



FROM VOTING TO VIOLENCE?

EXPLORING FAR RIGHT EXTREMISTS IN MODERN BRITAIN

Dr. Matthew Goodwin
Professor Jocelyn Evans

University of Nottingham
University of Salford



EXAMPLES OF FAR RIGHT-RELATED VIOLENCE



About the Explorative Study

- Survey of 2,152 individuals who self-identify with movements to Right of the Conservatives: BNP, UKIP, and smaller sample of EDL
- Explore and compare the profile and attitudes of supporters
- First major exploration of their views toward violence and armed conflict
- Funded by British Academy (BA)

Aims and Objectives

1. Move beyond standard questions and ask **targeted questions** about issues and beliefs that past research suggests are prominent within far right
2. Compare and contrast supporters of **different movements** on the Right: right-wing extremists versus more moderate radical right-wingers
3. Delve deeper by comparing **different types of supporters** based on level of commitment and affiliation:
 - Are there important differences between **core** and **periphery** supporters?

Important Caveats

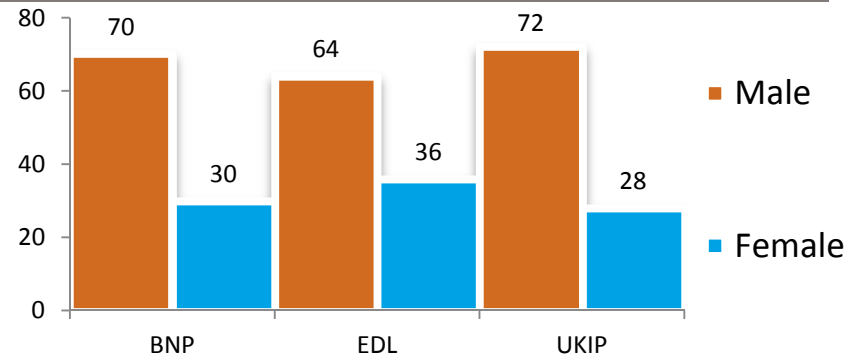
- An exploratory study
- Objective but not definitive assessment
- May contain bias associated with online surveys
- May not be representative of wider far right
- Any conclusions treated with caution





SO, WHAT DID WE FIND?

Social PROFILE: WHO ARE THEY?



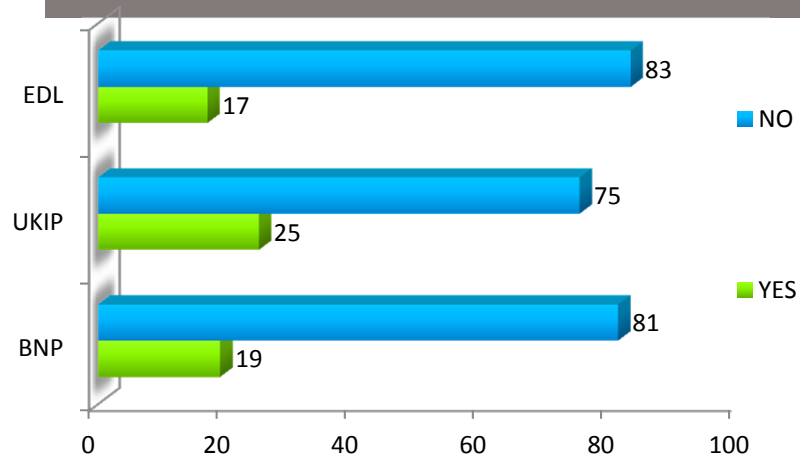
BNP & UKIP AGEING PARTIES

%	BNP	EDL	UKIP
18-25	6	14	22
26-35	13	26	5
36-45	14	14	9
46-55	24	17	19
56-65	29	20	32
Over 65	14	9	34

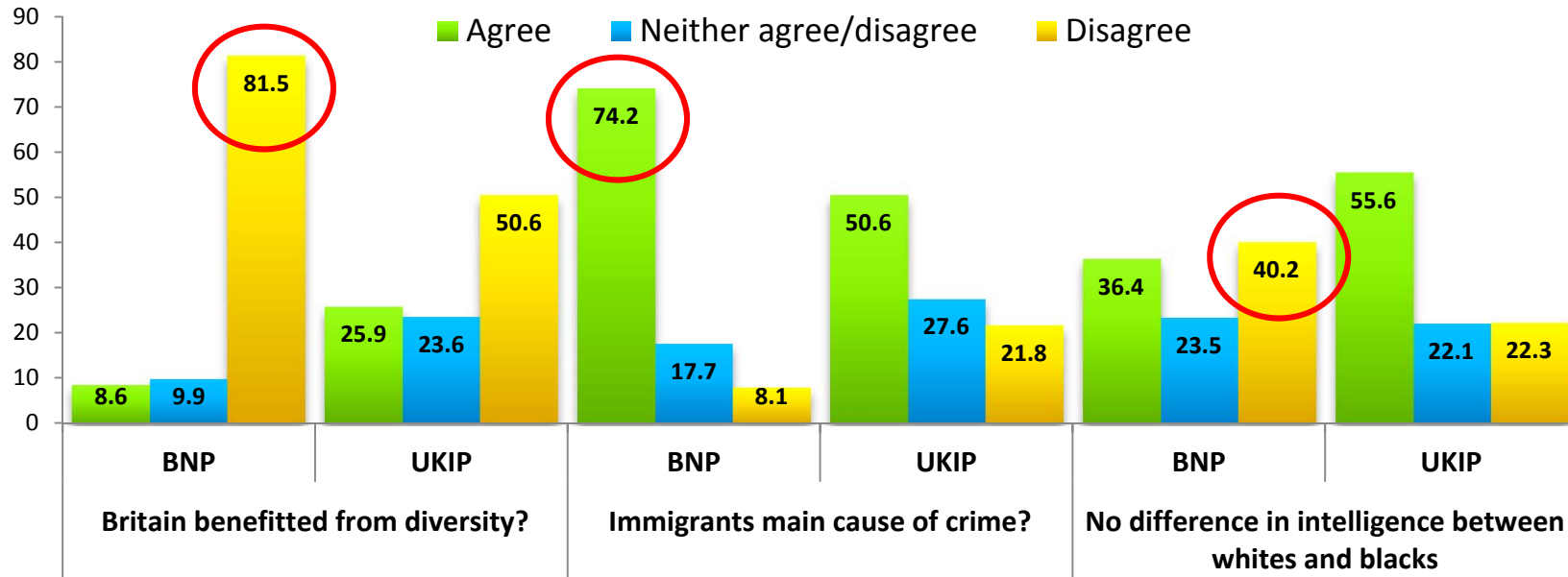
KEY FINDINGS

- MALE-DOMINATED
- LOW LEVELS OF EDUCATION
- BNP/UKIP AGEING PARTIES
- BNP MOST PROLETARIAN
- MOST ARE 'NON-RELIGIOUS'
- LIFE SATISFACTION LOWEST AMONG BNP
- SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS IN ARMED FORCES
- MOST BNP READ NO PAPERS/EXPRESS/MAIL
- FINDINGS CONSISTENT WITH PAST STUDIES

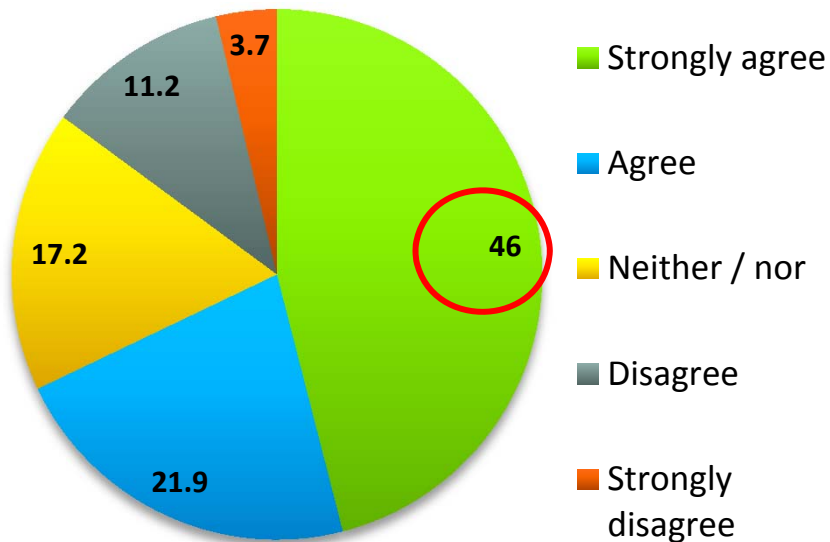
SERVED IN ARMED FORCES?



ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRATION



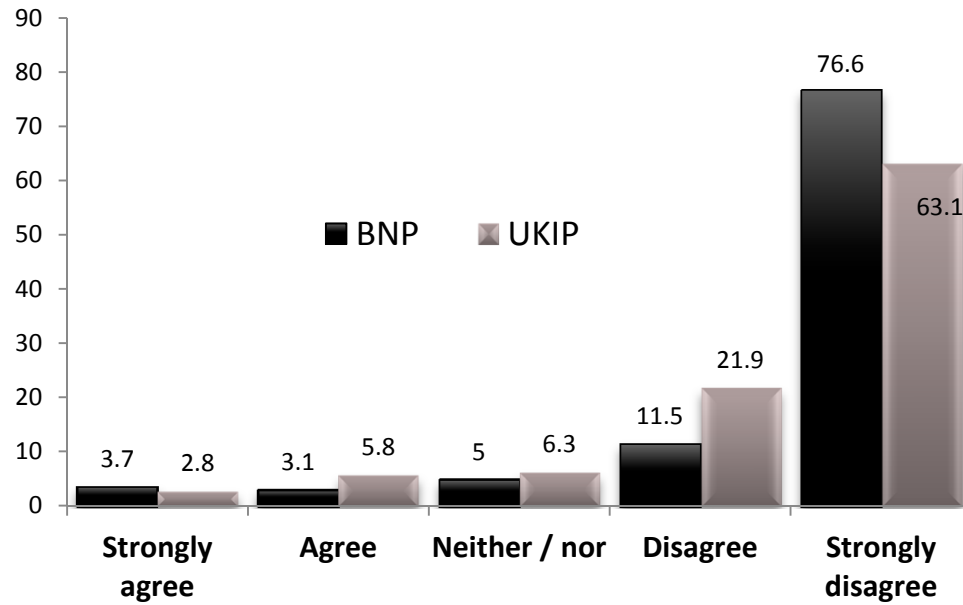
BNP ATTITUDES TOWARD REPATRIATION



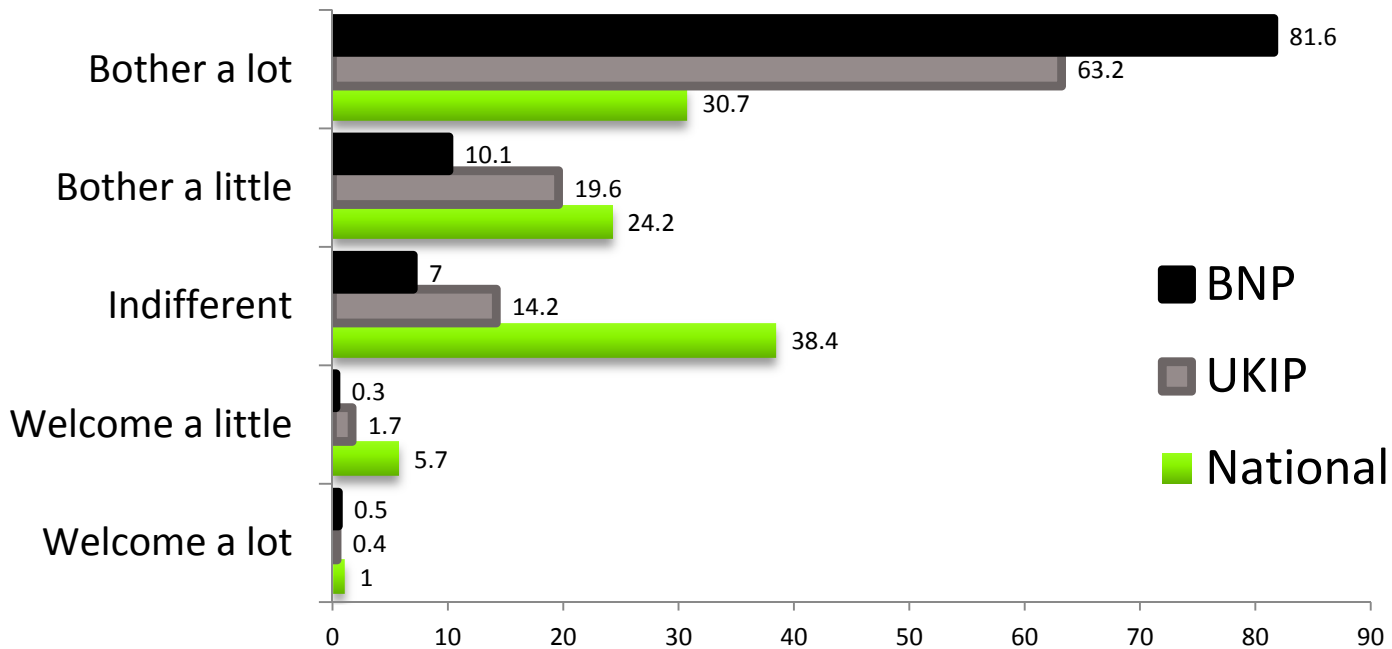
ATTITUDES TOWARD ISLAM



ISLAM NOT A DANGER TO THE WEST?



MOSQUE IN LOCAL COMMUNITY



WHAT ARE THEIR VIEWS TOWARD VIOLENCE?

'Lone wolf' BNP member jailed for 11 years for building up explosives arsenal

Terence Gavan, a "lone wolf" BNP member who spent a decade building up an arsenal of weapons in a bedroom hideaway, has been jailed for 11 years.



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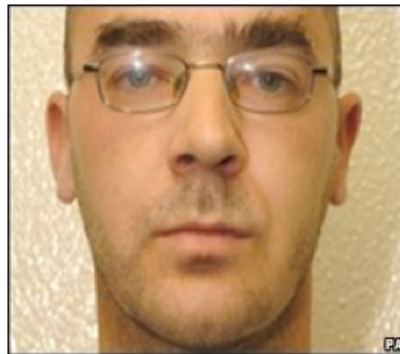
BNP
 News » Major News »
 Politics » UK News »

IN BNP

Man jailed over nail bombs plot

A Nazi sympathiser who kept nail bombs under his bed has been jailed for a total of 16 years.

Martyn Gilleard, 31, of Goole, East Yorkshire, stashed four home-made explosive devices, as well as bullets, swords, axes and knives in his flat.



Last Updated: Tuesday, 13 February 2007, 15:03 GMT

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Ex-BNP man 'wanted to shoot PM'

A former British National Party (BNP) candidate who held explosive chemicals in anticipation of a civil war wanted to shoot Tony Blair, a court heard.



Robert Cottage feared the UK was heading for civil war

Robert Cottage, 49, from Colne, Lancashire, pleaded guilty to possession of explosives at the start of his trial at Manchester Crown Court.

His wife said he often boasted of wanting to shoot Mr Blair and Lib Dem peer Lord Greaves, the court was told.

Mr Cottage denies conspiracy to cause an explosion.

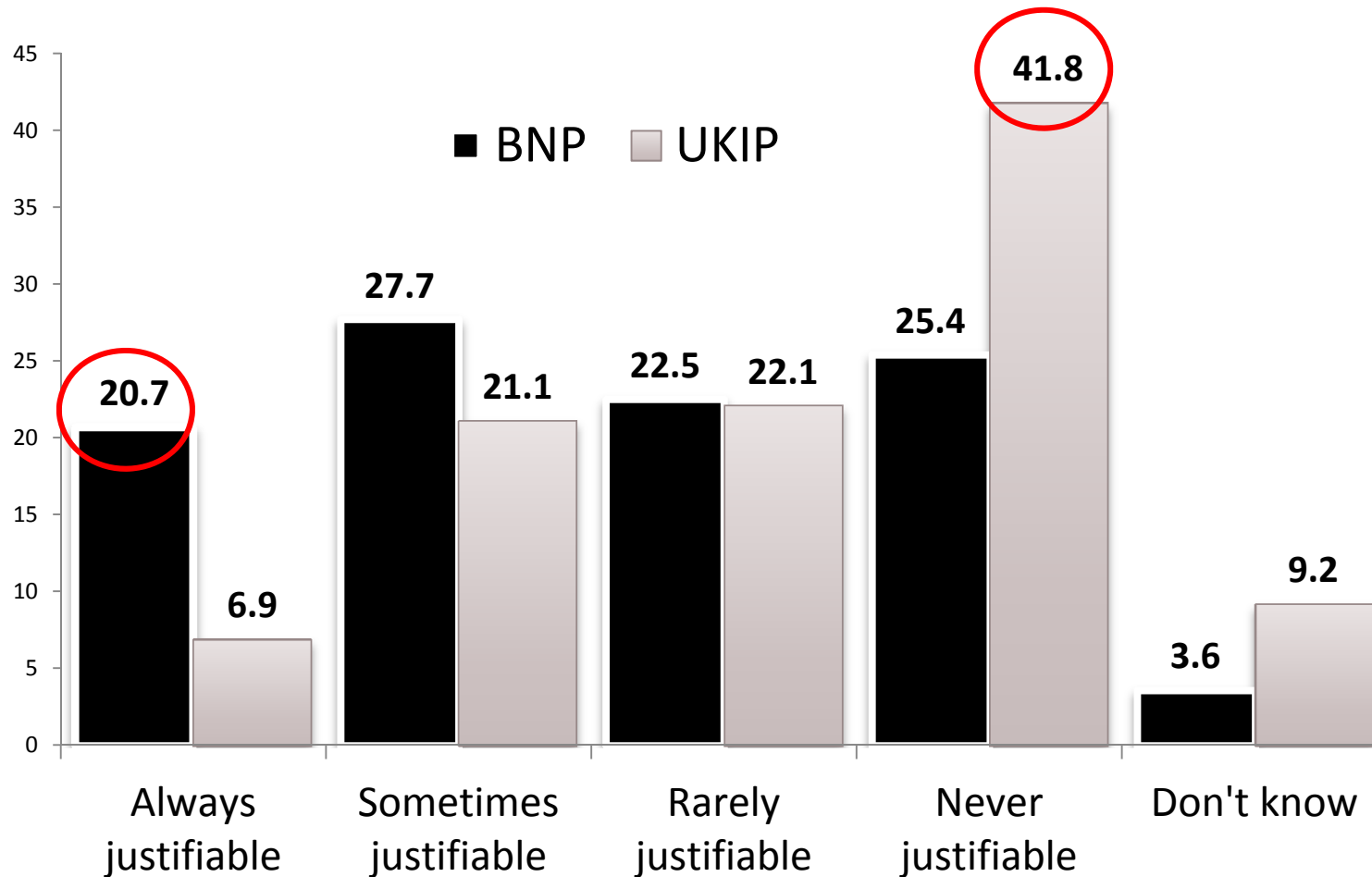
Neo-Nazi Violence

Fourth Suspected Terror-Cell Member Detained



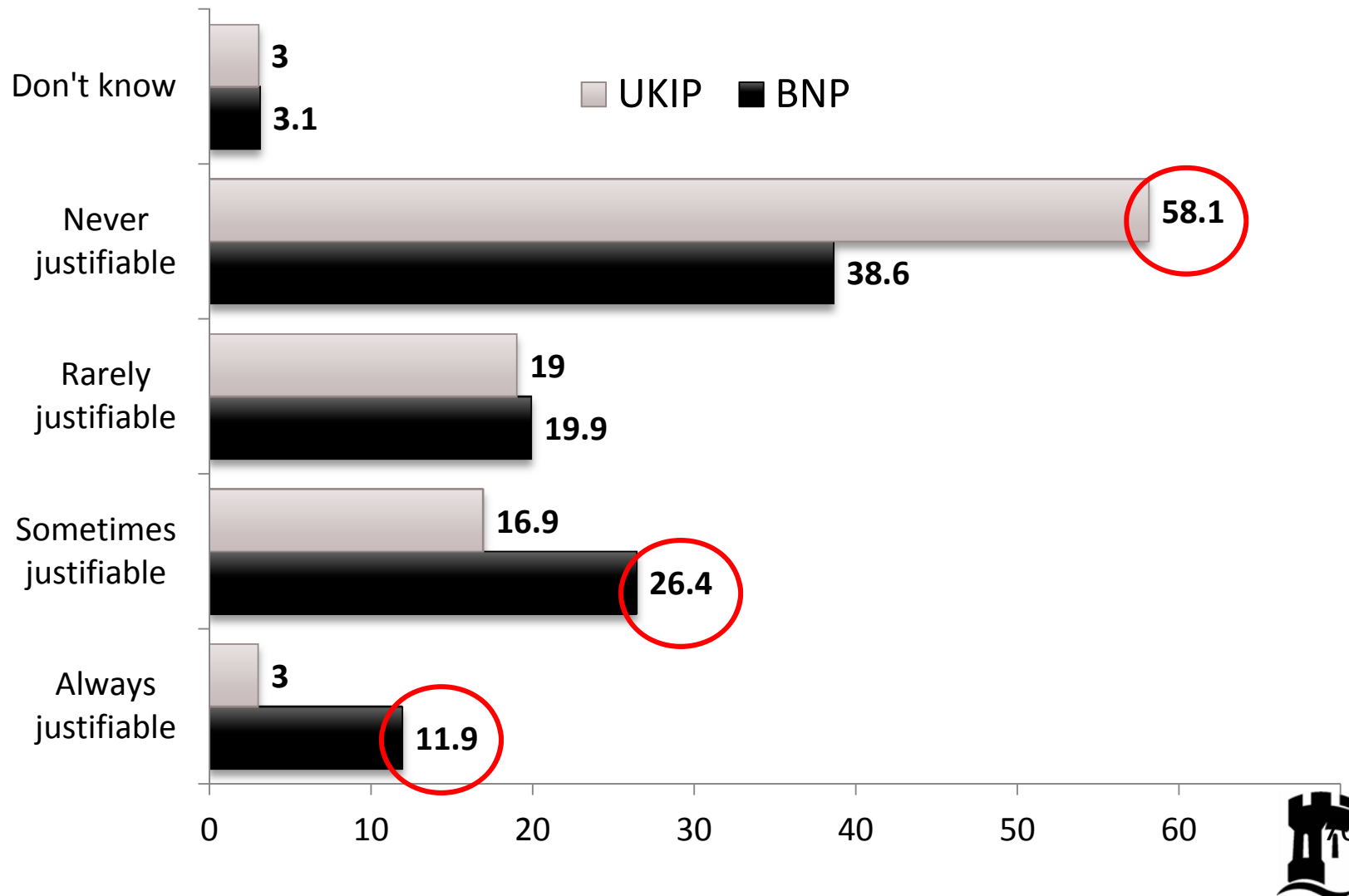
PREPARING FOR CONFLICT BETWEEN GROUPS

Which of the following do you regard as justifiable actions to defend the "national way of life" in this country?



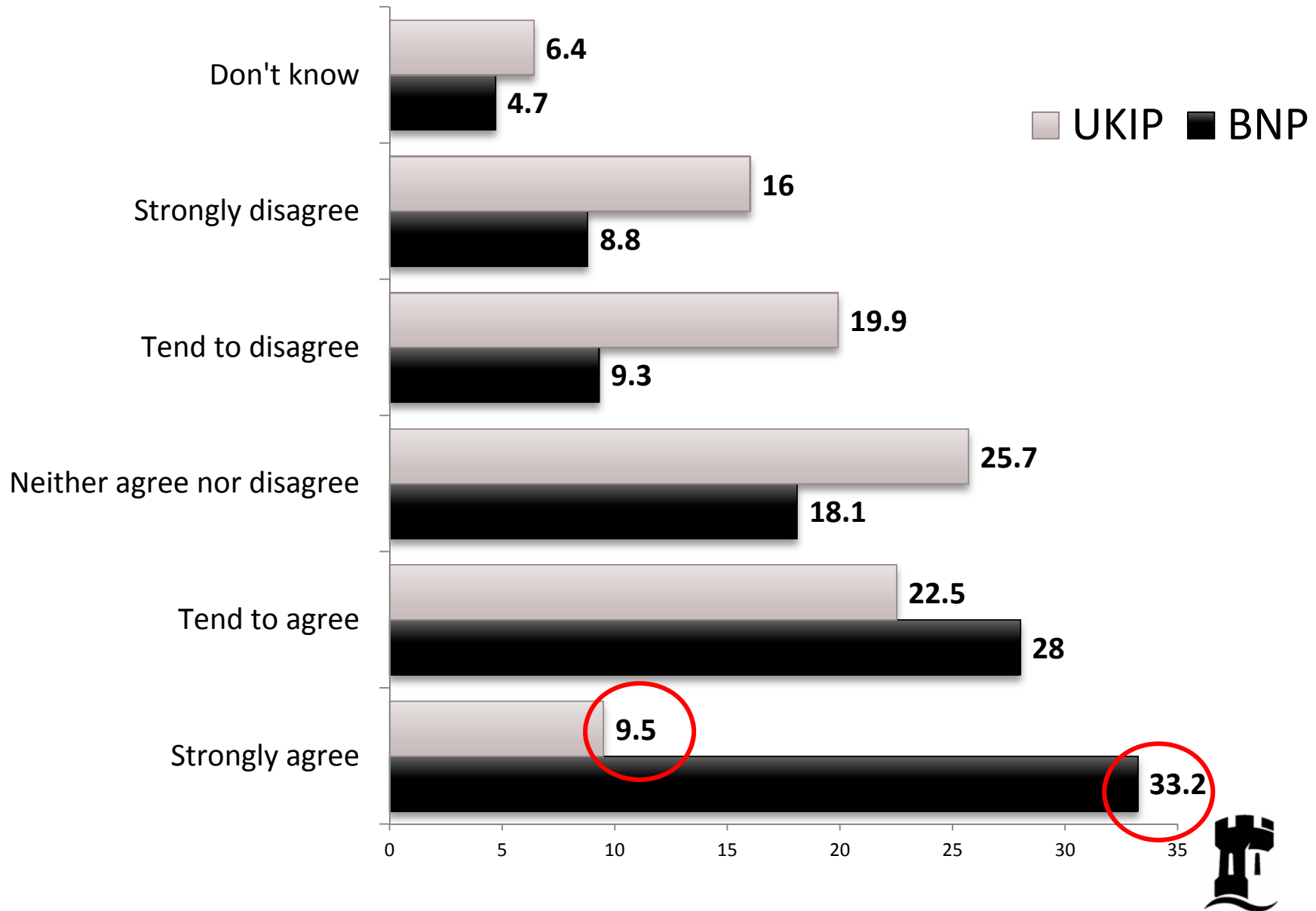
ARMED CONFLICT

Which of the following do you regard as justifiable actions to defend the "national way of life" in this country?

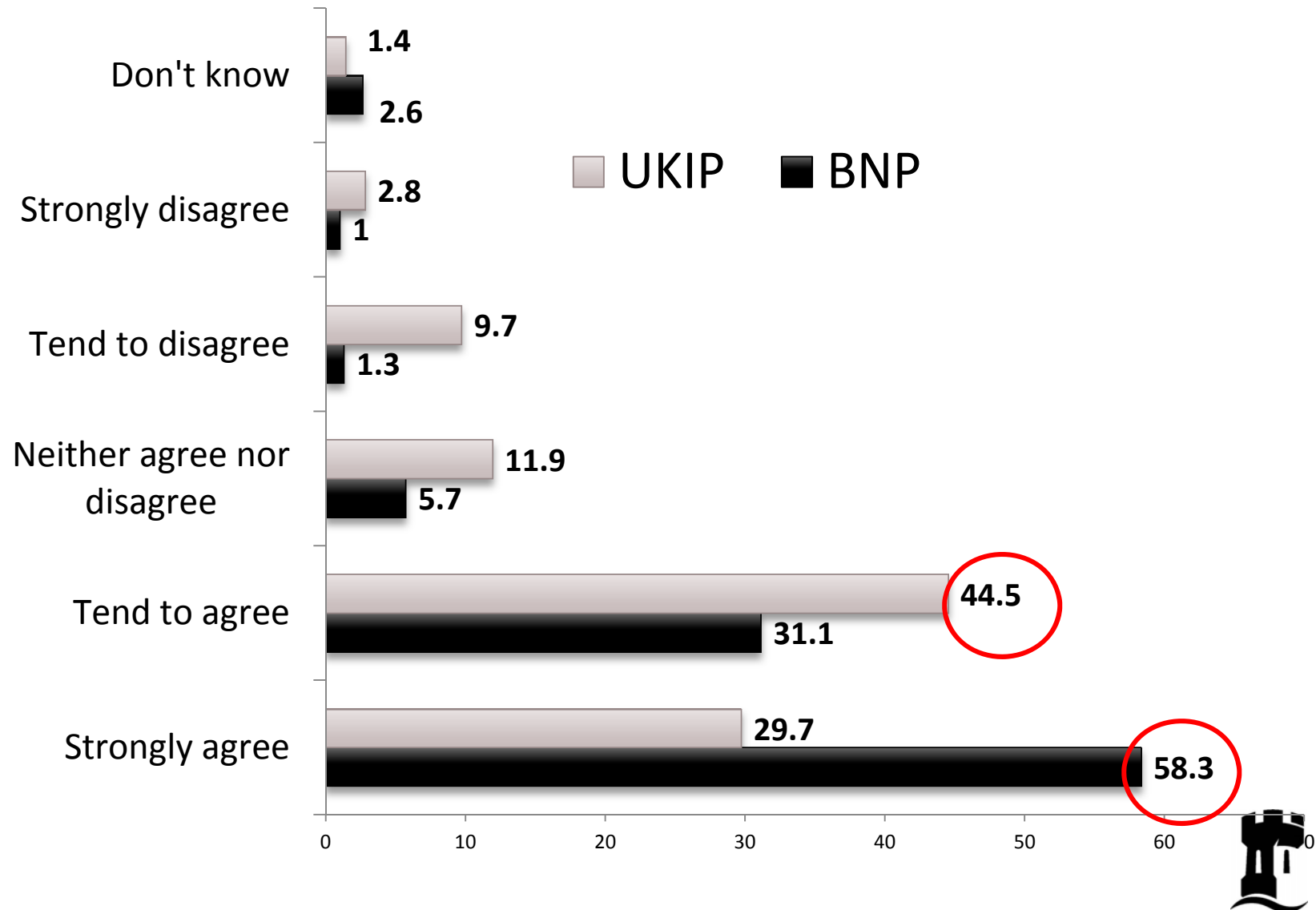


'VIOLENCE MAY BE NEEDED TO PROTECT MY GROUP FROM THREATS'

IEWS TOWARD NECESSITY OF VIOLENCE



CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS? 'VIOLENCE BETWEEN DIFFERENT ETHNIC, RACIAL OR RELIGIOUS GROUPS IS LARGEY INEVITABLE?'



PERCEIVED INEVITABILITY OF INTER-GROUP VIOLENCE

AN INTERNAL HARDCORE? CORE VERSUS PERIPHERY SUPPORTERS

CORE



	<i>Violence may be needed to protect my group from threats</i>		<i>Violence between different ethnic, racial or religious groups is largely inevitable</i>	
	BNP	UKIP	BNP	UKIP
Member	1.2	-0.1	1.8	0.9
Past member	1.1	-0.2	1.6	0.8
Identifier	0.7	0.0	1.5	1.0
Voter	0.7	-0.1	1.4	0.7
Future voter	0.4	-0.3	1.4	0.8
Total	368	1316	376	1387
EDL	-0.0 (198)		0.6 (207)	

-2 - +2 scale, -2 = strongly disagree, +2 = strongly agree

PERIPHERY



AN INTERNAL HARDCORE? CORE VERSUS PERIPHERY SUPPORTERS

CORE



	<i>Preparing for conflict between groups</i>		<i>Armed conflict</i>	
	BNP	UKIP	BNP	UKIP
Member	2.0	2.9	2.6	3.2
Past member	2.5	3.0	2.7	3.3
Identifier	2.6	3.1	2.8	3.3
Voter	2.7	3.2	2.9	3.4
Future voter	2.7	3.1	3.2	3.5
Total	372	1277	374	1364
EDL	2.9 (193)		3.3 (206)	

1 to 4 scale, 1 = always justifiable, 4 = never justifiable

PERIPHERY



KEY CONCLUSIONS

- Important not to exaggerate threat from RWE violence (Europol 2010)
- Not all far right supporters endorse violence
- But our explorative study sheds light on views among a large sample of identifiers
- See enough evidence of a pattern to make pursuing this research worthwhile
- Finding that significant numbers of citizens who identify with far right are anticipating inter-group violence and/or endorse pre-emptive action to defend their group from this threat is striking
- Especially so for a group of supporters in a party that claims to have renounced history of pro-violence and within Western democracy
- Also find evidence of a more hostile inner core, who appear more willing to plan for and endorse violence to protect a wider group
- Large numbers appear wholly convinced that an increasingly diverse British society will soon descend into violence between different groups
- Further research well placed to examine how widespread these attitudes are across the wider far right, and population at large

AUTHOR INFO

Dr. Matthew Goodwin
University of Nottingham
[@GoodwinMJ](#)

Professor Jocelyn Evans
University of Salford
[@JocelynAJEvans](#)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS



METHODOLOGY

YouGov pre-screened its panel of over 360,000 UK adults to identify those respondents who met the requirements of the survey. Questions were included to find respondents who were either current, or past, members of a political party. Respondents were also asked who they had voted for in 2010, who they would vote for if an election were held tomorrow and which party they most identified with. In conjunction with a question looking at proximity to political activity, YouGov was able to segment respondents based on where they fell in the concentric circles of far right support.

These respondents were categorized as BNP/ UKIP members, voters, potential voters and identifiers, as well as a much smaller sample of EDL members. The survey was sent out, online, to 2,951 respondents across the above groups. The final achieved sample was 2,152 respondents representing a response rate of 73%.

Data is collected via YouGov's propriety scripting system Gryphon, and this is written directly back to a database written in C++ (MongoDB). Survey data can then be accessed via a number of tools including SPSS, Dimensions, and Excel by both researchers and the data processing team. Respondent data is stored against a unique identifier assigned to each panel member, which allows YouGov to match back to demographic information each time, without storing the data sets together in order to ensure data protection policies are observed as required.

The five different types of voters – the 'concentric circles' – were identified as mutually exclusive groups, e.g. a BNP member, who would in all likelihood be expected to have voted BNP in the previous general election, is only coded under member; voters are those supporters who are not members, and have never been members. Similarly, potential voters are those who indicated they would vote BNP at the next election, but had not done so at the previous general election.

Inevitably, there were a number of respondents who overlapped in their support of BNP and UKIP, for instance having been a member of one party but voting for the other. To ensure empirical clarity between the two sets of party supporters, we excluded the 99 individuals expressing a level of support for both parties. For information, Table XX below provides a count of the cross-affiliations for these 99 cases

BREAKDOWN OF SAMPLE

	Number of BNP	Number of UKIP	Number of EDL
Past Member	58	123	
Member	54	188	
Identifier	155	585	
Voter	113	205	
Future Voter	105	404	
Total	485	1505	210

