority communities. The large influx of immigrants to Birmingham during the 1960s caused a severe council housing shortage. Hence, immigrants had limited access to private housing markets and relied heavily upon Birmingham City Council to provide their housing, although some were not so lucky. Hiro (1971: 20) cites the situation of Stanley Bryan who arrived in Wolverhampton from Jamaica in 1953. The only dwelling that would accept him was filled with so many people that several were observed sleeping under the stairs. However, even they can be considered as lucky considering many immigrants in London became resigned to sleeping in bus shelters, telephone kiosks and public toilets.

Property rent was usually charged per resident on a monthly basis at a charge that was significantly higher than monthly mortgage repayments. Robinson (ibid: 156) estimates that in 1978 average rent per head per month in Blackburn was £36, whereas monthly mortgage repayments typically totalled only £34.35, regardless of the number of occupiers.

Hiro (ibid: 25) elegantly encapsulates the problem of immigrants’ housing exclusion by stating that:

Minority groups had arrived in Britain ... to share the British dream, which within a decade had turned sour. They found themselves downgraded in jobs, performing menial and unpopular tasks, overcharged in renting and buying houses and ... segregated into coloured colonies.

The Legacy of Immigration and its Impact on the Development of the Internet

The failure of particular immigrant groups to assimilate fully into the UK and US societies has provided an enduring legacy of racist bias, prejudice and hatred in both countries. Although the legitimacy of disseminating racist hate speech and overtly exhibiting racist behaviours in the community has been curtailed in the UK and US since the 1960s, Internet newsgroups provide the Far Right with an ‘ideological potential’ as the original ideological justifications for the expression of racial hatred that have been documented throughout the previous chapters are somewhat reflected in the hate speech that is disseminated in the three Far Right Internet newsgroups that are analysed in Chapter Seven.

In addition to providing this ideological potential for the dissemination of racist discourse in newsgroups, the interactivity that newsgroups offer may provide the Far Right with an improved *communicative infrastructure* to maintain and improve command and control. Whine (2003) has previously highlighted that Far Right extremists exploit websites and bulletin boards (or now more commonly web boards or web forums) for the purposes of ‘command and control’ by

organising events and meetings and to recruit new members to their organisations. Indeed, the Far Right remains at the forefront of web popularity. Stormfront, the White supremacist website, is one of the most frequently accessed websites in the US and is the most popular neo-Nazi website in that country. Although websites have proved to be a useful communicative tool for the Far Right, newsgroups may represent an even more advantageous method of interaction¹⁷. Organisations such as the Southern Poverty Law Centre (SPLC) and the Anti-Defamation League routinely monitor and audit websites that host overtly racist material. The SPLC estimates that there may be over 400 racist websites. However, that number varies and some estimates suggest that there may be as many as 2,000 (Race Discrimination Unit, 2002).

As web forums, although functioning in a similar way to newsgroups, are only available through individual websites, if the website is monitored it is possible that the discussions on the web forums are monitored also. Newsgroups are not, generally, monitored to the same extent as websites and thus provide a more uncontrolled means by which the Far Right can communicate with a view to inflaming racial hatred. The use of newsgroups by the Far Right can have two potential effects, both of which are very much dependent upon the ideology of the group that uses this communication tool. Firstly, it can produce serious detrimental consequences for community safety; for example by hosting bomb-making instructions, which are then used to construct a device that causes widespread destruction when placed in the community. Secondly, the racially inflammatory discourse in newsgroups may serve to inflame racism within the newsgroups that host such conversations rather than encourage widespread destruction to the community. In so doing, newsgroups may then either provide a ‘safety valve’, which diverts racist hate speech and behaviour from the community to the discussion group, or merely provide an outlet for less serious racists’ pleasure and entertainment. Although Chapter Seven of this work argues that, at present, newsgroup racists intend to achieve the latter, newsgroups may give rise to a ‘causal potential’ and enable online racists to seek out support and comrades in the event of a potential racial uprising.

This is an important concern at a time when race relations between the White and Muslim communities in Europe and America are precariously positioned as a result of the terrorist attacks against the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon in the US on 11th September 2001 and the terrorist bombings in London on 7th July 2005. Both events gave rise to displays of anti-Muslim sentiments in the respective countries with additional concern transpiring in the UK when it later emerged that all four of the bombers resided in the UK, with three of the four bombers being British nationals of Pakistani descent (BBC News, 2005c). The London bombings were glorified during demonstrations in London in February 2006 against the publication of cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad that were published in a Danish newspaper. Protesters held placards and chanted slogans that sought to glorify the terrorist atrocities. The day after the demonstrations the Metropolitan Police bowed to political pressure to arrest some of the protesters for allegedly inciting terrorism and promoting suicide bombings with placards that stated: ‘Europe you will pay; Bin Laden is on his way’, ‘Freedom go to hell’ and

¹⁷ An explanation of websites and newsgroups in relation to their difference and similarities is provided later in this thesis

‘Massacre those who insult Islam’. The placard stating: ‘Europe, you will pay, fantastic 4 are on their way’ was a reference to the four London suicide bombers (BBC News, 2006a). Although leading British Muslims condemned the demonstrations, the perceived rise in anti-Western sentiment displayed by Muslim protesters may provide a basis for an inflammation of racial hostility between the Muslim and White communities.

Conclusion

The multi-racial and multi-ethnic composition so observable in the UK and US today is a result of the slave trade and successive waves of immigration that occurred throughout the 20th century in both countries. From the 1900s in the US, former Black slaves continued to migrate to the industrialising North, whilst the Japanese, Chinese, Korean and Vietnamese peoples all immigrated from their native homelands to the US in response to the Gold Rush, demand for labour on the sugar plantations and the capture of South Korea by the communist North Korean army. Large scale immigration did not begin in the UK until 1948 when the Nationality Act (implemented in that year) granted citizenship to all residents of Britain’s former colonies of India, Pakistan and the Caribbean Islands. However, prior to this, a significant number of Jews did, in fact, immigrate to the UK from the 1760s, and from the 1920s a small number of South Asian immigrants also trickled in.

In both the US and the UK, immigrant groups suffered racially motivated segregation, exclusion and marginalisation in nearly all spheres of society. Consequently, either intentionally or forcibly, they mostly failed to assimilate or achieve full social cohesion with the native White population. There was little likelihood of a reduction in racially motivated bias, prejudice and hatred until the 1960s when the Civil Rights Movement emerged in the US and the first body of race relations legislation was implemented in the UK.

The social, environmental and demographic changes that arose from the immigration waves described in this chapter provide the ideological basis for the emergence in the US and the UK of a plethora of Far Right racist hate groups. The evolution, rise and ideologies of the most prominent of which are discussed in depth in the next chapter of this work. The groups analysed in Chapter Five, materialised in response to four key issues: firstly, to combat the threat posed by emancipated former slaves in the US; secondly, to counter the influx of immigrants from the Caribbean and South Asia to the UK during the 20th century; thirdly, in response to the perceived danger of Jewish economic, political and social domination. Various hate groups also emerged as a reaction to a combination of all three of the aforementioned issues. Therefore, rather than directing their biased, prejudiced and hateful ideologies towards a specific racial group, they maintain a commitment to rid the UK and the US of *all* non-White citizens, regardless of their racial, ethnic origin.

This chapter continues with the historical and contextual explanation for the emergence and evolution of online hate speech, which is bound up within an historical and social context that began some three and a half centuries ago. This helps us understand the motivations for the new type of hate group called e-

*powered small haters*¹⁸ introduced in the next chapter. The social, environmental and demographic changes that arose from the many immigration waves described in this chapter also provide the ideological basis for the White racist and anti-Semitic hate speech evident in the newsgroups, analysed in Chapter Seven, to which e-powered small haters contribute.

Chapter Five: The Evolution of Hate Groups in the 20th and 21st Centuries

'We can say that we have performed this most difficult task out of love for our people. And we have suffered no harm from it in our inner self, in our soul, in our character' (Himmler, 1943)

Introduction

In the UK and US, hate groups emerged in response to the social, cultural and economic changes influenced by two centuries of immigration and migration. Racist anxieties were exacerbated and often fuelled by increasing competition for resources among ethnic and racial groups. In addition, various racist problems emanated and grew from the unsubstantiated racial stereotypes that promoted fear, ridicule, disdain and aversion to difference amongst many White people.

Hate groups boast a diverse membership which proliferates and promotes quite different ideological perspectives. Most US and UK hate groups are orientated around Far Right White supremacist, anti-Black, anti-Asian and anti-Semitic rhetoric. In addition, many of them are prepared to use and/or glorify high levels of violence to proclaim their extremist ideological stance. The rationale for the emanation of their views differs, and the methods by which they express them fluctuate substantially. However, one thing that is common to all Far Right hate groups is their desire to clean up the 'cultural pollution' that the minority ethnic groups are perceived to create within the society in which they exist (Perry, 2001).

The aim of this chapter is to begin to set in context the basis for the emergence of e-powered small haters that are examined in depth in Chapter Seven. It can be argued that, in terms of the discourse employed and justification for it, e-powered small haters adhere to similar ideology as that expressed by hate groups in the UK and US that began to emerge with the advent of the Ku Klux Klan in the US from 1860. Most appeared around cities situated in industrial and immigrant and migrant 'threatened' Eastern US states in a show of opposition towards those whom many felt were unwanted invaders.

This chapter argues that the emergence and development of hate groups in the US transpired directly from the problems that the White majority faced as a consequence of mass migration and immigration. Over time and place, their motives, dynamics and impacts upon society differ widely. The chapter ends by looking at *hate fundamentalists* before progressing to discuss *e-powered small haters*: White racist individuals who use the Internet to spread their ideological message via a discreet, unregulated and convenient means. Since the 1980s most

¹⁸ See Page 147 for an in depth explanation of from where and why the author derived this term.

groups discussed in this chapter have exploited the Internet as a means of extending their ideology to a greater number of potential racist haters.

Arguably, the vilest form of racial hatred emerged in Nazi Germany where Adolf Hitler's detestation of the Jews initiated the most ghastly anti-Semitic policies. This most evil ideological racist dogma heralded the formation of many hate groups seemingly sympathetic to it, including *Nazi sympathisers* such as the American Nazi party, the National Socialist Movement of America and the White Aryan Resistance, and *Faith Adherents* such as the Aryan Nations.

Since the 1960s, the largest violent hate groups to have emerged in the UK are the various skinhead movements that, although later exporting their culture to the US, emerged in Britain as a response to the arrival of immigrants from the Caribbean and South Asia who were legally entitled to enter the UK from 1948. This chapter argues that it was the prolonged and, latterly, seemingly uncontrolled influx of Caribbean and South Asian immigrants to Britain that prompted the emergence of *Modern Political Fascists* such as the British National Party and the British National Front. These groups emerged with a much-diluted racist dogma and a significantly more moderate, if not overtly absent, proclivity to racially motivated violence. Although both parties overtly display racist undertones, both have attempted to infiltrate the political mainstream in Britain and portray the UK as a haven for immigrants who pose a potential danger to the White British social order.

Ku Klux Klan Movements

Arguably, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) is the most infamous and oldest modern American hate group. Initially founded in 1865 by six former confederate army officers, the organisation mobilised as a vigilante group after the official end of slavery to prevent Southern Black people from enjoying the basic civil rights that were bestowed upon them through the American Declaration of Independence in 1776. Original members of the KKK believed that the emancipation would represent the foundation for millions of uneducated, unemployed, homeless and starving Black people raiding and stealing from defenceless Whites, and that rape and murder would become commonplace (Chambers and Wade, 1998).

By 1866, and with an escalating popularity, the KKK sought to encompass virtually all Black people within its demonised victim group and, according to Szwarc (2001), the group also included White people considered to be racial traitors for sympathising with Black people and defending their place in a traditionally White US society. In fact, documentation devoted to the history of the KKK indicates White people were targeted rather frequently after being accused of offences such as rape, murder or theft. Initially restricting most of its activity to the late night hours, KKK members became effortlessly distinguished by donning official white robes and facemasks. To accompany this more authoritative position as *unofficial law enforcers*, the KKK enhanced its organisation by selecting an official spokesman, Nathan Forrest, who became its first Grand Wizard, established an array of rules and regulations, employed a chief judicial officer and created regional branches commanded by an appointed 'state leader'.

Since then, simultaneous KKK genres have existed under different names and guises throughout the US. An imperative requirement of KKK movements was the capacity for secrecy as, during the late 19th century, the formations of other terrorist organisations to both oppose and complement its activities, not only entailed the necessity to protect it from reprisal attacks but, additionally, to shield its perpetrators from capture (Indiana Historical Research Foundation, 2004). This was important because during the reconstruction period at the end of the American Civil War in 1865, the governing Republican Party bestowed responsibility for *all* atrocities committed by outlaws, bandits or anyone else upon the Klan (Chambers and Wade, 1998). During the First World War, it exhausted considerable effort defending the home front from an infiltration of what the group described as ‘alien enemies’. The ‘alien enemies’ were, in fact, minority ethnic soldiers who were fighting *with* or *for* the American forces. Thus, rather than assuming a more constructive role of defending the country from foreign aggressors, the KKK was arguably more interested in fighting an internal enemy, whom it made an unfeigned effort to oppress.

In 1915 the activities of the KKK were, somewhat serendipitously, legitimised by the release of the propagandist film ‘The Birth of a Nation’. The film glorifies the group by depicting it as a posse of victorious White men responsible for the suppression of the ‘Black threat’ to ‘White society’. Shrewdly, the film employs groundbreaking technological work by including techniques that, although commonplace in modern day films, were recognised as quite revolutionary in the early 1900s. Hence, the film was, and indeed remains, as much acclaimed for its technicality as it is denigrated for its racist substance (Dirks, 1996).

During the 1920s the KKK based itself around racial and anti-Semitic platforms and endorsed the principle of 100% Americanism. The organisation’s activities widened in the North and its total membership of almost 100,000 during this period represented a hostile opposition to the competition for resources that occurred during the economic depression. Mass migration was attributed as a focal cause as industrialisation had gathered momentum and the supply of (largely migrant) labour increased significantly. So did productivity, which vastly exceeded demand, and the consequential price falls of market goods reduced the income of industrialists and led to large-scale job loss (Reeves, 2000). The effect of this upon the majority of White middle-class citizens facilitated an escalation in, and an increasingly diverse socio-economic status of, the membership of the KKK. Hence, this wider spread support arguably enhanced the legitimacy of the group and its activities and this seemed further legitimated by the state which, due to the lack of legislation aimed at reducing RMHC, arguably provided a permission to hate (Perry, 2001). That the middle classes became so supportive of the KKK serves to highlight the fact that the changing economic circumstances in the US brought about by the economic depression at that time were beginning to affect a wider array of socio-economic groups.

The depression experienced in the US caused a similar economic crisis across Europe, where an initial rise of political fascism in Italy was seized upon by both Adolf Hitler in Germany and Oswald Mosley in Britain as a political panacea to solving the economic problems in their respective countries. In Britain, Italian political fascism served as a model for the political socialism that underpinned the

early British political fascist organisation, the *British Union of Fascists* lead by Oswald Mosley. In Germany, political Fascism served as a catalyst for the creation of National Socialism and subsequently widespread anti-Semitism that concluded with the state-authorised genocide of six million Jews. It is with this next typology of hate groups - *National Socialists, Political Fascists and Anti-Semitists* - that this chapter now continues.

National Socialists, Political Fascists and Anti-Semitists

Given that Italian fascism emerged as a political ideology that was, on the face of it, a challenge to both the apparent failure of right wing *laissez faire* economics and left wing socialist policy, it seems rather strange that, when adopted in Germany and in Britain, fascist ideology served as a catalyst for two dichotomous strands of political thought: traditional Left Wing Socialism (in Britain); and Far Right racist Nazism (in Germany). It is the latter form of fascism within which hate speech in Far Right newsgroups such as *alt.skinheads* and *alt.politics.white-power* is manifested. However, British contributors to Far Right Internet newsgroups may well have, initially, become acquainted with the anti-Semitic ideas approved of by the British Union of Fascists. Thus, it is upon an explanation of this organisation and its contribution to the emergence of anti-Semitism in Britain that this chapter now continues.

British Political Fascists and Anti-Semitists

The British Union of Fascists (BUF) was formed in 1932 by Oswald Mosley, whose political roots lie, firstly, in his membership of the Conservative Party (he became the youngest member of Parliament in 1918 when he was elected as the Conservative MP for Harrow), then in his membership of the British Labour Party during the 1920s. Given his previous political affiliation, it is not surprising that he held vastly less liberal socialist views than were advocated by his party at that time. Therefore, it is somewhat surprising that he assumed a ministerial role in Britain's first ever Labour Government - led by Ramsay MacDonald - with responsibility for employment policy. In his autobiography *My Life*, Mosley cited his reason for first entering politics as, '... to prevent any recurrence of the war, which had inflicted such losses on my generation and ... build a fair way of life' (Mosley, 1968: 229). In fact, it was the employment policies pursued by the Labour Government, in response to the onset of the Great Depression and with which Mosley disagreed, that led to his resignation from the party in 1930. In particular, the consequent rise in the level of unemployment in the UK after the Wall Street Crash in October 1929¹⁹, which reduced US demand for worldwide (including British) exports, convinced Mosley that the British Government ought to alter its support for free trade and assert greater state control over industry. In particular, he held the view that: 'Internationalism and socialism were contradictions in terms. How could we make socialism in one small island depending entirely on selling goods in open competition on the markets of the capitalist world?' (Mosley, 1968: 257)

¹⁹ At the same time, Mosley recognised the downturn in political fortunes in Germany, where unemployment had increased by over 4,500,000 between 1928 and 1933.

After resigning from the Labour Party in 1930 and enjoying little success with a party he formed one year later, Mosley formed the BUF, which he described as: 'A British movement of intense national patriotism' (Mosley, 1968: 291). Although he admitted it would be 'dishonest' to deny that the party was a 'fascist' organisation, there was little sign of the BUF demonstrating the similar extreme fascist ideology of forcible suppression, regimentation and totalitarianism that the Fascist Party in Italy displayed. According to Mosley (1968: 287), Fascism was: 'An explosion against intolerable conditions against remediable wrongs, which the old world had failed to remedy [and] a movement to secure national renaissance by people who ... were determined to live ... and live greatly'. Hence, it seemed Mosley sought nationalistic pride in Britain and in the citizens of the country, in addition to envy and respect from the rest of the World.

Anti-Semitism (British Roots)

According to Mosley, anti-Semitism was not an official policy of the BUF. However, it was the anti-Jewish sentiment amongst the White population of East London that seems to have prompted the party's anti-Semitic stance. As the previous chapter highlighted, it was in this area that most Jewish immigrants resided, creating a competition for scarce housing resources. In the General Election of March 1937, the BUF gained nearly one-fifth of the East London vote and, according to Mosley, 'rocking the old parties to the foundations of their complacency' and subsequently making every effort to re-house the White people.

Despite exploiting the Jews' social plight for electoral purposes, Mosley consistently refuted claims that his political fascism bore any connection with anti-Semitism. However, by the mid-1930s, Mosley was expressing strong anti-Jewish sentiment by organising marches (some of which led to large-scale rioting) through the Jewish districts of London where support for the BUF was so crucial to the party's election success.

On 7th June, the BUF held a large rally at Olympia in London. Five hundred 'anti-fascists' attended and began heckling Mosley. They were attacked by 1,000 of Mosley's black-shirted stewards and several protesters were badly beaten by the fascists. The publicity this attracted led to a steep decline in the party's membership. In his autobiography, Mosley places the blame for this violence firmly upon the Jews. Mosley was so sure of their culpability that he was bold enough to comment: 'The Jews make up 0.6% of the population but are guilty of 50% of attacks upon Fascists' (Mosley, 1968: 338). That Mosley perceived the Jewish activities to be attacks on 'fascism' rather than, more specifically, on the BUF is significant and he used this position to indict the Jewish community of 'fighting against fascism and against Britain' and 'conspiring to foster a policy of war' (Mosley, 1968: 338).

It can be argued that, more poignantly, Mosley was accusing the Jews of fighting against the fundamental interests of the British working classes, for whom, as will be highlighted further on in this chapter, the Jews were perceived to care little. Thus, Mosley seems to constantly attempt to characterise himself as 'anti-Jewish' rather than 'anti-Semitic' as, whilst clearly declaring he had little concern for the interests of the Jews and would be loathe to protect or support them, he also rejects the highly anti-Semitic Jewish conspiracy theories and did not, at least

overtly, advocate the extermination of the Jewish people in Britain (Mosley, 1969: 342). Mosley also consistently reiterates his support for multi-culturalism and multi-racialism and also his condemnation of attacking a man purely on account of his race and religion.

Mosley (1968: 370) also denotes Nazi propagated genocide as ‘one of the most execrable crimes in history’ and claims that ‘to kill prisoners in cold blood ... is a vile crime’. Mosley’s repudiation of hard line anti-Semitism also caused his disagreements with fascist colleagues in his own party; in particular, William Joyce²⁰, the deputy leader of the BUF and head of its propaganda section, was expelled from the party in 1937 for his ‘fanatical anti-Semitic fascism’ (Robinson, 2005). Hence, Mosley’s fascism remained firmly manifested in Nationalistic Socialist policies rather than in the racist and extremist Far Right fascist ideology that Hitler eventually advocated and which brought such catastrophic consequences for the Jewish communities in Nazi Germany.

German National Socialists and Anti-Semitists

On seizing power in 1933, Hitler primarily sought to focus his political ambitions upon correcting the economic failure that Germany had faced since the beginning of the 1920s. The Treaty of Versailles 1919 required that Germany claim full responsibility for causing the war and pay large amounts of war reparations to the allies. The Great Depression of the early 1930s led to unemployment increasing to 30% and hyperinflation in Germany. In response, Hitler launched huge public spending schemes to boost employment in agriculture and the manufacturing industries. For those acceptable to the Nazi regime, life improved considerably. In particular, employment possibilities were significantly enhanced by Hitler’s order of vast quantities of arms and his consent to build 2,500 miles of motorway, which eventually linked every major German city. Ultimately, his economic policies facilitated a reduction in the unemployment rate by four million people.

The sentiments bestowed upon Hitler in response to the considerable success of his policies were highlighted by the former Nazi Agriculture Minister, Luise Essig, who, in a recent interview, revealed her belief that: ‘No statesman has ever been as loved as Adolf Hitler was then; those were such happy times’ (Hyks, 2004).

The German people’s economic successes complemented by a restored confidence and pride in their nation, serendipitously served as a prelude to Hitler’s next challenge: to create, within the people’s conscience, an unrivalled belief in the perfect society comprised solely of an Aryan race. He supported this conviction with the myth that, as descendants of noble medieval knights of a less degenerate age, the pure red-blooded German was naturally and genetically superior to any other race of people.

²⁰ The role of William Joyce as a Nazi propagandist will be discussed in the appropriate section towards the end of this chapter.

Anti-Semitism (German Roots)

The infamy attributed to Hitler is manifested more in his hatred towards the Jewish people than in the political policies he pursued in order to solve Germany's economic catastrophe. Given these seemingly unconnected strategies it is important to gain an understanding of where Hitler acquired his conviction in Aryanism and, subsequently, his anti-Semitic ideologies. There are many competing theories on this issue but, as just one example, Rees (1997) seems to suggest that Hitler's penchant for films provided him with the stimulus for his notorious lust for world domination, having been significantly influenced by his reputedly favourite film *Lives of the Bengal Lancers*, first broadcast in 1915. For Hitler, the ability of 55,000 soldiers to control over four million Indians, as the film depicts, served to epitomise the strength and superiority of the Aryan race over the deficiency of the other. In addition, Watt (1984) suggests that Hitler's eventual steadfast Aryanism and anti-Semitic ideology derived from three sources: firstly, from the Social Catholic journal *Deutsches Volksblatt*, which, according to Watt (1984: xxxvii), offered a 'constant crop' of anti-Semitic stories; secondly, from Lanz Von Libenfels journal *Ostra*, which drew upon such issues as the 'susceptibility of blonde haired women to succumb to the seductive technique of the dark haired Jew' and the 'importance of one's physical appearance and biological composition'; and finally, from his interest in 'racial theorists' such as Friedrich Nietzsche, Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau and Houston Stewart Chamberlain.

Convinced that the German Aryan peoples had failed to realise the problems of the Jewish people and the danger posed by their desire to attain world domination, Hitler also drew upon the fabricated *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* to justify and reinforce his anti-Semitic rhetoric. Hitler first read the *Protocols* towards the end of the 1920s. Purportedly this document describes a plan to achieve Jewish global domination and, after its initial publication in Russia in 1905, millions of copies were disseminated throughout Europe and the US. They reached Germany sometime around 1918 and within five years had become one of the central themes of Nazi thought. In 1920, the document was published in 'The Times' and London's 'Morning Post' (ADL, 2002a). That both newspapers appealed to the middle classes was, arguably, significant, as it was they with whom the Jews were primarily seen as competing for positions in white-collar industries and commerce.

Arguably, Jews' motivation for power, self-interest and egotism was also manifested in the *usury issue*. Usury is making money, essentially from nothing, by lending it and charging interest, and this issue has provided a basis for the 800-year old stereotype of the Jew as greedy, mean and self-centred. As paper money did not exist and the accepted token of exchange was precious metal minted into coins by the Church and the Crown, only a limited amount of gold and silver existed and society enjoyed predominant equality. Whilst Christendom prohibited usury, or charging interest, and the Church held the practice to be a grave sin, Jewish law also forbids the charging of interest to another Jew but they are not forbidden to charge interest on transactions to non-Jews. Hence, Jews began to specialise in money-lending to non-Jews and, consequently, Christians (both peasants and aristocracy) suffered significant financial losses. This caused

sporadic uprisings, imprisonments and expulsions of Jews throughout Europe and the interest attached to loans by Jews to non-Jews is widely considered to have been a central issue in contributing to a climate of anti-Semitism. As a counter argument against usury, Thomas Aquinas exploited the medieval 'just price' theory. Aquinas later expanded his argument to oppose any unfair earnings made in trade, basing the argument on the *Christian* golden rule: *do to others as you would have others do unto you*. Thus, he held that the Jews were immoral to gain financially without actually creating something, and that the Jewish lender was making a profit and becoming excessively wealthy by receiving income for nothing, at the expense of the Christian borrower, who was unjustly defrauded and expected to pay more than was actually owed.

This pursuit of profit (selling a product for more than the cost required to produce or acquire it) is an essential characteristic of capitalism; a system that is so contrary to the 21st century political ideologies of the Far Right who, as explained later in this chapter, generally tend to identify more comfortably with the principles of communism and socialism. The right wing capitalist and free market economic systems were attributed as a significant cause of the Great Depression of the 1920s and 1930s that was perceived to damage the economic well-being of the proletariat as worldwide economies fell into deep recession causing large scale unemployment.

Hence, Hitler blamed Germany's previous economic problems upon the Jewish people. Indeed, as many Jews maintained steady employment in essential industries such as clothing and food, rather than in industrial manufacturing, they were better placed than most other German workers to withstand such a critical economic downturn. Reinhard Spitzzy, an SS Officer from 1931 to 1945, used this against Jewish people by claiming that Jews were much slyer in business than Germans.

On taking power, the Nazis burned many sources of Jewish literature, and their categorisation as an inferior race facilitated their expulsion from German schools before being forbidden to enter careers in law, medicine and the civil service. Thus, they were compelled to isolate themselves from the 'Aryan' community and congregate in disease-ridden ghettos, where over 600,000 died of malnutrition. Others were forced into menial jobs, as illustrated by Hyks (2004), whose documentary provides footage of Jewish women cleaning entire streets with a bucket and scrubbing brush. Jewish men were readily portrayed as child molesters, ravishers of women and swindlers of all other honest men. Hence, signs stating 'Juden sind hier unerwünscht,' (meaning 'the presence of Jews is unwanted') were placed throughout Germany in a bid to instigate their removal.

Arguably, the worst outbreak of anti-Jewish violence on German streets erupted in 1938 during what is now somewhat infamously known as the 'Night of Broken Glass'. Thousands of synagogues were set alight, 300 Jews were killed and a further 30,000 were rounded up and prepared for transportation to Nazi death camps.

For Hitler, their systematic extermination was his only viable solution to the *Jewish problem*, and more than six million Jews were provided with a one-way ticket to their ruthless murder in Nazi gas chambers, assuming they were able to

survive the journey; the provision of sanitation, food and water was wholly inadequate and many died before reaching their destination.

Holocaust denial remains a prominent feature of anti-Semitic discourse and is manifested within a variety of forms, including total denial of its occurrence, minimisation of its consequences (such as denying the number of deaths) or refuting the methods of execution (for example, by claiming that Jews succumbed to instant death after a shot through the head rather than suffering a more anguished death in gas chambers (Taylor, 2000).

Public Holocaust denial is a criminal offence in Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Israel, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Switzerland, and is punishable by fines and jail sentences. Hence, there are clear advantages of disseminating holocaust denial in White Power newsgroups online²¹. Holocaust denial has not been criminalised in either the US or the UK and is largely frowned upon rather than punished in both countries.

US Anti-Semitists

Given the high prevalence of racist fascism and anti-Semitism in all three of the US newsgroups analysed in Chapter Seven of this thesis, it is important to analyse the roots of both phenomena in the US. Unlike the UK, which experienced a rise of political fascism, and Germany, which experienced National Socialism with deep rooted anti-Semitic manifestations, the emulation of Nazism in the US was, almost wholly, manifested in racist anti-Semitism. The worldwide depression and consequent collapse of the American economy in the 1930s - the world's most significant at that time - prompted an acceptance of the National Socialist economic and political policies implemented by Hitler and encouraged the formation of the various Nazi movements in the US. It seems that two prominent reasons can be attributed to the rising prominence of US Nazism at that time.

Firstly, achievement of the 'American Dream' of wealth and prosperity, to which all of US society was expected to aspire, was clearly curtailed due to economic collapse. In addition, those who were recognised as having achieved middle class status, and hence realised the American Dream, were adulated and admired by those who had yet to. Thus, in 1921, when Henry Ford - credited with contributing so much to the creation of the American middle class - cited the Protocols of the Elders of Zion in his newspaper, *The Dearborn Independent*, as evidence of the Jewish threat to the prosperity of every American, his concerns did not go unnoticed by many in American society and the roots of anti-Semitism commenced. Hence, when the exodus of Jews from Germany to America occurred during the 1930s, anti-Semitism had already begun to infiltrate US society and was set to get worse.

Secondly, a number of non-Jewish immigrants arrived in the US from Germany during the early 1940s. Many held great admiration of, and supported, Nazism which had facilitated so much economic success in Germany. By that time, German Americans represented approximately one-quarter of the US population (De Hart, 2004) and, as many were sympathetic to the Nazi ideology, a number of

²¹ See chapter 7.

small Nazi organisations emerged. Subsequently, an official *National Socialist Workers Party* was founded in the US to represent the first of a range of *Nazi sympathiser* hate groups to emerge in the US and UK and it is these groups that will now be discussed.

Nazi Sympathisers

Actually, the American National Socialist Workers party (the American form of Germany's Nazi party) effectively disbanded in 1939 when its leader Gritz Khun (who had subsequently renamed the organisation *the American Nazi Party*) was arrested and imprisoned for grand larceny. According to De Hart (2004), Nazism in America then 'lay dormant' for two decades until the Civil Rights Movement gained prominence in the US. Since then, several political movements, seemingly sympathetic to Nazism have emerged in the UK and US. However, reflecting that the Civil Rights Movement had thrust the issues of Black people's oppression from the margins to the forefront of US society, the face of Nazism changed and, realising the perceived economic and social threats Black people now posed to White US society, they too were included, along with the Jews, as targets of racist fascism.

The American Nazi Party

Although many claim the American Nazi Party (ANP) is now defunct, the party's presence on the Internet suggests it is still attempting to gain support and to create fear of the danger of foreign - particularly Jewish - invasion. The ANP was formed in February 1959 by George Lincoln Rockwell, subsequently denoted as America's most notorious neo-Nazi and originator of the 'Holocaust Denial' movement in that country. Although assassinated in 1967, he is credited with providing the foundation for the 'White Power' movement in the US. However, it is agreed that the numerical strength of the ANP has remained statistically insignificant, with support for the party estimated as somewhere between 200 and a few thousand. Today, the primary objectives of the party are: 'To safeguard the existence of the White nation and promote social Justice for White working class people throughout the US' (ANP, 2003a).

Its Far Right ideology is clearly demonstrated on the homepage of its website, which reads:

The year is 2025. White people have become a minority in America and, on our streets, Aryan men are hanged. White girls, who refuse the advances of Negroids, are publicly gang-raped so as to serve as examples to other shuddering Aryan females. Children are now taken from their houses, by force, to be brought up in a multi-cultural home of Negroids, Arabs, Muslims and Gooks, all in the name of brotherhood and love.

The ANP believes in establishing an Aryan Republic where only White persons of unmixed, non-Semitic, European descent can hold citizenship and supports the immediate removal of Jews and non-Whites out of all positions of government and civil service, and eventually out of the country altogether (ANP, 2003b). However, its website does not include a comprehensive mission and nowhere else on its website does the party claim to hold these views. The party stresses its

opposition to ‘pointless and dangerous rallies or marches’. Rather, the party advocates ‘small cell and individual activism’ to achieve its aims. Although the precise connotation of this is notably unclear, reports of the ANP’s association with violence have been uncovered. In 1999, the news organisation CNN reported that a gunman, who opened fire at a Jewish community centre in Los Angeles, was believed to have had links with the ANP. Literature written by Richard Kelly Hoskins, a party member, was found in his van, which was reported to have been ‘filled with ammunition’ (McDermott et al, 1999).

Author of the Turner Diaries, William Pierce is reported to have been a member of the party but is alleged to have denied this at every opportunity, although the Anti Defamation League claims that he and the leader of the ANL met regularly (ADL, 2002b). Pierce continued his racist crusade by joining and eventually leading the National Alliance, which The Southern Poverty Law Centre recognises ‘... as the largest and most dangerous neo-Nazi hate group in the United States’ (Southern Poverty Law Centre, 2003).

National Alliance

Initially founded in 1968 by Willis Carto, the National Alliance (NA) still remains active in its endeavours to ‘... rescue white Americans and Europeans, who have lost their racial and cultural moorings and have become mere rootless drifters in a cosmopolitan chaos’ (NA, 2004a). In 1974, the already infamous former American Nazi Party member, William Pierce, assumed leadership of the NA. Under the pseudonym, Malcolm McDonald, Pierce published the Turner Diaries, widely declared as the blueprint for the 1995 Oklahoma bombings, for which Timothy McVeigh was executed in 2001.

The NA believes that human beings evolve through ‘nature’, that ‘natural law’ dictates how human beings *should be* and that anything else is contrary to ‘nature’ and thus unnatural. The organisation also advocates ‘new societies throughout the White world which are based on Aryan values and are compatible with the Aryan nature’ and ‘Nature has refined and honed the special qualities embodied in the Aryan race’ (NA, 2005a).

This racist view is contrary to the racist views of Faith Adherents, who believe in a ‘God given’ natural hierarchy and, according to NA (2005b) ‘... separates man from the rest of the world and postulates a divine but nevertheless manlike being who rules man and the world by supernatural law’. However, the common ground of both groups is the willingness to eradicate the non-White race, as affirmed by the NA:

After the sickness of multi-culturalism, which is destroying America, Britain, and every other Aryan nation in which it is being promoted, has been swept away, we must again have a racially clean area of the earth for the further development of our people. We ourselves are responsible for everything over which we have the power of choice: in particular, for the state of our environment and for the destiny of our race.

The NA envisages a world with only ‘... White schools, White residential neighbourhoods and recreation areas, White workplaces, White farms and countryside’ and with ‘... no non-Whites in our living space’ (NA, 2005c).

According to the NA, the responsibility for achieving this rests with the US Government, which retains a duty to generate policies (particularly around the economy and education) that are more consistent with the needs of White society. In particular, the NA advocates a return to a widespread eugenics programme to ‘reverse the racially devolutionary course of the last few millennia and keep it reversed’ and supports the removal of all non-Aryan members from the Government. The organisation maintains:

We must have a government wholly committed to the service of our race and subject to no non-Aryan influence. It must be structured and organised in a way suited to its purpose of safeguarding and advancing the race ... With ... the rise in the influence of the mass media on public opinion, and the insinuation of the Jews into a position of control over the media, the US government has gradually transformed into the malignant monster it is today: the single most dangerous and destructive enemy our race has ever known.

Although the NA claims it does not advocate any illegal activity and expects its members to conduct themselves accordingly, three very recent cases demonstrate the violent proclivities of some of the group’s members. In October 2000, NA member, Steven McFadden, was arrested in New York. After a search of his apartment, police discovered an arsenal of weapons, including swords, revolvers, pistols and shotguns. About six months earlier, police had arrested another man in Queens, Michael Sagginario, for violating his parole, after discovering a cache of guns and a National Alliance handbook in his home. He had been arrested previously, in the early 1990s, for the illegal use of explosives. Finally, In June 2001, another NA member, Eric Hanson, was killed in a shootout after resisting the Illinois State Police’s attempt to arrest him on weapons charges. Hanson, who in 1999 had been convicted for physically threatening an interracial couple and for possessing illegal weapons in two separate cases, seriously wounded one of the officers who tried to arrest him (ADL, 2004).

The National Socialist Movement

The National Socialist Movement (NSM) (also known as NSM88)²² was founded by Robert Brannen in 1974 and proclaims itself as the largest Nazi Party operating in the US and claims to cooperate and work with many like-minded White nationalist groups such as the KKK and Aryan Skinheads. Unlike other Nazi sympathising organisations, NSM members are instantly recognisable at rallies and demonstrations by their ‘Brown Shirt’ uniform, emulating that of the Nazi Stormtroopers.

The NSM demonstrates clear nationalistic and National Socialist propensities in its statement of purpose. The party demands the ‘union of all Whites into a

²² The ‘88’ reference emanates from the first letters of the words ‘Heil Hitler’ as ‘H’ is the eighth letter of the alphabet.

greater America on the basis of the right of national self-determination' but stipulates that 'only members of the nation may be citizens of the state and only those of pure White blood may be members of the nation'. Hence, no Jew or homosexual may be a member of the nation, although 'non-citizens' may live in America but only as guests, must be subject to laws for aliens and will be deported 'should it prove impossible to feed the entire population'. Presumably, 'non-citizens' ought to only be of 'White stock' as in the next paragraph the party emphasises its repatriation policy that demands 'all non-Whites currently residing in America are required to leave the nation forthwith and return to their land of origin: peacefully or by force'.

The party's commitment to a political socialist ideology is highlighted by its commitment that 'activities of the individual must not clash within the framework of the community and be for the common good' and its pledge to 'nationalise all businesses and its obligation to create National Socialist trade unions'. Like modern political fascist organisations (described further in this chapter), the NSM declares policies regarding the environment, agriculture, taxation, healthcare and law and order.

The ADL (2005) claims that during 2004 and 2005, the NSM continued to expand and has vowed to run a National Socialist candidate in the 2008 US Presidential Election. This explains its somewhat lengthy socialist-driven manifesto (some of which is explained above) published on its website. However, by becoming involved in a joint flyer distribution with another racist skinhead group in Pennsylvania in May 2005, the group clearly wants to increase its membership by working with racist skinheads, and whether or not this will help the party's chances in a full Presidential Election is debateable. In addition, the ADL (2005) maintains that the party's potential for growth and, presumably, electoral success, may be more limited than that of some other neo-Nazi groups because of its emphasis on openly wearing Nazi regalia.

White Aryan Resistance

The White Aryan Resistance (WAR) was founded in the US by Tom Metzger during the 1960s for the purpose of not merely protecting the so-called White race but to prevent '... the eventual extinction of Nature's finest handiwork' (WAR, 2004a). On the WAR website, Metzger is eulogised for his criminal background. He was jailed in Los Angeles for 45 days in 1982 for attending a cross-lighting activity, and again 10 years later, this time with his son, John, for violating hate speech laws in Canada. He has been involved in dealings, brawls and riots with the Black Panthers and Louis Farrakhan, race discussions in Tokyo in 1993 and 1999 and half a dozen assassination attempts (WAR, 2004b).

WAR declares policies on issues such as the economy, the environment, defence and taxation; all of which include a noticeable racist bias. The party is also concerned about immigration - primarily that of Mexicans and Latin Americans to the US - but, targeting other non-White immigrants, it speaks of 'the dregs of the Caribbean' and describes the dangers of a 'mud flood oozing' into US states (WAR, 2004a). This overt racist language and the party's denigration of homosexuals suggest that, unlike the America First Party and the various British

modern political fascist movements, such as the British National Party, the party is not attempting to infiltrate mainstream politics in the US.

According to the Anti Defamation League, Metzger has been widely acknowledged as the principal mentor of the neo-Nazi skinhead movement since its appearance in America during the mid-1980s. He seems to seldom harbour criminal motives, preferring instead to appear at racist assemblies. His association with skinheads commenced a \$12.5 million judgment against him and his son, John, in 1990 for inciting a group of them to murder an Ethiopian immigrant (ADL, 2002c). This serious commitment to racism seems to be the feature that Metzger seeks for his WAR regime as he explains: 'We are not trying to recruit the general public; what good are they to us? We're trying to reach people out there who really know what's cooking'. Thus, although loosely organised, Metzger's association with skinhead groups, and his endorsement of them as serious and committed racists, must serve to denote them as a serious threat to racial harmony in the US.

Skinhead Groups

Skinhead gangs emerged in the UK in London during the late 1960s as a working class response to the hippie phenomenon (Hebdige, 1979), with their origins manifested among the tougher Mods (Hopkins Burke and Sunley, 1998). Three types of skinhead movements emerged: Nazi (White power) skins; SHARPS; and Trads (short for traditional). Despite the common perception, many skinhead groups have no connection to Nazism. White power *Traditional skinheads* do not regard attitudes toward racism or politics as essential to their subculture. Instead, they identify with the original skinhead movement's music, style, and working class pride. *SHARPS* also demonstrate an opposition to neo-Nazism; although they were more political than other skinhead organisations. The RASH (Red and Anarchic Skinheads) or 'redskins' became part of the political left and fought against the Far Right in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The principal targets of Nazi skinhead groups in the UK in the 1960s and 1970s were South Asian immigrants, violence against whom aided skinhead efforts to protect their security and status in a growing competition for employment and housing resources. The violence against this group became so prolific that the term 'Paki bashing' became accepted terminology to define indiscriminate attacks against any South Asians - not merely those from Pakistan - who were all labelled as 'Pakis'. By joining a skinhead group, disaffected White youngsters were able to re-assert this lost 'master identity' (Hopkins Burke and Sunley, 1998 324). From the 1960s, football grounds were regularly employed as recruitment and promotion venues and for demonstrations. Marshall (1994) claims that most big First Division teams had thousands of skinhead supporters who fought with each other with bottles, bricks, darts and razor blades.

Skinheads' violent racist behaviour has facilitated their links with Far Right groups, even though Marshall (1994) maintains that, originally, skinheads displayed very little interest in politics and enjoyed no affiliation with the Far Right. It has been claimed that the NF merely used the skinheads' reputation for violence to intimidate opposition. Most skinheads deny that their group was recruited to engage in racist and criminal activity by this organisation, claiming

that it recruited street youths before shaving their heads and paying them to bully and attack immigrant workers. There may be some validity to this claim because the Young National Front (YNF), formed in 1977, gained substantial support from young working class youths. Although there is little evidence to suggest that they also assumed active links with organised skinhead gangs, the YNF was certainly aware of, and to a certain extent, complimentary towards, skinhead violent activity. Marshall (1994: 134) claims that: 'While virtually everyone else was condemning football hooliganism and other skinhead pastimes, the Young National Front hailed them as warriors'. Upon Marshall's (1994: 135) own admission, during the 1980s many skinheads 'deserted the National Front' to join other more extreme organisations such as the British Movement and the Anti Paki League. The former substantially benefited from skinhead support, possibly because of its patriotic rather than explicitly confrontational title.

The necessity to apportion blame for their societal failures was common to all British skinhead movements, which from the outset were recognised as a visible reactionary force that provided an outlet for members to declare their anger and frustration at the perceived inequity and 'strain' that social change causes. Strain theory endeavours to provide a sociological explanation of the occurrence and causes of deviance, disorder and criminal behaviour (for example see Cohen, 1955; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Maza 1964; Sykes and Matza 1957). However, fewer studies have been conducted to investigate the extent to which sub-cultures recruit disaffected young people.

Yet, to this end, Blazak (2001) conducted a study to explore how racist skinhead groups target specific youth populations for recruitment. From his 65 interviews conducted with skinheads in several cities in the US, he found that groups identify specific populations of potential recruits, from which individual strain sufferers are recognised and targeted for recruitment. Unsurprisingly, distributing racist literature outside schools - particularly those in the midst of multi-cultural change - also proved successful. Blazak (2001) contends that disaffected youths are attracted to skinhead groups as a consequence of strain caused by the presence of anything that can undermine or threaten their ascribed social status (see Jones, 1998). More specifically, he theorises that racist skinhead groups comprise members that are encumbered by threats to their ethnic and racial, economic, gender and sexual status. Interestingly, this list is not unique to the racist or neo-Nazi skinhead element but typifies also the common reason for the involvement of young people in traditional skinhead groups. Much has been written about how strained youths end up in gangs as a means to address their blocked goal attainment.

From the research, it seems that strain emanating from a threat to the racial and economic order were dominating reasons for becoming a member of a racist skinhead group in the US. In both instances 'strain theory' has become known as 'anomie' but the explanation for its existence differs depending upon its cause. Durkheim (1933) argued that, earlier, more simple forms of society had high levels of 'mechanical' solidarity, characterised by a likeness and a similarity between individuals - invariably from the same ethnic group - who hold common attitudes and beliefs which constitute an intense and rigid collective conscience invariably reinforced by sacred religious belief (Durkheim, 1964). Later, more

complex societies are exemplified by 'organic' solidarity that rely less on the maintenance of uniformity between individuals, and more on the management of the diverse functions of different groups. This breakdown in norms and common understandings leads to a state of 'normlessness' or 'anomie'. Similarly, Blazak (2001) found that skinhead recruitment was successful in any areas in the US where the White, American mechanical solidarity was threatened. He stated that: 'One of the newest recruitment techniques is to target schools that are experiencing a current shift towards multi-culturalism' (Blazak, 2001: 328). He contends that youths become susceptible to skinhead recruitment drives when 'history and social science books are retooled to be more inclusive leading to the diminishment of hegemonic, white, male perspective'. Those who deviate or are in some way different from the norm are defined and labelled as being deviant and outsiders.

For Durkheim, the inability to regulate norms and common understandings in an organic society leads to insufficient external controls that adequately regulate society's aspirations and control dealings between different social groups in their competition for numerous limited resources, for which such groups must compete with each other. Derived from the European Anomie tradition of Durkheim is the US tradition of 'anomie', which has its origins in the work of Merton (1938). He proposed that in US society of the 1930s and 1940s, there is both an overriding goal of material success and recognised legitimate means by which one must achieve this.

In keeping with American consumer-culture, material success is measured in accordance with accumulation of wealth and possession of material goods which, once achieved, provides the individual with social status. However, in juxtaposition to this overriding goal of material success, there is - in a hierarchically structured racially segregated society such as the US - an unequal availability of the legitimate means by which these desired goals can be achieved. Levin and McDevitt (1993) and Perry (2001) observe a tendency for hate crime offenders to blame their economic instability or lack of job opportunities on the immigration or migration of 'foreigners', which causes strain on other more 'natural' members of society. This thwarted opportunity and under-achievement of goals expounds Merton's description of 'anomie'. Blazak (2001) reported that:

In 15 years, over and over again, I have heard stories of skinheads leafletting neighbourhoods where automobile or textile workers have been laid off, blaming affirmative action and Jewish capitalism.

Although a small faction within skinhead groups may pursue serious acts of violence, such attacks are relatively infrequent compared with economically or interpersonally motivated crime. Since the 1980s, skinhead groups have remained fundamental to the White Supremacist cause. In particular, WAR leader Tom Mezger has used skinhead gangs to endorse his Far Right cause at rallies and organised events.

Christian Faith Adherents

Christian faith adherents ground their bias, prejudicial and hate fuelled tendencies in scriptural readings. Fundamentally, they assert that White people are the true

Israelites favoured by God in the Bible and that Jews are the ‘children of Satan’. Christian identity movements can be distinguished from Nazi sympathisers on the grounds that some neo-Nazis reject Christian identity because they see Christianity as a religion based on the Hebrew Bible and, since they reject all things seen as influenced by Jews, they reject Christianity.

Aryan Nations

The Aryan Nations (AN) was founded in the mid-1970s in the US and describes itself as the powerhouse of the racist right. The group’s White supremacist ideology is manifested within Jewish hatred and encourages all Aryans to ‘fight the takeover by the evil Jewish menace’. Although the organisation claims it does not support any religion, it professes its rules and conduct is based around ‘Biblical Law’, and ‘Aryan Messianic’ and ‘Christian identity’. The AN preaches that God’s creation of Adam marked the placing of the White Race upon this earth, a race which the organisation believes is on the ‘... verge of extinction, and necessitates the execution of anything within its powers to secure a white safe future for our children and our children’s children’ (AN, 2004).

Although the assistant chaplain of the AN, Pastor Jay Faber claims that the founder of the organisation, Pastor Richard Girnt Butler, developed the AN as an ‘institution of Aryan virtue’, his conception of the AN was never an *identity only* organisation. Hence, it seems that the current organisation, as endorsed by Pastor Faber, is more concerned with what the group can achieve, rather than ensuring that those who achieve it are White. Encompassed within the AN’s commitment to White supremacy and Christian identity is an alliance with Islam and support for Islamic terrorism due to its anti-Semitic resolve. The AN maintains that it will continue to welcome Islamists into its ranks in order to help achieve a racial holy war (or *Aryan Jihad* as the AN prefers to label it) against the Jewish people in order to ‘exterminate our enemy, the insidious, poisonous, rabid and satanic Jew’ (AN, 2005a). According to the AN, the *Aryan Jihad* represents the way forward for the organisation by facilitating ‘a harder stance in regards to the means and methods’ by which its goal of ‘... establishing a White Aryan Homeland on the North American continent’ can be achieved (Jihad Watch, 2005).

The AN’s adoption of the term *jihad* somewhat exemplifies its espousal, praise and desire to emulate the extremist activities of Islamic terrorist organisations. Both groups strive for a ‘better world’ and ‘better way of life’. Islamic terrorists strive for a Muslim Holy War²³ (MUHOWA) against those who are perceived as threats against the Islamic religion (including Jews), and the Aryan Nations strive for a Racial Holy War (RAHOWA) against those that are a threat to the White Christian identity (particularly Jews). In a further effort to consolidate its support for Muslim extremism, the AN berates the ‘Jewish controlled media’ for portraying Islamists as wild animals and the ‘sub-humans of the world’. According to the NA, the Aryan Jihad is conducted under the doctrine of ‘Aryan Messianic Identity’ and calls upon people to: ‘Let the Islamic world know, Jihad is not just their ideal, it is not they alone in this Holiest of causes, we are here to join them in Holy Worldwide Jihad. Death to the Infidels! Death to the Jew!’

²³ More commonly known as a Jihad.

Modern Political Fascists

Modern political fascist groups, such as the America First Party, British National Front and British National Party, emerged after the Second World War. Like the National Socialist Workers party in Germany and the British Union of Fascists before them, their ideology seems based around a fusion of traditional Left wing socialism and Far Right Nationalistic principles. They endeavour to validate their Far Right Nationalism by portraying the UK and US as a haven for non-White immigrants, who pose a potential danger to the White social order in those countries. However, Modern Political Fascists demonstrate a somewhat diluted racist dogma secreted within their support of traditional left wing socialist values. They also demonstrate a significantly more moderate, if not overtly absent, proclivity to racially motivated violence, compared to that of the KKK and some skinhead organisations. That a 'political' ideology is central to the purpose of Modern Political Fascists illustrates a clear distinction between them and Nazi sympathisers (analysed previously in this chapter), who demonstrate an overt racial hatred of all non-Whites and that their central philosophy is to forcibly deport all non-Whites from their respective countries.

The America First Party

The America First Party (AFP) situates immigration issues within its broader campaign of placing the rights and interests of the American people above all else. The AFP contends that Federal Government has 'conspicuously failed' to secure its nation against illegal immigration, which has led to an undermining of the rule of law, violating national sovereignty and the imposition of intolerable social and fiscal burdens on the American people (AFP, 2004). The party's main campaign on illegal immigration seems to focus upon tightening entrance controls and generating a more concerted effort to prevent immigrants working in the US illegally and 'enforce immigration laws to insure that all illegal aliens identified or apprehended by law enforcement agencies are promptly deported'. The party also recommends an alteration to Amendment 14 of the US Constitution, which, since 1868, has guaranteed citizenship rights to all persons born or naturalised in the United States. Under the America First Party's proposal, automatic citizenship would not be granted to any child of illegal immigrants, even if they were born in the US. The party tenders a more sympathetic stance to legal immigrants but warns that the escalation in legal immigration to over one million each year is certain to result in vast increases in traffic congestion, overcrowded schools, urban sprawl, pressures on resources, dwindling wilderness and wildlife areas and degradation of the American quality of life. Despite this, the party embraces a far less radical view on their deportation than the British National Party or National Front in the UK. Rather than advocating repatriation, the party encourages a temporary ban on all immigration for ten years except for spouses and minor children of US citizens, upon whom a system of preferential visa entitlement would be bestowed. Finally, the party supports the introduction of an assimilation process for new immigrants, which would 'aim to teach them the English language and encourage them to learn about American history, government, and civic culture'.

British National Front Organisations

In England, on 7th February 1967, The National Front (NF) was formed. Based upon the premise that the UK has a right to determine its own future and that multi-racialism and mass migration was a tragic mistake (National Front, 2004), the movement had begun to establish itself into mainstream politics by 1970. In that year's General Election, the party received less than 0.1% of the total vote (Kimber, 2004) and the eventual Conservative Party victory was also attributed, in part, to the racist vote; particularly after its Member of Parliament for Wolverhampton South West, Enoch Powell, caused outrage within his own party, but gained a considerable amount of public support, with his now infamous 'rivers of blood' speech which he made to Parliament in April 1968. It was so negatively appraised that Powell was immediately dismissed from his position in the Shadow Cabinet. In reality, although his speech highlighted his perception of the emerging problems that uncontrolled immigration would beget, it concluded with a display of racism which his party refused to tolerate. Using supposed constituents' stories to endorse his arguments, Powell spoke of the future when he asserted that one-tenth of the UK will comprise Commonwealth migrants and their descendants, who will 'descend into whole areas and towns'.

As the aforementioned study of Rex and Moore (1968) demonstrates, many immigrants were indeed already residing in certain areas of the UK such as Sparkbrook, Birmingham and Leicester and Powell's own city of Wolverhampton at that time. Powell spoke of his constituents feeling like 'strangers in their own country; unable to obtain hospital beds or school places for their children and witnessing their neighbourhoods changing beyond all recognition'. Although the Conservative General Election manifestos of 1966 and 1970 (see Craig, 1975) promoted the party's commitment to migration control and voluntary repatriation²⁴, Powells' decision to integrate this into such an unequivocal racist speech was also somewhat politically, as well as morally, erroneous. He also criticised what he referred to as the 'dangerous and divisive' Race Relations Act which, in his view, threatened the liberty of White people by bestowing more rights upon minority groups and providing them with the necessary impetus to 'agitate and campaign against their fellow citizens' (Powell, 1970). In comparison, Powell argued, the US benefited from reverse legislation, which placed immediate restraints upon their 'negroes'. Thus his speech concludes: '... as I look ahead, I am filled with foreboding; like the Roman, I see the River Tiber foaming with much blood' (Powell, 1970).

In general, the 1960s can be observed as a period when race relations were also politicised by the traditional right. In the 1964 Smethwick by-election, the Conservative candidate, Peter Griffiths, directed his campaign towards protecting the interests of the White majority from the influx of migrants. He won by a large majority, beating the Labour Cabinet Minister, Patrick Gordon-Walker, in what was previously a safe Labour seat.

The General Election of 1979 proved less successful for the National Front. Despite fielding over 300 candidates, it gained less than 1% of the overall vote

²⁴ The British Government offered minority ethnic groups the opportunity of cheap flights to encourage repatriation to their country of origin (Craig: 1975).

and was required to pay £45,000 in lost deposits (BBC, 1979). The NF, and indeed some commentators (for example, Husbands, 1979), attributed this failure to the mainstream parties' increasing understanding of voters' fears about migration. For example, former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, delivered a speech during her election campaign in which she claimed to 'understand the fears of the British people of being swamped by coloured migrants' (Brown, 1995).

This fear, and the way mainstream politicians deal with it, remains equally as real in the last stages of the 20th and into the 21st century. The same term 'swamped' was used by New Labour's Home Secretary David Blunkett when, in 1997, he commented that: 'Asylum seekers were 'swamping' some British schools'. He later stressed that, rather than talking about Britain being swamped by immigrants, he claimed to have been referring to the extra work that could be created by asylum seekers for particular schools or doctors (BBC News, 2003a).

Akin with the ideology of pre-Second World War fascist parties, The NF's modern political ideology (and indeed that of the British National Party) tends to create a distortion in the accepted distinctions of the dichotomous political left and political right by maintaining support for its socialist ideal of distributive ownership and, at the same time, upholding its opposition to internationalism (akin to the BUF before it) and multi-racialism and its belief in absolute British sovereignty. More generally, its views and ideas are based on concepts of personal liberty, social justice, national independence and racial integrity. The NF denotes this political philosophy as 'racial Nationalism', based upon the underlying principles of racially homogenous independent nation states and the preservation of the cultures and racially homogenous population within them. Hence, rather than favouring the existence of only one 'race', the NF belief that different 'races' ought to remain within their national boundaries as a multi-racial society creates potential tensions amongst the heterogeneous population. However, the NF endorses both pride in one's race and respect for other races - providing they reside in their 'own' country rather than in the UK.

Hence, the NF promotes a policy of compulsory repatriation by claiming that immigrants who entered Britain following the implementation of the 1948 Nationality Act²⁵ were 'victims' of the British Government's 'multi-racial' policies, and that second and third generation minority ethnic groups do not see Britain as their 'home', even though it is their place of birth. Hence, the NF claims to 'hate' previous British Governments for 'bringing' the immigrants to this country rather than hating immigrants. Thus, the NF favours a policy of what it considers 'humane repatriation', whereby 'over a period of 10 to 15 years, these people²⁶ would, without exception, be repatriated back to the lands from which they, their parents or the grandparents came' (NF, 2004). Those who refused would be arrested and forcibly deported. The same policy would apply to people of mixed race.

²⁵ See chapter four for a discussion of immigration to the UK.

²⁶ Whom the NF rather disparagingly refer to as 'coloured'.

In recent years the racist vote seems to have diverted from traditionally conventional political parties as the Far Right British National Party (BNP) has attempted to infiltrate mainstream politics.

British National Party

The British National Party (BNP) was founded in 1982 by John Tyndall, a former chairman of the NF. During the 1980s, the party was particularly successful in recruiting young males traditionally associated with the highly organised left wing trade union dominated coal mining industry, damaged to the point of non-existence as an outcome of Conservative Government policies. Interestingly, the political issues upon which the party campaigns are markedly similar to both the Nazi party in Germany, the BUF and the NF. Hence, the BNP's modern political ideology tends to distort the commonly accepted clear ideological distinction between the political left and political right, which are traditionally accepted as two very different and very dichotomous political ideals. The BNP endorses old traditional left wing socialist policies such as a commitment to nationalisation and excluding foreign-manufactured goods from British markets, and a reduction of other foreign imports in order to: '... ensure ... manufactured goods are, wherever possible, produced in British factories employing British workers' as, according to the party, globalisation brings ruin to British industry and consequently, unemployment (BNP, 2004a).

Primarily, the party attributes responsibility to the immigration policies of bygone governments for the deprivation, economic disadvantage and social ills perceived to have repressed the working classes. To this end, the party advocates an 'immediate halt to all immigration' and 'a system of *voluntary*²⁷ resettlement whereby those 'foreigners' resident in Britain would be encouraged [by way of generous financial packages; presumably financed from general taxation] to return to their *land of origin*²⁸'. This is a clearly racist idea because for all non-first generation members of minority ethnic groups in the UK, this country *is* their land of origin. The BNP also support the abolition of positive discrimination that 'has made White Britons second-class citizens' (BNP, 2004b). Like the NF, the BNP seems to advocate racial nationalism and yet denies that it is manifestly racist by declaring that:

Racism is when you 'hate' another ethnic group. We don't 'hate' black people; God made them, they have a right to their own identity as much as we do; all we want to do is to preserve the ethnic and cultural identity of the British people.

The BNP also attempts to distance itself from racist attacks, which it claims are 'wrong; plain and simple'. However, many of its most prominent members are, or have previously been, members of skinhead movements. Combat 18 (C 18) and the National Alliance and a number of other groups have also enjoyed an affiliation with neo-Nazi groups and advocated holocaust denial. Almost all regional chairmen and organisers have previous criminal convictions, many for

²⁷ My italics in order to emphasise the variation of repatriation policy between the BNP and NF, which, as discussed above, advocates a policy of *compulsory* repatriation.

²⁸ My italics by way of emphasis.

race-related offences. This was highlighted by the BBC's Panorama programme 'Under the Skin' in 2001, which reported on Andy McLorie's two-year imprisonment for a petrol bomb attack on the home of an RUC officer in 1986 and Graham Taskers, who received six months custody for an attack on a Black woman in 1989. Three years later he became a prominent activist in the KKK, burning crosses in the Derbyshire countryside. In 1991, Tony Lecomber was sentenced to three years imprisonment for unlawful wounding for his part in an attack on a Jewish teacher and Colin Smith, regional organiser for the South East, has multiple convictions including possession of an offensive weapon. Before joining the BNP in the early 1990s he was formerly a member of the Nazi British Movement. In 1998, the BNP's present leader, Nick Griffin, was convicted for producing material likely to incite racial hatred (BBC, 2001). At the time of writing, Griffin is facing a retrial on two race hate charges after being cleared by a jury at Leeds Crown Court of two other charges earlier in 2006. On the same occasion, another party activist and close friend of Griffin, Mark Collett, was acquitted of four similar charges but he is also awaiting a trial on four further race hate charges (BBC News 2006b).

Finally, in 2000, David Hanan was sentenced to three months custody for his part in the production and distribution of a racist and anti-Semitic leaflet during the 1999 European Election Campaign. Thus, although the party claims: 'There simply isn't any evidence whatsoever of any promotion of violence by the British National Party', it seemingly ignores the violent proclivities harboured by individual members. Many members of the BNP remain connected with football violence. In July 1998, Paul Thompson, coordinator for the County Durham branch was convicted of attacking football fans in Darlington town centre. Warren Bennett, Chief Steward at the Edinburgh branch of the BNP, was among 58 Scottish supporters prevented from attending the Scotland versus Norway match during the 1998 World Cup (BBC, 2003b). Scottish and French police feared they would commit violence. Recently, in May 2004, a BNP candidate standing in forthcoming local elections appeared in court charged with public order offences after a Stoke City football match (BBC News, 2004a).

There is evidence to suggest that football stadiums have also become effective recruiting grounds for Far Right political groups such as the BNP which, according to Hopkins Burke and Sunley (*ibid*), have been popular with disaffected working class youngsters for many years.

Although the party's key election battlegrounds still remain in the urban areas of the North of England, which document a history of racial tension, the BNP has recently moved its centre of operations to an area of rural England; probably in an attempt to exploit the (largely un-documented and under-researched) racial divisions that exist in rural areas (Chakraborti and Garland, 2004).

It seems as though its favoured approach is now to apportion blame for the UK's social ills upon ethnic groups, whilst diluting this discourse within mainstream political rhetoric. Eatwell and O'Sullivan (1989: 146) claim there is a fundamental problem that the Far Right is '... rather like the non-extreme right but just a bit more so'. As a confirmation of this view, it is interesting to note that in 1999, Chris Green, a former Conservative council candidate, relinquished his Tory membership to join the BNP. The Far Rights infiltration of the mainstream

is so prominent that in his speech to the Conservative Party's 2004 Spring Conference, its leader, Michael Howard, purposefully sought to distance his party from the Far Right. He stated that: 'It is important for politicians from mainstream parties to face up to extremists to tell people why we disagree with them' (Howard, 2004). That Howard's prudence, and that of other mainstream parties, to disassociate themselves from Far Right political organisations is beyond doubt, was further particularly demonstrated by a BBC (2004) documentary *The Secret Agent* broadcast earlier this year, in which reporter Jason Gwynne infiltrated the BNP to investigate its harmful and illegal activities. The programme shows one member, Steve Barkham, confessing to a violent assault on an Asian man, and a prospective election candidate admitting to a campaign of pushing dog excrement through the front door of an Asian takeaway. Another man is observed commenting that he wants to kill Asians and attack mosques. Activists are also filmed plotting to firebomb a van being used to distribute anti-BNP literature. Such broadcasts do not aim to simply highlight that the BNP is a racist organisation because this is already well known. However, they provide a critical insight into the unknown extent of the group's illegal and violent activities. Although the BBC's Panorama programme asserts that since the early 1990s the BNP has enjoyed a proven association with Combat 18, its affiliation with such terrorist hate groups actually remains unproven.

Combat 18

Combat 18 (C18) is a British neo-Nazi terrorist organisation formed in 1992. The '18' in the organisation's name is derived from the first and eighth letters of the alphabet, in other words the initials of Nazi leader Adolf Hitler. Its members' official uniformed dress encompasses a dark blue sweatshirt, blue jeans and black balaclavas. The organisation quickly became synonymous with violence following a number of violent acts targeted at immigrants and people from the political left. During April 1999, a professed C18 supporter, 22-year old David Copeland, carried out a bombing campaign aimed at the Black and Asian communities in London's Brick Lane, Brixton and Soho areas. He planted three separate bombs between 23rd and 30th April; the explosions caused three fatalities and injured over 100 others. Combat 18 activists and local football hooligans are documented to have maintained a dominant presence at the 2001 race riots in Oldham (BBC: 2003c).

Since its inception, C18 cells have been reportedly active in other Western European Countries. This new regime of terror seems to have been inaugurated in 2002 after the attempted assassination of the French President, Jacques Chirac. Subsequently, the perpetrator was believed to have had links with the organisation (BBC News, 2002b). This exemplification of its capabilities prompted it to release a statement that warned:

To all the European leaders and their collaborators who tried to dismiss Combat 18 as a mindless race-hate group, we hope that the events of July 14th 2002 are a reminder that C18 and its supporters are willing and able to act in any European country (Atkinson, 2002).

Subsequently, the *Searchlight Magazine* has indicted C18 for dispatching letter bombs from Scandinavia, consorting with convicted Ulster loyalist killers, safe

housing terrorists and gun-running (Lowles, 2003). In 2001, the US news network CNN linked the C18 with a series of anti-Muslim activities, which it regarded as a 'chilling reaction' to the 11th September 2001 Islamic terrorist attacks in New York and Washington (CNN, 2001).

E-powered Small Haters

The term *e-powered small haters* has been coined by the author and derives from the term *empowered small agent*, which, according to Vidalis and Blyth (2002), is 'an individual or group that uses information and information technology to achieve an ideological or political objective'. Hence, motivated by the belief in their ideological, political and religious principles, *e-powered small haters* sympathise with the Far Right ideologies of the organised and established hate groups described in this chapter and who, quite independently of these groups, exploit the interactivity of the Internet to disseminate hate speech online in interactive forums such as newsgroups. For whatever reason, they refuse to reveal their racist ideology in the public domain but, nevertheless, need a non-private outlet for dissemination of their hate-fuelled dogma.

Hence, since the 1980s, the development of the Internet and its associated interactive features proved advantageous for White racists to spread their ideological message in a non-private domain relatively discreetly, very conveniently, reasonably cheaply and largely unrestrictedly. This muted regulation and boundless potential enables any racist, with anything from the least extreme to even the most odious racist views, to bring themselves to the attention of like-minded or receptive others anywhere on the planet and to share and normalise their racist views in a national and international group format.

The 'unreality' of cyberspace ensures that anybody disseminating hate material on the Internet can do so anonymously, from a place of safety and, largely, without fear of identification or apprehension (Mann and Sutton, 1998). Much explanation for this lies in the perpetrator's ability to remain unrecognised. There are several ways by which Internet users can post messages anonymously. An anonymous remailer is arguably the most commonly used method of anonymising communication. It receives messages and forwards them without revealing from where they originally came. Similarly, a pseudonymous remailer is a software program designed to allow people to write anonymous messages in newsgroups under a pseudonym. Whilst both methods of secrecy are essential to allow users to engage in their hate activities without the fear of being identified, potentially this has far reaching consequences for law enforcement agencies in their quest to reduce or control illegal or harmful content on the Internet (Sutton and Griffiths, 2002).

Conclusion

Beginning with the KKK and ending with e-powered small haters, this chapter has provided a discussion of the emergence, rise and ideologies of many of the most prominent Far Right racist hate groups to have operated in the US and UK. Firstly, the KKK emerged in the 1860s to combat the perceived threat posed by emancipated former slaves in the US. Secondly, the various Skinhead groups, the British National Front and the British National Party emerged to seek to counter

the influx into the UK of immigrants from the Caribbean and South Asia during the 20th century. The America First Party also emerged in response to the perceived threat posed by large-scale US immigration. Although the party maintains a hard-line stance on illegal immigration - that all illegal immigrants must be forcibly returned to their country of origin - it advocates an acceptance of legal immigration while raising concerns that this may, one day, reach an unsustainable level. Thirdly, British Political Fascists, German National Socialists and anti-Semitists formed in response to the perceived danger of Jewish economic, political and social domination. The supremacist ideology of the Aryan Nations, which emerged in the US in the 1970s, is also manifested entirely within Jewish hatred. Finally, the National Alliance, the National Socialist Movement and the White Aryan Resistance were formed as a reaction to a combination of all three of the aforementioned issues. As such, these groups do not direct their biased, prejudiced and hateful ideologies towards a specific racial group but, rather, maintain a commitment to rid the UK and the US of all non-White citizens.

The final part of this chapter introduces an innovative and new typology of hate group called *e-powered small haters*²⁹. Virtually no research has been conducted into how e-powered small haters exploit the interactivity of the Internet to disseminate hate speech online in interactive forums such as newsgroups. Chapter Seven is concerned with such an investigation by studying the structure, organisation and dynamics of three Internet newsgroups - *alt.flame.niggers*; *alt.politics.white-power*; and *alt.skinheads* - in which e-powered small haters operate in order to understand how they create an enabling environment for the expression and development of online racial hatred and how newsgroups may be used to facilitate criminal and other harmful activity. Much of the hate speech evident in these newsgroups derives from the historical and social perspectives that are explained in Chapters Three and Four of this work and from the ideologies of the many already established Far Right hate groups examined in Chapter Five.

In particular, the e-powered small haters who contribute to the newsgroup *alt.flame.niggers* primarily draw upon the racist stereotypes (that portray Black people as inhuman and criminal or deviant) that developed from the Atlantic Slave Trade (explained in Chapter Three). And it is by drawing upon the issues highlighted in Chapter Four that most contributors to *alt.politics.white-power* and *alt.skinheads* have developed their ideological framework. They frequently target Black people (regardless of their religious affiliation), East Asians, Muslims and Jews and spread racist ideologies in interactive newsgroups and web forums and on websites.

E-powered small haters exploit long-standing racist concerns such as the competition (between White people and immigrants) for scarce resources such as employment and housing and draw upon anti-Semitic ideology by disseminating anti-Semitic discourse and advertising anti-Semitic products such as clothing and literature. White racist (in addition to anti-Semitic) games are also advertised as are subscriptions to racist magazines and invitations to White supremacist rallies and marches. E-powered small haters also endeavour to recruit new members by

²⁹ See page 147 for an explanation of from where and why the author derived this term.

spreading their racist message beyond the immediate racist newsgroups to which they traditionally contribute. Frequently, messages are posted to newsgroups with racist-sounding names and those with non-racist subject titles alike.

In addition to promoting ideologies, newsgroup contributors promote a structure within their newsgroup, which facilitates the newsgroups' racist momentum. For example, contributors to *alt.flame.niggers* and *alt.skinheads* endorse rule setting and co-ordinate 'most hated racist' elections in order to ensure that messages posted are consistent with the aims of the group and to guarantee that messages posted to the newsgroups are as racist in tone as possible.

The next chapter, Chapter Six, reports upon the novel methodology, *invisible, unstructured, non-participatory observational research*, employed to conduct the investigation conducted for Chapter Seven and other methodological issues associated with this form of online research.

Chapter Six: Research Methodology and Rationale for the Investigation

'The growth of ... technology alters the position of... social groups to the extent that some can no longer be contained' (McLuhan, 1964: 5)

Introduction

The remainder of this thesis aims to discover the structure and organisation of three Far Right racist Internet newsgroups²⁸ - *alt.politics.white-power*; *alt.flame-niggers*; and *alt.skinheads* - with a view to investigating how these groups contribute to the creation of an enabling environment for the expression, dissemination and development of online racial hatred. This thesis also examines whether newsgroups can successfully be exploited to facilitate criminal and other related activities. This chapter reports upon the methodology employed to conduct the investigation and other methodological issues associated with online research, and also endeavours to provide a rationale for the investigation in view of the lack of existing research and literature in the area of online hate crime.

Pease (2001) argues that individuals now live in both 'meatspace' and 'cyberspace', and suggests that people who commit crime in the non-physical environment of 'cyberspace' are not restricted by some of the constraints imposed upon those who commit similar crimes in the physical environment of 'meatspace'. This departure from the physical environment has caused apprehension. For example, Slouka (1995) writes that immersion into this non-physical environment will diminish our capacity to conduct face-to-face communication in the real world, causing loneliness and isolation. In particular, he worries for those, whom he denotes as 'net religionists', who 'believe that the future of mankind is not real life but some form of virtual reality'.

McLuhan (1964: 5) observed, during the early 1960s, a new era of global communication that he considered to be an 'extension of man' and which, when introduced into our affairs on a new scale, may initiate particular personal and social consequences. His contention that 'the medium is the message' refers to the idiosyncratic effects of the totally new communications 'environments' that have been created by technological advances such as the television set.

Undoubtedly, the emergence of the Internet and creation of 'online' and innovative interactive environments has represented a great leap into the communications revolution and, although McLuhan could never have anticipated the positive and negative possibilities offered 40 years later by the virtual universality of the Internet, many of the issues he raised, about communications technology at the time, are as pertinent now as they were then; particularly illustrated by his recognition that the growth of technology '... alters the position of the negro and other social groups, whilst some groups can no longer be contained' (McLuhan, 1964: 5).

Introduction to the Internet and Newsgroups

The Internet

The roots of the modern Internet emerged in the 1960s when employees of the US Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) at the Pentagon considered the possibility of networking computers via an ordinary dial up telephone line. The proposal was presented at a conference in 1967, where the provisional title of the new creation was announced as 'ARPANET'. Fortuitously, a team of UK scientists at the National Physical Laboratory, having expressed a similar idea, had designed a plan for linking ten computers via a local area network. However, both endeavours were originally beleaguered with imperfections; primarily due to the inability of telephone landlines to manage the vast amount of information that an expanding network of computers was generating. Thus, there was a need for a telephone system that would enable the rapid sending and storing of messages and also allow for their transmission along several telephone lines so that they were not rejected by the system due to another incoming message³⁰.

The solution, it seemed, was Ward Christensen's computer programme called MODEM, which allowed numerous computer users to simultaneously transfer computer files from one computer to another via traditional telephone lines, hence, heralding the Internet revolution. The modern Internet system is unimaginably more technical since it has evolved into a *network of networks*, of which no one person, body or agency can be identified as owners. Each component (cable, satellite, optical fibre) may be owned by different companies or agencies and the modern Internet structure comprises many different features; all of which are central to this communications phenomena. Central to its popularity and function are the several communication components, such as websites and newsgroups, that allow instantaneous interaction and an immediate retrieval of a wealth of published material.

Newsgroups

Newsgroups, one of the oldest components of the Internet, are open discussion areas that allow like-minded individuals to coalesce and discuss topics in which they all share a particular interest. To join, potential contributors are initially required to know the name of the group. As newsgroup names are 'subject

³⁰ By communicating through several telegraph lines, messages always arrive even if another message was sent simultaneously to the same recipient. Using only one would result in a rejection of the message, rather like telephone calls that become 'engaged' when more than one caller tries to reach the same receiver.

specific', it is relatively easy to determine the type of discussion that takes place. Newsgroups are provided by Internet Service Providers (ISP) via news servers³¹, which will contain a list of every newsgroup that a given ISP offers; they are then downloaded to a user's computer before it is possible to subscribe to the desired newsgroup. Messages sent to newsgroups are termed 'posts' and listed for anyone who enters the newsgroup to read. When a 'post' is clicked upon and 'opened' it is downloaded from the news server to be read in the same way as an email. Members can then reply to any message in the same way as if they are replying to an email. Because it is very difficult to control the material posted to newsgroups, and as it is relatively easy to conceal a contributor's identity, some particular newsgroups have become a 'breeding ground' for material that some people may find harmful, offensive or obscene and that is sometimes criminal (Mann and Sutton, 1998).

Controlling the content of newsgroups was reasonably straightforward in the early years as the small number of messages meant that a gatekeeper or moderator was able to filter out all unsuitable material (Naughton, 1999). Nevertheless the user community continually pushed the boundaries of acceptability and some wished to conduct discussions on issues such as sex and drugs. Thus, a new range of alternative groups, with the suffix '*alt.*' were conceived and in April 1988 three *alt.* newsgroups were created (Naughton, 1999). Arguably, newsgroups were inserted into this category so as to clearly define their nature and reduce the likelihood of offending the less 'immoral' or more sensitive contributor. Over the years, this *alt.* category of newsgroup has become significantly more precarious regarding the subjects hosted and now includes such titles as *alt.rape*, *alt.flameniggers* and *alt.paedophiles*. At present it is possible that up to 90,000 newsgroups may exist; although, it must be acknowledged that not all of these will be included within the range of '*alt.*' groups. This, together with the Internet's originally designed purposeful unregulated freedom, diminishes further the possibility of effective regulation, although other moderated newsgroups, based upon the earlier 'gatekeeper' model, remain in existence and in these groups any messages that are perceived as inappropriate are removed.

Previous Research

Literature devoted to crime and the Internet, although increasing, is somewhat sparse. Wall (2001) claims that the Internet has facilitated the commission of illegal and harmful activity in three main ways. Firstly, by acting as a communication vehicle to sustain existing patterns of illegal and harmful behaviour, such as hate speech and stalking. Secondly, offenders are able to commit different variations of existing illegal and harmful activity, such as fraud and paedophilia. Finally, he argues that the Internet has created the opportunity to commit entirely new forms of crime, for example, the unauthorised appropriation of imagery, software and music products.

Arguably, two further categories can be included within this inventory. Firstly, the Internet has allowed the accomplishment of preparatory acts online, in order to perform illegal acts in the real world. A good example is that of the empowered small agent such as the so-called 'Brick Lane Bomber', David Copeland, who

³¹ News servers store and distribute newsgroup posts.

acquired recipes on how to prepare a bomb from the Internet, before planting it in the centre of London in an act of terrorism that caused widespread property destruction, injury and death. Secondly, in more recent years, the Internet has been used by organisations and individuals to glorify their hate crimes. For example, during the 2004 conflict in Iraq, a terrorist organisation posted several films of the beheadings of Western hostages; including US Telecom's worker, Nick Berg, and British engineer, Ken Bigley, on Internet websites. The graphic pictures ended with an image of the killers raising the victim's decapitated head into the air in a show of triumph. Mann, Sutton and Tuffin (2003) report that days after the murder of James Byrd, who was dragged to death by a pick-up truck in the US, contributors to the newsgroup *alt.politics.white-power* sought to justify and also celebrated the murder of this Black man.

Online investigations remain a strangely under-researched area of criminological enquiry, as only a small - but none the less important - number of studies of this nature have been conducted. Mann and Sutton's (1998) seminal investigation into the extent of criminal and deviant activity in two newsgroups is an important exception; one of the newsgroups involved satellite hackers hacking encrypted satellite television services, while the other comprised members interested in picking locks and understanding more about safes and other security devices.

Les Back (2001: 629) also conducted seminal research on the Internet and recognised that online discussion groups, such as Usenet newsgroups provide an 'international network of communication' for Far Right ideologists who are able to observe, listen to and disseminate neo-Nazi racist propaganda whilst feeling involved in racist culture in a largely unregulated and relatively safe global space. He also argues that websites provide Far Right groups such as the BNP, KKK and the WAR with a marketing outlet for White power music and racist games that celebrate racist violence. According to Back (2001), web pages hosted by the Hammerskin Nation also glorify 'cyber terrorism' by offering sections on hacking software and computer viruses. Whine (2000) comments that Far Right groups more readily exploit the Internet for command and control communication purposes; in particular to organise rallies and meetings, raise revenue and recruit. He reports that between December 2002 and February 2003 the BNP and NF posted copious messages advertising organised meetings in the North of England and that a raid on a London mosque in January 2003 was advertised on Far Right websites.

Finally, Mann, Sutton and Tuffin's (2003) research examines how and why White racialist groups use Internet websites to spread their ideological message. Their work considers the extent to which this activity facilitates and contributes to an enabling environment in which racially motivated hate crime can flourish in towns and cities and thereby may impact upon community safety and potentially create new problems for those concerned with the reduction and prevention of crime.

Methodological Issues – the Medium is the Message and the Method

Fundamentally, this thesis is a qualitative observational research study inspired in part by similar online research undertaken by Mann and Sutton (1998) and Mann, Sutton and Tuffin (2003). Both of these previous studies were seen to herald a

novel method of investigation: *invisible non-participatory observational research*. However, it is possible, and indeed necessary for academic advancement, to progress with this research technique, building upon and improving upon what has gone before. This type of work can be incorporated into two very dissimilar classifications: explicitly structured and unstructured observation, where the former entails the use of a somewhat rigid observational schedule and the latter does not. Structured observation involves abiding by specific rules that specify what should be looked for, the manner in which the information must be recorded and for how long each participant must be monitored. Unstructured observation does not entail the use of an observation schedule for the purpose of data collection and recording behaviour. Rather, the aim is, according to Bryman (2001: 169): ‘To record, in as much detail as possible, the behaviour of participants with the aim of developing a narrative account of it’. Due to the under-researched nature of online observational studies, online researchers are unable to draw on much existing data as a guide to establishing the sort of information that may be recovered. Hence, it is better to employ a research method that allows maximum flexibility in order to collect a myriad of potential data. Given that the researcher is ‘blind’ to most available information at the outset of Internet-based research of this kind, such maximum flexibility allows for the collection of as much relevant data as possible, avoiding the risk of neglecting potentially important findings. This is very much in line with the principles of grounded research.

As Mann and Sutton (1998) write, their study departs from the traditional principles of observational research as it is somewhat unusual to employ observation as the *only* research method in most traditional observational studies. Rather, the technique is usually used as one of several approaches within the process of ethnography. Hence, it is necessary to decide at this point whether online research projects such as this ought to be categorised as purely ‘observation’ or whether they ought to be more accurately defined as some form of ethnography. Usually, the term ‘ethnography’ is preferred because, in reality, observers also do much more than merely ‘watch’ their participants. Usually observation is the first stage of a process. On the basis of observations made, a number of participants may be selected to complete questionnaires, or else at least add further insight to explain what is behind what was observed, to provide an enhanced understanding of the social setting and the activities of the subjects therein. In order to gain finer detail and richer data, interviews with a still smaller number of participants may be carried out. Given the methodological arguments outlined in this section and, as this project involves only one research method, that of observation, the research method employed to conduct this thesis may be most correctly categorised as: *invisible, non-participant, unstructured observational research*, and is, therefore, by definition, a qualitative research project. In effect, it remains debateable whether this constitutes ethnography or should be termed virtual ethnography. This online research conducted for the thesis is a qualitative research project that is shaped by the particular medium used by its subjects. In this sense, the new technology of the Internet has shaped the method chosen to study those who exploit it. Perhaps, with apologies to McLuhan (1964), the medium is not just the message; it is, in the Information Age, also the ‘method’ for those who study it!

The Investigation

The Pilot Study

The pilot study began shortly after the Easter period of 2003 and lasted for eight weeks. The first step was to subscribe to several selected newsgroups that hosted discussions of a racist nature that I could observe over a four-week period to enable me to eventually select just three for in-depth analysis for Chapter Seven of this thesis³². For the purpose of the pilot study (but, as it subsequently turned out, not for the main study) I wished to view ‘real time’ newsgroup discussions³³ and, as access to this from the university premises was problematic³⁴, it was decided that the study should be conducted from my own PC at home, using the news server carried by Microsoft Internet Explorer.

From the outset it was decided that only racist newsgroups originating from the US would be chosen for analysis in this study. Although there are many that emanate from the UK, Mann, Sutton and Tuffin (2003) found that, unlike US racist newsgroups, UK racist newsgroups tend to contain racist discourse merely as a subsidiary to their wider topics of political discussion, rather than host and be dominated by overt racist postings. As most racist newsgroups can be found under the suffix ‘*alt.*’, it seemed sensible to search through the entire list of the 2,517 ‘*alt.*’ newsgroups and record those that seemed, from their title, to host White racist discussions. Eight newsgroups – *alt.flame.niggers*, *alt.niggers*, *alt.holocaust*, *alt.revisionism*, *alt.politics.white-power*, *alt.stormfront*, *alt.skinheads*, *alt.politics.nationalism.white* - were identified as such.

An in-depth preliminary examination of the newsgroups was essential in order to find three for analysis for the main study that were reasonably active to ensure the collection of a reasonable amount of rich data, but that did not contain such copious discussion that it would be problematic for a single researcher to analyse it all in the timescale specified for the study. The aim was not to decide upon a specific sample size of ‘people’ to study within each newsgroup, more important was the number of ‘posts’ sent to each newsgroup and the diversity of subject matter. Hence, the choice of newsgroups was based upon their individual dynamism, in terms of the heterogeneity of the conversations and diversity of subject matter.

Significantly, the lack of existing research into the dynamics of newsgroups provided no foundation for selecting an ideal number of respondents³⁵. Thus, this research commenced with few perceptions regarding the specific data that might be available for collection. Certainly, given the sparseness of existing research, it would have been somewhat foolish to attempt to narrow down the search criteria

³² While the choice of three groups as opposed to, say, 1, 2, or 5 is rather arbitrary, this was thought to be a reasonable compromise that would allow for in-depth study while providing some measure of difference for comparative purposes.

³³ The reasons for this and an account of alternative methods of viewing Internet newsgroups are discussed later in this chapter.

³⁴ See the section below on ‘Access to the setting and resources used’ for an in-depth explanation of these problems.

³⁵ In this study the term ‘respondent’ is used to mean the ‘contributors’ who post messages to the newsgroups.

and neglect other potentially important findings. The pilot study quickly indicated that although all three newsgroups would host racist discussion, its nature and severity varied considerably.

Hence, the research interest was focused upon activity levels and content of each of the six newsgroups in the pilot. The level of activity can be easily ascertained because the number of new messages posted each day is displayed each time the newsgroup is accessed, with the new, previously unread messages listed in bold type and chronologically according to the date and time they were posted to the chosen newsgroup.

In order to analyse the content of the messages for the pilot study, four hours each day for four weeks were reserved (excluding weekends) to read a range of randomly selected posts and exchanges from each chosen newsgroup. These were printed and also saved onto the hard drive of the PC. The rest of the day was spent reading the printed transcripts in order to understand the types of conversation taking place within each newsgroup and then to allow a comparison between each group. The transcripts were placed in a lever arch folder that was divided according to the title of the newsgroup. In total, 80 hours of observational analysis were devoted to the pilot study.

On completion of this process, it was possible to eliminate five of the groups and decide upon the three to be analysed in the main study. *Alt.holocaust* and *alt.stormfront* were eliminated due to the fact that the former newsgroup was found to host general religious and political rhetoric rather than the expected racist or anti-Semitic discourse. Similarly, it was initially thought that the latter newsgroup may be linked to Don Black's 'Stormfront' organisation and, although a small number of posts hosted conversation directly related to this, the group had only received 35 posts over a seven-year period from November 1997 to September 2004 and hence was vastly 'un-dynamic'. It was also discovered that the type of messages posted to *alt.flame.niggers* and *alt.niggers* were so similar that analysing both newsgroups would have resulted in the collection of very similar data. However, as the messages in the former newsgroup appeared to be slightly more racist in tone than the messages posted to the latter, the former was used for a more in-depth analysis in this pilot study. Likewise, *alt.nationalism.white* and *alt.politics.white-power* also contained messages that were similar in terms of their content. Both groups contained a combination of political debates and racist discussion but as *alt.politics.white-power* contained a greater degree of the latter, this newsgroup, rather than *alt.nationalism.white*, was analysed for the main study. Both *alt.revisionism* and *alt.skinheads* contained significant anti-Semitic rhetoric, although the latter newsgroup proved to be the more dynamic of the two as it contained many posts from individuals who were, it seemed, affiliated with the various skinhead movements. Hence, it was decided that data should be collected from *alt.politics.white-power*, *alt.flame.niggers* and *alt.skinheads* for the main study.

Main Study

For reasons of consistency, the main study began within a few days of the completion of the pilot study. It was decided that data would be collected from each newsgroup over a three-month period from July to September 2003. Data

from the pilot study suggested that a time period of three months would enable the collection of sufficient data. In addition, the preliminary study suggested that newsgroup contributors may be inclined to react to events that transpire offline and the anniversaries thereof. In this case, the selected time period included 11th September, the second anniversary of the terrorist attacks in the US cities of Washington and New York, in response to which, the infamous *war on terror* against Al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden was initiated. In addition, the timing of research was influenced by the work of Poynting (2002), who found that the terrorist attacks in America on 11th September 2001 resulted in an increase in the number of racially motivated attacks against Muslim women in Australia. Thus, it is possible that such a prominent anniversary may also have resulted in an increase in racially motivated hate speech towards Asian people in the newsgroups. On exceptional circumstances, it was necessary to collect data that appeared outside of this period if it enhanced the substance of particular findings. For example, a message posted during September 2003 asserted that death threats had, in the past, been consistently directed towards one contributor to the *alt.flame.niggers* newsgroup. This behaviour warranted further investigation, although several of the messages were not within the main data collection period.

As ‘real time’ newsgroups are inaccessible via the Nottingham Trent University’s news server³⁶, it was decided that newsgroup data for the main study would be collected using the *Google archive of Usenet discussion groups*³⁷. This method of accessing newsgroups is available from inside the University; hence it was possible to conduct this study from my office at the University, where access to the Internet is free of charge to staff and students, rather than from home, where Microsoft subscription fees would be required in order to access newsgroups from Outlook Express. Although it was decided to analyse messages posted over a three-month period, the data were collected, analysed and written up in the thesis over a period of more than a year and it would have cost somewhere in the region of £150 to £200 to complete the project from home, rather than from the university.

The *Google archive of Usenet discussion groups* contains the entire record and content of Usenet discussion groups dating back to 1981 and contains more than 840 million posts. Google acquired the Usenet discussion service from Deja.com, including its entire Usenet archive of more than 500 million messages in February 2001. The previous company created Deja News in 1995 to provide a user-friendly interface to Usenet. Deja began archiving and indexing messages so that they could be searched and sorted, turning an unmanageable resource into an easy to use reference tool. Importantly for research purposes, it must be stressed that the Google database contains *every* real time message that was ever posted to each newsgroup now archived in the Google database. As the data required for the study spanned a specific period of time and would be collected from particularly selected newsgroups, the *Google groups’ advanced search* was used. This method of searching allows users to find specific conversations posted to a specific newsgroup on a specific date, as illustrated in Figure 1.

³⁶ See the section below on ‘Access to the setting and resources used’ for an in-depth explanation.

³⁷ The difference between ‘real time’ messages and those from the archive is explained further on in this section.

Figure 1

Group	Return only messages from the group	all newsgroups
Subject	Return only messages where the subject contains	
Author	Return only messages where the author is	
Language	Return messages written in	any language
Message Dates	Return messages posted	anytime
	Return messages posted between	
	1 Jul 2000 and	
	2 Jul 2000	

This method also enables users to find messages containing *key words* by typing words that appear somewhere within a message into a search box. By simply clicking on the ‘search button’ a list of every message posted to the newsgroup during a specific time period can be displayed, as illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2

Date	Thread Subject	Most Recent Poster
30 Sep 2003	<u>Hoht JEWISH b*tches:</u> (38 articles)	Serena Burd
30 Sep 2003	<u>Two standards for US. Korean soldiers</u> (9 articles)	john
30 Sep 2003	<u>Spam from the dog-eating country</u> (33 articles)	Curtis Desjardins
30 Sep 2003	<u>Gold-Toothed Nigger On TV</u> (57 articles)	ExtremeOne

The number of ‘articles’ displayed next to the subject denotes the number of contributors posting messages on that particular subject. When more than one person enters a conversation, a ‘thread’ occurs. The number of posts in a thread is displayed as illustrated in Figure 3, which contains six posts in its thread.

Figure 3

Subject: Negro Bitch Leaves 2 Yr Old Child At Home Alone For ... Newsgroup: alt.politics.white-power
1 Frosty the Blowman 30 Sep 2003
-2 Tom Shelly, <u>Legendary White God</u> 1 Oct 2003
\-3 Randy Jabsco 1 Oct 2003
\-4 Byker 1 Oct 2003
\-5 WORDs@true.org 1 Oct 2003
\-6 William J. Wolfe 1 Oct 2003

Data Collection and Theme Selection

The first, most arduous and at times complex stage of the data collection process was to identify the themes that would form the source of the analysis presented in

Chapter Seven. As explained previously in this chapter, given the lack of existing work in this particular area of research, it was not possible to form any pre-conceived ideas regarding the themes that could, or ought to be searched for. As was clear from the pilot study, each of the three newsgroups displayed different ideologies and hence it was decided that each newsgroup would be analysed consecutively in order to identify the themes to include for analysis in Chapter Seven. There was no easy or speedy method of identifying themes and the only way possible was to click on each ‘thread subject’ (Figure 3 above), and then systematically read every message. The amount of data that could possibly be collected depended largely upon the number of posts disseminated in each newsgroup. In addition, the number of messages posted often determined the richness of data as contributors were influenced by the popularity of particular subject matter. For example, the newsgroup *alt.skinheads* received a mean of only four posts per day, whereas *alt.flame.niggers* received a mean of 94 posts per day. Figure 4 illustrates the monthly and the mean number of daily posts received by each of the three newsgroups during the three months of the study³⁸.

Figure 4

Number of Posts during period of study			
Month	Newsgroup		
	Alt skinheads	Alt flame niggers	Alt politics whitepower
July	167	2787	214
August	107	2775	369
September	64	3244	238
Total	338	8806	821
Mean Daily Average	4	96	9

As the *alt.flame.niggers* newsgroup received more posts each month than either *alt.skinheads* or *alt.politics.white-power*, it was decided that, for the purposes of data collection and theme selection, this newsgroup would be examined first, followed by *alt.politics.white-power* then, finally, *alt.skinheads*. Initially, it was decided that themes would be stored under *newsgroup* rather than *theme* heading. In order to do this, an electronic folder was created for each of the three newsgroups studied and each theme would be saved in the folder appropriate to the newsgroup. Emerging themes were coded under a particular heading; thus, each new theme that emerged was coded under a different heading. With so many posts each month (again, refer to Figure 4, above) and with so many different topics of discussion, identifying themes in the newsgroups proved extremely problematic as, eventually, 25 to 30 different themes emerged from various different topics of discussion in each newsgroup.

³⁸ As the following chapter shows, much activity in all three newsgroups involved the use of cross posts to other newsgroups. This practice is also explained in more detail in the following chapter.

The next step was to re-examine each of the theme headings in order to ascertain whether themes initially categorised under several theme headings could be amalgamated under one heading. This proved possible and it was decided that themes should be categorised under *broad* theme headings and *sub* theme headings. As the themes that were finally decided upon are distinctly evident in the next chapter of this work, it is inappropriate to explain each broad theme and sub theme here. However, it is appropriate at this point to explain, using a very small number of illustrative examples, the process undertaken to classify relevant themes.

Broad themes were reasonably easy to identify; in particular, the presence of anti-Semitic discourse and conversations relating to advertising and recruitment issues were obvious. Therefore, devising these broad categories was unproblematic. However, some broad themes were not as easily recognisable. For example, the broad theme heading *Target Substitutors*³⁹ was not immediately obvious and only became so when it was recognised that hatred towards South Asians and Middle Eastern Arabs seldom appeared – and did so only for short periods of time⁴⁰ – before the racist contributors reverted back to their original targets⁴¹. Hence, as Asian and Arabs seemed to appear as ‘substitutes’ for original targets, the broad theme of *Target Substitutors* encompassed hate speech towards South Asians and Middle Eastern Arabs. Similarly, East Asians were also victimised temporarily and in response to wider issues concerning their perceived penchant for eating dogs, which was used by racist contributors to inflame hate speech in the newsgroup towards this group. Hence, these racist contributors are categorised in Chapter Seven as *Issue Sympathisers*.

Sub-theme headings, as the name suggests, are sub-groups of main theme headings. For example, in the *alt.flame.niggers* newsgroup, there were many overt references to the long-standing stereotypes that have been attributed to Black people. It was decided that many of these themes could be used as sub themes and categorised under fewer broad headings. Hence, references to inhumanity (particularly the inhumanities associated with the Atlantic slave trade) and miscegenation were classified as sub-theme headings and placed under a broad theme heading of *Enforcing Stereotypes*. References to Black people’s sexual deviance were classed as a sub-theme heading of *Criminality* and hence placed under that broad theme heading. Ultimately, 13 broad theme headings emerged sub-categorised into 27 sub-theme headings. Finally, it was possible to divide anti-Semitic discourse into four sub-theme headings under the broad theme heading of *Anti-Semites* after realising that anti-Semitism in the newsgroups was manifested within four themes.

Once the relevant themes were identified, the posts were electronically saved in a specifically created folder named according to the 13 broad theme headings, rather than according to the title of newsgroup (as was previously the case) as the analysis in Chapter Seven would be presented in accordance with the title of the

³⁹ See page 187 for a description of this typology.

⁴⁰ There were several reasons for racist contributors using Asians and Arabs as *Target Substitutors* – see Chapter Seven for a discussion of these issues.

⁴¹ Which were different depending upon the newsgroup to which they contributed – see chapter Seven for a detailed discussion of this.

broad theme heading. The relevant posts were also printed and the printed data or ‘conversations’ served as research transcripts, which were then filed in a lever arch file, again under the broad theme headings. The posted messages that comprised these 13 themes form the central elements of the analysis presented in Chapter Seven.

Validity of Findings

Generally, validity deals with, firstly, the extent to which there is an appropriate match between observations and the theoretical ideas that develop from them and, secondly, whether findings can be generalised across other similar social settings. More specifically, Kirk and Miller (1987) discuss the issue of validity in terms of whether researchers *actually see* what they *think they see*. The richness of the data that can be obtained from observational studies in newsgroups denotes there is little doubt that *what you see is what there is* and almost without exception everything seen by the researcher is authentic. Referring to validity issues of traditional offline observational research, LeCompte and Goetz (1982) seem to infer that *certain* validity is only possible if the entire scene observed is frozen at every stage of the research and therefore examined subsequently in the same conditions as observed by the previous researchers. The Google groups’ archive enables the researcher to observe the *exact* scene, including the exact words written by and interactions between the same actors in the same setting as many times as they wish without the need to freeze the scene; an arguably impossible task during offline observational research. Additionally, newsgroup data can be saved directly from source so, once recalled, its accuracy is relatively unquestionable. Accuracy can be checked or confirmed by simply finding the appropriate conversation within the specific newsgroup again.

The second issue of validity, the ability to generalise one’s findings across other settings, is a more complex area of discussion, as there exist many possible settings for observational research offline. There are, equally, a myriad of newsgroups that could become the setting for online observational research studies. Therefore, the opportunity to formulate definite conclusions regarding the transferability of theories generated from one newsgroup to another may be limited, even if the newsgroups under consideration appear to be similar in nature. For example, newsgroups that may appear to be categorised as ‘racist’, such as the three observed for this study, each displayed different dynamics, subject matter and ideologies. However, as explained earlier in this chapter, it was clear from the pilot study that occasionally findings can be generalised across other ‘racist’ newsgroups. For example, *alt.politics.white-power* and *alt.politics.nationalism.white*, were similar in nature to each other, as were the newsgroups *alt.flame.niggers* and *alt.niggers*. In addition, there are politics newsgroups, such as those studied by Mann, Sutton and Tuffin (2001), that can be recognised as having ‘racist properties’, such as *soc.culture.british* and *uk.politics.misc* that contained racist discourse within other more prominent political discussions. Then there are the other 90,000 (or more) newsgroups that are explicitly non-racist.

This raises the question: to what extent may conclusions regarding the lack of structure, coordination and organisation observed in the newsgroups studied here apply to those? Existing research by Mann and Sutton (1998) suggests there is a clear difference. They found a more definite structure and organisation within the

satellite hacking newsgroups that they studied, as several people in these groups assumed quite definite roles and had quite specific aims. No such organisation was found in newsgroups studied here and this is covered in-depth in the following chapter.

Online observation overcomes many of the problems that occur during ‘real life’ observational studies. In the ‘field’, researchers must physically record and store their observations in a notebook. As the human mind is by no means faultless and is certainly prone to forgetfulness, note taking has proved problematic in previous covert research studies. For example, Humphreys (1970), in his study of men who commit impersonal sexual acts with one another in public toilets, famously encountered difficulties when seeking somewhere to record his notes. As did Ditton (1977: 5) who, reflecting on his ethnographic study of fiddling and pilferage on the production line of a bread factory, expressed: ‘I found it impossible to keep everything that I wanted to remember in my head until the end of the working day ... and had nowhere to retire to privately jot things down’. Once the ‘field’ is vacated, offline researchers often possess only their notes on which to rely during the writing up process. Parker (1974), in the seminal ethnographic work ‘View from the Boys’, claimed that his memory was so perfect that he had total recall of the conversations he relays in his book. Such memory skills are not only rare but, for some, difficult to believe. Fortunately, online observational research negates the need to devise a perfect note taking or memorising technique.

Reliability of Findings

It can be recognised that issues surrounding research reliability focus more academic scrutiny upon the method used than the final conclusion. Lincoln and Guba (1985) have suggested that, in order to verify reliability of one’s findings, the dependability and conformability of the research method must have been established

Dependability

The test of dependability assesses the extent to which the research process can be audited. It was a paramount consideration in this study to keep complete notes for each stage of the research process. As explained above, each conversation observed was printed and served as a data transcript. These hard copies were then filed thematically in an A4 size lever arch folder. Every data transcript (the newsgroup postings) can be easily archived and copied. Thus, should there ever be a need to prove the validity of ‘first hand’ newsgroup ‘conversations’ they can be examined by guiding critics to the original messages that were saved and printed during the research process or simply handing over the original transcripts for secondary inspection.

Conformability

Conformability denotes that the researcher must have acted in good faith and impartially and ought to not have allowed personal feelings or personal values to influence the research process or findings. Obviously, some research is more susceptible to partiality than others, such as investigations that may involve one

witnessing activities that are immoral or those that involve offensive behaviour, obscenity or indecency.

Research concerning the Far Right often involves observations of offensive and insulting racist language or behaviour. Throughout this research project, however abhorrent the racist conversations appeared to be, it was necessary to remain steadfastly dispassionate towards the content of the messages and unwaveringly dedicated to the research task in hand.

The test of conformability also ensures that the researcher has not 'gone native' and become so immersed in the research setting that the identity as a researcher becomes disregarded. Arguably, participatory research augments this susceptibility more than investigations involving non-participatory methods, given that the former involves a deeper immersion into the setting. Throughout the research process, I felt there was no risk of my 'going native' nor was there the possibility that the data may have been distorted or erroneous due to the pretence of newsgroup participants. Importantly, given that I was not actually there at the scene of my research setting because I was observing and not contributing to the newsgroups, there was no chance of my cover as a researcher being 'blown'.

Access to the Setting and Ethical Considerations

Access to the Setting

One of the most problematic, but most important issues, in observational research is gaining access to the setting. Most research methods guides distinguish between settings that are public or private and open or closed, or a mixture thereof. Newsgroups are publicly open discussion areas; hence there was no requirement to seek permission to access the research setting, and access to the study environment is reasonably unproblematic as admission to the newsgroup setting usually requires only access to a computer with an Internet connection and an Internet Service Provider with a news server.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues in social research focus upon four main areas: informed consent; invasion of privacy; and harm and risk (to the researcher and participant).

Informed Consent

Informed consent is based upon the principle that participants should be supplied with as much information as possible to make an informed decision about whether to take part in the study. In covert research, this principle is often transgressed because participants are not aware that they are subjects of an investigation, hence are researched whether they like it or not. However, newsgroups, by their very nature, are openly accessible public arenas⁴² and I considered, in line with the method adopted by Mann and Sutton (1998), that there was no requirement to gain informed consent. Therefore, none of the research subjects were offered the chance to decide whether they wished to take part. Likewise, they received no

⁴² This also has implications for issues regarding invasion of privacy, as is explained below.

advice regarding the use of data and, finally, no participant was offered the choice to withdraw at any stage during the research process.

Invasion of Privacy

All potential newsgroup members are aware that they should not post messages that they would not like another member of the public to see, and that anything posted to the newsgroup can be viewed by anybody else at any time throughout the period it is present in the newsgroup. In addition, this makes clear to the researcher that all information is disseminated willingly into the public arena. Further, Mann and Sutton (1998) write that participants of their study were aware of the possibility of being watched anyway by various authorities that were monitoring their actions. However, it should be noted that there was little evidence to suggest the existence of any similar awareness among subjects in this study.

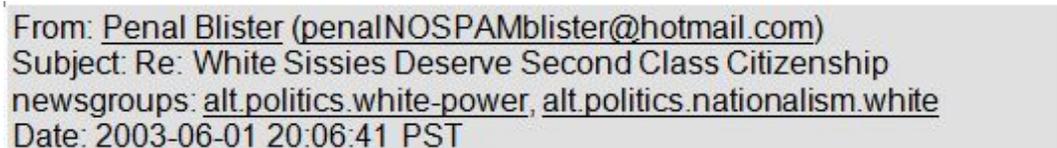
Drawing upon my experience of this research process, it is fair to say that newsgroup investigation overcomes these ethical concerns to the extent that covert newsgroup researchers are not invading privacy and need not gain informed consent at all. Of course, one concern is that protocol dictates that should respondents suffer harm as a result of the research, the investigator is deemed more culpable if informed consent was not granted beforehand.

Harm and Risk

Due to the nature of this research, there may be a risk of harm if I, or any of the newsgroup participants, was detected as a consequence of information that is disseminated once this work is published. Careful consideration was given to this. Hence, all conversations cited in this published work are anonymised in order to reduce the risk of incrimination or recriminations. Furthermore, I am only able to speculate that most participants are based in the US, hence an entirely safe place of publication without recriminations from those observed cannot be entirely guaranteed.

Due to the anonymity that newsgroups permit, contributors enjoy the freedom to remain secret if they so wish. Hence, many devise online identities, such as that in figure 5 (page 173) that render identification difficult if not impossible. This is particularly important from an ethical point of view if it is suspected that something illegal is being planned. Although, as was pointed out in the previous chapter, tracing the jurisdiction of potential offenders is problematic making law enforcement difficult if relevant authorities were to become involved.

Figure 5



From: [Penal Blister \(penalNOSPAMblister@hotmail.com\)](mailto:penalNOSPAMblister@hotmail.com)
 Subject: Re: White Sissies Deserve Second Class Citizenship
 newsgroups: [alt.politics.white-power](#), [alt.politics.nationalism.white](#)
 Date: 2003-06-01 20:06:41 PST

The next concern involved my traceability during the research process. Firstly, as a complete observer, there is no risk of detection posed by merely connecting to

the archive of newsgroups studied. In hindsight, this issue was more important to consider when conducting the pilot study, as I was then observing 'live' (not archived) newsgroups and any participation would have been immediately noticed. As I was steadfastly a non-participant during the pilot phase, this was not an issue.

The next chapter reports the findings of the in-depth study of three Far Right Internet newsgroups - (*alt.flame.niggers*, *alt.politics.white-power* and *alt.skinheads*) - that was conducted using the qualitative non-participatory observational research, explained in this chapter.

Chapter Seven: Online Hate Speech, A study of E-Powered Small Haters in Newsgroups

'Sticks and stones may break no bones but words can definitely hurt you' (Slouka, 1995: 37)

Introduction

This penultimate chapter investigates how Internet newsgroups create an enabling environment for the expression and development of online racial hatred, and endeavours to understand how the e-powered⁴³ small hater uses the Internet to disseminate online hate speech in newsgroups to facilitate criminal and other harmful activity. This chapter reports research findings of a study that investigated the dynamics of three Far Right Internet newsgroups: *alt.flame.niggers*; *alt.politics.white-power* and *alt.skinheads*. Much hate speech evident in these newsgroups derives from the historical and social perspectives that are described in Chapters Three, Four and Five. This chapter identifies: firstly, the means by which e-powered small haters inflame racism within the newsgroups to which they contribute; secondly, it examines the motives for using newsgroups in this way; thirdly and fourthly, the chapter examines 'who' primarily contributes in order to promote racist sentiments and hostilities and who is the primary target of such racial hatred. Finally, the chapter analyses the effect of members' online behavioural dynamics, both upon the structure and organisation of the online communities studied and upon the safety of the wider offline community.

Newsgroups facilitate a multitude of complex interactions that engender a somewhat complicated array of social dynamics and have, in particular, enabled single agent haters to break from the tradition of performing their hateful speech or actions as affiliates or sympathisers of traditional and established hate groups. As argued in Chapter Five, Back (2001) has, somewhat abstractly, touched upon the impact that online discussion areas (such as Usenet newsgroups) have generated by observing that they have facilitated the development of international networks of communication through online discussion areas that enable people to 'sense, listen, feel and be involved in racist culture from a distance'. In virtual reality, identity is a matter of choice. Rheingold (1993: 147) describes how Computer Mediated Communication (CMCs), such as newsgroups dissolve barriers of identity:

⁴³ See page 147 for an explanation of from how and why the author has derived this term.

I know a person who spends hours ... as a fantasy character ... by day, David is an energy economist in Boulder, Colorado, father of three; at night he's Spark of Cyberion City - a place where I'm known only as the Pollenator.

The unreality of the world of cyberspace ensures that anybody disseminating hate material over the Internet can do so anonymously, from a place of safety, without fear of identification and apprehension. Sutton and Griffiths (2001) have suggested several reasons for this, which are summarised here. The non-physical presence of cyberspace might well reduce inhibitions by eradicating any apprehension individuals might have about taking part in their group. As a result, *unreality* renders them somewhat insensitised to the responsibility that one is usually expected to assume for their actions or words in public. E-powered small haters use this method of communication to convey the traditional ideologies of offline haters by, as Perry (2001) asserts, re-enforcing whiteness and establishing dominance and co-constructing the non-whiteness of victims who are perceived as different and worthy of demonisation. Hence, e-powered small haters draw upon the socio-economic explanations of the European Anomie tradition offered by Durkheim, who proposed that earlier, more simple forms of society, had high levels of 'mechanical' solidarity, while later more complex societies are exemplified by 'organic' solidarity. The former is characterised by a likeness and a similarity between individuals - invariably from the same ethnic group - who hold common attitudes and beliefs which constitute an intense and rigid collective conscience invariably reinforced by sacred religious belief (Hopkins Burke and Pollock (2004). In such a homogenous and undifferentiated society, anti-social or deviant acts offend the strong cohesiveness and social conscience of the people and perform the important function of delineating the boundaries between those who wholeheartedly support societal values and those who transgress. Hence, according to the contributors of *alt.flame.niggers*, *alt.politics.white-power* and *alt.skinheads*, Black people, Koreans, Jews and, to some extent, South Asians have, since their immigration, altered the homogenous cohesiveness previously enjoyed by White people in the UK and US. Consequently, these groups are perceived to have digressed from the rigidly defined norms and values because of their racial composition or ethnicity and are consequently rebuked.

In addition to providing a motive for online hate speech, deviant behaviour has fuelled the Internet and impacted upon its entire development. Goode (1994) asserts that deviance is manifested in a range of behaviours: those that can be characterised as evil, vile, degrading, degenerate and perverted. In addition, Goode (1994) argues that deviants hold the popular image of being sick, twisted and decadent. So, can this extremely narrow premise begin to explain deviant behaviour in newsgroups? The answer lies in the nature of the participants' common interest. Of course, not all deviants are vile or even 'harmful' and not all newsgroups are deviant. All newsgroups facilitate the formation of a cyber-culture, underpinned by the shared commonality, homogeneity and cohesiveness of the participants who contribute to them. However, while some newsgroups are at the extreme end of conformity, and are just about sharing knowledge from anything from knitting to kite-flying, some newsgroups facilitate the formation of a deviant subculture based around a shared repellent common interest such as the dissemination of racist hate speech. Although deviant sub-cultural theories that

emerged during the mid-1950s in the US were devised and developed by various theorists in order to explain predominantly juvenile male offending, the deviancy subculture concept is nevertheless a useful one for explaining behaviour (not necessarily of a criminal kind) that can be usefully applied to other areas of the social world, not least that of deviance on the Internet. In this context, this chapter aims to determine the key issues that encourage individual people, such as e-powered small haters, to come together and coalesce in like-minded newsgroups.

Predominantly (although not exclusively), it was those identifying themselves as White contributors who sought to disseminate the racist bias, prejudice and hatred against minority groups in the newsgroups studied. Of course, given the names of the groups chosen to study, that did not come as a surprise. However, it became apparent at an early stage that the targets of this hatred were determined according to the basic ideology of each particular newsgroup. Hence, very early on in this study, it was important to devise a typology of the newsgroups in order to ascertain which 'racial' groups were demonised by members for posing what they believed to be the greatest threat to White 'racial' supremacy.

Typology of the Newsgroups

Alt.flame.niggers

In *alt.flame.niggers* Black people were placed at the bottom of the group's 'racial' hierarchy. According to the group's Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs), the newsgroup is a: '... wonderful place where members of non-nigger races can join together to discuss typical nigger behaviour. It is a Usenet newsgroup where the 'n' word can be used freely'. The FAQs continue to explain that: '... members of non-nigger races come to AFN to voice their frustration with society's costly and failed experiment to train niggers to act like humans. So, if you're a decent human being, stick around and post a few jabs at our pet niggers. And, if you are a nigger, we cordially invite you to HANG around'. The Usenet information centre - established as a starting point for gaining information on Usenet discussion groups - describes *alt.flame.niggers* as: '... the disgusting spectacle of racial hatred'.

This can be confirmed by a message to the newsgroup, aimed at any Black readers, stating:

You useless shower of spineless cowardly craven shitskins. *Everyone* on the planet is your superior, you invertebrate pieces of shit. Before Whitey enslaved you it was the Arabs. Before them it was the Romans. Before them it was the Carthaginians. When have niggers *not* been slaves, you spineless mob of shitskin spearchucking simian losers? You're all pieces of shit and your ancestors were pieces of shit. Your daddies (not that many of you know who he was) was a scumbag and your mummies were all whores, as were their mummies. You niggers are all belly-crawling maggot scum with no pride who'd happily live as slaves because of the free food and housing. You didn't even earn your 'rights', you fucking failures. Whitey fought for them and gave them to you. Stand up for yourselves for *once* in your failed race's pathetic history, you spastic mooselipped abortions.

You're a disgusting disgraceful affront to the human race, you miserable spineless race of rapists, murderers, and failures.

Notwithstanding the presence of *Target Substitutors*⁴⁴, all other racial and ethnic groups were afforded a degree of tolerance in *alt.flame.niggers*: as demonstrated by the message below claiming:

I would rather be Vietnamese, Korean, Chinese, Japanese; you name it, any ethnic background but nigger.

The exclusion of South Asians in the above post may indicate that in *alt.flame.niggers* this racial group is embraced within the group's concept of 'nigger identity'. However, Perry (2001) asserts that, somewhat over and above other ethnic minorities in the US, South Asians, Chinese, Koreans and Vietnamese are the only minority groups to evoke a positive stereotype as the 'model minority' until they are perceived as entering into a competition for scarce resources with White people.

This was reflected in *alt.flame.niggers* when one messenger claimed:

Blacks/Africans are so stupid. They cannot even survive on their own. Hence their never-ending reliance on begging and handouts from more evolved peoples (whites and Asians).

In *alt.flame.niggers*, Black was not seen as a singular identity and there emerged a difference between those described as 'niggers', who were perceived as some form of 'lower class Black trash' and other Blacks, who were perceived as more acceptable to the group; as concisely highlighted by one contributor who claimed:

I think there is a big difference between blacks and niggers ... there are ... low class blacks, referred to as 'niggers' ... stealing and raping and dealing drugs.

Not only was hatred based on class differences between people of the same racial group advocated by so called 'nigger' hating White people, it was clear that the purportedly Black contributors⁴⁵ - whose role was to flame the dominant Whites in the group - also demonstrated class and cultural bias. One message asserted:

Rednecks in our society are considered lower than niggers.

Another contributor claimed:

I don't dislike all whites, just redneck whites. I don't think that's racist. It would be racist if I disliked all whites because of their race. I dislike rednecks because of their racist beliefs.

In modern usage, redneck has a dual meaning. The contributor that sent the above message is correct to employ it as a term to describe a White person regarded as having a bigoted attitude. However, it can also be, and regularly is, applied as a

⁴⁴ A more comprehensive description of 'target substitutors' follows.

⁴⁵ We can never be sure that someone in a newsgroup is who or what they say they are.

disparaging term for any member (racist or otherwise) of the (usually) poor, White, rural, labouring working classes of the Southern US. As much as anything, non-racist rednecks are renowned for their culture and style. According to the stereotype, the typical redneck wears a white sleeveless, obscene t-shirt, blue jeans, a baseball cap and they have their hair styled into a 'Mullet'. They are also prone to swearing. Their stereotypical hobbies include hunting, fishing, watching professional wrestling and monster truck rallies. Similarly, rednecks are characteristically fond of car engine repair and collecting junked cars on their lawns. Stereotype dictates that they are also renowned for their penchant for country, southern rock and heavy metal music.

Alt.skinheads

According to Eric Croomer (the creator of the newsgroup's FAQ) in the FAQ, this newsgroup was created by people interested in discussion of skinheads for people who are skinheads or who are interested in them. Croomer explicitly rejects the notion that *alt.skinheads* was created merely as '... a political sounding board', and that certain potential contributors may wish to enter more appropriate newsgroups in which they can: '... post and beat their chest about whatever political bullshit they want'. The remit for the type of messages that are acceptable in *alt.skinheads* ends there, although it is made clear that many contributors will object to being labelled as thugs, Nazis and racists. This skinhead newsgroup is far less likely to contain responses of a very offensive nature and many contributions to *alt.skinheads* are more similar to the ideology of the 'SHARP' skinhead group⁴⁶, through predominantly using the newsgroup for advertising purposes.

Alt.politics.white-power

Although *alt.politics.white-power* hosts conversations of a racist nature, the tone of discourse within the newsgroup, whilst overtly racist, seems somewhat more moderate than in *alt.flame.niggers*. According to the FAQ, the group claims to attract '... people who believe in White supremacy', rather than who encourage an explicit 'hate' for people of other racial groups. *Alt.politics.white-power* selected a wider range of targets than either of the other two study newsgroups. Whilst *alt.flame.niggers* predominantly targeted Black people, and *alt.skinheads* contained a little anti-Jewish rhetoric, targets of hate speech in *alt.politics.white-power* were selected in response to the changing political, social and demographic dynamics of a particular period of time. Hence Hispanics, Mexicans and East

⁴⁶ As explained in Chapter Five, historically, skinhead groups have been somewhat multi-ideological given that many have been distinguished by their adherence to one of three distinct racist skinhead categories: Nazi (White power) skins; SHARPS; and Trads (short for traditional). The two former categories can be seen to contribute to the *alt.skinheads* newsgroup. *Nazi (White power) Skins* are highly racist and highly political. Despite the common conception, many racist skinheads have no connection to Nazism. Furthermore, some skinheads, such as *SHARPS*, demonstrate their very opposition to neo-Nazism and White power. *Traditional skinheads* do not regard attitudes toward racism or politics as essential to the subculture. Instead, they identify with the original skinhead movement's music, style and working class pride.

Asians were observed as targets and hate speech was manifested largely within right wing political discourse.

In addition to observing the broader typologies of the three newsgroups studied, it was recognised that, within each newsgroup, certain members or contributors seemed to assume certain roles connected with either the specific racist ideology in which they believed or the particular groups they wished to 'victimise'. The central focus of this chapter henceforth, is to explain the roles of newsgroup contributors, according to the categorisations developed by the author of this work. It is with an explanation of *anti-Semites* in *alt.politics.white-power* that this chapter now continues.

Anti-Semites

Primarily, Jews are not opposed on account of their religion but because of their supposed hereditary or genetic 'racial' characteristics: greed; a special aptitude for money-making (as explained in Chapter Five); aversion to hard work; low cunningness; and, especially, lack of patriotism. In *alt.politics.white-power*, anti-Semitism was expounded by two methods. Firstly, by portraying a hatred towards the Jewish people and, secondly, by portraying Hitler as a hero. It is with this latter method that this section continues.

Heroic Hitler

At the very least, many neo-Nazi skinheads exalt Hitler as a hero and a protagonist to his race, and bestowed praises towards him such as:

Hitler was a hero ... a genius ... dedicated to his race ... He may have been the last great leader to try to save the Aryan race.

Anti-Semites were not offered an unfettered or an unopposed domination within the newsgroup. Anti-Nazis played a vital governance role and contributed with:

Hitler was not dedicated to his race. He was dedicated to advancing his own power and control. He was a terrorist, liar and traitor to his own race and people.

Another anti-Nazi 'governor' expressed:

You really are one stupid illiterate Nazi fuck ... [and] ... can you believe in 2003 there are men stupid enough to believe Adolf Hitler was a hero?!

In *alt.politics.white-power*, Adolf Hitler was eulogised as the pinnacle of both Aryan purity and Christian identity. The second doctrine of White supremacy is based on the belief that White people are a distinct race and direct descendants of ancient Israel and God's chosen people. Jews are perceived as the anti-Christ. Hence, messages such as:

Jesus, like Hitler, was pure blooded Aryan

not only served to celebrated Hitler for his 'Aryanism' and Christian identity in this newsgroup, he was also elevated to messiah status which, for some members of *alt.politics.white-power*, came with a worthy warning of:

... you should be wary of comparing Hitler to Jesus, lest you offend God for speaking evil of the Messiah.

Jewish Hatred

Unsurprisingly, this praise bestowed upon Hitler was embraced within more general anti-Semitism in *alt.skinheads* and *alt.politics.white-power*. Contributors to this latter newsgroup frequently drew upon traditional and historical anti-Jewish propaganda and conspiracy theories - such as the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, holocaust denial and the Zionist Occupied Government - to fuel anti-Semitic ideologies. That Jews are perceived as the cause of all wickedness is clearly highlighted by the message to *alt.skinheads* that asserts:

The Jew is fundamentally and basically criminal. The disastrous role of the Jew, this parasite upon the body of every people, is being drawn more and more into the light of day. Everywhere where morality, law and order succumb to disintegration, where racketeering and corruption devour the economy, where materialistic dialectics undermine the foundations of faith, where propaganda transforms politics into a criminal reality, where the healthy race of the people is made sick and desecrated, there one meets everywhere the tracks of the Jew.

For some contributors, the Jews represent the 'root of all evil' and they perceive that other minority groups are merely manipulated by Jews as a means to achieve their goal of world domination. One message posted to *alt.politics.white-power* claimed:

Let's keep in mind that Blacks, Mexicans, Asians and others are merely a symptom of a problem - Jewish domination. They're used as a means of destroying us and opening the door for absolute, total Jewish rule. Instead of arguing with savage apes, trolls and saboteurs, let's focus on dealing with the problem and finding a permanent - Final Solution- to rid ourselves of these parasites.

In particular, *alt.politics.white-power* newsgroups sought to exploit the protocols of the elders of Zion myth regarding Jews' desire for power. They have also used holocaust denial to justify anti-Semitic ideology.

Strange, you Jews scream 'PHONY' to the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion BUT you will never answer them publicly because you can't.

Indeed, several times since its publication, the Protocols have been accepted as fraudulent. The Encyclopaedia Britannica (1999: 253) describes them as a 'fraudulent document that served as a pretext and rationale for anti-Semitism in the early 20th century'. In addition, investigations since their publication, have also verified that the Protocols are false. In particular, an investigation by the Russian Historian, Vladimir Burtsev, revealed that the Protocols were forgeries

devised by officials of the Russian Secret Police out of the satire of a novel by Herman Goedsche in 1868. The document was first published in full by an agent of the Russian secret police, in 1905, as part of a campaign of anti-Semitism. Several editions were circulated in Russia as 'proof' that the Jews were behind the Russian Revolution. Within a quarter of a century of their first publication, millions of copies had been disseminated throughout Europe and the US. They reached Germany sometime around 1918 and within five years had become one of the central themes of Nazi thought. For Hitler, the protocols demonstrated the deviant and perilous nature of the Jewish people and have hence been central to neo-Nazi ideology ever since. As recently as 1993 a district court in Moscow, Russia, formally ruled that the Protocols were faked in dismissing a libel suit.

Holocaust Denial

Holocaust deniers that access this newsgroup from countries that have prohibited holocaust denial can exploit the extreme jurisdictional difficulties (previously outlined in Chapter Five) in order to evade justice. Perhaps the most problematic element of bringing a holocaust denier to justice in their home country is that there is some degree of controversy regarding the methods used to present arguments that the holocaust never happened. Although, historically, numerous accounts have been given (including evidence presented in court cases) to seek to prove the 'myth of the holocaust', arguably, newgroups can provide the only public forum where holocaust deniers can so transparently demonstrate their denial of the holocaust whilst at the same time avoid controversy associated with semantics and so simply declare:

Anyone who believes in this Jew-concocted Holohoax crap needs a psychiatrist.

Some contributors to *alt.politics.white-power* considered holocaust denial offensive and attempted to prevail against the practice with messages such as:

You are the one in need of a shrink if you think the Holocaust didn't happen. The facts are too numerous for you or anyone to ignore. The Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal concluded that the Holocaust happened and they were there at the time. They had the benefit of fresh evidence.

Zionist Occupied Government (ZOG)

In *alt.politics.white-power*, anti-Semitic ideas of the ZOG and the belief that Jews aspired to take control of US political institutions, were embraced within discussions of modern political issues. And Far Right newsgroup contributors adhere to the anti-Semitic ideology of many established White supremacists by identifying the Government as the main enemies of the people with posts such as:

The US government is at the mercy of Jewish rule (has been for decades). For example, the Bush administration is predominantly Jewish...

And

... anyone who wants to change the way things are in America should be against the Jews. It is their policies that run America now. The Jews rule America.

Conversations proceeded to alter in focus from domestic political issues to more global concerns, enabling the continuation of anti-Semitic discourse, which was then bound up within more macro and controversial political issues. As Perry (2001) recognises, many anti-Semites blame the US Government's policies of international affairs on its adherence to the ZOG:

If this war is for oil, you can make dammed sure the JEWS will own the oilfields.

A contemporary revival of the mythical notion that Jews endeavoured to gain control of cultural institutions such as the media and other communication networks was also evident in *alt.politics.white-power*, one contributor to which claimed:

The Jews undoubtedly have major clout in the entertainment industry, which gives us shows that glorify mongrelism and shows in which blacks are almost always portrayed as victimised, kind, loyal, honest, intelligent, gentle, industrious and/or sensitive. They're rarely portrayed negatively.

The National Alliance⁴⁷ (NA) holds a view that is most consistent with this message by claiming that the Jews are able to 'mould American minds' by exploiting the popularity of recreational entertainment by enforcing anti-White and pro-minority stereotypes. The NA claims that:

A racially mixed couple will be respected, liked and socially sought after by other characters, as will a 'take charge' Black scholar or businessman, or a sensitive and talented homosexual, or a poor but honest and hardworking illegal alien from Mexico. On the other hand, a White racist - that is, any racially-conscious White person who looks askance at miscegenation or at the rapidly darkening racial situation in America - is portrayed, at best, as a despicable bigot who is reviled by the other characters or, at worst, as a dangerous psychopath who is fascinated by firearms and is a menace to all law-abiding citizens. The White racist 'gun nut', in fact, has become a familiar stereotype on TV shows.

In turn, some contributors to *alt.flame.niggers* seemed to find it very refreshing when cultural communication seemed to reverse this trend; as one contributor to the newsgroup invigoratingly commented:

Terminator 3 ... was a good movie with very few niggers. No niggers speak in the entire movie. There is not one single full-face shot of a jigaboo. More importantly, no nigger 'scientists' or 'inventors' are shown, as they usually are, in blatant disregard of the truth of Negroid intellectual inferiority.

⁴⁷ A comprehensive discussion of the 'National Alliance' can be found in Chapter Five

Target Substitutors

Just as Perry (2001) also found, in her observations of offline hate crime, in the White supremacist discourse studied here, Blacks and Jews form the predominant targets of Far Right newsgroup contributors. However, occasionally, target substitution occurs online, whereby other racial groups became included as targets of hateful animosity. Some groups, such as South and East Asians or Middle Eastern Arabs are not typical or overt targets in any newsgroup, although the latter appeared intermittently as targets in *alt.politics.white-power*. Predominantly, target substitution occurs in response to events or incidences in the community that could be exploited by newsgroup members to induce racism towards a particular racial group. For example, the three-month period within which this study was conducted, intentionally included September 2003; exactly two years following the 11th September terrorist attacks on the US World Trade Centre. This period was chosen in order to discover whether such an event may encourage a change in the treatment of Muslims or Middle Eastern Arabs in the study newsgroups. To repeat a point already made, literature by Poynting (2002) and Levin (2002) documents a notable increase in violent racism in Australia, and in the US, during the three weeks following the terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers, when there were over 300 reports of harassment abuse reported to the ‘Council on American Islamic Relations’ (Levin, 2002). According to Perry (2003), the anti-Arab and anti-Muslim backlash experienced in the US, diverted bias, prejudice and hatred from Latinos and Black African Americans to Asian Americans - presumably due to their perceived resemblance to Arabs. Perry (2003) quotes a report from the *New York Times* that claimed: ‘overnight the cries about ‘driving whilst Black’ have become ‘flying while Brown’ and additionally claims that by 18th September, one week after the terrorist attacks, the FBI was investigating more than 40 possible hate crimes thought to have arisen as a consequence.

The offline trend of typifying Arabs as terrorists as a result of the terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers is reflected within White supremacist discourse in newsgroups. In this study, no such change was observed in *alt.skinheads* but *alt.politics.white-power* received a message asserting:

Since 9/11, a strange but virulent anti-Americanism has gripped South Korea.

This may not have been a mere impulsive message. In May 2003, the Washington-based Centre for Strategic and International Studies hosted a conference in response to the rise in anti-Americanism in Korea; a problem that was reportedly exhibited by flag burnings and shouts of, ‘Yankee go home’ and had become a growing problem since the 11th September terrorist attacks. The parallels between this and the treatment by which 20th century immigrants were beset in the UK and US are clear; and became more so with the responding post that read:

Shocking anti-American images from the Republic of South Korea.

The post included a link to the website angelfire.com⁴⁸. Hosted by Lycos, the website claims that: 'Among Koreans, 9/11 inspired not horror or sympathy but a wave of Osama bin Laden fan pages'. The web page contains spoof images in recollection of the 11th September terrorist attacks. Most noticeably is a picture of 'Lady Laden' in which the face of Osama bin Laden has been superimposed upon the face of the Statue of Liberty. Hence, innovation has facilitated the creation of an entirely new method of racist representation.

The 11th September terrorist attacks also provided members of *alt.politics.white-power* with an opportunity to encompass people of Pakistani origin within their target group, with messages such as:

Always remember: All Pakistanis are terrorists until proven otherwise.

And:

Muslims are terrorists. Muslims can't live with others ... ever ... anywhere in the world.

The terrorist attacks were also exploited to provide an alternative motive for hate towards Black people as they were now able to be portrayed as terrorists, *alt.politics.white-power* newsgroup message stated:

9/11 - A day to remember why we hate niggers. A good number of niggers are Islamic ... meaning ... TERRORISTS. HATE THEM.

In *alt.flame.niggers*, Middle Eastern Arabs were included as temporary targets with messages such as:

100% of the successful terrorist attacks on commercial airlines for 20 years have been committed by Arabs.

And:

I see way to many people here from the mideast. Many of them dress like Binladen. Since they are Muslims they see you as the enemy and children of satan. Any one of these could be a terrorist waiting to put a bomb in your church, or child's school.

This latter post reflects the type of comments that Perry (2003) cited in her work, including the many events that occurred on the campus of Laney College in Oakland, California, where a woman wearing traditional Muslim dress heard someone on the campus shout: 'It has a bomb under it'.

In addition to targeting Arabs because of their perceived terrorist threats, they were also selected on the basis that they were not American born. In some cases, non-racist contributors to *alt.flame.niggers*, who performed a 'Netizen'⁴⁹ role,

⁴⁸ See appendix for the full website address and copy of the web page.

⁴⁹ The expression 'Netizen' is derived from the term 'Internet citizen'. Netizens, whose role is to promote and protect 'Netiquette' (internet etiquette), perform a governance role in newsgroups in an attempt to reduce the dissemination of obscene, hateful and offensive material.

observe this attribute as a means to bond White and Black Americans and thus promote a nationalistic identity in the newsgroup, over and above a 'racial' one. Hence, for 'Netizens', being 'American' was more important than being 'White', as identified by the contributor to *alt.flame.niggers* who advised:

OK almost all the black and whites in this room are Americans. You were born in America, pay taxes in America. Why are you hacking at each other like this? Isn't the real enemy the illegal mid-east people who come here ... taking your jobs and willing to see you fired and do your job for half your salary.

Hence, according to this ideology, the typical American is no longer solely White and Christian and identified according to racial biology, but racially and, presumably, religiously diverse and recognised as American by virtue of their country of birth. However, support for Middle Eastern Arabs was observed in *alt.politics.white-power* in the form of messages such as:

Middle Easterners or Arab Muslims are actually the smallest ethnic group in the US and it's not likely their numbers are gonna grow at an astronomical rate either ... They don't dress like bin-Laden - the way they dress is in accordance with Islam. Not all Arabs are Muslim either, actually quite a few are ... Christian. Most importantly, all Muslims are not terrorists and they don't hate the US or Americans.

However, such groups appeared as primary targets in response to posts that seemed to imply that whiteness was under threat, such as the message to *alt.politics.white-power* that claimed:

Mexicans are now the second largest race in America. Taking jobs and living quarters from blacks and whites.

In previous chapters of this thesis it was argued that much bias, prejudice and hatred directed towards minority groups arose due to the expected competition for scarce resources between themselves and White people. As the issue of competition for scarce resources has dominated racist discourse for four centuries or more, it is unsurprising to find contributors, who the author has chosen to categorise as *resource competitors*, drawing on the subject to justify their racist dogma in newsgroups.

Resource Competitors

In *alt.flame.niggers*, the competition for housing and employment dominated the nature of conversations.

Housing Resource Competitors

After one initial post on this issue of the competition for housing resources, a discussion comprising several threads ensued:

Respondent 1: All whites have done is give niggers chance after chance. I'd say close to a 150 years of chances. Handouts upon handouts. Free food. Free housing. Free clothing. Free medical care. Free education. Free

money. And what do we get! Nothing but murderers, robbers, disease ridden rapists and sexual perverts, drug addicts and every sort of sociopath known to man.

Respondent 2: The worst part is they are taking some of the black trash and moving them out to the suburbs. (Watch the crime rate increase). Over \$117 million is being spent on these worthless fucking ugly pieces of shit jungle niggers. How many smart white and Asian kids could be put through college on this money? And these are largely BLACK housing projects. No whites. No Asians. Just blacks.

Respondent 3: That whole project is such bullshit! I drive by that area from time to time and that new *desegregated* housing is right across the street from the old housing they tore down! And these new units sure don't look like public housing - they are really nice places. For now that is. Wait 'till all the blacks move back in and start destroying the place. Next time I get over that way I'll take a few pics of the new *desegregated* housing our millions of tax dollars built for them undeserving scumbags.

Respondent 4: Well, most of the blacks up there are originally from Chicago - lured in by the ease of qualification and the generosity of welfare benefits. Every now and then you'd see an article in the paper about some nigger family moving out to the suburbs into an \$180,000 town house for which they were paying only a few hundred dollars rent per month for the subsidized unit. Minneapolis also got the nickname 'Muderapolis' from all the nigger homicides in the early 1990s. Crime exploded once the blackies arrived. Murders went from a few to close to a hundred one year. According to the census, those vile, ugly shit-skin blacks represent 18% of the population in Minneapolis - but commit 58% of the murders. By contrast, whites are 65% of the populace, but commit only 21% of the murders.

Respondent 5: Yeah, you're right. I have only lived here all my life, and it's quite pleasant actually. As long as you stay away from the nigger/criminals area, which is easily recognizable as it's a wasteland.

Respondent 6: Niggers are a cancer. Once they've invaded and niggerfuxated one area all the while blaming whitey for the high crime rates, plummeting property values and general destruction their subhuman race causes -- they multiply and metastasize elsewhere. What we need is some nigger chemotherapy.

However, some members of *alt.flame.niggers* endorsed the presence of other non-Black people in their residing areas. One contributor asserted:

Oddly enough, I have seen some neighbourhoods IMPROVE because the Mexican population grew to such a degree that the niggers were pushed out of it.

Another contributor seemed to agree and claimed:

I do not argue that at all. But you have to admit, it was the nigger that made it reach the bottom. I have yet to see a Hispanic neighbourhood turned black get better, but I have seen the reverse.

Employment Resource Competitors

It is well documented within White supremacist discourse that the White majority sees itself in competition for employment resources with other minority groups. According to Perry (2001), Asian, African and Hispanic Americans, in addition to immigrant minorities, are thought to attain privilege through affirmative action. The message below, sent to *alt.flame.niggers* on the subject of immigration, is aimed at any Black reader:

Your race is a failed race, one that cannot compete on a level playing field. Tell me ... how does it feel to know that whatever job you get ... whatever promotion you get, you know deep, deep down that it's not on merit, it's ... 'affirmative action'?

Respondent 1: Regular readers may well remember that in spring 2002 I decided there were too many negro 'graduates' being recruited by my company. We take 40 or 50 grads a year and what was happening was that 5 or 6 ignorant negro layabouts were slipping through and getting hired. Now obviously they didn't last long, once they saw the hard work going on. They either quit or we fired them for being useless. But this pissed me off because then we had to re-recruit so I introduced a basic literacy test to weed these negro morons out. To my scant surprise, not one single negro 'graduate' was able to punctuate a page of English correctly. Result: a negro-free graduate intake. Well, 2003's lot have just joined us and guess what? No negroes this year either!

Respondent 2: Stories like this that give me hope. Keep up the good work.

Respondent 1: Thank you for your kind words. The most suitable job for a negro in a financial institution is cleaning it.

Respondent 3: I had heard that it was unacceptable to give a skills test to applicants because it was discriminatory against a certain minority group (guess which one?).

Respondent 4: I found this for you: www.tsp.co.uk/commercial/employment/faqs_discrimination.htm#b9. If you impose a literacy test, you must require all candidates for that post to undertake it. Requiring applicants from ethnic minorities to undertake such a test, while others are excused, is discriminatory.

Rule Enquirers and Rule Setters

Contributors to most newsgroups are expected to ensure that their posts are 'on-topic' and consistent with the subject matter discussed in them. *Alt.skinheads* and *alt.flame.niggers* receive posts from *Rule Enquirers* (who, as the name suggests,

wish to enquire about the subject matter and posting rules of the group) and *Rule Setters* (who sought to establish the posting rules).

Rule Enquirers

Whilst all potential newsgroup participants are encouraged to 'lurk'⁵⁰ before beginning to post messages into a newsgroup, some prospective members sought to discover whether their newsgroup of interest was an acceptable arena for the messages they wished to post. This message posted to *alt.skinheads* enquired:

Hello from Sweden. I'm new here, looking forward to interesting discussions. Is there anything I need to know? Any in-house rules? Or is it free to post? I've been a bonehead before, but now I only call myself 'fascist'. I have Mussolini as my ideal leader. I got the fantastic idea to look in here to find out what's going on in the US, without reading filtered media. Looking forward to discussing.

This contributor received the somewhat enthusiastic welcome of:

In the main this newsgroup is for skinheads of all persuasions and the regular posters have all sorts of backgrounds. While we disagree about things, in the main we get along.

If, as occasionally, it was unclear which groups were acceptable targets of hatred, it seemed correct to find out. This message to *alt.flame.niggers* enquired:

Is it proper to flame big nosed cheep Jews in this group. If not could some one direct me to a good proper Jew hating forum?

In order to follow the newsgroup ideology, this contributor was warned:

The name of this NG is '*alt.flame.niggers*'. The crimes of the negro are manifest and thus provide unlimited fodder for flame massa's like myself ... Still, there must be plenty of anti-Semite NGs, do a search.

Ironically, a subsequent message from a contributor in this group even denoted the above enquirer as an 'evil anti-Semite' before strangely recommending that they subscribe to the newsgroup '*alt.flame.jews*'.

Rule Setters

Ensuring that newsgroups do not become diluted with different topics is essential for their survival (Mann and Sutton, 1998). Consequently, those who could be typified as Rule Setters performed this function in the groups studied.

The most obvious method of ensuring that messages remain appropriate for the newsgroup was to guide contributors of inappropriate material to other newsgroups that host conversations of that pertinence. Hence, Rule Setters, acted as an up-to-date version of the old filtering systems that were used to filter out

⁵⁰ Lurking means observing, without participating in, the activities of the newsgroup in order to gain a 'feel for' the types of messages posted.

inappropriate messages to newsgroups years ago. If necessary, rule setters would warn contributors that their messages were not appropriate for the newsgroup by such guidance as:

This is *alt.flame.niggers* -- get it?
If you wanna argue about law, go to *alt.philosophy.law*.
If you wanna argue about abuse in school, go to *alt.abuse*.
If you wanna argue about politics, go to *alt.politics.libertarian*.
If you wanna argue about male violence, go to *alt.feminism*.

Rule Setters also ensured that messages posted to the newsgroup were of sufficient racist substance. Members whose posts failed to meet the required 'standard' of racist rhetoric were informed of this with instructions such as:

None of your posts are on-topic. I'm sure you have some good nigger-bashing stories or repressed hatred for coons buried deep down.

Or given a warning such as:

As for you, I need to see more discriminating posts coming from your camp. Randomly picking out the most trivial, the most boring news stories serves as a recipe for our targeted laughter. Whenever you do come up with an original thought please feel free to post it here.

This warning was directed towards one of the group's most prolific contributors who, rather than posting original racially inflammatory messages, merely copied and pasted printed articles that failed to instigate any racist dialogue. The demand for overt and hardcore racially inflammatory messages was so acute that some members threatened to quit *alt.flame.niggers* due to the lack of racist messages posted. One such individual warned:

Where's the quality racism? Fella by the name of ***** posted a piece a week ago, but other than that, nothing from you guys. This is a great disappointment and if it persists I'm not going to be around here much longer.

Conversely, group members were praised for their efforts and morale was higher when the newsgroup was interacting as demanded:

I congratulate the whites on this excellent NG - this place has never been healthier! I don't remember when it was busier! We have ... a bloody good laugh at the expense of our favourite race of twits. The latest scalp ... has run whining and crying like a whipped negro back to SCAA ... We have a fresh crop of stupid negroes stopping by regularly to get humiliated. All their posts have abided by the posting rules for negroes set out in the AFN FAQ. This is truly a happy and vibrant community.

In order to illuminate the power hierarchy between White and Black contributors to *alt.flame.niggers*, posting rules in this group were also established for purportedly Black contributors. Beginning with a delineation of the treatment that they could expect from their White counterparts, one contributor advised:

Welcome to AFN, Sambo. Enjoy your stay. The regulars of AFN will be humiliating you and your stupid, thoughtless, inane, typical-negro babbling on a regular basis until you get the message and fuck off. Don't kid yourself you're needed round here. Any negro will do - you're all the same. While on AFN, you will obey your white masters and post only approved flames.

Whilst very few Black people seemed to contribute to *alt.flame.niggers*, some purportedly Black contributors recognised an opportunity to 'spoil for a fight' or encourage hostility by either intentionally or, rather more ironically, shifting the balance of power within the newsgroup through messages such as:

I've had it with you imbeciles. The nigger this, nigger that, KKK, shitskin, etc ... crap isn't winning. In no other newsgroup in USENET would the juvenilia we see here be acceptable and I'm not going to continue ... to entertain it. So, the new rule is, if you expect a response from me, use a civil tongue; either that or I'll just assume you really have nothing to say and ignore you.

Such demands were usually met with hostile responses:

...Shut the fuck up boy, nigger shitskins don't make the rules in AFN.

And:

You really are a dim one, aren't you? Poor, stupid negro - thinking you can come into AFN and lay down rules You don't get to make the rules. Occasionally we let you post in line with rules developed here.

However, when those purported to be Black posted according to the rules of the group, they were commended:

Good nigger! That post is entirely within the requirements of the above rules that your superior White massas have commanded you to follow.

Electioneers

Another method used by *alt.flame.niggers* contributors to ensure the continuation of racist posts was to allow associates of the newsgroup to vote in an annual 'most hated racist' competition, organised by one of the leading newsgroup icons who here are typified as *electioneers*. The competition began with the instruction:

The voting for the AFN Most Hated Racist 2003 will commence. I will start a thread for everyone (White 'Racists' only) to begin casting their votes. Anyone who wants to run is welcome to post their messages to make their campaign.

Some of the most prolific members then began their electioneering campaign in a bid to canvass for votes by offering promises such as:

If you vote for me and if I'm re-elected, you can be sure of another year of nigger and whigger bashing and more fun and creative ideas being put into the group.

Other members were recognised for their ‘virtuous’ contributions to the group by other associates, upon whom they bestowed their support with compliments in the manner of:

Bull Conner has been flaming niggers a long time. And does an excellent job doing so. I officially cast my vote for him for this year’s award.

For some, there is the opportunity to ‘employ’ a campaign co-ordinator, one of whom promised:

I shall burst into action immediately to attempt to secure the coveted *Miss AFN* title for you. I know, as an official ambassador, you will make us all proud as you represent AFN at official functions.

It seemed that the award winners are afforded iconic status within the newsgroup and proudly publicise their achievements by concluding their messages with signatures such as:

Tom Shelley, legendary White God
Proud Recipient
alt.flame.niggers Most Hated Racist, 2002 & 2003.

And:

rEB bIKER
alt.flame.niggers Two Time Winner of AFN's Most Hated Racist Award!

Ideology Proliferators

Ideology Proliferators contributed to the newsgroup in order to share their ideology with a wider audience, predominantly to people who would not normally have encountered Far Right racist ideology. Levin (2002) claims that the Internet has proved a means whereby thousands of young people who may harbour racist feelings are able to discover that other people share their beliefs. Websites have assumed a pivotal role in advertising Far Right material, as one contributor to *alt.skinheads* revealed by posting:

The first time I had a stirring of pride in my blood was at 14 years of age. I had come across some ‘right-wing’ literature on the Internet and found it revealing.

Another contributor to the same newsgroup added:

Once I began surfing the internet I came across fellow-Nationalists in America, who believed in the same ideals as I hold for my country and my blood. I now have a small group of about ten to fifteen people that have found the truth.

In addition to websites, newsgroups and web forums provide web Forum Advertisers, Cyber Activists and Cross-Posters, with a useful arena in which to spread the Far Right ideology, as explained at this point.

Web Forum Advertisers

Web ‘forums’ (also known as web ‘boards’) represent an alternative means of online interactive communication. They are, essentially, website versions of newsgroups. The main difference is that the latter require a newsreader in order to be accessed, whereas visiting and participating in forums normally requires no additional software beyond the web browser as they are accessed directly through websites. Hence, it is sometimes easier to access web forums from websites if either an Internet Service Provider (ISP) does not provide a news server or, for some reason, the latter is blocked by a firewall. In this study, the only web board advertised in a newsgroup was that of the KKK, advertised in *alt.flame.niggers*:

Thanks to all from here AFN who've clicked on the links and gone over and posted to the forums ...

Other Far Right groups to host web forums include The Aryan Nations, the National Front and the British National Party. The Aryan Nations interactive forum provides 17 subject areas under 5 headings including ‘religion’, and ‘All Things Islamic’. The AN: ‘freely offers the forum as a meeting place for White Racist and those that have a sincere wish to understand *The Aryan Way*’⁵¹. Most posts are anti-Semitic (broadcasting belief in the ZOG) and also political by criticising ‘leftwing liberals’, who are claimed to portray that: ‘... being Black or homosexual is cool and that interracial dating, mating and marriages are the thing to do’ (AN, 2005b). The National Front hosts the ‘Nationalist Forum’. As argued previously, the NF is a modern Fascist movement rather than an overtly neo-Nazi or racist one and most messages posted to the Nationalist Forum, although sometimes containing overtly racist language, are situated within political discussions or conversations about topical events (National Front, 2005). The National Alliance promotes the ‘Resistance Forum’, which enables contributors to: ‘Come in here to meet the ultra-cool and very friendly people of Resistance Records. Chat, vent, tell some jokes, or just relieve some stress from living in a multi-racial society’. There are 28 categories under 7 headings including the ‘Resistance Youth’ and ‘Activism’, which allows contributors to ‘Share ideas and stories of activism and discuss strategies and tactics to promote the National Alliance cause’. The section on ‘Computer Activism’ encourages users to share ideas for spreading racial awareness through the Internet; typified by the organisation as the ‘last medium of free speech’ (NA, 2005d).

Cyber Activists

The BNP is the only Far Right organisation found in this study to specifically advocate ‘Cyber Activism’, which it defines as ‘using email and web boards to influence decisions making and bring about change’. The party urges those who send emails to keep all complaints free of abusive and threatening language and warns that emails containing illegal material will be passed to the police for investigation. The party claims Cyber Activism as a great success and, on its website, cites examples of successful Cyber Activist campaigns such as that which claimed:

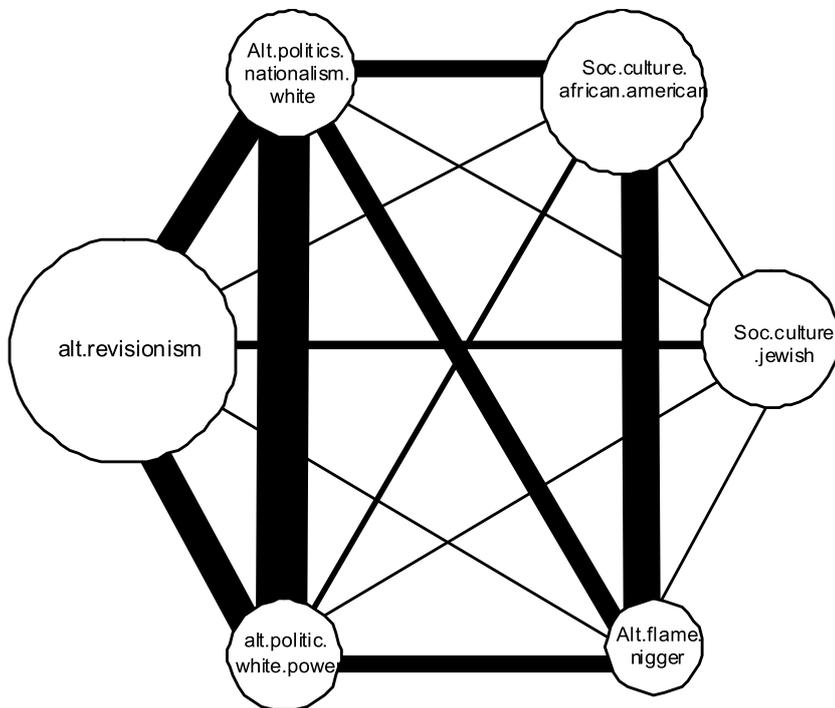
⁵¹ My italics by way of emphasis.

Three-quarters of the total complaints against the BBC for the period October to December 2004, which were upheld as justifiable, came as a result of your tremendous support for our new Cyber Activism campaign ... When Marxist Jeremy Hardy suggested shooting BNP voters in the back of the head on Jeremy Hardy Speaks to the Nation, BBC Radio 4, 9 September 2004, he never expected to get a severe reprimand from the Commissioning Editor ... now that's the power of Cyber Activism.

Included in the BNP's support for Cyber Activism is the quickly developing BNP TV, which can be accessed by downloading from the relevant BNP web page and is, arguably, the most far reaching visual tool to be created on a Far Right website. Activists are asked to produce relevant footage using video cameras and send it to the organisation for transmission. The party claims that BNP TV will prove successful as a: '... growing network of amateur cameramen and women and film editors are now able to deliver their footage to the rapidly increasing number of visitors to our site'.

Cross-Posters

Figure 6 – Cross Posts Between Racist Newsgroups



Source: Mann, Sutton and Tuffin (2003)

One technique that Ideology Proliferators often use in order to share their thoughts is that of cross-posting. Before continuing the discussion about the way in which cross-posting happens or reasons for Ideology Proliferators cross-posting, it is necessary to explain this common newsgroup activity in more general terms. Much of the activity in all three newsgroups studied involved the use of cross-posting, which enables debates in more than one newsgroup to be linked by allowing users to simultaneously send messages to more than one group that all

host discussions on similar topics. Commonly, replies to messages are also cross-posted, thereby linking previously unconnected newsgroups. ‘Netiquette’⁵² specifies that cross-posting must be performed under fairly stringent conditions. For example, messages should only be cross-posted if it is relevant to more than one group. Mann, Sutton and Tuffin (2003) conducted an analysis of cross-posted messages to Far Right newsgroups and found that some groups were more heavily linked by cross-posting than others; as highlighted in Figure 6.

The width of the connecting lines on the diagram is proportional to the number of messages cross-posted during Mann, Sutton and Tuffin’s (2003) period of study. Their representation gives an indication of the proportion of messages cross-posted from one group to another by comparing the width of the connecting black line.

Mann, Sutton and Tuffin (2003) acknowledged that the reasons for cross-posting were somewhat unclear; although, at the same time accepting that there was a purpose to it, whether that be for writers to seek support for their views from posters in other related groups or to simply ‘pollute’ unrelated newsgroups that seemed antithetical to racist views. It is clear that both suggestions are valid but that cross-posting seems slightly more complex than this. Findings in this research study go further and it was found that *alt.skinheads* tended to cross-post the least, whilst *alt.flame.niggers* and *alt.politics.white-power* received messages that were nearly always cross-posted to at least one related newsgroup.

It seems that Mann, Sutton and Tuffin (2003) were correct to assert that most contributors cross-post to related racist newsgroups in order to seek support for their views or ideology. In the figure above, many messages were cross-posted between *alt.politics.white-power* and *alt.politics.nationalism.white* (see Figure 6). These findings are confirmed in this study, which found that an overwhelming number of messages were cross-posted between these two groups. As the content of the messages to these groups is vastly similar, this is unsurprising. From the figure above, it is also clear that many messages were cross-posted between the newsgroups *alt.niggers* and *alt.flame.niggers*. Again, the content of the messages posted to these two groups was very similar and substantially explicitly and overtly offensive towards Black people. Messages were also cross-posted from *alt.skinheads* to *alt.music.white-power* as an obvious attempt to attract people from a newsgroup that merely hosted discussions of racist music to the skinhead newsgroup, which promoted a more vociferous racist and neo-Nazi ideology. *Alt.skinheads* and various music newsgroups were very much interconnected with messages being cross-posted from the former group to music groups such as *alt.punk*, *alt.music.white-power*, *alt.music.hardcore* and *alt.music.ska*. In this study, numerous messages were cross-posted from *alt.flame.niggers* to *soc.culture.African.american*. It was quite obvious that contributors to the former group were cross-posting to the latter for no other purpose than to antagonise members of the latter group, which is a non-racist newsgroup that predominantly hosts conversations about African American culture.

Hence, in addition to cross-posting messages to related racist newsgroups, contributors to the newsgroups studied also posted racist messages to other non-

⁵² Derived from the terms ‘Internet’ and ‘Etiquette’.

related groups in order to gain a wider exposure for their racist ideology. Usually, these racist messages are posted with a non-racist title to ensure it is not immediately ignored before it is read. Members of the newsgroup *alt.religion.scientology* claim that they are frequently subjected to: ‘... floods of message forgeries mostly consisting of reasonable sounding subject lines stuck together with racist messages copied from other, usually hateful or racist, newsgroups’.

This finding reflects the observations of Pease (2001), who argues that innovation has changed the opportunities for deviant activity and, in many cases, law enforcement and other forms of regulation is too slow to respond. However, given that much Internet (and more specifically newsgroup) content is not illegal, the responsibility for reducing or controlling the dissemination of *harmful, offensive or obscene* subject matter may not always lie with law enforcement agencies anyway. Hence, informal means of Internet governance, such as Netizen groups or surveillance by Internet Service Providers may prove to be a more effective method of control; as first identified by Akdeniz (2001).

According to a contributor from the newsgroup *alt.religious.scientology*:

People hop from one ISP to another as fast as the Acceptable Use Policy (AUP) teams can shut them down.

Most Internet Service Providers (particularly in the US) stipulate an ‘Acceptable Use Policy’, intended to prevent unacceptable use of the Internet. Most support the free flow of information and ideas over the Internet, do not actively monitor use of the services under normal circumstances and do not exercise editorial control over the content of any website, electronic mail transmission, newsgroup or other material created or accessible over or through the services. However, under the terms of the AUP, Internet Service Providers have authority to remove any materials that, in their discretion, may be illegal, subject the ISP to liability or which may violate the AUP. Violation may result in the suspension or termination of a user’s access to services (Earthlink.net, 2001).

The obvious publicity that cross-posting messages provides was also beneficial to groups that wanted to market related merchandise. There is evidence to suggest that the newsgroups to which messages were cross-posted are not impulsively selected. The KKK recommends that newsgroups such as *talk.politics.guns* should have regular posts explaining how to order usually unavailable literature such as *The Turner Diaries*, *Hunter* and *March of the Titans*. Advertising such material is potentially dangerous given that Whine (2000) claims that from the mid-1990s members of various militia hate movements have sought to share information and advice in the newsgroup *talk.politics.guns* and, therefore, used it as a criminal learning network to facilitate their terrorist regimes.

It is clear that some messages were not merely cross-posted to suitable or related groups but sent to those that could be recognised as completely disassociated from the Far Right; thus disrupting mainstream groups. Sometimes, polluting messages appeared to undermine the fundamental purpose of newsgroups as an open, publicly accessible discussion forum which would mean that potential

contributors would be discouraged from joining. *Alt.religion.scientology* has clearly recognised this and claims the Far Right:

... intends to fill this newsgroup with disgusting posts that swamp the real posts and drive away new readers.

Another contributor to a newsgroup, obviously unrelated to the Far Right, *alt.mothers* newsgroup, inadvertently stumbled upon a cross-posted message, which prompted her to protest:

I'm brand new here and considering quitting. What are you all fighting over? I came to this site cuz it said it was about moms. Maybe I'm in the wrong place.

Just as there are no completely safe places in the offline world, no space or meeting area of the Internet is guaranteed to attract only those perceived as acceptable. Hence, although cross-posting enhances the Far Right's exposure and facilitates its ability to disseminate racist rhetoric to a wider audience, it simultaneously proceeds to disrupt other newsgroups that exhibit little interest in its dogma. One cross-posting contributor can spread his or her message to hundreds of people. So, as Back (2001) first pointed out, in the arena of online racism, it is possible for only 'a small number of people to have a significant Internet presence'. The invasion by the Far Right primarily undermines the central feature of the Usenet community, which has arguably sought to encourage the formation of exclusive alliances between members based upon their mutual interests. This camaraderie was most noticeably displayed during an attempt to persuade the previous messenger to remain in the group when one responder replied with the advice:

You just happened to get into a flame war that started from someone cross-posting SPAM. These posts are being seen on more than one group; *alt.mothers* and *alt.flame.niggers*.

Members of mainstream newsgroups seem aware of the gains that the Far Right can enjoy by cross-posting to their non-racist newsgroups, and frequently warned other contributors against communicating with these groups. One messenger from the non-racist newsgroup *soc.culture.africa.american* warned:

Please be mindful of the cross-pollensation effect that occurs every time one responds directly to a message from those racists, that same response ends up at *alt.flame.niggers* causing other hardcore racists to respond again. It is by design that the racists always cross-post. They are interested in the chain reaction effect and we fall for it every time. We end up playing their game because all they are interested in is changing the course of all discussions on Usenet to race bashing of one another.

In addition to the pollution caused by cross-posts, some regular contributors were also seen to pollute their own group with the wrong type of messages. A regular contributor to *alt.skinheads* complained:

I notice that this group is getting a lot of sex-type spam mail ... I think that it is due to the likes of NY Blue and Navy Kurt and Jessica writing a lot of sex trash. The spammers think that we all are like that and are posting a lot of garbage. Thanks ... for attracting the worse stuff to our group.

Whilst White racists obviously succeeded in disrupting the activities of non-racist mainstream newsgroups, it seems that Black people were equally able to disrupt White racist newsgroups. It became clear that one purported Black contributor to *alt.flame.niggers* purposefully disrupted the group in revenge for White racists' disruption of the non-racist newsgroup *soc.culture.african-american* (scaa). The contributor claimed:

... I'm here because you guys refuse to leave scaa ... stay out of scaa and I assure you there'll be no reason for me to be here.

Issue Sympathisers

Primarily Issue Sympathisers are rather well described as online profiteers who, by acting as visitors, sustained little desire for long term involvement with the newsgroup. Their primary aim was to display empathy for single issues, such as animal rights or green issues, on which they campaign and cross-post messages to other newsgroups whose members may harbour an interest in similar issues. That said, their messages in these three newsgroups were also potentially racially inflammatory. For example, an Issue Sympathiser sought to use anti-Korean propaganda in *alt.politics.white-power* to both gain support for their specific cause as well as to inflame hatred towards Koreans in general by highlighting the postulated treatment directed towards dogs in Korean society (Figure 7). It cites the website of *captiveanimals.org* which is dedicated to highlighting the cruel treatment to which dogs allegedly succumb in Korea and seeks to prevent the incapacitation and torture of animals, and investigates cases of alleged cruelty against them. Although clearly racist, their main aim was apparently not to inflame racism but to gain support for their cause from a newsgroup that, because of its racist nature, may espouse an anti-Korean stance.

Figure 7



The web link provides access to a report compiled by the founder and director of 'International Aid for Korean Animals' and, to paraphrase claims:

Every year, 2.6 million dogs and countless cats are killed and eaten in South Korea. Slaughter includes hanging by the neck, prolonged beatings with pipes and hammers and electrocution. Often, cats are boiled alive and dogs

are routinely blow torched to remove their fur and brown the skin. Caring Koreans and most people worldwide know that no animal should be tortured and abused. Yet Korean cat and dog dealers deliberately inflict maximum pain to cats and dogs ...

A second message posted on the same day by the same contributor cited an article that reported:

The Civilized World is disgusted at the thought of people eating 'Man's Best Friend'. There can be no forgiving this inexcusable act of cruelty. Koreans who eat these poor dogs, take great delight in watching the poor animals die, wagging their tails in a last moment's desperate, but futile, plea for mercy. It is believed the more the dog suffers in death, the better tasting the meat! You better believe it; they know how to make it prolonged and painful.

There appeared to be very few racist responses from the *alt.politics.white-power* as Korean peoples are not usually targets of bias, prejudice and hate within this group. Indeed, the first responses were posted from *Cultural Defenders* who claim that affairs, which issue campaigners attribute as elements of inhumanity, are merely culturally normal to a particular ethnic group or ethos. Their reply included such instructions as:

Fuck off with your garbage. Who said slaughtering dogs and cats was illegal? It has been legal for thousands of years in their land.

And

We always have dogs in our household but I would never, never judge or condemn others for eating dogs. Chinese and Koreans, maybe other people in Asia, have been eating dogs for thousands of years. Simply because you have dogs as pet does not entitle you to condemn others.

Whilst issue sympathisers cross-posted into racist newsgroups in order to gain support for a particular issue, messages were also cross-posted from racist groups into those hosting conversations concerning a particular culture, with the intention of attacking other cultural groups. *Alt.flame.niggers* frequently cross-posted messages to the newsgroup *soc.culture.haiti* with racist messages such as:

What's the matter, Haitians? Does the truth about your shithole country offend you? Does it offend you further to hear that the reason Haiti is such a shithole is because it is inhabited by stupid, lazy people like you? Haiti - a tropical paradise of violence, poverty, stupidity - all typical characteristics of African descendants.

Advertisers

Alt.skinheads and *alt.politics.white-power* proved a useful arena within which White Power merchandise and racist hate rallies could be advertised. *Alt.skinheads* predominantly hosted posts from advertisers.

Radio Advertisers

WAR INTERNET RADIO IS NOW TRANSMITTING 24 HRS A DAY. GO TO SHOUTCAST.COM OR RADIOWHITE.COM. FOR HUNDREDS OF HOURS OF RACIST SOUND TRACKS, RACIST COMEDY AND GUEST INTERVEIWS from Monday 10 pm TO WEDNESDAY.

The White Aryan Resistance (WAR) radio possesses a network of ‘highly motivated White Racists’ (WAR, 2005a). Its website reveals an archive of previous radio shows since 2002, in addition to offering consumers the opportunity to listen to live broadcasts - all immediately available for downloading via MP3 real player. Previous speeches by White racists, including Tom Metzger, Matt Hale and Ben Klassen, are also available for downloading. Radiowhite.com provides access to a play list of over 5,000 racist tunes from well over 100 bands, such as Skrewdiver, Angry Aryans, Nuremberg, Odins Law, Race Riot and White Aryan Rebels. The station also provides a link that allows listeners to watch videos of favourite ‘hatecore’ bands. A menu enables listeners to choose between six or seven types of music at one time. The WAR magazine, advertised in the above post is published quarterly, 20 pages long, and the sales from which, according to the organisation’s website, will contribute towards all of the group’s operations.

The National Alliance's weekly program *American Dissident Voices* is described by the organisation as, ‘America's only uncensored patriotic radio program’. It reaches White people around the world via shortwave radio at several times and frequencies. In addition, a number of AM broadcasting stations in the United States carry the program to local or area audiences. The radio station associated with the Aryan Nations is White Power Radio. Although this is not accessible via traditional radio waves, it is ‘listener driven’. White Power Radio can be accessed by the independent website White-powerradio.com. The service broadcasts from 17.00 – 23.00 EST seven days a week and White racists can record shows via their MP3 then have it broadcast on White Power Radio. Also available, are links to nearly 50 other White supremacy, anti-Semitic and neo-Nazi websites including a link to *Radio Islam*.

Subscription Advertisers

Subscription advertisers promote newspapers and magazines to which racist ideologues can subscribe. Typical advertisements, such as the one below sent to *alt.politics.white-power*, read:

www.resist.com: Subscribe to WAR. newspaper: the most racist irreverent and seditious newspaper in the world. \$30 US for 11 issues, \$40 first class to Canada and \$50 first class to all other countries. For a sample copy of our radical, revolutionary, seditious and irreverent newspaper send \$3 or stamps. The paper includes an extensive list of videotapes, audiotapes and books. Record these updates for your friends. Send \$3 for a sample copy of WAR. newspaper. For a list of hundreds of videos and audio tapes look inside the WAR merchandise section.

The link at the top to the White Aryan Resistance website allows easy access to it; thus providing a link between the discussion group and the website, which is the comprehensive and important link into the ideological world of any supremacist group. Most other organised Far Right groups exhibit their affiliated Far Right magazines, to which Far Right associates can subscribe. The NF advertises 'The Flame' at www.the-flame.org and the BNP promotes its online journal 'The Voice of Freedom'. Alternatively, BNP members can buy, online, a 12-month subscription to 'Identity', its official 28 page glossy monthly magazine with 'all the latest articles from the best writers on the British Nationalist Scene'. The National Alliance publish *National Vanguard* magazine and *Free Speech*, a monthly online publication for supporters of American Dissident Voices. Subscribers are also entitled to receive high fidelity audio-cassettes of each weekly broadcast; hence, broadcasts can be heard through a conventional cassette player rather than computer. Subscriptions to *Free Speech* help to keep American Dissident Voices on the air.

Of the three study newsgroups, *alt.skinheads* was overwhelmingly used by advertisers to promote clothing, subscriptions to Far Right newspapers, organisations and magazines, and other Far Right and neo-Nazi paraphernalia.

Clothing Advertisers

Supremacists' identity aims to endorse a particular belief, categorised according to particular clothing and symbols which represent powerful communication tools that have the ability to convey meaning and significance. In the *alt.skinheads* newsgroup, merchandise advertisers posted addresses of websites that promote the sale of White Power products in order to serve two purposes. Firstly, to advertise goods to other skinheads and promote a homogenous identity through postings, such as:

Just to let you all know we have had a major update you can visit us at www.styleof69.de loads of gear, news, links etc ...

And:

Show them who you are! You and your pals may look like one in these fantastic white pride T-shirts. Visit www.webskinhead.tk.

Secondly, such advertising supports the ideology of White racism by posting inflammatory rhetoric that arguably conveys a feeling of hate but affords extremists a sense of power and belonging, as well as a quick way of identifying others who share their beliefs. Thus, newsgroup posts that advertise White supremacists gear do more than merely promote 'clothing'. They endorse an affiliation to a particular racist subculture and encourage the formation of an identity geared towards bias, prejudice and hatred by posting messages in the vein of:

Someone spotting a Skinhead proudly walking down the street immediately thinks there goes a warrior for the white race.

And:

Show Your race - show Your religion. www.cafeshops.com/korps.

The offline effect of this is, firstly, to create revulsion and distress amongst individuals and communities who are likely to be offended at the existence of neo-Nazi representations. The connection between identity and meaning was, for example, highlighted in January 2005 when Prince Harry, third in line to the UK throne, wore a shirt displaying the Nazi symbol to a fancy dress party; presumably to mock Nazis, not sympathise with them. In an interview with CNN (2005) a Holocaust survivor from Jerusalem was offended by this and said that the Holocaust was: '... representative of man's greatest evil and collapse of morality in human civilisation'. The Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Los Angeles expressed outrage in an interview with ABC news, as did UK politicians and numerous members of the British public who flooded the BBC News website with comments of disgust. Perhaps the fear is that people will not see the act as satire but as support for racism, as has happened with comedy TV in the past.

A fourth message posted to *alt.skinhead* claimed:

Wherever a Skinhead was seen, which was virtually everywhere, there were British flags, insignia and slogans all around. Anything to show pride, nationality and 'whiteness' was shown off by Skinheads, especially by way of T-shirts, jackets and patches, to ward off 'Pakis' and Negroes pouring in.

Hence, the visible existence of neo-Nazi merchandise may serve to inflame panic in the aftermath of volatile situations in countries that have experienced a Far Right resurgence against government policies. In 2001 in the UK, the Far Right British National Party had electoral success in Lancashire, winning one seat in Blackburn and three in Burnley. In 2003, it had further success, winning a seat in Calderdale, West Yorkshire (BBC News, 2003b). More recently the Far Right National Front made substantial gains in France's mid-term elections in March 2004. The anti-immigrant Front also collected some 17.5% of the national vote, close to the 17.8% its leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, scored in finishing a shock second in the 2002 Presidential Elections. The run-up to the poll had been dominated by protests against government moves to reduce France's public deficit and slash welfare spending, and its failure to tackle rising unemployment. During 2004, skinhead movements in Germany and Russia have been blamed for sporadic violence culminating in some deaths, one of a 10-year old girl.

Whilst there remains a spurious connection between activities in supremacist newsgroups and offline violence, the visible presence of such merchandise may serve to fuel what Cohen (1972) refers to as 'moral panic' in countries with reasonably volatile racial tension. Moreover, such paraphernalia has been associated with fuelling racially motivated violence, such as that suffered by a Hispanic man outside a bar in Wisconsin, USA, on 5th October 2003, for which four White supremacists are now facing hate crime charges. Police found White Power music discs in one of the defendants' cars, which was adorned with a Confederate flag and a White Power sticker in the rear window. Similarly, material, including White supremacist literature, a Nazi flag and White Power music, was found in two of the defendants' apartments.

Gaming Advertisers

During his website research, Back (2001) concluded that racist games are difficult to find online. The presence of advertisements for racist games in newsgroups arguably makes these hard-to-find games just a little easier to stumble upon in newsgroups such as *alt.skinheads* that advertised:

A selection of pro-white games: Shoot the Niggers, Nigger Hunt, Nazi Duck Hunt and Ethnic Cleansing. It may not sound like 'real activism'. These games are more fun and more productive than arguing with people in a chat room or usenet group.

Most advertisements include links to websites, which, when clicked on, allow the games to be simply downloaded. The WAR website, *resist.com*, provides links to a selection of online games. The organisation proudly advertises the game, Ethnic Cleansing, mentioned in the post above, as:

... the most politically incorrect video game ever made [before continuing to advise] ... your skin is your uniform in this battle for the survival of your kind. The White Race depends on you to secure its existence. Your people's enemies surround you in a sea of decay and filth that they have brought to your once clean and White nation. Players must run through the ghetto 'blasting away' blacks, Jews, Hispanics in an attempt to gain entrance to the subway system.

The game White Law is based in the year 2021 AD; supposedly after a terrorist attack destroyed Washington and facilitated the consequential relocation of the US Capitol to New York State. The WAR declares it as:

...much more challenging than Ethnic Cleansing with more levels and more weapons' (WAR, 2005b).

The WAR website offers a selection of pro-white games including one entitled Niggazdoom, which the organisation begins to advertise with the question:

... ever wish you could go to the local hood and blast away some crazy niggaz? Well now you can, thanks to NiggaZDoom. For two people to play, all that is need is their IP address to hook up Yeeaaa! You can also listen to some cracker rock, down a few bottles of Colt 45 and cap some crazy-ass niggaz all in the comfort of your own crib.

Enforcing the now established link between anti-Semitism and Islam, the WAR's latest online game, *Kaboom*, is a 'suicide bombing game' in which a man of Arabic appearance, and wearing a puffa jacket, walks quickly across the computer screen amongst several other White men, women and children. When the game player clicks the left-hand button of the mouse, the bomber faces the screen, opens his jacket and detonates a bomb. The player acquires points according to the number of White people that die when the suicide bomber explodes on screen.

Also easily downloadable are 'game makers', as advertised by the post to *alt.politics.white-power*, stating:

Why be limited to a couple of titles made by someone else? Here are enough resources to get you started making your own computer games.

Potentially, this enables the racist imagination to be pushed as far to the edge of the boundaries of vitriolic celebration of intolerance as possible and the 'real activism' described in the post above can be developed significantly. Not only may participants construct characters of their choice composed of the 'race' they dislike but, as Back (2001) comments, such games blur the distinction between reality and unreality. No longer are racists, wishing to celebrate the next real life racist attack, constrained to awaiting its publication on the news or its posting upon a website, because game-making software now allows the 'designing-in' of celebrations of such real life situations into a racist online game.

Whilst there has been little research conducted to investigate the extent to which playing computer games initiates offline violence, and debates continue regarding the correlation between the two phenomena, a report by BBC news (2002c) claims that: '... pressure groups against shoot-em-up type games believe a constant stream of violence is unhealthy for young players, feeding them negative images of race'. In the UK, the parents of a 14-year old boy killed in a hammer attack in February 2004, attributed a violent video game, with which the killer was reputedly obsessed, as a primary stimulus for the attack. His mother raised concerns about the availability of the game to young people. Following the attack, the UK Trade and Industry Secretary, Patricia Hewitt, called for the law banning the sale of 18-rated games to children to be better enforced (BBC News, 2004c). However, if children can access such games by simply downloading them from the Internet, then no regulation of the sort demanded by Patricia Hewitt exists online. In the US, the video games industry was also thrust into focus in September 2003 when two teenage boys in Tennessee claimed to have been acting out the Grand Theft Auto game when they shot at vehicles. One man was killed and a woman was badly hurt when the pair reportedly decided to relieve their boredom by opening fire on traffic on Interstate 40 with a .22-calibre rifle.

Some newsgroup members advertise their goods for sale through fairly conventional means, such as via the popular Internet auction site E-bay, upon which one contributor offered for sale:

My entire Skrewdriver collection on eBay. It's item 2974280339 - 12 near mint CDs.

On the site, one can find, up for auction, racist games, DVDs, posters, cartoons and card games such as 'Peter the Negro', a bizarre variation of 'Happy Families' which, in addition to the cards in the box, requires a cork with one end burned black. In this variation of *Happy Families*, the players collect all the similar cards to complete 'families'. The person left with the 'joker', a weeping black child, has his or her face marked with burned cork. Once a person has no skin left to blacken, they drop out of the game. Hence, the blackened cork person represents the outcast and is marginalised from the rest of the white players, who remain in the game.

EBay claims to have: '... always exercised judgment in allowing or disallowing certain listings, consistent with the spirit of a worldwide community, and

judiciously disallows listings or items that promote or glorify hatred, violence or racial intolerance, or items that promote racist organisations'. Wide as this definition is, the organisation is explicit in its intention to remove items that bear symbols of the Nazis or the KKK or any authentic German World War Two memorabilia that bear such marks. However, World War Two memorabilia that does not bear the Nazi or SS markings, or books and movies about the conflict or Nazi Germany, are allowed even if the Nazi symbol appears on them. Occasionally, eBay users list antiques or historical pieces that have, over time, become racially or ethnically offensive to other eBay users. However, according to the auction site, such material has become sought-after historical relics that appear in museums and private collections, as important tools for education about the past. It seems that by adopting this disclaimer, newsgroup members are legitimately able to offer their goods for sale. On eBay, products can be found that are banned in some countries because of their racist nature. For example, on accessing the eBay website in 2004, the auction site was found to be offering a DVD entitled 'Little Black Sambo' of over three hours in length that, according to all available information, remains prohibited from sale in the US. eBay also offered for sale a second item: 'Banned Cartoons: A history of racist animation', which it describes as: 'A collection of early racist animation showing an interesting look into our society's ugly past of hate'. Again, given their prohibition from sale, e-Bay attempts to justify the sale by claiming that the merchandise 'is intended for historical purposes and should not be used to promote any of the stereotypes depicted by it.

However, despite eBay's commitment to prohibiting the sale of racist material, a simple search of its website using the unambiguous keyword of 'racist' generated a search result displaying 54 corresponding items. Further investigation found that the items were a mixture of both racist and anti-racist paraphernalia. Arguably, offensive depictions, such as those discussed above, are perfectly legal although the Internet has provided a wider opportunity for the dissemination of abusive material, such as that highlighted by the message posted into the *alt.skinheads* newsgroup advertising: 'Wine with Hitler images'. The message emanated from a news story regarding the German Government's protest to an Italian winery that had begun labelling its bottles with portraits of Adolf Hitler. The so-called 'Fuhrerwein' bottles feature 14 different labels portraying Hitler and other Nazis, along with slogans. Although products bearing images or slogans from the Nazi era are outlawed in Germany, they are available to purchase via the Internet, which may mean that a quantity of the wine will slip through the net to be obtained in other countries.

Literature Advertisers

Literature Advertisers promote the sale of Far Right literature, some of which has been banned or is of restricted sale in some countries. The message below provides a link to the National Vanguard magazine, published by the White Supremacist organization 'Stormfront', and advertised:

<http://www.natvan.com>. To help celebrate the birthday of Dr William Pierce, one of the greatest thinkers of our time, National Vanguard Books is having an extraordinary sale in his honour. For a limited time only, buy *Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds* for only \$16.95, almost 20% off the regular

retail price. Get catalogue item #1055, *The Turner Diaries*, for \$16.95 and save \$4.00 off the normal price. Including shipping & handling you will pay just under \$20 for this excellent book. Read the personal story of the life and times of Dr. William Pierce, from his childhood forward.

Since its publication in 1978, *The Turner Diaries*, a fictional work written by National Alliance leader William Pierce under the pseudonym Malcolm McDonald, has been labelled as a blueprint for Far Right activity, including terrorism. The narrative of the diaries starts with an account set some time in the future, in which most Blacks, Jews and Hispanics have been killed. The book is graphically violent and contains very definite neo-Nazi overtones by claiming the Jews control the world through the mass media and refers to Adolf Hitler as 'the great one'. Non-Whites are depicted as being sub-human. Whites who do not support the race war are described as 'race traitors' who must be killed along with the non-Whites. The book details a violent overthrow of the United States Federal Government by Turner and his comrades and describes a brutal race war that takes place simultaneously. The *fictional* book describes the commission of terrorist acts that bear remarkable resemblance to *non-fictional* acts of terror witnessed in the US in recent years. For example, the story starts with the bombing of FBI headquarters (which McVeigh also targeted). The diary section ends with the protagonist flying an airplane equipped with an atomic bomb on a suicide mission to hit The Pentagon, which is depicted as a courageous and patriotic act. The similarities to the terrorist attacks in the US on 11th September 2001 are obviously present here. It can be argued that the atrocities that occurred on that day, and many other acts carried out by Islamic terrorists, are perceived as courageous and patriotic acts by supporters of Islamic terrorist organisations and other like-minded individuals. Given the lack of literature to document whether such groups or individuals have read or heard of *The Turner diaries*, this can neither be confirmed nor refuted. However, given the link between the Far Right Aryan Nations and Islamic Terrorists, the exchange and publicity of literature between these ideologically similar extremist groups ought not to be discounted altogether.

There is more positive evidence to suggest that the book significantly contributed to the motivation of Timothy McVeigh to carry out the Oklahoma City bombings. Hence, it can be argued that such literature is repressed for good reason and enhancing its accessibility in the public domain is potentially dangerous. Advertising the diaries on the Internet renders it more accessible to the public than law enforcement agencies and the Government would like. The publication is seldom sold in retail outlets and was formerly only available by mail order and at Far Right events and gun shows in the US. However, it is now available through more mainstream online book retailers - such as *Amazon*, and downloadable via the Internet. As was argued in the previous chapter, much activity that occurs online is only illegal if the boundary between the unreality of the Internet and the reality of real life is crossed. Hence, although owning a copy of the diaries is perfectly legal, its potential for facilitating offline atrocities, such as the bombing committed by McVeigh, should, ideally, ensure its continued restriction, even to prevent the (albeit in this case 'fictional') glorification of terrorism and the indoctrination of such ideas in impressionable young people.

William Pierce backed McVeigh (whom The Guardian newspaper claimed was Pierce's 'most notorious fan') after the Oklahoma bombings by commenting that the diaries were intended to inspire people and that he did not regret what happened in Oklahoma because: 'McVeigh was reacting to what he saw as tyrannical behaviour by the government in a society that alienates people and makes them feel they no longer have a role' (Pierce, 2001).

Event Advertisers

It is surprising that given the history of skinhead groups as violent and anarchic movements, there were few posts to *alt.skinheads* that demonstrated an overt commitment to violence or advertised Far Right events. That *alt.skinheads* had an ideology more in keeping with the 'trads' rather than of neo-Nazism may be a reason for more *Event Advertisers* posting to the two other newsgroups studied. *Alt.politics.white-power* advertised:

The Cleveland Knights of the Ku Klux Klan will hold a march and rally in Blacksburg, South Carolina on Saturday, September 20th from 2:00 pm to 3:30 pm. The main focus of this event will be to make White people aware of black on White crimes. We will be meeting behind the Blacksburg Police Department starting at 1:30 pm. Afterwards, all participants are invited to a rally field for a gathering and to eat. All White Racial Loyalists are invited!

The event was reportedly organised by the National Socialist Movement (NSM), the largest Nazi party in the US. The group assigns great acclaim to the KKK by victoriously proclaiming on its website afterwards: 'Hail the Cleveland Knights of the KKK, our ally in victory! NSM Leaders played key roles and gave rousing speeches'. The web page also contained photographs of NSM members posing in KKK outfits and shirts adorned with NSM signatories and swastikas. In recent years KKK organisations have gained a formidable online presence. Most notably, the Imperial Klans of America (IKA) has managed to sustain popular support with White racists in the US and boasts offices in 25 states. The organisation disseminates a very different message to the KKK groups of the 19th and earlier 20th century by claiming to be a non-violent, law-abiding, pseudo-political organisation:

We are a law-abiding organisation seeking honourable Aryan Men and Women to take a stand for what they believe in. We will not tolerate illegal acts of any sort and will not be responsible for any member committing them (KKK, 2004a).

However, a further exploration into the organisation unearths more than a mere hint of extremist phraseology, indicating that the movement is far from suitable to compete as a non-violent and mainstream political organisation. For example, the group demonstrates an extremely hostile response to present hate crime legislation which, it professes, is not about protecting gay people or minorities but about silencing the protests by the Christian middle class (KKK, 2004b). An analysis of the messages posted on the Knights' web board clearly demonstrates a continuation of the violent proclivities reminiscent to that of older genres of the KKK.

In addition to the KKK, The National Alliance, National Front and British National Party use web boards as part of their communication propaganda for advertising events and rallies. The National Front website contains a web page devoted to the organisation of rallies and marches. Arguably, some were predictably more peaceful than others, such as that which involved merely 'laying flowers in remembrance of Ross Parker who was murdered by Asians in September 2001', as opposed to that 'against the Al-Muhajiroun 'Rally For Islam', which included the proviso:

If you have never witnessed an event by Al-Muhajiroun before, please be prepared for the most hate filled, anti-British filth being preached from the capital of the most tolerant and democratic country in the world.

Finally, some marches are organised via specific routes, such as that which took place on 14th May 2004, which was 'planned to go through St Thomas Road past the mosque at 1pm'.

Event advertisements to flame.niggers used very confrontational language advising:

IF YOU ARE SICK OF NIGGERS TAKING OVER DUBUQUE PLEASE COME TO OUR MEETING OF NIGGER HATERS OF AMERICA, MONDAY AT 7PM AT 264 E 14TH IN DUBUQUE. COME AS YOU ARE. WE ONLY ASK THAT YOU ARE WHITE. ANY BLACKS WILL GET THEIR ASS KICKED ON SITE.

The agenda of both newsgroups is transparently clear here. White Power is striving to protect the purported White 'race' by highlighting a proposed need for White people to protect themselves from Black people. In contrast, the message to flame.niggers clearly demonstrates its hatred for them. The message sent to *alt.flame.niggers* was also cross-posted to *alt.teens*; quite possibly in an attempt to entice younger people, who may harbour racist tendencies, into the newsgroup. Cross-posting into non-racist and unrelated newsgroups was a potentially useful means by which racist newsgroups could recruit new members.

Recruiters

Prior to the appreciation of the Internet as a global recruitment device, the Far Right relied upon other accomplished but less accessible sources of propaganda such as radio broadcasts and literature distribution. However, the evolution of the Internet has conferred upon recruiters the capacity to search further afield for new conscripts by, according to one prominent contributor to *alt.skinheads*:

... becoming an Internet guru - sharing ideas, exchanging intelligence, managing emails and directing chat-rooms. As soon as you become a Skinhead, you naturally want to start recruiting others. Giving them some literature or Internet sites to read can really help to 'clinch the deal'. Start with your friends and those close by. But you have the power to recruit all across the United State'.

There were two methods by which newsgroups were a successful recruiting tool. Firstly, *recruitment enquirers* were able to post messages in order to find information regarding recruitment to *alt.skinheads* or how to become a skinhead. Secondly, *recruitment activists* were able to actively seek new recruits.

Recruitment Enquirers

Contributors to *alt.skinheads* were able to provide information to *recruitment enquirers*, who sought to acquire information about affiliation with the skinhead culture. Many of the messages posted to this newsgroup perfectly serve to exemplify two features of newsgroups: firstly, newsgroups are able to transcend national boundaries; and secondly, contributors who do not neatly assimilate with the specified racial identity of the group are flamed even if their reason for joining the newsgroup is unquestionably consistent with its ideology. For example, a first enquirer revealed:

I am a 'Skinhead' from Singapore. I would like to be a recruit who, in some way, could harness some of the power against Jewish, African and Chinese. I hope that you can teach us ... some things about the Skinhead way of life. Most of my friends have considered becoming a 'Skinhead' but don't have much idea about how to go about it and we have no resources here to help.

The reply this person received was:

Fuck off and go write skinhead on your knuckles with a marker pen.

This may have been posted for two reasons: firstly, as far as possible, *alt.skinheads* claims to disassociate itself from neo-Nazi and racist ideologies; secondly, South Asian skinheads may not fit adequately within the White Christian ideology that traditional skinheads seem to venerate. A further justification for this latter assertion may be emphasised by a subsequent message stating:

There have been an eclectic few who have stated that they wished that they were Skinheads only Nordics and Anglo-Saxons could be Skinheads.

Recruitment Activists

Organised Far Right hate groups have actively sought to recruit new members for their organisations, which then represent families and form a support network for these new recruits who, according to Levin (2002), have become ostensibly disaffected with family, school and peers. Thus, membership of a hate group provides a sense of feeling, belonging and importance. Cross-posting enabled *alt.skinheads* to seek out potential members and widespread recruitment of newbies was enhanced by a seemingly systematic and tactical process. Arguably, the simplest method of recruitment was by cross-posting to other racist newsgroups, whose members already held far right racist ideology. However, *alt.politics.white-power* desired to extend its potential pool of recruits to other unrelated newsgroups, whose members did not possess an existing racist philosophy. Given the unambiguously racist titles of *alt.politics.white-power* and *alt.flame.niggers*, the nature of the discussion hosted by these newsgroups is

clearly conveyed to anyone browsing the Usenet database. Individuals were highly unlikely to have entered the newsgroups and lurked for exploratory purposes unless they possessed a specific racist predisposition. Therefore, it is highly problematic for those without explicit racist dogma to be enlisted as *Newbies*. Thus, in order to reach a greater number of possible recruits, members cross-posted messages to non-racist and seemingly unrelated newsgroups to increase their exposure. This tactic seems to work judging by a respondent from the newsgroup *alt.atheism* who, after noticing a message from *alt.flame.niggers*, commented:

I do not subscribe to a.f.n and if these individuals did not come into my newsgroup with their viewpoints, I never would have seen them.

It is clear that newsgroups can be used to perfectly fulfil the recommendation by the Knights of the KKK that, in order to facilitate recruitment, Far Right groups must ‘move out beyond their present domain and take up positions in mainstream newsgroups’ (KKK, 2004c). This is a worrying trend and the Anti-Defamation League claims that: ‘The message is clear; we must monitor newsgroups such as *alt.politics.white-power*, which are afforded an opportunity to recruit new members’. There is evidence to suggest that a newbie’s initial contact is swiftly followed with direct emails that welcome them to the group and encourage them to feel part of the racist community. This choice of personalised communication obviously conveys the intimate touch to the newbie rather than a feeling of detachment that seemingly unorganised and anarchic newsgroups can sometimes engender.

The KKK seems to agree on this necessity and state:

When someone new posts a message to us we must contact them immediately, welcome them to the group and offer them information about our group, as well as subscription details. Thereafter, maintaining communication seems equally paramount.

Stereotype Enforcers

Primarily, the Atlantic Slave trade heralded the formation of the many enduring racial stereotypes that remain attributed to Black people in US and UK society today. Both during slavery and after emancipation, former Black slaves were not merely stereotyped as different, but also as animalistic, uncivilised and inhuman. These stereotypes have also provided an alternative basis for the online hate speech observed in *alt.flame.niggers*.

Dehumanisation

The racist stereotype of Black people’s sub-humanity emerged, primarily, from events that took place during the African slave trade. More generally, this practice was to herald the formation of bias, prejudicial and hateful racial stereotypes that remain in existence 400 years later. Unsurprisingly, contributors to *alt.flame.niggers* and *alt.politics.white-power* draw upon the slave trade period to enforce racism and promote prejudicial humour within their newsgroups. One contributor to *alt.flame.niggers* continued this theme by claiming:

Niggers are subhuman monkeys that don't deserve to be treated as normal, upstanding human citizens.

Another message along similar lines - this time posted to *alt.politics.white-power*, contended:

Expecting Negroes to think the way humans do is not realistic. Negroes are a lesser species, like any other animal.

Occasionally, newsgroup contributors, who were presumably Black people, recounted the history of the Atlantic slave trade as a means to justify what they seemingly believed to be an enforced existence in the US. This is demonstrated by two messages; the first of which states:

We are a proud peoples from Africa brought here in chains and shackles from Africa. We feel our alliance with our brothers in Africa and our kinship with them every day. Simply because we have been brought over here and forced to live in this white culture is no means to resort to such name calling and hate which is on this board. Do not feel bad about taking things from whites or their money or government help. They brought us here and now they owe us. In the future the world will bow to blackness.

Similarly, the second message asserts:

You created a problem by bringing Africans to America after you stole land from someone else. Making us do all of your work, build your crops, feed your family and then proceeded to rape us and trade us like cattle. Think of the many Africans your people killed on the trip to America. Think of the many African-Americans who where beaten everyday.

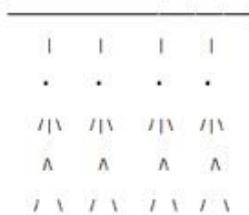
The end of slavery heralded the first convergence of racism and humour with the emergence of 'Jim Crow'. Although the racial segregation laws that so oppressed Black people were named after this character, Jim Crow was originally created by the comedian Thomas Dartmouth 'Daddy' Rice during the mid-19th century. Rice covered his face with charcoal paste or burnt cork to resemble a Black man. By the 1850s, this character became one of several stereotypical images of Black inferiority. His brand of entertainment would later be considered a form of racism. However, into the 20th century, racist humour has remained. Slavery provided the impetus for many racist jokes that were posted into the newsgroups; although few received the acclaim bestowed upon the contributor to *alt.flame.niggers* who advertised⁵³ the abhorrent 'Nigger Owner's Manual', which other members were encouraged to download.

The manual is intended as an espousal of racist humour and is filled with references to slavery and is, essentially, a 'how to' guide that advises White people of how best to 'own' a Black person. The manual begins by congratulating the reader on purchasing their 'brand new nigger'. The first section, *Installing your nigger*, recommends: 'Installing the nigger differently according to whether a *field or house model* has been purchased'. The second

⁵³ See appendix one for the full text of this manual

section, *Configuring your nigger*, explains that: ‘Owing to a design error, your nigger comes equipped with a tongue and vocal chords but they can master only a few basic human phrases and have nothing interesting to say anyway [and] a vet should probably be called in order to remove the tongue’. Thirdly, the manual provides instructions on how to *House your nigger*, and advises that it can be accommodated in cages with iron bars provided that the bars are wide enough to push pieces of food through. In the section entitled, *Making your nigger work*, the manual admits that ‘niggers are very, very averse to work of any kind’ and ‘are often good runners, too, to enable them to sprint quickly in the opposite direction if they see work heading their way’. The solution, according to the manual is to ‘dupe the nigger into working with blows of a wooden club, fence post or baseball bat’. For entertainment, the publication asserts that: ‘Niggers enjoy play, like most animals, so you should play with it regularly and offer games such as, thrash the nigger, lynch the nigger, nigger dragging and hunt the nigger’. When disposing of dead niggers, the manual recommends: ‘... reporting the license number of the car that did the drive-by shooting of your nigger to the police, who will collect the nigger and dispose of it for you’. The end of the manual includes a troubleshooting guide in order to solve ‘common problems with niggers’.

Arguably, the manual is ‘all-inclusive’ by ironically incorporating a reference to many of the biased and prejudicial treatments to which Black people were subjected during their years as slaves. However, *alt.flame.niggers* also contains many more references to slavery such as lynching, which was named after Charles Lynch, who popularised it during the 18th century, and involved the execution of the accused without a due process of law (Petrosino, 2003). Frequently, Black men were executed by hanging.



It is straightforward to recognise that this illustration denotes a row of lynched Black men. The diagram is included at the end of every message posted by one particular contributor to *alt.flame.niggers*.

Again, as a reference to lynching, another contributor ends their messages with the phrase:

At the end of a long day I like to relax. Kick back on the veranda with an ice cold mint julep, watch a nigger swing from a branch and feel that cool evening breeze.

Another somewhat sporadic message commented:

There is nothing better than a set of ‘mississippi windchimes’ swingin’ in the breeze!!

The reference to Mississippi is poignant as it was in that state that, on 21st June 1964, three civil rights activists were shot dead by members of the KKK after taking part in a campaign to try to end the political disenfranchisement of African Americans in the Deep South. On 23rd June 2005, at the time of writing, one-time

KKK leader, Edgar Ray Killen, was jailed for 60 years for masterminding the killings. Aware that it would be impossible to persuade a White Mississippi jury to convict the murderers, he and another member of the group were tried under the federal law of conspiring to deprive the three activists of their civil rights (BBC News, 2005d). The search for evidence was dramatised in the 1988 movie *Mississippi Burning*.

Other poignant references to slavery posted to *alt.flame.niggers* were in the vein of:

Well done ... If you continue to stay in your place, there will be an extra slice of watermelon in your niggercage tonight, nigger.

Which was directed towards a possibly Black contributor that posted according to the 'Black posting rules'⁵⁴ of the newsgroup, and:

watermelons rule!!!!!! they're soooooo tasty!!!!!!! i like the seedless variety!!!

Whilst most contributors to *alt.flame.niggers* revelled in the role that White people assumed during the slave trade years, others were less willing to do so and encouraged 'slavery denial', whereby any responsibility of White people is refuted by messages such as:

Whites had NOTHING to do with slavery. No whiteman ever enslaved a negro.

And

that's the dumbest thing any redneck has ever said in this group, if whites brought slaves than they had something to do with slavery stupid ...

Some contributors agreed to assume an intermediary standpoint and, although not advocating a full 'slavery denial', attempted to justify it by claims such as:

... slaves that were already taken by other niggers and Arabs. Had not the whiteman bought them, they'd have been sold elsewhere or killed.

One poster to *alt.politics.white-power* advertised a link to the website *come-and-hear.com*. 'Come and hear' is an online educational forum for the 'examination of religious truth and religious tolerance' and was inspired by Jonathon Sachs, the Chief Rabbi of Great Britain. One of the sections in this online publication explains the prescribed orthodox Jewish religious ritual of circumcising male babies at birth. The website contains images of the procedure in addition to displaying photographs of the tools used to perform the operation. The web page continues with an explanation of the second part of the procedure that the 'man who circumcises the infant, the *mohel*, must suck the infant's bleeding penis with his mouth'. However, there is no evidence anywhere else in any literature that explains the circumcision process to confirm the authenticity of this latter stage of

⁵⁴ Please see above for the discussions of posting rules to the newsgroup *alt.flame.niggers*.

the operation. According to information from the website *circumcision.net*⁵⁵, the only duty the *mohel* performs during the operation is applying medical ointment to promote healing. However, in *alt.flame.niggers* this was seized upon as evidence of Jewish inhumanity and as a justification for exploiting the long-standing anti-Semitic blood-libel myth. This is documented to have originated in 1144 from an unfounded rumour in eastern England, that Jews had kidnapped a Christian child, tied him to a cross, stabbed his head to simulate Jesus' crown of thorns, killed him, drained his body completely of blood and mixed the blood into matzos (unleavened bread) at time of Passover. The rumour arose from a former Jew, Theobald, who had become a Christian monk and claimed that Jewish representatives gathered each year in Narbonne, France to decide in which city a Christian child would be sacrificed (Dimont, 1994). Evidently, the rumour has lasted for many centuries but was particularly misused during the Second World War when the Nazi periodical, *Der Stürmer*, often published special issues devoted to allegations of ritual murder by Jews.

A second post to the same newsgroup advised:

Do a search in google for female castration. Talk about cruel people, they hold the 13-year old girl down and slice her clit off. Maybe that ain't so bad for a monkey, but I surely can't see doing that to a human.

Miscegenation

An opposition to interracial relationships and miscegenation (race mixing) is central to White supremacist thought and understood by them to cause 'bodily pollution' of White women and leads to 'mongrelisation' of the White 'race', thus conflicting with a fundamental tenet of 'maintaining pure White blood'. According to White supremacist thought, much of the responsibility for racial mixing lies with the deviant predatory sexual proclivities of Black men. Perry (2001) claims that: '... at different times in different contexts most non-whites have been seen as sexual predators'. However, within the doctrine of the racist Christian Identity Movement, the Jews are blamed for racial genocide. However, the blame for 'wiping out' the White race was not laid at the door of the Jews in any of the three study newsgroups and this subject was only discussed in *alt.flame.niggers* with Black people denoted as the culprits. Consistently, Perry (2001) claims, White males have feared Black people's imagined deviant sexual motives towards *their* White women over and above any other minority group. However, in *alt.flame.niggers*, blame for interracial relationships was not only laid upon Black males and guilt was not straightforward. This message to flame.niggers posed:

Which is worse: The nigger or the nigger-loving white bitch?

Usually, the blame was placed firmly upon Black men as demonstrated by the message:

⁵⁵ This website is described as an 'ultimate all-in-one website for Jewish parents and anyone interested in learning more about the Laws and meaning to the mitzvah of Bris Milah - Ritual Circumcision'.

Niggers need to stick to they own race. Why do niggers desire white women so much.

Whilst another seemed to place culpability with Black men and lower class White women by commenting:

We superior whites must destroy all nigger bucks and wigger sluts who engage in such perverse behaviour. The white race must be and should be kept pure.

Sometimes it was advocated that white Women who engage in interracial relationships with black men are racial traitors, demonstrated by a post to *alt.politics.white-power* that complained:

On a recent visit to my hometown I saw a wide open and unabashed pairing of white women with black men. There were dozens of the couples. Some of the women were beautiful. It is common now and the women showed no self-consciousness.

Within White supremacist discourse, White women are viewed as the sexual property of only White men. Their supposed attractiveness is a symbol of purity and chastity, which renders them highly prized by Black men because of their apparent lusciousness. The threat this poses to White men and *their* White Women is highlighted in the anecdote posted to *alt.flame.niggers* that revealed:

My girlfriend lives approximately 30 miles away from me. Everytime ... we are walking together, some wild looking savage nigger beast seems to always have the audacity to ask her for her phone number, even while I'm standing right there with my arm around her.

Occasionally, in *alt.flame.niggers*, intimate interracial mixing was acceptable if it sought to protect the interests of the White race. For example, the declining White birth rate is a primary concern for White supremacists because it threatens homogeneity. Therefore, interracial breeding was acceptable in order to save the extinction of the White race altogether; as one contributor to *alt.flame.niggers* highlighted:

As sad as watching niggers breed with white women is, it's better (although only marginally) than having the nigger breeding with another nigger.

However, there may be a more complex argument here and this contributor might be in favour of so-called 'bleaching out' the Black population as a price worth paying for interracial intimacy.

Issues of interracial relationships also facilitated the emergence of a new stereotype - of typifying race mixers as the equivalent of sex offenders. According to members of *alt.flame.niggers*:

there is no difference between child molesters and niggers fuckin white women. these women are mental children, who never had any parents to develop a strong self-confident proud personality in them.

One contributor, even more graphically, continued:

The typical white miscegenist has been abused or neglected as a child, or has been in a seriously abusive relationship. They frequently come from homes in which a father is not present or is abusive. Often, they start to believe that they deserve abuse, and get into relationships with blacks because blacks are far more abusive.

Criminalisers

Historically, Black people's negative stereotype as criminals has been manifested in a variety of ways. According to Daniels (1997), the mainstream US media typically report Black people's crimes against White people but seldom feature stories to the contrary. It was through the media that members of *alt.flame.niggers* were able to uphold this stereotype. Firstly, by quoting statistics from news stories such as:

WHILE BLACKS ONLY AROUND 12% OF THE U.S. POPULATION AND ARE OUTNUMBERED BY OTHER RACES BY 9 TO 1: NIGGERS COMMIT BETWEEN 51% AND 60% OF THE MURDERS ... ARE ARRESTED FOR 57-61% OF THE ROBBERIES ... COMMIT OVER 50% OF THE ROBBERIES.

Such news stories were manipulated in order to substantiate Black people's criminality and to inflame racism. The message headline (figure 8, page 235), posted into *alt.politics.white-power*, was originally part of a newspaper article that cited a year-long study of adults charged with major crimes in Minnesota, which showed that people who are not White are brought to court at a disproportionately higher rate than White people.

Figure 8

Study reveals disproportionate number of minorities in Minnesota courts

Although this study concluded that the court system fails to treat each race equally, the newsgroup post questioned the findings by contending that more minority ethnic groups enter the Criminal Justice System in Minneapolis because: '... they engage in more crime than whites', rather than as a consequence of bias which the study found exists in the Minneapolis court system. To inflate deviant labelling, discussions frequently focused upon ideas about Black people's propensity to commit vastly heinous offences. That Black people have, historically, been labelled as physically strong, animalistic, angry and prone to wanton violence has, primarily, been seized upon to provide a basis for the myth of the Black rapist. In both the White Power and flame.niggers newsgroups Black men are depicted as sexually aggressive towards White women as illustrated by the message to White Power asserting:

NIGGERS COMMIT OVER 50% OF THE RAPES AND CHOOSE WHITE WOMEN TO RAPE.

There were many messages that aimed to emphasise that Black people were dangerous predators of children as illustrated by the message:

As with every form of crime, especially sexual crimes, niggers are monstrously worse. Kidnapping and raping children is but one example.

Some newsgroup members sought to 'name and shame' other members who they alleged were involved in illicit or inappropriate activity. In a show of disapproval towards two members of *alt.flame.niggers* who were also allegedly involved with a newsgroup that was seemingly involved with paedophilic discussion, one member of *alt.flame.niggers* posted the message:

Nigger paedophile alert ... You will find these sick cocksuckers in *alt.support.boy-lovers*.

On this occasion, the contributors involved were named and two excerpts from the newsgroup *alt.support.boy-lovers* were posted into *alt.flame.niggers* in order to highlight the seemingly deviant nature of the conversations, which included such speech as:

I'm so in love with my little elf. He's less than two months from his tenth birthday. But I told him how much I love him and how I am in love with him. If I were a monster I would either force him to have sex with me; oozing from my mouth in a frenzy.

Upon further investigation into this newsgroup, another contributor within the same conversation was observed as admitting:

When I'm with him alone, I kiss him like twenty times in a minute. I don't remember myself being in favour of kissing at that age. But then, he still comes to sit in my lap, clearly knowing what will happen. I told him that I was in love with him and asked him if he was alright with that and he answered me he was OK.

At this point it must be noted that criminological research concerning online paedophilia must be explored with care, and the legal issues surrounding the use of the Internet to access such material denotes that it ought only to be explored in strictly necessary and monitored circumstances. However, to aid my investigation, it seemed acceptable to explore, as briefly as possible, these suspicious exchanges that occurred in this newsgroup. This is because such vivid depictions of sexual activity may be seized upon by like-minded individuals who may be lured towards newsgroups that host such speech and websites that contain indecent images of children. There were no enquiries from any of my study newsgroups concerning the acquisition or supply of such images, thus indicating that members were not willing to allow the newsgroup to descend into illegal or inappropriate discussions of this manner: firstly, because such discussions may lead to the commission of illegal activity which, as a rule, was not encouraged by the contributors to any of the study newsgroups; and, secondly, the purpose of posting this material is to inflame racism by seeking to highlight the stereotypical sexual inclinations of Black people rather than to encourage any sort of criminal activity. However, advertising such newsgroups within other discussion forums

provide those that do possess such a disposition with an outlet to talk freely about their fascinations. On investigation it transpired that both contributors involved in the conversations (above) are regular posters to the *alt.support.boy-lovers* newsgroup. During the nine days between 1st and 9th June 2003 it was discovered that their combined posts equated to over a quarter of all messages posted to *alt.support.boy-lovers*.

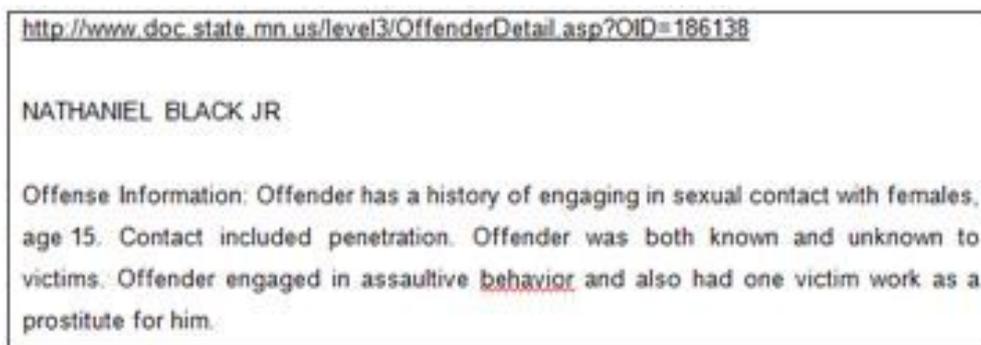
In their study of paedophilic activity on the Internet, Forde and Patterson (1998) acknowledged that an 'abundance' of paedophilic material can be found in newsgroups, which create a breeding ground for the communication of deviant ideas and serve as a resource for archiving and distributing material. Cross-posting it into Far Right groups provides another outlet and facilitates the creation of new online communities through which such obscenity can be channelled. Nowhere is this research more superlatively verified than in the post below, in which the exploitative potential of the Internet is clearly recognised by one contributor of *alt.flame.niggers*, who claims:

The Internet has become a haven for Child Predators and Hate Mongers who hide behind a computer to spit out their venom.

Some posts serve to not only exploit stereotypes with a view to criminalising Black people, but also sought to expose them to 'real life' victimisation; as illustrated by two messages posted to *alt.flame.niggers*, the first of which merely boasted:

We have all the convicted child predators online with their pictures their addresses.

The second post was a reproduction from the website of the Minnesota Department of Corrections (MDC) and stated:



The posting provides a link to the MDC web page on which the criminal records of all incarcerated Level Three sex offenders are published. By way of the 1996 Community Notification Law, information about certain offenders in Minnesota can be released with 'the intent of providing members of the public with adequate notice and information about an offender's release to enable the community to develop constructive plans to prepare themselves' (MDC, 2004). Details of the offender named in the post above have been deleted from the form below, which illustrates the copious information that can be accessed. Significantly, the named offender is a Black man; thus, publishing his criminal record together with address and release date into *alt.flame.niggers* may potentially fuel the possibility

of vigilantism towards those whose photographs and information appear upon record such as that in figure 9 (page 238).

Figure 9

NAME AND PICTURE INSERTED HERE	
Birth Date:	Eye Color:
Race/Ethnicity:	Height:
Skin Tone:	Weight:
Hair Color:	Build:
Supervising Agent	
Release Date:	
Offence Statute(s):	
Offence Information:	
Address County:	
Registered Address:	

Harassers

Back (2001) has argued that cyberspace provides a new context for racist harassment. More specifically, it is the 'real-time' interactive nature of email and newsgroup chat that enables harassment to ensue far more threateningly than when committed using other cyberspace phenomena such as websites. Traditionally, online harassment has been perpetrated through various iniquitous uses of email. Although few cases of harassment in newsgroups exist, newsgroups are an alternative means by which racists can harass their victims. In particular, the harassers observed in *alt.flame.niggers*, could be categorised in a variety of ways.

White Harassers

In *alt.flame.niggers*, White harassers pursued other newsgroup members directly by encouraging harassment from other contributors through messages such as:

Go see Black Avengers (Eric Landers, Ohio - home phone and address can be found on the net) new website. Feel free to call him at home.

Seemingly alarmed, the target responded with:

You've crossed the line. You've posted my address, telephone on the net without my permission. You are an avowed racist as illustrated by your long history of racist posts here. You have encouraged other racists to come to my home and commit violent acts against me.

Rather than inflame racism as intended, the antagonistic posts prompted many newsgroup members to assume a governance role and accepted that 'cyberchat' must remain within the newsgroup rather than acting as a facilitator of offline violence and posted replies such as:

It's about time you reported him to the appropriate authorities. Posting a bunch of racists garbage is one thing (pretty normal here), but when it goes past Usenet, then it crosses the line.

And

One would hope that posting someone else's personal information here is not a frequent occurrence.

Black Harassers

The most threatening form of behaviour that occurred in any of the study newsgroups was death threats. This was observed only once during the study period and involved threats from a purportedly Black harasser towards a White racist. The victim received abuse that amounted to several threats that were both offensive and alarming in nature. The most moderate form of post conveyed the contributors' aspiration to:

Rape and degrade this filthy racist bitch.

In addition to stating:

You stupid racist bitch. I hate you Marty and wish nothing but darkness, despair, and death in your life. I hope someone murders you very soon.

The conversation eventually degenerated into more serious warnings such as:

The money has already exchanged hands. The hit is now being arranged. Death will come swift. Kiss your kids and Steve goodbye. You have very little time left.

and

I still have an Uzi with your name on it.

or

I have a bullet with your name on it. All that is left is for me to lodge it in your racist skull.

There have been few commensurate concerns regarding the extent to which newsgroups have been used to convey such material or any consequential prosecutions.

Cross-Posting Harassers

Occasionally contributors to non-racist newsgroups were forced to leave after becoming victim to racial hatred and harassment because of cross-posts to their group from racist newsgroups, as one contributor to the newsgroup *alt.atheism* complained:

The infamous *alt.flame.niggers* that has been polluting our newsgroups, has done me a horrid disservice ... though I like this group and the people in it very much, I am going to leave it and miss you all in order to protect my privacy. Because the truth is, I can handle a great many things. Insults, yes. Lies, yes. My personal information blasted all over Usenet, no.

Maybe because of the lack of regulation or control of newsgroups, sometimes targets of hate appear to have no choice but to leave the newsgroup. This contributor left with many supporting messages such as:

‘Take care and I hope to see you around again sometime’, ‘Anytime you'd like to come back here, I for one will welcome you ...’. ‘Take care ... I, for one, shall miss you. It was nice to see you here’.

Hence, despite being characterised as a ‘virtual community’, maybe the dichotomy between reality and unreality can, sometimes, be breached. For, as Slouka (1995: 37) neatly sums up in ‘War of the Worlds: ‘Sticks and stones may break no bones but words can definitely hurt you’.

Slouka’s quote (above) - also cited by way of an introduction at the beginning of this chapter - succinctly encapsulates the typical behaviour observed in the three newsgroups examined for this study. Although the newsgroups create an enabling environment for the expression and proliferation of obscene, hateful and offensive words, little evidence was found to suggest that newsgroups are used for the dissemination of *illegal* words or behaviour or to facilitate criminal behaviour and other harmful (physical or otherwise) activity. However, *alt.flame.niggers* and *alt.skinheads* receive contributions from *offline hatred glorifiers*, who seek to glorify acts of offline hatred and from *offline hatred facilitators*, who seek to facilitate a rise in Far Right activity that may, occasionally, create a danger to individuals within a specific *physical* location⁵⁶ (as opposed to a *virtual* setting such as a newsgroup), or pose a more extensive threat to the wider community.

Offline Hatred Glorifiers

It has been well documented that Far Right extremist groups post images of violent attacks against ethnic minority individuals in order to glorify acts of hatred. Moreover, in the previous chapter of this thesis it was argued that hate groups use the Internet to glorify acts of hatred. The dissemination of such images was positively endorsed in *alt.flame.niggers*:

It's been a hellava week and I'm a little down. Pictures of dead niggers always brightens me up! Does anybody have any they could spare? It sure would make me feel better! Thanks!

Alt.skinheads also sought to glorify hate activity perpetrated by fellow members:

In Sweden, in August, 2003, it was Skinheads alone who attacked a far larger group of homosexuals who had dared to parade down a public street. Several Skinheads were jailed. And local citizens cheered them on. At the

⁵⁶ For example, a secure institution (see the example on page 242).

same time, an appeals court in California refused to release Skinheads who had driven Negroes out of a park. The Skinheads remained unrepentant. Most citizens agree with Skinhead goals and rejoice when 'someone is doing something' against the enemies of the people.

Three days later a posting (Figure 10) in the form of a copied Reuters news report appeared in the newsgroup. The posting began with the acronym 'ROTFL' - which is commonly used Internet language and functions as an abbreviation for 'rolling on the floor laughing' - thus ostensibly seeking to glorify the skinhead activities during the march discussed above.

Figure 10

Skinheads attack Stockholm gay pride parade
 STOCKHOLM, Aug 2 (Reuters) –
 A group of around 30 skinheads attacked marchers in a gay pride parade in Stockholm with stones and bottles on Saturday, police and a Reuters witness said.

Alt.skinheads also contained many personal anecdotes from members who sought to glorify their hate activities. By way of illustration, two have been selected:

I have been a Skinhead since I was fifteen years old. I am now seventeen. In 2003, I was arrested for my alleged participation in a fight against SHARP. I was held for fifteen days in the prison at Valparaiso. But, no sooner had I been released than I lunged headlong back into my Skinhead activities, only, this time, with more vigor than ever. At this juncture, the legal proceedings are still hanging over my head.

And:

By seventeen, my pent-up anger had become so great that I shot a non-white five times. I received a thirty-year sentence for attempted murder, which I am now serving ... My violence was a mistake; my goal of our pure blood, our pure country and our pure people was not.

Offline Hatred Facilitators

Gang Membership

Some newsgroup members seemed to celebrate that they could receive information to enable them to maintain their Far Right activities in the prison environment, such as one contributor who posted a message to *alt.skinheads* who claimed:

Today, I have received the Skinhead literature sent to me, which had previously been refused by the Central Florida Correction Center. I am a Skinhead and this proves that there are people out there involved in our movement who can and will push and shove to help out their brothers behind these walls.

Information from the Florida Department of Corrections (FDC) highlights the specific threats to community safety that racist groups pose in Florida. It claims that groups, such as the American Nazi Party, Aryan Nations and various skinhead and KKK gangs, pose a prominent threat in many US cities. The FDC reports that, in Florida, there is a very large representation of inmates with White supremacy or neo-Nazi beliefs and the Anti Defamation League reports that prison officials estimate that up to 10% of the nation's prison population are affiliated with such gangs. According to law enforcement estimates, there are 432 Aryan Brotherhood members in Texas penitentiaries (ADL, 2001c). The Aryan Brotherhood emerged as a splinter group of the Aryan Nations in order to provide protection for Aryans whose freedom had been removed through imprisonment. AN members have strong feelings of White ethnicity. Their philosophies tend to be neo-Nazi and racist. Their hate orientation and racial rhetoric can cause seriously disruptive undercurrents in the prison population and community. Data published by the FDC claims the Aryan Brotherhood poses a significant security threat within the prison environment and the institution openly admits that much graduation into gang involvement often occurs in county jails and prisons (FDC, 2004). It seems that Far Right gangs and those of rival Black supremacists may serve as confrontational forces within prison establishments. Previously, gang warfare that has emanated from a prison setting has posed a serious threat to community safety. At least two of the men indicted on capital charges for the murder of James Byrd in 1998⁵⁷ are believed to have associated with members of the violent White supremacist prison gang Aryan Brotherhood during their incarceration at a prison in Tennessee Colony, Texas. In fact, the ADL (2001c) claims that in the wake of Byrd's murder, close associates of both offenders have revealed that neither harboured racist feelings before their imprisonment.

Bomb-Making

Levin (2002) has focused attention upon the ways in which the Far Right has facilitated its offline activities through advertising downloadable anti-capitalist hate manuals. Hence, advertising such material in newsgroups can, arguably, only augment its accessibility as occurred in *alt.politics.white-power* with the message:

Earth Liberation Front has fire-setting instructions: Arson around with auntie elf.

‘Arson Around with Auntie Elf’ is a fire destruction manual published by The Earth Liberation Front (ELF), a spinoff of the Animal Liberation Front, and commits acts of terrorism to further its extremist environmental agenda. It is well documented that so-called radical groups, such as ELF, frequently associate themselves with the Far Right and there is evidence to suggest that in recent years such activists have been responsible for several infamous illegal acts. For example, Volkert van der Graaf, who was sentenced to 18 years in prison for the murder of the prominent homosexual politician Pym Fortuyn, was an animal rights activist.

⁵⁷ See Levin and McDevitt (2002: 10) for a descriptive account of this merciless hate crime.

‘Arson around with Auntie Elf’ is, according to the producers: ‘... not necessarily⁵⁸ to encourage anyone to go out setting fires ... but to help gain a better understanding of some of the devices used in incendiary attacks’. The remainder of the article continues to provide any potential terrorist with advice concerning the most effective means of creating a bomb with which to cause maximum destruction. Undoubtedly, the most comprehensive bomb-making guide available to view via the Internet is the *Anarchist’s Cookbook* and explains in detail how to kill someone with one’s bare hands and how to construct dozens of different types of bombs and explosive devices, including fertilizer bombs, dynamite and other explosives made with chemicals and other substances. Almost all of the required elements, such as sugar, potassium chloride (which have been used to detonate grenades and landmines), the ingredients to make nitroglycerine, bleach, gasoline and motor oil (both used in the making of firebombs) can be purchased in customary outlets. The terrorist handbook lists a glossary of bomb-making ingredients accompanied by details of where they may be acquired. A search via the Google search engine using the keyword ‘anarchist’s cookbook’, produces a search result of about 20100 hits, of which the first is a link to the online bookstore *Amazon* advertising the entire version for online purchase.

The online version of the cookbook contains a link to the *Terrorists’ Handbook*, which offers chapters that describe and address the procurement (including raiding laboratories and picking locks) of necessary explosives, chemicals and other ingredients, the preparation of chemicals, techniques for transforming such substances into bombs and explosives, and the manufacture of fuses and other ignition systems. It stipulates that: ‘Anyone can get many chemicals from hardware stores, supermarkets, and drug stores to get the materials to make explosives or other dangerous compounds’. To emphasise the ‘merits’ of the handbook, the final pages provide examples of successful bombing campaigns against prominent businesses such as Boots the Chemists and McDonalds restaurants. It must be argued that, although the motive for both attacks was to publicise animal rights issues, the unequivocal hostility that newsgroup participants harbour and display towards those of different racial groups may render them susceptible to the alluring advantage of causing widespread destruction towards, and simultaneously instilling fear into, those they hate. Thus, the targets for members of the newsgroup may easily be the home of a minority ethnic family, a mosque or a synagogue.

In the UK, police chiefs have voiced concern about how easy it is to build a homemade bomb using readily available materials and know-how. There is no doubt that restrictions on the supply of such chemicals ought to be considered. However, merely restricting the supply of already compounded chemicals may not, in itself, be successful. For example, according to the *Terrorists’ Handbook*, ammonium nitrate, a very powerful high-order explosive, can easily be made by pouring nitric acid into a large flask in an ice bath, then pouring household ammonia into the flask. Mixing ammonia with household bleach also produces a successful explosive effect. Thus, to reduce the risk to community safety, restrictions on a wider range of inchoate substances is arguably necessary.

⁵⁸ My italics by way of emphasis.

Debates regarding the significance of the availability of bomb-making material on the Internet are ongoing. Info.org, a website committed to ‘promoting and featuring all aspects of contemporary anarchism and anti-authoritarianism’, claims that bomb-making information has been available in books, magazines and newspapers throughout the 20th century ‘... so the Internet doesn't really change anything’.

In 2004, a Sky News investigative team was able to buy the ingredients with cash and pick up a guide to bomb-making at a high street bookshop. The team made headline news (Sky news, 2004). Larabee (2005) has also argued that it has never been sufficiently demonstrated that the web is any more dangerous than a public library, private circulation of printed texts or word of mouth. The counter argument to such assertions obviously concerns the worldwide availability and ease of acquisition of this material. It is much easier to sit in the comfort of one’s own home and search for bomb-making manuals that can be downloaded and printed, than to walk to a local library or bookshop in order to seek out or purchase such material.

The information is also easy to find online. As explained earlier, one Google search, using the keywords ‘bomb-making’ produces over 10,000 relevant hits and, of course, every page is available globally and free of charge. Accessing such material from the Internet may remove the stigma attached to buying such material in person that may, in normal circumstances, inhibit one from buying it, especially if the purchaser is, or is perceived as, potentially dangerous; for example a young Muslim, Skinhead, environmental activist or psychotic loner.

Conclusion

This investigation of newsgroup dynamics is, arguably, the first and most comprehensive criminological research of its kind. The content of three newsgroups studied draws upon the racist stereotypes, historical and social perspectives and fascist ideologies (explained in the previous chapters of this thesis) which began to emerge nearly four centuries ago and remained in existence well into the 20th century.

In particular, the newsgroup *alt.skinheads*, although not institutionally anti-Semitic or neo-Nazi, did, in fact, display tenets of this nature. The newsgroup was used to disseminate offensive anti-Semitic discourse as well as to advertise anti-Semitic material such as clothing and literature. White racist (in addition to anti-Semitic) games are also advertised as are subscriptions to racist magazines and invitations to White supremacist rallies and marches.

Conversely, many contributors to Contributors to *alt.flame.niggers* appeared to display the most ardent racist hate speech towards Black African Americans, some of whom appeared to contribute to this newsgroup for the purposes of inflaming the group. The presence of these apparently Black contributors was unique to this racist newsgroup but it was clear that due to the nature of this group, which thrived on racist hostilities, their attendance was essential and, in some cases, the lack of interaction within the newsgroup proved that, occasionally, the group was incapable of functioning without their inflammatory contributions. *Alt.flame.niggers* and *alt.politics.white-power* occasionally temporarily modified

their targets in response to the change in social, economic, demographic or political circumstances.

Many contributors to all of the newsgroups were e-powered small haters - individuals who sympathise with the Far Right ideologies of organised and established hate groups but who, quite independently of these groups, exploit the interactivity of the Internet to disseminate hate speech online. However, from several posts observed, it can be presumed that a small number of contributors have, or wished to be, affiliated with the organised and established hate groups discussed in Chapter Five. E-powered small haters exploit long-standing racist concerns such as the competition (between White people and immigrants) for scarce resources such as employment and housing and draw upon anti-Semitic ideology and advertising anti-Semitic products. E-powered small haters also endeavour to recruit new members by spreading their racist message beyond the immediate racist newsgroups to which they traditionally contribute. Frequently, messages are posted to newsgroups with racist-sounding names and those with non-racist subject titles alike. They also aim to promote a structure within their newsgroup, which facilitates the newsgroups' racist momentum. For example, contributors to *alt.flame.niggers* and *alt.skinheads* endorse rule setting and co-ordinate 'most hated racist' elections in order to ensure that messages posted are consistent with the aims of the group and to guarantee that messages posted to the newsgroups are as racist in tone as possible.

Clearly, most of the activity occurring in the three newsgroups studied poses very little immediate danger to community safety. However, contributors and lurkers are liable to encounter illicit material in newsgroups, such as the bomb-making instructions observed in *alt.politics.white-power*, and the promotion and sale of neo-Nazi merchandise, such as that advertised in *alt.Skinheads*, that may create revulsion and distress amongst individuals and communities that are likely to disapprove of such representations. Hence, overall, closer scrutiny of newsgroup content, as demanded by the Centre for Community Interest (CCI) in 1999, may be necessary.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions and the Way Forward

This thesis is one of the first ever in-depth investigations into the dynamics of offending in Internet newsgroups and makes a significant contribution to the growing body of criminological literature in the field of racially motivated bias, prejudice and hatred. In Chapters Three to Five it is argued that the foundations for online hate speech do not merely arise with the development of new technology in the 1970s, but are bound up within an historical and social context that began some 350 years ago during the Atlantic slave trade and hardly curtail in the US and the UK until the 1960s. Chapter Seven aims to firstly, examine the structure, organisation and dynamics of three racist newsgroups as well as study aspects of recruitment, dissemination of hate literature and command and control of members. Secondly, the chapter investigates the way in which Internet newsgroups create an enabling environment for the expression and development of online racial hatred and how they may be used to facilitate criminal and other harmful activity. Certainly, newsgroups provide an ideal arena for the expression and development of online racial hatred and allow White racists a rather unencumbered opportunity to voice their opinions. Back (2001) and

Whine (2000) both recognised that the Far Right exploits websites for recruitment purposes and for command and control. Although they omitted to study the use of newsgroups in depth, it is confirmed in Chapter Seven of this study that newsgroups are, indeed, used for these purposes.

It was stipulated in the conclusion of the previous chapter that, although much of the activity occurring in the three study newsgroups was overtly offensive - potentially creating revulsion and distress amongst certain individuals and communities - the activity posed very little immediate danger to community safety. However, unlike in real life, when, very often, victims of hate in newsgroups and websites are faced with no choice regarding their vulnerability to racist hostility or attack, the world of the Internet is such that people offended by cyber hate can relatively easily remove themselves from the situation. Obviously, the most suitable method of self-protection from the offensive material observed is to not access these newsgroups in the first place. As newsgroups are subject specific, the issues under discussion in them are invariably indicated by their title; hence, users are generally aware of the topics discussed in that newsgroup before subscribing to them. Those that are sympathetic to the racist, offensive and obscene discourse disseminated in some newsgroups are more likely to access Far Right racist newsgroups than those who are not. In their study, Allen et al (2005) found that of their total number of respondents interviewed, 1.1% of men and 0.3% of women aged 16 to 65 admitted to deliberately visiting a racist website between 2004 and 2005 either because they supported the views expressed on the site or wanted to join the group that was responsible for the site.

Whilst there are figures to measure the number of Internet users worldwide, there are currently no similar statistics to quantify the number of people who specifically access newsgroups or websites. However, the number of people who do so is increasing and there is certainly evidence to suggest that the number of available newsgroups is increasing rapidly. Since Mann, Sutton and Tuffin (2003) conducted the first study of online racist websites and newsgroups, the number of the latter has increased from approximately 30,000 in 2003 to approximately 90,000 in 2005. However, the number of newsgroups that may encourage, promote or facilitate harmful, offensive or illegal activity remains difficult to estimate.

The modest levels of surveillance in newsgroups compared to those of websites may also be attributed as a reason for increasing newsgroup usage. Websites are regularly monitored by organisations such as the Anti Defamation League and the Southern Poverty Law Centre. However, these organisations do not generally monitor newsgroup activity. It can also be argued that due to the invisibility, anonymity and pseudonymity that newsgroups provide, it becomes extremely difficult to trace individual perpetrators of illegal activity. Hence, the only available option may be to shut down the entire newsgroup. Previously, Internet Service Providers (ISPs) have removed illegal or offensive websites from their servers. For example, after the terrorist attacks on the US World Trade Centre on 11th September 2001, most, if not all, ISPs removed every website that was linked to bomb-making from their servers. However, such websites soon returned. It is possible that ISPs may be able to reduce other harmful Internet content in a similar manner. Presumably, the same powers could be employed to rid the

Internet of all offensive racist websites, although this would entirely undermine free speech, a doctrine that was crucial to the development of the modern Internet some 30 years ago and remains so today. Evidence suggests that newsgroup users are aware that ISPs' surveillance of newsgroups is insufficient. To illustrate this point, a message posted to *alt.flame.niggers* threatened:

I am copying all the messages and reporting them to the respective ISPs.

but was met with the very facetious response of:

How many times has this Newsgroup been 'shut down' ... How many times has the threat been made? Hell, counting those threats is like trying to count stars on a clear night.

Secondly, newsgroups are able to transcend the boundaries of space and time. Therefore, it becomes difficult to assess the location of the perpetrator, who is 'physically absent' and could be anywhere from the room next door to the other side of the world. This factor, because of its implication that 'lack of physical offender equates to a reduced immediate risk of harm', has been significant in cases where offenders, accused of high-tech crimes, have been acquitted in criminal cases in the US courts. In 1994, Jake Baker sent a story to the newsgroup *alt.sex.stories*, in which he fantasised about torturing, raping and murdering a girl who, in the story, was given a real name, that of one of his classmates. A US District Court ruled that although he had sick fantasies and had used the name of a real person, there was not any immediate danger of any criminal activity. Under this precedent, the *harasser* identified in *alt.flame.niggers* at the end of Chapter Seven, may not have been subject to any criminal proceedings should the victim have made a complaint.

In the UK, there is very little legislation designed to specifically reduce online offending. Rather, law enforcement agencies and governments in the UK have favoured a policy of interpreting commonplace legislation in as flexible a manner as possible to render it suitable for application to online offending. Of course, much of the activity observed in the three study newsgroups is not illegal anyway, thus employing legislation to reduce it is a false expectation.

That said, from a criminological viewpoint, the proliferation in number of newsgroups, and an increase in their use, becomes a clear problem if it facilitates an increase in the potential for harmful or illegal activity or activity that may be dangerous to community safety. There may be increasing cause for concern regarding the growing use of the Internet for harmful or illegal purposes. Various aspects of high-tech crimes were included for the first time in the 2002/03 British Crime Survey⁵⁹, including questions regarding respondents' experience of and concerns about credit card fraud, hacking, computer viruses, copyright theft and offensive material. On its website, the Computer Crime Research Centre has published extensive research reports into such high-tech crimes as transmitting Internet worms and viruses, phishing scams, hacking, credit card fraud and child pornography. That there is public concern about new technology crimes indicates

⁵⁹ The main purpose of the British Crime Survey is to estimate the extent of household and personal victimisation of adults in England and Wales.

that more criminological research is needed to discover the impact. At present, that such problems exist is, by and large, the only reliable conclusion that can be drawn from existing research in this area. More research is needed into the dynamics of specific high-tech crimes, including the effect on victims and the wider community. Likewise, much previous research into high-tech crime has focused almost exclusively on websites, this at a time when, as mentioned above, the number of newsgroups is constantly increasing. As highlighted in Chapter Six, the only substantial research of this nature was Mann and Sutton's (1998), seminal investigation into the extent of criminal activity in two newsgroups; one of which involved satellite hackers hacking encrypted satellite television services, while the other comprised members interested in picking locks and understanding more about safes and other security devices. This thesis highlights other areas of research that need to be addressed in future research projects.

This thesis has highlighted that some Far Right newsgroups may, sometimes quite unintentionally, act as a link to, or a promotion for, other illicit or undesirable newsgroups. For example, it was documented in Chapter Seven that the Far Right racist newsgroup *alt.flame.niggers* contained a web link to the newsgroup *alt.support.boy-lovers* in order to confirm the supposed stereotype of Black people as sexual predators of young children. The latter newsgroup included graphically disturbing comments describing one man's desire to perform illegal sexual activities on a young boy. Although *written words*, such as those reproduced in Chapter Seven, are not recognised as illegal in the same way as downloading and storing pornographic images of children, it may be wise to investigate newsgroups that host such materials in order to discover whether illegal pornographic images are present in, or traded in, the newsgroup or whether such discussions aid 'criminal learning'.

Further research may also be needed to investigate the effect of the presence of bomb-making information in newsgroups. The dangerous effect of such postings upon community safety has been manifested in the often-quoted examples of David Copeland and Timothy McVeigh who allegedly acquired their bomb-making know-how from websites that hosted such material. That such material is hosted in newsgroups which, it must be said, are not, by and large, subject to the same forces of regulation as websites, may facilitate the uninhibited dissemination of more potentially dangerous information. However, worries regarding the relatively rare propensity of singular individual neo-Nazis, such as Copeland and McVeigh, seemingly taking it upon themselves to perform acts of terrorism causing widespread damage and death have, since the events of 11th September 2001, been superseded by the real and perceived risks posed by Islamic terrorists.

The atrocities committed by Islamic terrorists in the US, Spain, Australia and the UK during the first decade of this new century have demonstrated more than during any other period of time that the facade and dynamics of global crime is changing and that new technologies have facilitated this. The Internet has become a forum for terrorist groups and individual terrorists both to spread their messages of hate and violence and to communicate with one another and with sympathisers.

This form of *Cyberterrorism* must not be confused with *Cyberwarfare*, whereby individuals and groups attack computer networks, including those on the Internet. The Anti Defamation League claims that at least 12 of the 30 groups on the US

State Department's list of designated foreign terrorist organisations maintain websites on the Internet (ADL, 2005). More specifically, the ADL reports that Hezbollah, the pro-Iranian Shiite terrorist organisation based in south Lebanon, sells books and publications through its website in order to raise funds. Hizb ut-Tahrir, a radical Islamic organisation based in Britain, uses its website to provide details to the public about its regular meetings around the United Kingdom, and Hamas and Islamic Jihad use the Internet to provide specific instructions to fellow terrorists, including maps, photographs, directions, codes and technical details of how to use explosives. Hence, there may be an opportunity to conduct similar research to that of Mann and Sutton (1998) to investigate the extent to which such information is disseminated and harmful supplies are traded via newsgroups. Coll and Glasser (2005) also claim that Al-Qaeda has become the first guerrilla movement in history to migrate from physical space to cyberspace, using laptops and DVDs in secret hideouts. They also document that young 'Jihadists' have sought to use Internet cafes to access training, communication, planning and preaching facilities.

From this research, it is clear that White racists are not creating new crime waves or becoming involved in new crimes or new waves of offending. Nor are there any clear direct or immediate links between the activities observed in the three newsgroups studied and the occurrence of street level violence. However, the point has been made that the public displaying of neo-Nazi merchandise, such as that advertised in *alt.skinheads*, may be held as offensive to some people in certain sectors of communities or that may be illegal in certain nations.

Through *Radio Advertisers* in *alt.skinheads* and *alt.politics.white-power*, the neo-Nazi doctrine is publicised more widely by drawing attention to the White Power radio programmes hosted on Far Right websites. Newsgroups may facilitate more effective or extensive networking among White supremacists through *Event Advertisers* that operate in *alt.skinheads* and *alt.politics.white-power* and through *Recruiters* operating in *alt.skinheads*. Whilst newsgroups are a very effective arena to both recruit new members who sympathise with Far Right ideologies expressed in them, it seems that online recruitment activity is restricted to seeking new recruits for newsgroups rather than encouraging new membership of hate groups in 'meatspace'.

In final conclusion then, the rhetoric of over 400 years of racial and ethnic prejudice is being rehearsed in White Racist newsgroups; predominantly by individuals who appear to be, at present, limiting their rhetoric to the Internet. White Racist newsgroups provide a sense of belonging to the disenfranchised empowered small hater, yet the Internet is constantly evolving and this may well change.

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Appendix One: Nigger Owners Manual

NIGGER OWNERS MANUAL

Congratulations on your purchase of a brand new nigger! If handled properly, your apeman will give years of valuable, if reluctant, service.

INSTALLING YOUR NIGGER

You should install your nigger differently according to whether you have purchased the field or house model. Field niggers work best in a serial configuration, i.e. chained together. Chain your nigger to another nigger immediately after unpacking it, and don't even think about taking that chain off, ever. Many niggers start singing as soon as you put a chain on them. This habit can usually be thrashed out of them if nipped in the bud. House niggers work best as standalone units, but should be hobbled or hamstrung to prevent attempts at escape. At this stage, your nigger can also be given a name. Most owners use the same names over and over, since niggers become confused by too much data. Rufus, Rastus, Remus, Toby, Carlisle, Carlton, Hey-You!-Yes-you!, Yeller, Blackstar, and Sambo are all effective names for your new buck nigger. If your nigger is a ho, it should be called Latrelle, L'Tanya, or Jemima. Some owners call their nigger hoes Latrine for a joke. Pearl, Blossom, and Ivory are also righteous names for nigger hoes. These names go straight over your nigger's head, by the way.

CONFIGURING YOUR NIGGER

Owing to a design error, your nigger comes equipped with a tongue and vocal chords. Most niggers can master only a few basic human phrases with this apparatus - 'muh dick' being the most popular. However, others make barking, yelping, yapping noises and appear to be in some pain, so you should probably call a vet and have him remove your nigger's tongue. Once de-tongued your nigger will be a lot happier - at least, you won't hear it complaining anywhere near as much. Niggers have nothing interesting to say, anyway. Many owners also

castrate their niggers for health reasons (yours, mine, and that of women, not the nigger's). This is strongly recommended, and frankly, it's a mystery why this is not done on the boat.

HOUSING YOUR NIGGER

Your nigger can be accommodated in cages with stout iron bars. Make sure, however, that the bars are wide enough to push pieces of nigger food through. The rule of thumb is, four niggers per square yard of cage. So a fifteen foot by thirty foot nigger cage can accommodate two hundred niggers. You can site a nigger cage anywhere, even on soft ground. Don't worry about your nigger fashioning makeshift shovels out of odd pieces of wood and digging an escape tunnel under the bars of the cage. Niggers never invented the shovel before and they're not about to now. In any case, your nigger is certainly too lazy to attempt escape. As long as the free food holds out, your nigger is living better than it did in Africa, so it will stay put. Buck niggers and hoe niggers can be safely accommodated in the same cage, as bucks never attempt sex with black hoes.

FEEDING YOUR NIGGER

Your Nigger likes fried chicken, corn bread, and watermelon. You should therefore give it none of these things because its lazy ass almost certainly doesn't deserve it. Instead, feed it on porridge with salt, and creek water. Your nigger will supplement its diet with whatever it finds in the fields, other niggers, etc. Experienced nigger owners sometimes push watermelon slices through the bars of the nigger cage at the end of the day as a treat, but only if all niggers have worked well and nothing has been stolen that day. Mike of the Old Ranch Plantation reports that this last one is a killer, since all niggers steal something almost every single day of their lives. He reports he doesn't have to spend much on free watermelon for his niggers as a result. You should never allow your nigger meal breaks while at work, since if it stops work for more than ten minutes it will need to be retrained. You would be surprised how long it takes to teach a nigger to pick cotton. You really would. Coffee beans? Don't ask. You have no idea.

MAKING YOUR NIGGER WORK

Niggers are very, very averse to work of any kind. The nigger's most prominent anatomical feature, after all, its oversized buttocks, which have evolved to make it more comfortable for your nigger to sit around all day doing nothing for its entire life. Niggers are often good runners, too, to enable them to sprint quickly in the opposite direction if they see work heading their way. The solution to this is to *dupe* your nigger into working. After installation, encourage it towards the cotton field with blows of a wooden club, fence post, baseball bat, etc., and then tell it that all that cotton belongs to a white man, who won't be back until tomorrow. Your nigger will then frantically compete with the other field niggers to steal as much of that cotton as it can before the white man returns. At the end of the day, return your nigger to its cage and laugh at its stupidity, then repeat the same trick every day indefinitely. Your nigger comes equipped with the standard nigger IQ of 75 and a memory to match, so it will forget this trick overnight. Niggers can start work at around 5am. You should then return to bed and come

back at around 10am. Your niggers can then work through until around 10pm or whenever the light fades.

ENTERTAINING YOUR NIGGER

Your nigger enjoys play, like most animals, so you should play with it regularly. A happy smiling nigger works best. Games niggers enjoy include: 1) A good thrashing: every few days, take your nigger's pants down, hang it up by its heels, and have some of your other niggers thrash it with a club or whip. Your nigger will signal its intense enjoyment by shrieking and sobbing. 2) Lynch the nigger: niggers are cheap and there are millions more where yours came from. So every now and then, push the boat out a bit and lynch a nigger.

Lynchings are best done with a rope over the branch of a tree, and niggers just love to be lynched. It makes them feel special. Make your other niggers watch. They'll be so grateful, they'll work harder for a day or two (and then you can lynch another one). 3) Nigger dragging: Tie your nigger by one wrist to the tow bar on the back of suitable vehicle, then drive away at approximately 50mph. Your nigger's shrieks of enjoyment will be heard for miles. It will shriek until it falls apart. To prolong the fun for the nigger, do **NOT** drag him by his feet, as his head comes off too soon. This is painless for the nigger, but spoils the fun. Always wear a seatbelt and never exceed the speed limit. 4) Playing on the PNL: a variation on (2), except you can lynch your nigger out in the fields, thus saving work time. Niggers enjoy this game best if the PNL is operated by a man in a tall white hood. 5) Hunt the nigger: a variation of Hunt the Slipper, but played outdoors, with Dobermans. **WARNING:** do not let your Dobermans bite a nigger, as they are highly toxic.

DISPOSAL OF DEAD NIGGERS

Niggers die on average at around 40, which some might say is 40 years too late, but there you go. Most people prefer their niggers dead, in fact. When yours dies, report the license number of the car that did the drive-by shooting of your nigger. The police will collect the nigger and dispose of it for you.

COMMON PROBLEMS WITH NIGGERS - MY NIGGER IS

VERY AGGRESSIVE

Have it put down, for god's sake. Who needs an uppity nigger? What are we, short of niggers or something?

MY NIGGER KEEPS RAPING WHITE WOMEN

They all do this. Shorten your nigger's chain so it can't reach any white women, and arm heavily any white women who might go near it.

WILL MY NIGGER ATTACK ME?

Not unless it outnumbered you 20 to 1, and even then, it's not likely. If niggers successfully overthrew their owners, they'd have to sort out their own food. This

is probably why nigger uprisings were nonexistent (until some fool gave them rights).

MY NIGGER bitches ABOUT ITS 'RIGHTS' AND 'RACISM'.

Yeah, well, it would. Tell it to shut the fuck up.

MY NIGGER'S HIDE IS A FUNNY COLOR. - WHAT IS THE CORRECT SHADE FOR A NIGGER?

A nigger's skin is actually more or less transparent. That brown color you can see is the shit your nigger is full of. This is why some models of nigger are sold as 'The Shitskin'.

MY NIGGER ACTS LIKE A NIGGER, BUT IS WHITE.

What you have there is a 'wigger'. Rough crowd. WOW!

IS THAT LIKE AN ALBINO? ARE THEY RARE?

They're as common as dog shit and about as valuable. In fact, one of them was President between 1992 and 2000. Put your wigger in a cage with a few hundred genuine niggers and you'll soon find it stops acting like a nigger. However, leave it in the cage and let the niggers dispose of it. The best thing for any wigger is a dose of TNB.

MY NIGGER SMELLS REALLY BAD

And you were expecting what?

SHOULD I STORE MY DEAD NIGGER?

When you came in here, did you see a sign that said 'Dead nigger storage'? That's because there ain't no goddamn sign.