Stakeholders of (De)-Radicalisation in the UK

D3.1 Country Report

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List of abbreviations

AI	Artificial Intelligence
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BF	Britain First
BNP	British National Party
DDP	Desistance and Disengagement Programme
EPA	Emergency Provisions Act
EDL	English Defence League
ERG	Extremism Risk Guidelines
GI	Generation Identity
HII	Healthy Identity Intervention
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IS	Islamic State and the Levant
LTAI-Prevent	Let’s Talk About It: Working to Prevent Terrorism
MCB	Muslim Council of Britain
NHS	National Health Service
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PA	Patriotic Alternative
EU	The European Union
GRT	The Great Replacement Theory
UK	The United Kingdom
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party
VAF	Vulnerability Assessment Framework

About the Project

D.Rad is a comparative study of radicalisation and polarisation in Europe and beyond. It aims to identify the actors, networks, and wider social contexts driving radicalisation, particularly among young people in urban and peri-urban areas. D.Rad conceptualizes this through the I-GAP spectrum (injustice-grievance-alienation-polarisation) with the goal of moving towards measurable evaluations of de-radicalisation programmes. Our intention is to identify the building blocks of radicalisation, which include a sense of being victimized; a sense of being thwarted or lacking agency in established legal and political structures; and coming under the influence of "us vs them" identity formulations.

D.Rad benefits from an exceptional breadth of backgrounds. The project spans national contexts including the UK, France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Finland, Slovenia, Bosnia, Serbia, Kosovo, Israel, Iraq, Jordan, Turkey, Georgia, Austria, and several minority nationalisms. It bridges academic disciplines ranging from political science and cultural studies to social psychology and artificial intelligence. Dissemination methods include D.Rad labs, D.Rad hubs, policy papers, academic workshops, visual outputs, and digital galleries. As such, D.Rad establishes a rigorous foundation to test practical interventions geared to prevention, inclusion, and de-radicalisation.

With the possibility of capturing the trajectories of seventeen nations and several minority nations, the project will provide a unique evidence base for the comparative analysis of law and policy as nation-states adapt to new security challenges. The process of mapping these varieties and their link to national contexts will be crucial in uncovering strengths and weaknesses in existing interventions. Furthermore, D.Rad accounts for the problem that processes of radicalisation often occur in circumstances that escape the control and scrutiny of traditional national frameworks of justice. The participation of AI professionals in modelling, analyzing, and devising solutions to online radicalisation will be central to the project's aims.

Executive summary/Abstract

This report addresses contemporary stakeholders, structures, channels, and platforms of radicalisation and de-radicalisation in the UK, including offline and online spaces. It situates contemporary radicalisation and de-radicalisation in the UK within historical contexts of party politics and the British empire. The primary focus of this report is to analyse the contextual background, structure, and channels of radicalisation and de-radicalisation of right-wing extremism. This report frames the interactional process of the perceptions of radicalisation by the state and political elite and the general public's conceptualisations of what constitutes political violence and threat. Importantly, the report points out state-led processes which delineate group boundaries and establish idealised British values and identities (e.g. the Brexit vote), which serve to locate the causes of radicalisation within specific communities, and processes which institutionalise Islamophobia and racial hierarchies that engender right-wing ideologies. The report also shows how social media platforms such as TikTok provide a fertile and easy-to-access use and wider visibility for radicalised groups and individuals in order to organise and recruit individuals. The report also critically engages with the current programmes and initiatives by the Conservative government in the direction of de-radicalisation, especially the Prevent programme. Whilst detecting the most crucial stakeholders and channels of radicalisation including state-led and online platforms of radicalisation, the report identifies the most important tools of de-radicalisation in the UK by exemplifying the roles played by NGOs, recent social and political movements, and unions. On the other hand, this report embraces a historical and societal perspective on online platforms and argues that rather than keeping online platforms or users responsible for radicalisation, larger policy and social change are necessary, in order to effectively address radicalisation structures and pathways in the UK.

1. Introduction

This report sets out the framework of radicalisation and de-radicalisation structures, channels and stakeholders in the UK from a historical point of view. Although the focus is on the contemporary ecosystem of radicalisation and de-radicalisation in the 2000s, the report puts recent agents and stakeholders of (de)radicalisation in historical context, including the recent history of empire and party politics in the UK as well as important global events such as 9/11. Our report grounds radicalisation in perceptions of injustice that may be expressed as or lead to grievance, alienation, and polarisation. Radicalisation is a process of increasing rejection of established law, order, and politics, and active pursuit of alternatives in the form of politically-driven violence or justification of violence. As a concept, radicalisation has been widely contested especially because of controversial de-radicalisation policies, which have been linked to human rights abuses, racial discrimination as well as the violations of civil liberties (see Kundnani, 2012; Schmid, 2013; Baker-Beall, Heath-Kelly et al., 2014). This report will also use the I-GAP spectrum (injustice- grievance- alienation- polarisation) to evaluate de-radicalisation programmes in the UK. De-radicalisation refers to processes which counter rejection at individual (micro), organisational (meso), or societal (macro) levels resulting in a shit from violent to nonviolent strategies and tactics.

Della Porta (2013) defines political violence in its most extreme form as clandestine political violence, which implies the penetration of killings by small underground groups oriented to political aims. Our report, first, follows the traces of clandestine political violence in the UK, such as terrorist attacks and ethno-separatist radicalisation. Our focus is then primarily on the more recent context, structures of, and channels of radicalisation and de-radicalisation of right-wing extremism (e.g. white supremacist movements). As defined by the European Union (European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend report, 2020), “right-wing terrorism refers to the use of terrorist violence by right-wing extremists. Variants of right-wing extremism are neo-Nazism, neofascism and ultra-nationalist formations. Right-wing terrorism seeks to change the entire political, social and economic system on a right-wing extremist model. A core concept in right-wing extremism is supremacism or the idea that a certain group of people sharing a common element (nation, race, culture, etc.) is superior to all other people. Seeing themselves in a supreme position, the particular group considers it to be their natural right to dominate the rest of the population” (Europol, 2019, p. 65).

Right-wing extremism has been given more freedom online than jihadist extremism in terms of accessibility to platforms and organisation of collective action, and right-wing extremism movements have drawn from jihadist factions in terms of the production and dissemination of online propaganda in creating online ecosystems which “cater for different functions and reach a variety of audiences (Europol, 2019, p. 73). Increasingly, right-wing ideologies are manifesting in the macro-political sphere including governmental discourse as well the everyday domain including cultural, media, and public spaces. Our report primarily engages with online channels of radicalisation such as TikTok, whilst pointing to offline channels of de-radicalisation such as NGOs and unions. The report will first introduce the contextual background of radicalisation and de-radicalisation in the UK, followed by the structures of radicalisation and de-radicalisation. The remaining sections address the agents of radicalisation and stakeholders of de-radicalisation in the last decades in the UK.

2. Contextual background

In the last three decades under the leadership of different political parties, the UK has witnessed both state-led radicalisation and radicalisation in the form of violent conflicts and terrorist attacks by non-state agents, specifically separatist non-state actors, jihadist organisations as well as increasingly the far-right and extreme right-wing groups (Please see Appendix 1 for an overview of events). Thatcherite neoliberalism has been the dominant force in British politics since the 1970s, where Thatcher and the wider Conservative Party forged a governing strategy across the fault lines of neoliberalism, traditional British Toryism and little-Englander anti-Europeanism (Peck, 2013). Neoliberalism was normalized in the UK in the subsequent New Labour governments, where the monetarism of the Thatcher period informed the New Labour's labour market and welfare reform agendas (Hay, 2014). Currently, the UK is led by the Conservative Party that was founded in 1834. The Conservative Party has been in power since 2010, following the New Labour governments. New Labour, which is a period in the history of the British Labour Party, was in charge from 1997 onwards, where it maintained its wider societal support in the 2001 and 2005 elections. Between the 1970s and 1990s, one of the most important radicalisation agents in the UK was the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The IRA's campaign was based on their aims to end British rule in the Northern Ireland. In addition to fighting Britain and the British state, the IRA fought loyalist paramilitary organisations in Northern Ireland (Sànchez-Cuenca, 2007). Amongst other separatist and autonomist organisations in the UK, The Provisional IRA was an important agent that engaged in armed struggle from its creation in December 1969 until 1998. The development of a cooperative relationship between the British state and the Provisional leadership started in the form of back-channel communication in the early 1970s. This was suspended after the 1975 ceasefire but was renewed in the early 1990s, which enabled the ending of the conflict in the 1990s (Ó Dochartaigh, 2015). The 1990s marked the peace negotiation process between the IRA, Sinn Fein and the British state in the 1990s. The Good Friday Agreement de-escalated the conflict. Since the Belfast or the Good Friday Agreement (1998), the devolved administrations of the UK have replaced the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act 1989 (the PTA) and the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act 1996 (the EPA) with the Terrorism Act 2000.

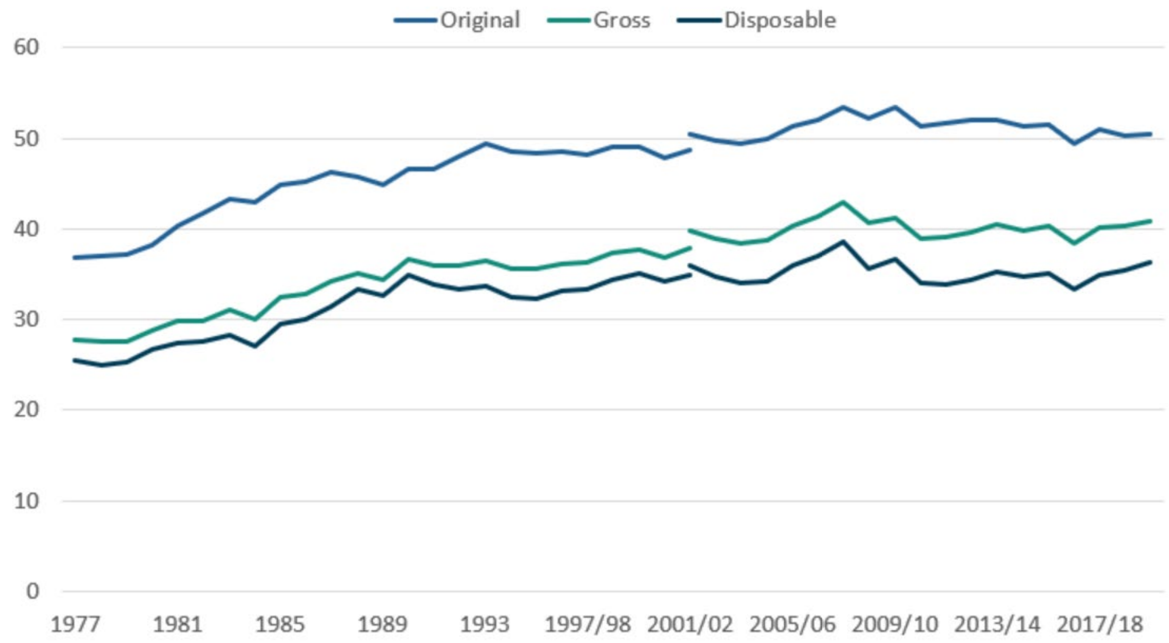
The September 11 attack (9/11) in 2001 in US by the Wahabi terrorist organisation Al-Qaeda has changed the course and perception of radicalisation across the world including the UK. The US invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003 led to Jihadist attacks on a global scale. During the New Labour's time in power, the UK joined forces with the US to invade Iraq in March 2003. The British state's policy on Iraq owes to centralised, hierarchical and elitist governments, creating a model of democracy that is characterised by a limited notion of representation (Kettell, 2006). In the UK, the major event by Jihadists and Islamist extremists took place on the 7th of July 2005 (7/7), where suicide bombers killed 56 people, including the four suicide bombers. The 7/7 events radically transformed the relationship between the British state and Muslims as well as Muslims and non-Muslims in British society. Since then, the processes of state-led securitisation have been intertwined with Islamophobic discourses and identifications (Hussain & Bagguley, 2012). In the 2000s, Islamist extremism has become one of the key drivers of radicalisation in the UK, especially the terrorist attacks by the Islamic State and the Levant (IS). In addition to using specific physical hotspots in the UK for their recruitment, IS began a cyber jihad campaign to target young and impressionable people in

2014. By 2014, the UK Government removed 15,000 'jihadist propaganda' items, including an online recruitment video namely '*There's No Life Without Jihad*', which featured three British fighters' encouragement of people to fight for IS (Awan, 2017, p. 138).

Since the 9/11 attack, Muslim communities have been the main groups that the de-radicalisation strategies have primarily targeted in the UK. From the inception of the Terrorism Act, the Muslim Contact Unit, which is a Metropolitan Police anti-terrorism unit set up after 9/11, tracked Muslims and directed police and intelligence operations to Muslim communities in London and beyond, especially starting from 2002 until at least 2008 (Silva, 2018). The Prevent programme is a component of the UK's counter-terrorism strategy CONTEST, and one part of Prevent is called Channel (Augestad Knudsen, 2020). The UK Government more recently announced a new *Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015.* 'Countering Violent Extremism' policy paradigm has aimed to 'prevent', disrupt and generate a counter-narrative to avert and intervene violent extremism. The 'Prevent' programme aims to protect against 'would-be terrorists' drawing on various assumptions about the sociological, psychological or behavioural characteristics of the 'radicalised' (Abbas 2019, p. 396). Rather than organising integration programmes, the Prevent programme normalises everyday surveillance of specific communities and individuals and intervenes in their lives "before they radicalise". Similar to how the Prevent programme represents an ongoing perception and strategy since the 9/11 attacks, the last decade saw an increase in the anti-immigration policies and a change in the political discourses that rely on othering, scapegoating and dehumanizing these communities, leading to an Islamophobic society and policymaking. Especially since 7/7, Muslim youth in the UK has been imagined as threatening, different, untrustworthy and dangerous, which has been a perception to be adopted in policymaking, media framing as well as academia (Lynch, 2013).

A more recent key event reflecting divisions, polarisation and partly radicalisation amongst the British society was the European Union membership public referendum (Brexit vote) that took place on the 23rd of June 2016 to leave the European Union (EU), facilitated by the Conservative Party under the leadership of David Cameron. Following the vote, the UK withdrew from the EU on the 31st of January 2020, when the prime minister Boris Johnson led the campaign and dealt with the deal process with the EU. Favouring the leave position (Brexit) was especially common among the older generation, less-educated, and poorer voters, and particularly those who had concerns about immigration and multi-culturalism (Hobolt 2016). Income inequality in the UK is one of the highest relative to other European countries (Equality trust, n.d.). This inequality was exacerbated over the course of the financial 2020 year (April 2019-March 2020), when income inequality rose to 36.3%, the highest peak in ten years (an increase of 2.2% over ten years), coupled with a widening gap (8.3%) between the wealthiest and the rest of society (ONS, 2020; please see Figure 1), Right-wing Eurosceptic and anti-immigrant groups mobilized populist and nationalist forces in the UK to support the long-running Brexit campaign, which revealed wider societal divisions (Corbett 2016), polarisation as well as giving more legitimacy to the far-right and radical right-wing ideas and ideologies in society. The Brexit 'leave' campaign's narrative promoted primarily by the Conservative Party was underscored by two interrelated visions: first by a deep nostalgia for the British imperial project based on the legacies of colonialism and racism, and, second, by a narrative of retreating from a globalizing world that is no longer recognizably "British" (Virdee & McGeever, 2018). Further, the Leave campaign capitalised on the increasing social inequality in the UK by contextualising the vote as an opportunity to regain wealth by no longer paying membership fees which would be diverted in public spending on the NHS, education, and housing, and by positioning migrants as a threat to limited resources (Vote Leave, n.d.). In addition to bolstering polarisation in society, Brexit helped the mainstreaming of radical right-wing ideas and ideologies, including a glorification of a 'homogeneous Britain' and 'Britian of/for British'. In this framework, the far-right UK Independence Party (UKIP) emerged as a prominent radical right-wing party in this period and played a key role in mobilizing the 2016 vote for Brexit (Whiteley et al., 2019). More recently, among other reasons, the post-Brexit Irish Sea border sparks reaction in Northern Ireland, which may also escalate violence and revive previous divisions in society.

Figure 1. Gini coeeicients for original, gross, and disposable income for the UK between 1977-2020 (Source: ONS, 2020).



3. Structures of radicalisation

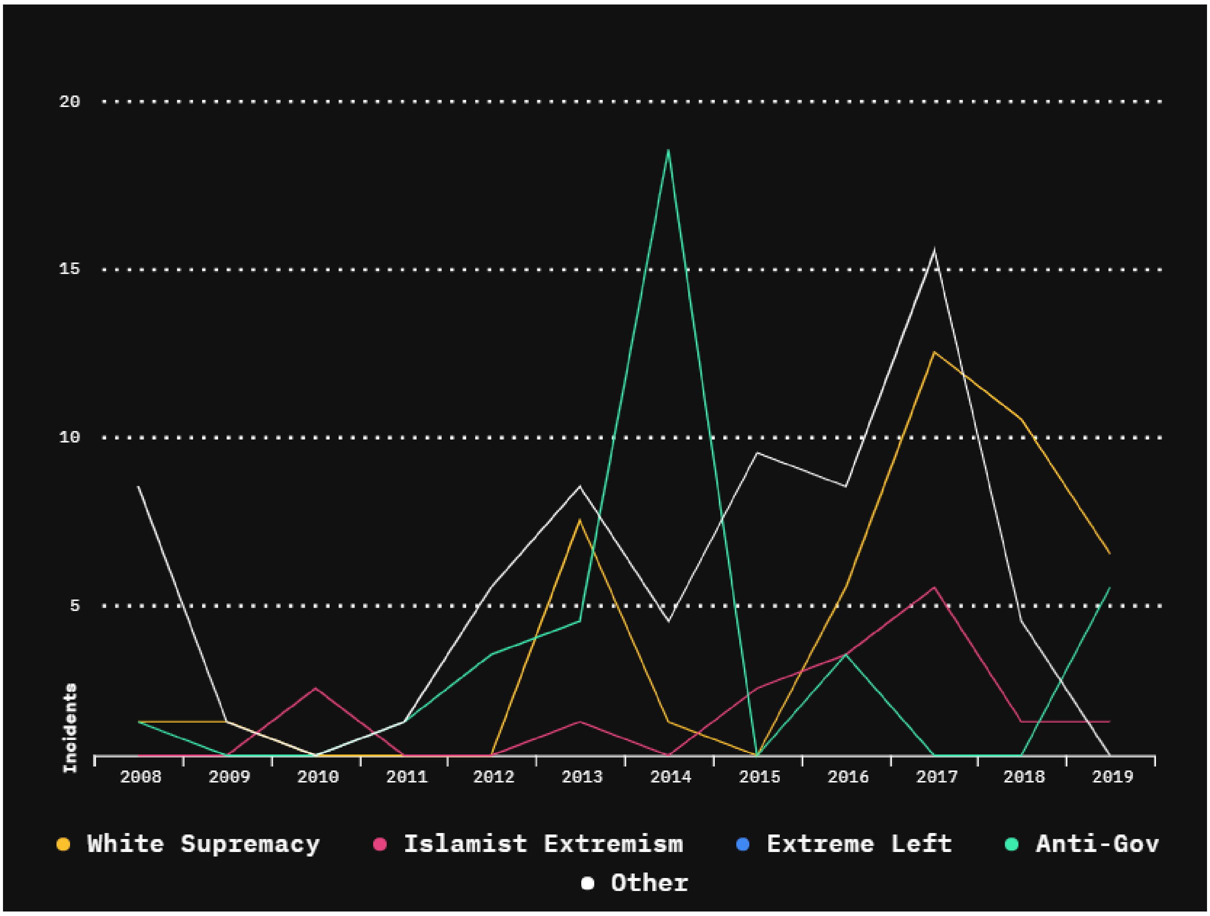
3.1. Political violence in the UK

As an overview, the nature and frequency of political violence has been shifting in the UK for the last five decades. Between 1970 and 2018, 3,411 deaths occurred as a result of political violence, with the majority of deaths between 1970 and 1990 occurring in Northern Ireland (84%), with one peak in 1972 when 344 people died in Northern Ireland, and one peak in 1988 when 271 people were killed in the Lockerbie bombing when a bomb was detonated onboard Pan Am Flight 103 flying over Scotland (Allen & Kirk-Wade, 2020). Notably,between the period of April 2003 and March 2019, 92 deaths occurred in the UK as a result of political violence (Allen & Kirk-Wade, 2020). Over the last five decades the agents of radicalisation have shifted significantly as new actors have come to the forefront (Please see Figure 2 for visualisation of incidents between 2008-2019). For example, in 1970 there were 20 recorded deaths from political violence, whilst in 2009 this had decreased to three annual deaths as a result of political violence. This shows a significant decrease in the frequency of political violence in the UK since 1990 (Global Terrorism Database), with the exception of two years when higher than average deaths were reported: 2007 (7/7 London attacks), and 2017 when five acts of political violence occurred across London and Manchester which resulted in 36 deaths (four incidents guided by Islamist extremism, and one guided by far-right extremism). Between 2018 and 2019 there was a 17% decrease in terrorist attacks (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2020). Along with separatist movements rooted in ethno-nationalist motives such as the IRA, Islamist and right-wing extremist violence has emerged to the forefront.

More recently, in 2019, 64 incidents of political violence were reported in the UK (Europol, 2020). Of these, 56 were ethno-nationalist attacks in Northern Ireland, 4 were right-wing attacks, 3 were Islamist extremist attacks, and 1 was a single-issue attack. The only attack in 2019 in Europe which was claimed by IS occurred in the UK (November 29). Importantly, the highest incidence of failed/foiled right-wing terrorism attacks in the EU occurred in the UK (Europol, 2020), reflecting the changing nature of political violence threats – with an increase of threat from the far-right. The rest of the analysis of the structures of radicalisation in the UK will centre on how these structures uplift and mainstream right-wing ideology alongside white supremacist, ultra-nationalist, and neo-colonialist perspectives.

Between 2002 and 2019 there were 35 far-right incidents and deaths in UK, which ranked third among countries in the West (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2020). As reflected in the increasing number of right-wing terrorism attacks, although right-wing extremists engage in a greater frequency of relatively lower level acts of political violence, these have severe cumulative impact on communities, but are less likely to be covered by national media (Briggs & Goodwin, n.d.). For example, the incidence of has hate crimes increased by 123% over five years between 2012-2017/2018, with the highest increase in racially-motivated crimes (Proctor, 2019). Further supporting the relatively ubiquitous nature of right-wing ideology in the UK, over the course of the financial year ending in March 2020, 105,090 hate crimes were recorded by the police in England and Wales, with an increase of 8% from the previous year (Gov.UK, 2020).This has been particularly exacerbated in the Covid-19 Pandemic, with a 21% increase in hate criems towards East Asian and South-East Asian individuals (Commission for Countering Extremism, 2020). Right-wing ideology is also transnationalist, with prominent UK right-wing organisations such as Blood & Honour, founded in 1987, establishing chapters across EU states with the intent to "train political soldiers" for a "race war" in defence of the "white race" (Europol, 2020). Thus, right-wing political violence should not be underestimated in its potential impact and influence across national borders. In this vein, 2018 saw the highest amount of Far-Right marches in a generation in the UK (Commission for Countering Extremism, 2019).

Figure 2. Number of incidents in the UK (excluding Northern Ireland) between 2008-2019 (*Source*: Jigsaw, 2020; “Other” includes incidents such as arson and assault which are not ideologically-motivated)



Right-wing political violence has also increasingly targeted government actors in physical and digital spaces. This is evidenced in the exponential increase of security bills for Members of Parliament from £37,000 (2010-11) to £4.2 million (Batchelor & Merrick, 2019). The UK’s chief of counter-terrorism, Neil Basu, stated that just 10 MPs accounted for 29% of all reports of political violence against MPs, reflecting an intersectional pattern of racism and misogyny (Batchelor & Merrick, 2019). The threat of far-right political violence towards government actors is demonstrated in the case of MP Jo Cox, who represented the constituency of Batley and Spen. Jo Cox was murdered on 16th June in Birstall, West Yorkshire; the perpetrator, who also wounded a member of the public, proclaimed “This is for Britain”, “Keep Britain independent” and “Britain first” whilst carrying out the attack, and was identified as a right-wing extremist supporting neo-Nazi and white supremacy ideologies (Cobain & Taylor, 2016).

Highlighting the proliferation of right-wing radicalisation across the continuum of political violence, the most common cases (43%) which were adopted as a Channel case following referrals through the Prevent system were those reflecting concerns regarding right-wing radicalisation (Home Office, n.d.). In terms of arrests, 268 arrests were made in 2018-19 for terrorism-related offences (Allen & Kirk-Wade, 2020); currently 17 far-right activists are in British prisons for terror-related offences (Briggs & Evans, n.d.).

3.2 Perceptions of political violence and radicalisation by the political elite

Concepts of radicalisation by the political elite function along two separate paths (Please see Appendix 2 for key examples of political discourse on radicalisation). First, there is the institutionalisation of Islamophobia by the political elite and media (Gilks, 2020), which reinforces right-wing radicalisation whilst minimising its impact. Second, the main discourse of radicalisation is firmly located within religious communities which further marginalises British Muslim communities. Indeed, the combined frameworks of social cohesion and counter-terrorism policies by the Government have promoted Islamophobia through its "definition and utility in the current political context of the United Kingdom (Alam & Husband, 2013, p. 236).

From the inception of the Terrorism Act, the Muslim Contact Unit, which is a Metropolitan Police anti-terrorism unit set up after 9/11, tracked Muslims and directed police and intelligence operations to Muslim communities in London and beyond, especially starting from 2002 until at least 2008 (Silva, 2018). Since 2011, Extremism Risk Guidelines (ERG) has been used across the Prison and Probation Service of England and Wales. In 2012, the ERG became the basis of another tool, entitled the Vulnerability Assessment Framework (VAF), which is employed in order to assess non-incarcerated individuals vulnerable to possibly becoming radicalised (Skleparis & Augestad Knudsen, 2020). The Prevent programme is a component of the UK's counter-terrorism strategy CONTEST, and one part of Prevent is called Channel (Augestad Knudsen, 2020). The UK Government more recently announced a new *Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015.* 'Countering Violent Extremism' policy paradigm has aimed to 'prevent', disrupt and generate a counter-narrative to avert and intervene violent extremism. This policy, 'Prevent' in the UK, aims to protect against 'would-be terrorists' drawing on various assumptions about the sociological, psychological or behavioural characteristics of the 'radicalised' (Abbas 2019, 396). Rather than organising integration programmes, the Prevent programme normalises everyday surveillance of specific communities and individuals and intervenes in their lives "before they radicalise".

As the Prevent programme represents an ongoing perception and strategy since the 9/11 attacks, the last decade saw an increase in the anti-immigration policies and a change in the political discourses othering, scapegoating and dehumanizing these specific communities. Especially since 7/7, Muslim youth in the UK has been imagined as threatening, different, untrustworthy and dangerous. This has been a perception to be adopted in policymaking, media framing as well as academia (Lynch, 2013). For example, the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB), which had worked alongside the government, has frequently condemned Islamist extremism, but in 2006 the MCB was targeted for allegedly being inspired by political Islam, where it was associated with reactionary movements in the Middle East and South Asia (Spalek & Lambert, 2008, p. 261).

The government's perceptions of radicalisation and political violence through its Prevent strategies have been argued to be limited and inaccurate, particularly in its minimisation of the threat from extreme right-wing terrorism (Home Affairs Committee 19th report, 2012). The government's response to the 19th report from the Home Affairs committee acknowledges that although the new Prevent strategy explicitly includes right-wing extremism, that threat is "much less widespread and systematic than terrorism associated with Al Qa'ida and our resources are allocated accordingly" (Shaw, 2012, p. 1). Further, the government's response clearly indicates that main conceptualisations of radicalisation are based on religious radicalisation, using limited resources as a justification of why “the majority of Prevent resources and efforts will therefore be devoted to stopping people from joining or supporting Al Qa’ida, its affiliates, or like-minded groups” (Shaw, 2012, p. 6). In this vein, the government’s adoption of a muscular liberalism approach, an ideology which “locates the rise of extremism in the policies of multiculturalism” (Poole, 2018, p. 376), has been used to frame political violence and provide justification for right-wing groups to advance their agendas of protecting “British values and identities".

This systematic division of religious and right-wing radicalisation are also reflected in the discourse of heads of government in the last decade. For example, David Cameron (leader of the Conservative party between 2005-2016) wrote a piece titled “My Faith in a Christian Country” (Cameron, 2014), where he claimed that Britain is a Christian country and stated his “desire to ‘infuse politics’ with ‘Christian values’”, which notably excluded other religions and further cemented the link between Christianity and national and British identity and values. Further, following the Black Lives Matter protests which acknowledged Churchill’s racism through a message placed on his statue in London, the current Prime Minister and the leader of the Conservative party, Boris Johnson, made the following statements via Twitter: “But it is clear that the protests have been sadly hijacked by extremists intent on violence. The attacks and indiscriminate acts of violence which we have witnessed over the last week are intolerable and they are abhorrent” (Twitter, June 12th 2020). This statement was supportive of protecting idealised and nostalgic “British values”, which are shared within right-wing ideologies. Additionally, they heighten perceptions of radicalisation from specific threats, which emerge from multiculturalist policies. In contrast, the London mayor Sadiq Khan, who has called for a review of all statues in capital for links to slavery in the aim of removing them (Mahmood, 2020).

Perceptions of radicalisation by the political elite are, therefore, identified as external forces resulting from multiculturalism and diversity policies. Simultaneously, these perceptions are disseminated publicly and fertilise right-wing ideologies which position themselves as opponents of multiculturalism policies. This interaction between perceptions of radicalisation by the political elite and the general public are perhaps best exemplified recently by the discourse around the murder of Jo Cox and the framing of Brexit. During the course of a Commons session in Parliament (September 26th 2019), MP Paula Sherriff called on Boris Johnson to avoid using pejorative language such as “betrayal”, “treason” and “surrender” when describing a law which had been passed by the majority of MPs, citing the links to the murder of Jo Cox and the language that the right-wing terrorist had used in her murder. Johnson’s response of “I have to say I have never heard such humbug in all my life” (Dearden, 2019) reflected a minimisation of the issue and co-opted a colloquialism to signify British identity. Johnson’s language was integrated into the public sphere and he received positive responses from right-wing parties and groups. For example, Tommy Robinson, founder of the English Defence League, called on his followers to “back Boris”, calling him a “champion of the people” protecting against the “traitors in parliament” and “corrupt elite scumbags" on his official Telegram channel (Dearden, 2019b). This language exemplified the very same language that had been employed by the right-wing extremist killer of Jo Cox. These shared images and phrases such as “will of the people” are rooted in concepts of nostalgia from World War II and call for nationalist reinterpretation of current events, which “plays powerfully to the far right and nationalist groups” (Colliver in Dearden, 2019b). Direct impacts of this language of the political elite on far-right groups and their radicalisation processes were evidenced in calls for civil unrest, slogans of “Brexit or we burn the country”, and sharing the procurement of items such as smoke grenades (Dearden, 2019a). Thus, perceptions of the political elite have aided in the legitimisation of right-wing ideologies. This interplay is occurring increasingly in digital spaces which have less monitoring, such as Telegram.

Significant criticism levelled at the Prevent strategy by the Labour party, the main opposing political party, reveals some divergence within the political elite, despite the strategy’s inception under a Labour government. Shortly after the Manchester arena attacks in 2017 which killed twenty-two people, the then leader of Labour, Jeremy Corbyn stated in his Chatham House speech that “the war on terror is simply not working. We need a smarter way to reduce the threat from countries that nurture terrorists and generate terrorism” (New Statesman, 2017). Further, the Labour Shadow Home Secretary, Diane Abbott highlighted growing criticisim of Prevent and called for the government to publish any evidence of Prevent’s success, which it had failed to do (Labour Party, 2017). The link between state strategies and political violence was further delineated with Corbyn’s statement following the 2019 London Bridge attacks that military interventions perpetrated by the government had exacerbated rather than resolved the issue of political violence (Helm & Savage, 2019). However, in the 2019 election, counter-terrorism did not feature significantly within the campaigns for either the Conservative or Labour party (Greer, 2020). Indeed, although the Labour manifesto promises to review existing security strategies and programmes, little is mentioned about radicalisation and political violence outside of avoiding the alienation of communities (Labour Party Manifesto, 2019). Taken together with criticism against the current Prevent strategy, this suggests that for the Labour party – to an extent – perceptions of political violence encompass both religious and rightwing origins. However, counter-terrorism remains one of the least discussed topics in the Labour party (Blakeley et al., 2019).

The minimisation of the threat from far-right extremism by the political elite is also evidenced by the statements made by the counter-terrorism envoy and government’s recently appointed independent adviser on political violence and disruption, John Woodcock. In an interview in the Telegraph, Woodcock highlighted that his focus on radicalisation would be the “way anti-democracy, anti-capitalist far-left fringe groups in Britain like the Socialist Workers Party tend to have much more success hijacking important causes... than the far-right, and the harm that may do” (Mason, 2021). Contrary to this perception, Mark Rowley, the former head of the Metropolitan counter-terrorism unit highlighted in a BBC Newsnight interview that “this was the first time since the second world war we have a domestic terrorist group, it’s right-wing, it’s neo-Nazi, it’s proudly white supremacist, portraying a violent and wicked ideology”, emphasising that the UK continues to inaccurately gauge the threat posed by the far-right (Busby, 2018).

3.3 Perceptions of political violence and radicalisation by the general public

The perception of violent threat by the general public is shaped in a large part by its presentation by the mainstream media. To understand the shared public conceptualisations of what violent threat is and where it is perceived to originate from, discordance in the mainstream media representation of political violence must be evaluated. These intersubjective representations of violence serve to reinforce perceptions of intergroup division, notions of national identity, and distinctions of “Other”; in turn, they further bolster the ideologies of far-right groups by positioning the West vs Islam (Tony Blair Institute for Global Change, 2019). These embedded power structures within media serve to perpetuate racial and religious hierarchies and denote the origins of political violence. Thus, mainstream media legitimises the threat of right-wing ideology whilst simultaneously disseminating the seeds of white superiority (Busby, 2018; please see Appendix 3, Figure 1).

This is evidenced in differences in levels of framing of perpetrators of political violence using individualist attributions for right-wing actors and collectivist attributions for Islamist actors by the UK media (Parker et al., 2019). An analysis of news media in the UK between 2009-2014 revealed that descriptions of right-wing perpetrators contained references to mental-health and framed them as “evil” (21% for right-wing perpetrators, 0% for Islamist perpetrators) distinguishing them from other individuals (Parker et al., 2019), and divorcing their actions from their ideology. Additionally, right-wing actors have been presented with positive attributes such as the Daily Mirror describing the perpetrator of the Christchurch attacks in New Zealand as an “angelic boy” who grew into a terrorist (Hellyer, 2019), which further emphasise their individuality. Conversely, Islamist actors were more likely to be situated in their shared group identities, with this distinction much more emphasised in the UK media. Indeed, even the extent to which perpetrators were represented as ‘lone-actors’ differed, with right-wing terrorism framed as a result of lone actors (78%) as opposed to Islamist terrorism (43%).

Thus, through the aid of media representation, radicalisation is legitimised when it is used as a weapon against diversity/minority groups and to protect sentiments of national identity, values, and culture. Thus, media perpetuates concepts of radicalisations and support for government policies which have marginalised British Muslim communities, as Muslim communities are “seen as constituting both a symbolic and a realistic threat to majority ‘British’ interests” (Alam & Husband, 2013, p. 250). The UK media have conflated Islam with terrorism and while “the press was able to detail the actions and debate the possible reasons why the terrorists chose to commit such atrocities, in many instances, these actions were simply viewed as a problem of “Muslims” in general” (Black, 2019, p. 236), locating the responsibility for terrorism within the wider Muslim communities. These representations serve to further concepts of idealised British identities and values which exclude communities and perpetuate notions of cultural threat – both of which are reflected in right-wing ideologies.

Relatedly, according to Neil Basu (Britain’s counter-terrorism chief), mainstream media such as the Mail Online have aided the radicalisation of right-wing extremists, in part through actions such as propagating their manifestos (as in the case of the Christchurch terrorism attack in New Zealand in 2019), and uploading the footage produced by the perpetrator (Waterson 2019). The Mail is the most read UK national news brand, with a monthly reach of 31.1 million (Walker, 2019). Basu’s statement that “the reality is that every terrorist we have dealt with has sought inspiration from the propaganda of others, and when they can’t find it on Facebook, YouTube, Telegram or Twitter they only have to turn on the TV, read the paper or go to one of a myriad of mainstream media websites struggling to compete with those platforms” (Waterson, 2019) emphasises the role of media in mainstreaming right-wing radicalisation processes. Further, media legitimises right-wing values through the promotion of a national identity which simultaneously establishes group boundaries and notions of Other, locates the responsibility of political violence in specific groups, and over- and under-emphasises political violence based on the origins of the threat. Through the restructuring of whiteness as a symbol of “superior” to “normal” which is embedded in idealised ‘British identity’, media representations erase discussions of race and make invisible the dominating racial hierarchies, further supporting white supremacists’ forceful denials that racism is present (Cabrera, 2014).

These processes are manifested in the general public’s beliefs about the nature of political violence and how it is interpreted. A survey conducted via a YouGov poll (Dec 2016) surveying 4,812 Great British adults found that only 20% believed that terrorist attacks that are carried out by Catholics or Protestants reveal something significant about the nature of Christianity; in contrast, when asked the same question about Muslims and the nature of Islam, 30% believed that terrorist attacks revealed something significant about the nature of Islam. This echoes attributions of individualism and collectivism for motivations of radicalisation and political violence within the shared intersubjective conceptualisations of terrorism as something significant is read into the act when perpetuated by Muslims (a collectivist interpretation) but not when perpetuated by Catholics/Christians (an individualist interpretation). This is not only a double standard of religious belief, but also reinforces a conceptualisation of terrorism as religious, but not for other purposes such as right-wing extremism. In the same survey, 33% participants thought that the most common causes of individual acts of terrorism were religious – only 5% reported social or political conditions as motivations for terrorist acts. This may reflect that within the general public there are no clear definitions for right-wing terrorism and its related ideologies.

In this vein, conceptualisations of the origins of threat correspond to the distinctions constructed in the media. A YouGov survey (Smith, 2019) indicated that 55% of the British public believe that jihadist terrorism poses a big threat, as opposed to right-wing groups (33%), and Irish republican groups (14%), despite the latter having the largest number of incidents in 2019, followed by right-wing groups (Europol, 2019). This split between objective and cultural subjective realities parallel the ways that UK media present different types of political violence. There is a growing awareness of the right-wing group threats, as a further 36% believed that far-right terror groups pose moderate threat (27% for Islamic extremist groups; 37% for Irish republican groups). These public perceptions are in contrast to statements from the UK Counter-terrorism chief regarding actual threat and the growth of right-wing radicalisation. There is a further break down by demographic, with Labour, Remain, and Liberal Democrat voters more likely to see far right groups as a bigger threat than Islamic extremist groups, in contrast to Conservative (75%) and Leave (73%) voters overwhelmingly considering Islamic extremist terrorism as a big threat, with only 29% of each group perceiving right-wing terrorism as a threat.

In terms of perceptions of level of threat from political violence, a YouGov/BBC survey in 2016 found in a survey of 1,681 adults that 74% believe that the threat of terrorism had increased in the last five years. This perception of threat is moderated by political identity and also split by Remain/Leave (which emerged as salient social identities in the wake of the 2016 EU Referendum), which largely parallel the left-right political continuum of Labour and Remain and Conservative, UKIP and Leave, respectively. 84% of Conservative voters, 83% of Leave supporters, and 83% of UKIP supporters believed that the threat of terrorism had increased in the last five years, relative to 71% Labour voters and 69% Remain voters. Further, Conservative (90%), Leave (92%) and UKIP (95%) voters were more likely to believe that further attacks on British cities and people were very likely, compared to Remain (84%) and

Labour (83%) voters. For UKIP voters, these responses can be interpreted in the context of the beliefs that a race war is inevitable, and that planned violence in the support of protecting "British values" is justified (Goodwin & Evans, 2012).

There is also a positive to neutral support of the government's approach to terrorism and its muscular liberalism strategies. A longitudinal weekly YouGov polling survey which tracks the public's opinion of how the government is handling the issue of terrorism in the UK (drawing from a cohort of approximately 1,611 to 3,326 participants) indicates that in general the public support the government's handling of terrorism (55% government is handling well, 24% government is handling badly, 20% don't know; week of Feb 22nd 2021). In the same week, we see a similar split by voter, with 73% of Conservative voters and 65% Leave voters reporting that they believe the government is handling terrorism well compared to 40% of Labour voters. This is a general trend from June 2019.

Collectively, the general public opinion seems to share the framework of political violence constructed by the media and government, with clear distinctions between the origins of political violence and radicalisation, and differences in the extent to which each is assessed as a threat. This serves to mainstream and legitimise pathways of right-wing ideology; for example, between 2015 and 2015, roughly half of British survey respondents in a YouGov survey poll (2017) believed that there was a fundamental clash between Islam and values of British society. Further, right-wing ideology such as white supremacy and anti-Muslim ideologies are emboldening the manifestation of political violence, with a steady increase of street attacks on Muslims (Dearden, 2018c). It is crucial not to separate "extreme, virulent, overt, and mostly un-accepted white supremacism… from the everyday white supremacism" (Jones, 2019, p. 2433) that occurs both within media (e.g., in differences of representing political violence) and in the construction of the general public's attitudes; for example, public responses to Boris Johnson's minimisation of Jo Cox's murder and his framing of legal procedures to ensure the avoidance of a no-Deal Brexit included references to MPs as "traitors" and "no surrender" of the UK (Dearden, 2019). Right-wing ideologies and white supremacy beliefs in the UK are not novel, but instead are part of the historical continuum which can be traced back to trends in the last 200 years and demonstrate that symbols of the "British empire" ideology are still alive (Niven, 2015).

The resurgence of right-wing ideology white supremacy beliefs in the UK are reflected in the rise of referrals to the Prevent system, the increase of foiled attacks, and in the increase of actual acts of political violence. Rightwing attacks are more prevalent but occur at a lower level; nonetheless, there is some indication of their escalation, as evidenced in the murder of MP Jo Cox (2016), and the Finsbury Mosque attacks (2017). Indeed, Neil Basu (Britain's counter-terrorism chief) and the counter-terrorism police unite have stated that the fastest-growing terrorism threat to the UK is from the far-right (Dodd & Gierson, 2019). In contrast, the imbalanced perceptions of political violence along the ideiological continuum by the political elite are reflected in a muscular liberalist approach with an increased focus on religious (Islamist) extremism and simultaneously institutionalisation of Islamophobia. This further legitimises right wing extremism by embedding it in representations of national identity and values. These representations are reinforced by mainstream media and can be seen in the public's perception that threats of political violence and terrorism are likely to stem from Jihadist rather than rightwing or ethno-separatist (Northern Irish) origins. Mainstream media reinforce the framework of political violence and thereby disseminate the seeds of righting ideology packaged within nationalist reinterpretations of current events. Collectively, this indicates an underestimation of the threat posed by rightwing radicalisation.

4. Agents and channels of radicalisation

We have identified two channels that perpetuate radical white supremacist ideologies within the UK. We will discuss how political parties and organisations promote radical white supremacist and nationalist ideologies, and identify the government as a channel of radicalisation that has historically been perpetuating colonialist, xenophobic and ultranationalist ideas through discourse and policies (see Appendix 3, Figure 1). For both types of agents, we will look at online media platforms as a channel for disseminating these radical ideologies in the form of social media trends (for example, the White Lives Matter Hashtag and other symbols) or as a tool for recruiting members to join these radical groups (see Appendix 3, Figure 2).

4.1 Political group and organisation channels of radicalisation

Within the UK, several groups and organisations have a brand of white supremacist and ultranationalist beliefs. These groups can be divided in terms of organisations, such as Generation Identity, and political parties, such as Britain First and English Defence League (EDL). We will first look at some of the most striking radical organisations such as Patriotic Alternative, Generation Identity and National Action, amongst others, before moving on to political groups, ranging from smaller parties such as Britain First (BF) which has low success, to the more successful parties such as the Labour and Conservative parties. For both types of groups, we will look at the role of specific individuals, such as Nigel Farage and Mark Collett, within the group as well as the different pathways used to spread these extremist ideologies focusing on online platforms which appears to have become one of the primary pathways, especially for recruitment.

4.1.1 Generation Identity: uniting ultranationalists across Europe

The first extremist organisation that we will look at is Generation Identity (GI), which originates from France but has managed to form chapters across various European countries, including the UK. The GI UK branch has been rebranded as Identity England but the difference is just a swap in the group's leadership. The group promotes ideologies of ethnopluralism, anti-immigration, xenophobia, racialism, and islamophobia. These ideas also have an undercurrent of alt-right white nationalism and the group supports The Great Replacement Theory (GRT) conspiracy theory, which describe how the white British will be replaced by Black, Asian and Middle Eastern minorities, therefore inciting fear, and ultranationalist ideas. The Identity England group presents these ideas in the form of the 'preservation of English and European ethno-culture' (Identity England Twitter). Although the group has no ties to UK politics, in the past, the group has approached political figures such as Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (Tommy Robinson) and Nick Griffin (former leader of BNP) who have distanced themselves from the movement (Hope not Hate n.d) but the political party For Britain has made an appearance at GI conferences. The group believes individuals such as Mark Collett, Katie Hopkins, and Paul Joseph Watson (far right conspiracy theorist) can help in making their views widespread.

Identity England has popular online platforms on Telegram, Twitter, and YouTube. The group uses patriotic Facebook groups and UKIP chatrooms (Townsend, 2019), in order to recruit members. This further illustrates how the group make use of patriotism as a pathway to more extreme nationalist beliefs as well as how they have built an impressive network that operates mostly online across up to 23 countries across Europe for their radicalised movement. Although there is no direct indication that the UK chapter has been involved in acts of violence, the GRT conspiracy that the group promotes has been tied to the 2019 terror attack in Surrey (Dearden, 2019). Other far-right white supremacist groups such as Combat 18, the neo-Nazi British Movement were reported on Facebook, however, the platformed claimed that they do not violate community standards and users were told to unfollow pages if were found to be "offensive" (Dearden, 2019).

4.1.2 Patriotic Alternative: a group for the far-right extremists in the UK

Patriotic Alternative (PA) is a far-right group that promotes ideologies of ultranationalism, antisemitism, and anti-immigration. The group has stronger ties to politics than GI or Identity England: the founder, Mark Collett, was previously a leader of a British National Party (BNP) branch and PA has unsuccesfully been trying to turn itself into a political party. PA, similar to other radical nationalist groups, markets itself as a patriotic group. It propagates conspiracies based around GRT, promotes ideas of ultranationalism, antisemitism, Islamophobia and white supremacy. Over the years, the group has built a strong online presence in the form of Twitter and Telegram accounts, a podcast (titled Patriotic Talk) and a website. Up until 2020, the group also had a Facebook and Instagram from which they were removed by the two platforms. The group has had far-right, white supremacist personalities such as the youtuber Colin Robertson (Millennial Woes) speak at their events. In the last year, the group has organised a 'White Lives Matter' protest and come up with conspiracies of 'anti-White' agendas and 'White marginalisation' (Allchorn, 2021). PA has also been targeting children in an attempt to get them to join their cause. The group published an "alternative home school curriculum" for children with a white nationalist/supremacist outlook (Patriotic Alternative n.d; The Ferret, 2021; Townsend, 2021). Children have also been targeted online through gaming platforms such as Call of Duty. The radical group has a blog post (Christopher, 2021), where it uses its interest in gaming to showcase itself as an 'alternative group' that is different from other nationalist groups. They describe those activities as a means to spend time together while getting to know each other thus creating stronger bonds between members. Despite their overt racism, PA has managed to unite the various far right ideologies and has even been joined by those with more 'moderate' views (Murdoch & Mullhall, 2020), indicating a normalisation of the expression of racist and ultranationalist views. Other British far right extremists, such as Fascist Forge has also made use of online platforms: their forum offered users instructions on how to consolidate bombs as well as chemical weapons that could kill within 30 seconds (Briggs, 2019). The platform also promoted violence against non-white women and proposed methods to annihilate this gender. Data gathered by Lee and Knott (2021) revealed that the fanbase of such forums, especially Fascist Forge were male and under 30-35, illustrating the exploitation of younger adults. As such, from mainstream platforms such as TikTok to more alternative platforms such as Fascist Forge, far right organisations use online platforms effectively in the UK, in order to not just recruit and reach out sympathisers but also to make weapons.

4.1.3 Political parties: EDL, Britain First, UKIP and others

One of the largest contributors to radical ultranationalism, white supremacist and neo-colonialist beliefs in the UK are political parties. We will first focus on the wider, extremist parties with lower success. Some of the groups that have popularised radical ideologies over the last few decades are the National Front, UK Independence Party (UKIP), English Defence League (EDL), British National Party (BNP) and Britain First. What differentiates these groups from the organisations previously discussed, is the use of political spaces as a platform to disseminate their radical ideologies and agendas. These groups have quite an intermingled relationship with one another, with representatives often leaving one party to create or join another. Nonetheless, they vary in political success: the EDL, Britain First and National Front have failed to elect representatives in national and European elections, but these groups have still amassed a small following by organising protests and campaigns against multiculturalism, Jews, Muslims and immigrants. On the other hand, the BNP (2009: 2 MEPs, 6.3% of the national vote; BBC news, 2009) and UKIP (2014: 24 MEPs, 27.5% of the national vote; BBC news, 2014) have been able to elect representatives to both the UK and European Parliaments in the past. This election has paved the way for Nigel Farage’s key role in the Brexit referendum, which was followed by an increase in violent attacks against migrant groups, especially Muslims and Polish individuals. These groups also operate outside of the political sphere: most of these parties previously had several social media accounts on platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and TikTok. However, most of these have been banned, for instance Britian First, EDL and BNP have been removed from Facebook (Hern, 2019). Key figures within these parties such as Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (Tommy Robinson, co-founder and former leader of EDL) have used social media as a platform to openly express their racist ideals, as can be seen through his multiple Islamophobic tweets.

4.1.4 Mainstream Politics: The Labour and Conservative Party politics

The beliefs of British superiority and aversion towards other religious, racial, and ethnic groups have eroded into modern day politics as can be seen in the party politics and the rebranding and campaigns of the political parties. With some of the population adopting these ideologies and expressing sentiments of mourning and disillusionment towards Britain’s culture becoming less authentic - this has mostly been blamed on migrants. Political parties are moving towards catering to these individuals by putting in place policies which suggest support for an ‘authentic’ British culture as well as building an image that matches these policies. As a result, most political parties have been gradually adopting nationalist views to different degrees. For instance, the media describes the Conservative (Tory) party as having assimilated UKIP beliefs, while the Labour party, over the past years has been adopting ‘cultural tools’ associated with the Conservative party, especially during the leadership of Keir Starmer since 2020. Recently, the Labour party has also been rebranding its image to reflect their shift in ideology by making use of the union flag, veterans and establishing dress codes for how the party members should present themselves in public so as to appeal to voters with more ’patriotic’ views (Chakrabortty & Elgot, 2021).

Amidst this shift towards right-wing discourses and white nationalist views, these more popular political parties have also had incidents dealing with racism within them. While refashioning their image, the Labour party has also been dealing with incidents of antisemitism and broader racism within the party: there has been allegations of antisemitism within the party (European

Human Rights Commission, 2020), which led to the suspension of the former party leader, Jeremy Corbyn. More recently under Keir Starmer's leadership, allegations of discrimination towards black and other ethnic minority members of the party in the form of both casual remarks and overt racism have been raised from within the party (Wearmouth, 2021). Kier Starmer, has been accused of not taking a strong stand against racism as result of the delayed Forbes Inquiry into racism within the labour party and due to his response to a caller's questions around GRT on a radio show (Gayle, 2020). It has been suggested that while the Labour party has taken action against antisemitism within the group, it seems that the group is not invested in tackling the various forms of racism towards other groups (Shabi, 2021).

Within the Conservative party, which is currently in power, there has been several incidents of overt racism, islamophobia and antisemitism. This is can be seen through various Tory leaders who strikingly embodied white supremacist ideologies, such as Churchill, who has been branded as Islamophobic, racist towards most ethnic and racial groups, and supporting eugenics, as well as Thatcher who has been described as a xenophobe and promoting ideas of "British superiority" (Bourne, 2013). Those are only two historical examples of country leaders with radicalised ideals, and there have been others, such as Cameron and May, that also embody such ideologies. Several members of the current Conservative government have also made various inherently xenophobic comments, however the most perturbing ones come from Boris Johnson, the current Prime Minister. Johnson has fashioned several aspects of his persona after Churchill and has made public his aspirations to be likened to the former PM. This can be observed from his book, The Churchill Factor, where he compares himself to Churchill on several points. These similarities are also reflected in several of Johnson's xenophobic ("piccaninnies"; on women wearing burqas: "bank robbers", "letterboxes"), sexist ("pat her on the bottom and send her on her way"), Islamophobic ("…Islamophobia…seems a natural reaction…"; "Islam is the problem"), and neo-colonialist (on Africa: "The problem is that we are not in charge anymore") comments over the past few years (Bienkov, 2021).

4.2 The British Government: A long-standing agent of neo-colonialism and white supremacy

The UK has a history of colonialism and racial injustice that has been reflected by its multiple governments and elected officials. At the 'end' of the colonial rule, the colonial powers did nothing to replace or substantially change the main apparatus of colonial domination – the state (Guha, 2011). During the neo-colonial period, the power relationships of colonialism persisted by other means and in other forms, even in the aftermath of the formal dissolution of the empires, for example the structure of global markets, the power of transnational corporations, the enforcement power of military and the police (Cooper & Stoler, 1997). In the post-colonial context, colonialism functions less as a direct territorial control but more as an economic and cultural control and dominance where exploitation happens by 'remote control' rather than overt presence in the territory and is also managed by the hyperreal (Spivak, 1991), such as through cyber surveillance or other forms of 'soft power', including discursive control. The post-colonial society is a plural society of separate communities where politicians in power positions have hardly contributed to a genuine integration of different ethnic, racial and religious communities that compose the society (Guha, 1980), which may lead to intergroup tensions and polarisation as well as alienation and exclusion of youth from society.

Some examples of the British governments' lack of contribution to integrating the country's multiple ethnic, religious and cultural groups into a more cohesive society can be seen through various scandals, policies, referendums and announcements. Some examples of political speech from the government that has contributed to this is David Cameron's denunciation of multiculturalism in 2011. In 2015, he then associated violent radical Islamic terrorism with female genital mutilation and honour killings (Brown, 2019), thus contributing to the existing political discourse consolidating Muslims, especially youths, as a radicalised group in a wider society. In the political framing of terrorism, radicalisation and extremism, immigration and "foreign powers" have thus been featured prominently by state actors (Lynch, 2013). This represents the structural shift in racial governance which is more apparent with the advancement of neoliberalism in the UK (Kapoor, 2013), especially since the Thatcher era. Islamophobic media and policy perpetuated the racial and gendered violence that dehumanizes Muslim subjects, which according to Ali and Whitham (2020, 2), construct a "conceptual Muslim - a monstrous fantasy figure upon which to foist the blame for a multitude of social ills and divisions within British society". In the summer of 2017, Theresa May has pointed out the need to grant more powers to the police and security services and have more control over the Internet whilst promising a clampdown on the foreign funding of extremism (Brown 2019, 2).

Following shortly after Cameron's statements, the Brexit referendum (2016) bolstered this approach. Brexit is often considered a turning point - the range of descriptions of the passing of this referendum has ranged from promoting whiteness and Britishness to simply being racist (Mintchev, 2021). Some of the ideas used to promote Brexit revolves around an image of xenophobia and nationalism in the form of the white working class 'taking back control' (as was the slogan) (Bowler, 2017). This has been reflected in the rise in intensity of racial discrimination and violence towards migrants since the passing of the referendum (see Abranches et al., 2020; Booth, 2019; Burnett, 2016). The communities that have been especially affected are Muslims and Eastern Europeans (Rzepnikowska, 2018). In the aftermath of the Brexit referendum (2016) and high-profile attacks in Britain in 2017 and 2018, which led to the premiership of Theresa May, the UK government increased its fear-based rhetoric revolving around terrorism, immigration, and security measures (Brown, 2019). Another remarkable scandal, following Brexit is the Windrush scandal where multiple individuals, mostly from Caribbean countries, were wrongly detained, denied legal rights and deported (McKann, 2018; Rawlinson, 2018).These striking announcements and referendums have over the years been coupled with racial micro-aggressions in several forms, ranging from casual remarks to policies and actual social structures that favour the white British, whilst marginalising other religious, racial, ethnic, and cultural groups. Ironically, one of the structures that perpetuate this marginalisation is the government's main counterterrorism and de-radicalisation programme, Prevent. As previously outlined, one of the main radicalisation concerns in the UK are Muslim groups, and those are also the primary focus of the Prevent programme. Their strategies overtly and disproportionally target the Muslim community and may contribute to the widespread stereotyping and Islamophobic beliefs within the UK (Qurashi, 2016; 2018). Towards the Black British community, this racial discrimination was seen both from the government and its opposition's (the Labour Party) reaction to the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement: a move to protect war memorials and statues of individuals with histories of colonisation, racism and slave-ownership such as Churchill and Robert Milligan (Osler & Stokke, 2020), by implementing criminal sentences for tearing down memorials instead of moving towards implementing policies to combat the institutionalised racism that civilians are protesting. There have been other racial micro-aggressions from the government, such as banning critical race theory in schools and axing of funding of international research, thus further distancing the country from other parts of the world.

Despite these remarks, the general perception of the Tory party being racist, and the cultural stereotypes embedded within the British society, several members of the Conservative government, have refused to acknowledge the country's problem with racism. These are only a few examples of the government contributing to the xenophobic reality of the UK and move towards de-radicalising structures that marginalise other cultural groups that are non-white and less 'traditionally' British. The emphasis on Muslims as a radicalised group impairs our ability to consider other forms of radicalised behaviour, such as xenophobic, misogynist, homophobic, transphobic, anti-Semitic, and white nationalist-supremacist ideologies which are on the rise in the UK. It has been recognised that there is a lack of policies that enable the targeting of this type of radicalised beliefs and behaviours. Meanwhile, the existence of these groups is growing more prominent, as seen during the 'anti-BLM' protests, where several protestors performed Nazi salutes (Dearden, 2020). In the UK, the Identitarian movement is growing whilst conspiracy theories such as the Great Replacement Theory and QAnon are gaining popularity. During the Covid-19 process, attacks against immigrant communities, especially the Chinese and Eastern Asian groups in the UK reached a new peak. As an example, a lecturer from the University of Southampton, Dr Peng Wang, was recently physically and verbally attacked on a street of Southampton by a radical right-wing gang, proclaiming 'Chinese virus' and 'get out of the country' (ITV, 2021). While the target communities and events could shift over time and according to the event such as a pandemic, the anti-immigrant and racist focus is persistent across different events and situations. This example also shows how conspiracist reasoning (e.g. the perception of Covid-19 as Chinese virus) feeds into the anti-immigrant and racist everyday discourse and actions.

In sum, this section highlighted two white supremacist channels of radicalisation in the UK: lesser known far-right agents along with more popular far-right political parties as well as the Conservative government. The section pointed out that white supremacist and ultra nationalist political parties and organisations promote radical white supremacist and nationalist ideologies, especially with a discussion on the functions of prominent political figures such as Nigel Farage and Mark Collett in the British public sphere as well as these groups' effective use of online media platforms as channels for the dissemination of their radical ideologies, including conspiracy theories. In addition to discussions on the less mainstream political organisations such as the Britain First, this section identified the Conservative government in power as a prominent agent of radicalisation from a historical perspective, with a focus on their colonialist, xenophobic, ultranationalist, and Islamophobic rhetoric over the years.

5. Stakeholders and channels of de-radicalisation

Radicalisation is not a one-way street. This section will focus on channels and stakeholders of de-radicalisation, which will be broken down into governmental, non-governmental and online based de-radicalisation strategies (Please see Appendix 4 for a summary of the main de-radicalisation programmes in the UK). As previously discussed, the Prevent programme is currently the UK Government's main tool of de-radicalisation. The Prevent encompasses three main strategies: responding to existing ideology, prevention of recruitment into terrorist groups, and working with institutions to protect the vulnerable (Home Office, 2011). Here it should be noted that the government makes a point of distinguishing between terrorism and extremism, and this differentiation lends itself to the idea that Islamic extremism is the far more serious and pressing threat. Therefore, it is perhaps unsurprising that the prevent strategy document admits that its main focus is "terrorism associated with Al Qa'ida" (Home Office, 2011, p. 39). Right wing extremism is briefly touched upon in the document, but it is dismissed as low priority, with actors seen as unorganised lone wolves incapable of causing much damage. In addition, the threat of Northern-Irish related terrorism is briefly discussed and then dismissed, with responsibility for any de-radicalisation work with organisations such as the Real Irish Republican Army assigned to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, currently Brandon Lewis, and the devolved administration in the country.

5.1 State-led channels of de-radicalisation

To justify its stance on right-wing extremism and other forms of terrorism, the Home Office asserts that Islamic extremism has taken more lives. However, problematic definitions complicate the data. For example, the killing of a white British soldier, Lee Rigby, was branded by the prosecutor as "one of the most appalling terrorist murders I have seen" (BBC, 2014). In contrast, hate crimes perpetrated against ethnic minorities, immigrants, those with disabilities and sexual minorities are not labelled as terrorist acts, despite being just the sort of terroristic action we would expect to see from right-wing extremists. In fact, in direct contrast, whilst attacks by Islamic extremists using vehicles have been immediately labelled as terrorism, the deliberate assault of a Black NHS worker in Bristol by perpetrators who shouted racial slurs and abuse was not (Mulhall, 2021). We can see this government policy continued by the press in the UK as well as globally, with violence perpetrated by Islamic offenders far more likely to be labelled as the work of terrorists than that of right-wing offenders (Signal AI, 2019). Therefore, it could be argued that right-wing extremism, white supremacy, and ultra-nationalism are underrepresented in the data and the threat they pose is severely underestimated.

With this in mind, it is easy to understand how the majority of referrals to Channel, Prevent's de-radicalisation programme, are made up of individuals seen as vulnerable to Islamic extremism in particular. Channel relies on these referrals from teachers, community members, police, and healthcare workers, so any bias amongst these individuals caused by poor training would seriously hinder its effectiveness. Without a referral, an extremist would never make it to panel consideration and then on to a de-radicalisation programme (Griffith-Dickson et al., 2014). Indeed, between 2007 and 2010, just 8% of referrals were made for right-wing extremists (Home Office, 2011). More recent figures show an improvement (24% of referrals were for Islamic extremism, 22% for right-wing extremism) (Home Office, 2020). However, according to the 2011 Census for England and Wales, approximately 80% of the UK population considers themselves to be white British, rising to 92% white Scottish or British in Scotland (ONS, 2018; Scotland's Census, 2011). As this is the pool right-wing extremists would draw upon, we would expect to see white nationalism and associated outlooks make up far more than 22% of referrals. Given Prevent's explicit focus on Islamic extremism as well as population demographics, it seems highly unlikely that this could be explained as merely an artifact of higher radicalisation in Muslim communities. In addition, of the cases that made it to panel, the majority of those referred for intervention were right-wing extremists (Home Office, 2020). It is therefore very concerning that individuals who may need to be referred are being overlooked, perhaps due to poor training, whilst some Muslim individuals are being falsely accused.

Furthermore, this intense focus on Muslim populations could make Prevent a tool of radicalisation for the far-right, serving as tacit agreement with their prejudicial attitudes, as does the treatment of formerly radicalised individuals. The case of Shamima Begum is one such example; radicalised and groomed online at 15, Shamima travelled to Syria as an Islamic State bride. She has since been stripped of citizenship and refused entry back into the UK, indicating that in some cases the UK government's de-radicalisation work consists of simply exiling individuals from their own countries (Sabbagh, 2021). The perceived bias within the Prevent programme has even led some to take action against it, by staging boycotts and protests. For example, the Jesus College Student Union at the University of Cambridge passed a motion to boycott the Prevent programme, meaning that lecturers and professors within the college would no longer refer students to Channel (Mulla, 2021). McGlynn and McDaid (2018, 2019) studied the responsibilitisation of British universities since 2015, by giving these institutions a legal duty of preventing people from being drawn into terrorism. However, through focus groups, McGlynn and McDaid (2018) accounts for the actual experience of students in higher education, where the students view themselves as critical thinkers, rather than being inherently vulnerable to manipulation by the people espousing extremist views and violence. This shows how not just individual students but also unions and communities of student and academics act as channels of de-radicalisation against state led radicalisation, as caused by the government’s flagship de-radicalisation programme.

In addition to the programme of de-radicalisation offered by Channel, interventions are also offered by the Prison and Probation services to offenders. Whereas Channel’s stated mission is to help those at risk or vulnerable to radicalisation, these programmes are for those who have been recruited and have been convicted of a terroristic act. For example, they might be given a place on a Healthy Identity Intervention (HII) or Desistance and Disengagement Programme (DDP) (Brader, 2020). An early pilot study examining these programmes found that they were viewed favourably by those who participated, although there is limited evidence as to their efficacy (Dean et al., 2018). This is especially true for right-wing extremists, as only two members of the sample were drawn from this population. If a prisoner does secure a place on a programme, they might be expected to work one-to-one and be asked to consider the motivations for their actions as well as how they might minimise their contact and engagement with the group they are affiliated to as part of a HII scheme (Dean, 2013). If they are on probation, the DDP would be the intervention of choice, with mentoring, psychological support, and theological advice all given in an effort to create protective factors and lower the risk of recidivism (Home Office, 2019).

5.2 NGO-led channels of de-radicalisation

Perhaps due to lack of government interest in the de-radicalisation of right-wing extremism, much of the labour in this area appears to be carried out by non-government stakeholders and channels of de-radicalisation such as charities, students’ unions, and other bodies. Indeed, given the climate of denial that arguably exists around white extremism in the UK, the mere act of raising awareness could be viewed as an act of de-radicalisation. The group Hope Not Hate is an effective example of an organisation carrying out this work. Founded largely in response to the rise of the British national Party, they release regular "State of hate" reports examining the threat of the far-right globally as well specifically within the UK (Hope Not Hate n.d.). In addition, the organisation has a charitable arm that works with communities and groups to fight extremism, a political wing that pressures political parties to take action against right-wing extremism and a trade union network that seeks to eradicate extremism and intolerance in the workplace. Hope Not Hate also work directly with members of hate groups such as National Action, a neo-Nazi group, to enable them to leave these far-right organisations. For example, the former National Action member Robbie Mullen acted as a whistle-blower regarding a plot to murder a Labour MP, with support from Hope Not Hate (Quinn, 2019). Not only was he helped to exit the group, but other group members were successfully prosecuted thanks to his information.

De-radicalisation pathways are also facilitated by Exit UK for right-wing extremists. This group was set up by Nigel Bromage, a former member of the neo-Nazi group Combat 18, and utilises other ex-extremists as a form of peer support for current members who wish to undergo through the de-radicalisation process. Exit UK promises confidential and non-judgemental advice and support to extremists, essentially providing support and help that should be offered by Prevent, in fact the group received 241 requests for help in the period between April 2020 and February 2021 (Townsend, 2021). They are active on social media, and have helped members of the armed forces, former football hooligans, as well as young people recruited online by the far-right (Exit UK, n.d.). In addition to providing direct support for far-right extremists through his work with Exit UK, Bromage also runs a consultancy, Small Steps (Chaudhary, 2018). This group works with teachers, police, faith leaders, students, and communities to provide education and offer guidance on how to identify and counter the messaging of right-wing extremism. Again, much of the de-radicalisation work is carried out by former members of far-right groups or, in some cases, parents of individuals who are current members (Small Steps, n.d.). Whilst it is admirable that these people have chosen to devote themselves to the cause of de-radicalisation, there is a sense that this would not be necessary if the UK government's own programmes addressed the issue sufficiently.

5.3 Digital channels of de-radicalisation

Organisations play a vital role in the presence of social media, acting as a bridge of de-radicalisation. LTAI-Prevent (Let's Talk About It: Working to Prevent Terrorism) is an initiative that engages with individuals on Twitter to provide assistance, supporting people who are vulnerable to radicalisation. Their engagement in the community would help to prevent individuals from being drawn into terrorism. Some of their tweets #safeguarding also plays a role in filtering the searches. However, LTAI- Prevent page is not highly active to provide a constant update in regard to their news feed, as their last tweet was in 2019. Other users such as @JD_JournalDerad encourage academic researchers to engage in the community by publishing journal articles in regard to this topic to educate individuals. Further efforts from Interpol to tackle radicalisation is to "analyse the terrorist use of social media platforms in order to enhance identification and detection efforts in national counter-terrorism investigations."

(Interpol.int). By using Artificial Intelligence (AI) and the breakthrough of deep neural networks provide an insight for counter-terrorism via social media with human-grade accuracy.

The response from TikTok, is to remove hateful posts on its platform. The methods used would be by looking into the usage of coded language and symbols that are in user's content. Other content such as misinformation about other races will also be removed in order not to spread antisemitism. Even though Nazi content was taken down by TikTok, it planned to expand the ban "to remove neighbouring ideologies, such as white nationalism, white genocide theory, as well as statements that have their origin in these ideologies, and movements such as Identitarianism and male supremacy" (Rude, 2020). Furthermore, TikTok users such as @mehekbukhari06 highlights the issue of islamophobia and racial stereotypes on her channel. With her current 50,000+ followers, individuals who have a huge number of followers plays an important role to bring down discrimination and racial stereotypes.

As a large social media platform, Facebook also vows to ban organisations and individuals permanently when it comes to far-right groups. BNP, EDL, Knights Templar International, Tommy Robinson and Britain First were deemed to be dangerous and feared their ideologies were empowering extremist (Hern, 2019). Continuing in March 2019, Facebook reversed a policy which had allowed "white nationalists" and "white separatists" to post on the website, provided "white supremacy" were not promoted (Hern, 2019). In addition, users who acted as support groups for radicalisation will also be banned. Without the presence in Twitter, Facebook or Instagram, other prevention measures will also need to be taken into consideration as new platform will emerge such as e.g.; Telegram and more recently, terrorists may have used PlayStation 4, acting as a communication channel as it would be difficult to track when the message is encrypted or in-game (Berry, 2015).

There is a common theme amongst online platforms; banning and removing content is their main strategy when tackling radicalisation. However, whilst this reduces the potential for recruitment of new members, it does not de-radicalise existing members of right-wing extremist groups. Given that social media platforms have provided such a rich and fertile recruitment space for these groups, it could be argued that they owe it to their users as well as society at large to do more to tame the beast they helped unleash (Mughal, 2016). Furthermore, this strategy has been criticised as ineffective by researchers, as it leads to a game of banning 'whack a mole' against a tsunami of extremist content (Briggs & Feve, 2014). In addition, for groups that find justification for their beliefs in the idea that the world is against them, as is the case with so many extremist groups, banning them merely adds fuel to the fire and provides more evidence for their theories.

In terms of individual users, there are those who are using social media platforms to challenge extremist ideology as well as try to de-radicalise existing member of extremist groups. For example, Harris Michael Brewis, who goes by the name Harris Bomberguy or Hbomberguy. Brewis is known for his trademark "measured response" videos hosted on his YouTube channel, in which he debunks extremist and conspiracy content (Hawking, 2019). For example, in his video "The War on Christmas: A Measured Response", he challenges the weaponization of Christmas by the alt-right (Brewis, 2020). However, due to the echo chamber nature of social media recommendation algorithms, it is unfortunately unlikely that an indoctrinated person would stumble across Brewis' content.

In conclusion, the current UK government offering for the de-radicalisation of its citizens is lacking, in large part because of its bias towards Islamic extremism. In the absence of effective policy-making and willingness to create social change, NGO's and individuals have been left to fill the gap when it comes to right-wing extremism, which is worrying given that they do not have access to the same information, status, power and networks that the police, prison services and local government do. It is especially concerning that the government does not have a cohesive and coherent strategy for de-radicalising individuals online, and instead seems to have opted to blame shift to the companies or platforms themselves, much as it has done to universities in the past (Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, 2020).

6. Conclusion

This report has responded to the urgent societal need at large to identify radicalisation structures, stakeholders, and channels. While the report frames the recent state-led and bottom-up forms of radicalisation in the UK, it puts them into historical context, dating to the British empire and the first half of the 20th century. The report not only frames recent radicalisation but also brings empirical evidence to recent pathways and tools of de-radicalisation in the UK, such as individual social media profiles that aim to combat radicalisation. Embracing a critical perspective on the Tory government led counter-radicalisation tools and approaches, especially the Prevent programme, the report underlines the need for a wider understanding of recent radicalisation pathways, especially the rise of far-right extremism and the mainstreaming of radical right-wing radicalisation in the UK.

In pointing out online and offline channels of radicalisation of far-right and radical right in the UK, the report identifies the recent radical right wing and far-right political discourse and actions not as isolated or exclusive chain of events. It relates the current ecosystem of xenophobic, misogynist, homophobic, transphobic, anti-Semitic and white nationalist-supremacist ideas, ideologies and action to the lack of integration policies of the Conservative (Tory) governments, whose discourses and policies have become a catalyst in the mainstreaming of these ideas and action and their wider endorsement in society. In unveiling state-led pathways of radicalisation which are propagated by the mainstream media, the report argues that the current government's policies originate from a neo-colonial perspective, which has become a persistent state of mind in policymaking in the post-colonial situation today. The report shows how the effects of a neo-colonial ideology could be traced to contemporary events such as Brexit and other recent events in the post-9/11 era, which created further polarisation in society. Brexit also has led to tensions in the Northern Ireland, which will in the future expected to spark de-escalation of polarisation as well as violence in the region. If effective measures are not taken, polarisation, youth alienation, white supremacist movements and far-right radicalisation may proliferate in the post-Brexit period.

Partly different from previous reports and studies on radicalisation in the UK, this report has also studied media-saturated stakeholders and pathways of radicalisation, including the roles of mainstream media in disseminating a perception of violent threat of "immigrants" to the general public. The report covers online tools, platforms, and pathways of radicalisation from global platforms such as TikTok to alternative platforms of radicalisation such as the Fascist

Forge. The report addresses the overarching power of Internet platforms to recruit individuals to radicalise. To plan their operations and recruit like-minded or vulnerable individuals, Jihadist, far-right and radical right-wing groups have used common platforms such as Twitter, or YouTube but then shifted to other applications such as WhatsApp and Telegram whereby the messages are encrypted. While it is true that social media platforms have enabled a fertile communicative space for radicalised groups and individuals, our report embraces a historical and societal perspective on online platforms and argues that it is not just related to the accessibility of these platforms or the users' extremist posts per se but the roles played by the government actors and mainstream media sources in framing events and specific groups, the lack of wider acknowledgement of past forms and sources of social inequality (e.g. colonialism) as well as ineffective policymaking in the areas of integration are essential to address if wider social change is aimed for.

The report has finally critically engaged with de-radicalisation programmes of the British state, especially the Prevent Programme and the ways British state has responsibilitised specific sectors in the UK such as higher education, to be at the forefront of "preventing" radicalisation by referring potentially radicalised (Muslim youth) to the Prevent programme. While challenging the counterterrorism tools of the Conservative governments especially those that bolster the rise of Islamophobia and anti-immigration in society, the report also points to different non-governmental stakeholders and channels of de-radicalisation including charities, unions, and other bodies, such as Hope not Hate. Given the insufficient policymaking and integration programmes around far-right and white extremist forms of radicalisation in the UK, the report identifies the act of raising awareness and making marginalised voices heard as acts of de-radicalisation, including BLM protests that have effectively addressed the long term and structural forms of racism and white supremacy in the UK.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Main (de)-radicalisation events in the UK since 2001

Name	Date or period of time	Description
Ealing Car Bomb	03.08.2001	IRA Car explosion containing 45kg of explosives. 7 injured
7/7 Bombings	07.07.2005	London's public transportation systems attacked. 700 injured and 52 dead
Liquid Bomb Plot	June 2016	Terrorists plot to detonate liquid bombs in oasis bottles in transatlantic flights leaving from London.
Glasgow Airport attempted attacks	30.06.2007	A jeep filled with propane canisters rammed the doors of the airport setting it ablaze. One death which was one of the perpetrators.
Pavlo Lapshyn	29.04.2013-12.07.2013	Ukrainian supremacist serving minimum 40 years for killing spree decimating a Muslim man and bombing a mosque
Murder of Lee Rigby	22.5.2013	Two Muslim converts, one with links to al-Muhajiroun, attacked and murdered Lee Rigby, a soldier in the British Army.
Murder of MP Jo Cox	16.6.2016	Extreme right-wing terrorist murdered MP Jo Cox and grievously harmed bystander in Birstall, West Yorkshire a week before the EU Referendum. Attacker (Thomas Muir) received life imprisonment. Attacker was motivated by white supremacist ideology
Westminster Attack	22.3.2017	Car driven into pedestrians on Westminster bridge, killing four and injuring 50. The attacker then stabbed and killed a police officer before being fatally shot himself, bringing the final death toll to 6. Khalid Masood who converted to Islam in prison and was known to Mi5.
Manchester Bombing	22.5.2017	Salman Abedi carried out a suicide bombing at an Ariana Grande concert held at Manchester Arena. Salman had been reported to authorities by several

		community leaders and had been banned from his mosque. 23 people died including him, over 800 were injured.
London Bridge Attack	3.6.2017	Van driven into pedestrians on London Bridge, followed by a series of stabbings by the three perpetrators at Borough Market. 8 people died and 48 were injured. ISIS claimed responsibility for the attack, two of the doers had connections to Al-Muhajiroun, and one of the attackers is believed to have been through the Prevent programme.
Finsbury Park attack	19.6.2017	Van driven into pedestrians in Finsbury Park, London, 90m from Finsbury Park Mosque; one death and at least ten injured. Attacker (Darren Osborne) received life imprisonment. Attacker was motivated by right-wing Islamophobic ideology
National Action plot to kill MP Rosie Cooper	2017 (Sentencing: 17.5.2019)	Jack Renshaw, member of National Action plotted to kill MP Rosie Cooper and police officer Victoria Henderson. The plot was foiled, and Renshaw was sentenced to a minimum of 20 years
Parson’s Green tube attack (London)	15.9.2017	An improvised explosive device is detonated on a packed Tube train during the morning rush hour, injuring 22 people.
Delivery package to University of Glasgow as a bomb threat	6.3.2019	The University of Glasgow received a delivery package and a phone call claiming it to be a bomb threat from the IRA, however after investigation conducted by the police, it turns out to be a hoax. This shows that the far-right would willing to go to certain extend to project fear to the people.
Right-wing extremist attack on a member of public	16.3.2019	Day after Christchurch attack in New Zealand, a right-wing extremist attacked a 19-year old Bulgarian male sitting in car. The perpetrator was not convicted of offences specified in UK terrorism act, but judge ruled in September 2019 that it constituted

		a terrorist attack. The perpetrator had a video of the Christchurch massacre on his phone.
Murder of Lyra McKee	18.4.2019	The New IRA, a Northern Irish republican group, admitted shooting McKee whilst aiming at police officers during a protest.
2019 London Bridge Stabbing	29.11.2019	Usman Khan, a member of Al-Muhajiroun, injured 3 people and killed 2 whilst attending an offender rehabilitation programme in London. Usman has previously been imprisoned for terrorism related offences.

Appendix 2. Political discourse about radicalisation in the UK

Quotation	Author(s)	Date of quotation	Source	Comments
"I disagree with Jeremey Corbyn...when it comes to having shorter sentences for these people."	Boris Johnson, Conservative Party, Prime Minister	01.12.2019	https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-politics-50620842	Johnson blaming the Labour party for automatic releases of terror suspects that caused the 2019 London attacks.
"the only good ISIS terrorist is a dead one and we have to kill them everywhere..."	George Galloway, former Labour and Respect party member	02.12.2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3KqgHTNyHxw	In response to the 2019 London Bridge attacks.
"For a while now I've been sure that I will be murdered for opposing Islam… although now I sit here smiling with the belief that my murder would start a revolution,"	Tommy Robinson: Initiator of English Defence League (far right)	2018	https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-48942411/uk-48942411	In jail for contempt of court, he wrote a letter for his diminishing supporters urging that if he is to be 'martyred' for them to carry on his legacy
"We must have the ability to have honest debates about foreign policy and security."	Nicola Sturgeon, First Minister Scotland	28.05.2017	https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/nicola-sturgeon-defends-jeremy-corbyn-link-	In relation to Manchester bombings, she defends Jeremy Corbyn by linking terrorism in UK to foreign policy.

			terrorism-salman-abedi-manchester-foreign-policy-theresa-may-a7759996.html	
“But what all these people have inadvertently done is strengthen my resolve to campaign on the issue of everyday racism and Islamophobia and to deliver positive change.”	Anas Sarwar, Labour MSP	20.03.2021	https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/scottish-news/police-probe-neo-nazi-video-12054303	Response to national action members threatnening him for conveying that racism still occurs in britain.
“There is growing criticism from within communities and from counter-radicalisation experts who say that Prevent is alienating whole layers of the population. If the Government has any evidence of Prevent’s success it should publish it. So far, it has failed to do so. Labour in government will conduct a thorough review of the Prevent strategy.”	Diane Abbott, Labour Shadow Home Secretary	31.08.2017	https://labour.org.uk/press/if-the-government-has-any-evidence-of-prevents/	

Appendix 3. Networks of connection of the main agents of radicalisation in the UK

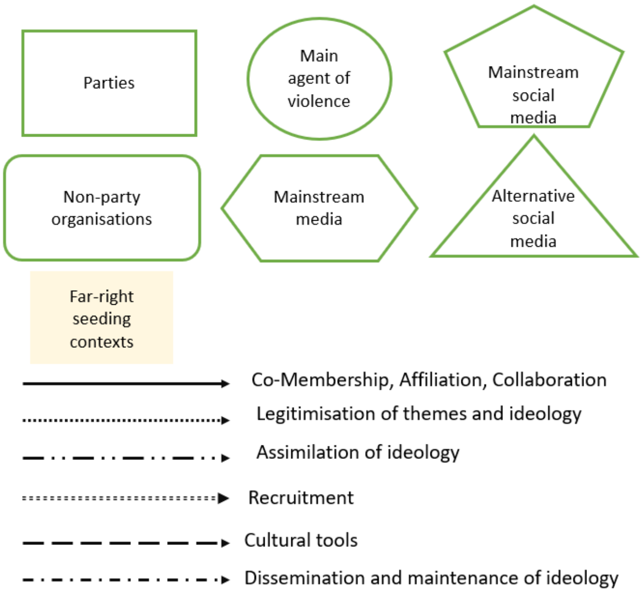

Parties
Main agent of violence
Mainstream social media
Non-party organisations
Mainstream media
Alternative social media
Far-right seeding contexts
Co-Membership, Affiliation, Collaboration
Legitimisation of themes and ideology
Assimilation of ideology
Recruitment
Cultural tools
Dissemination and maintenance of ideology

Figure 3.1. Transmission and legitimisation of Far-Right values, representations, and narratives

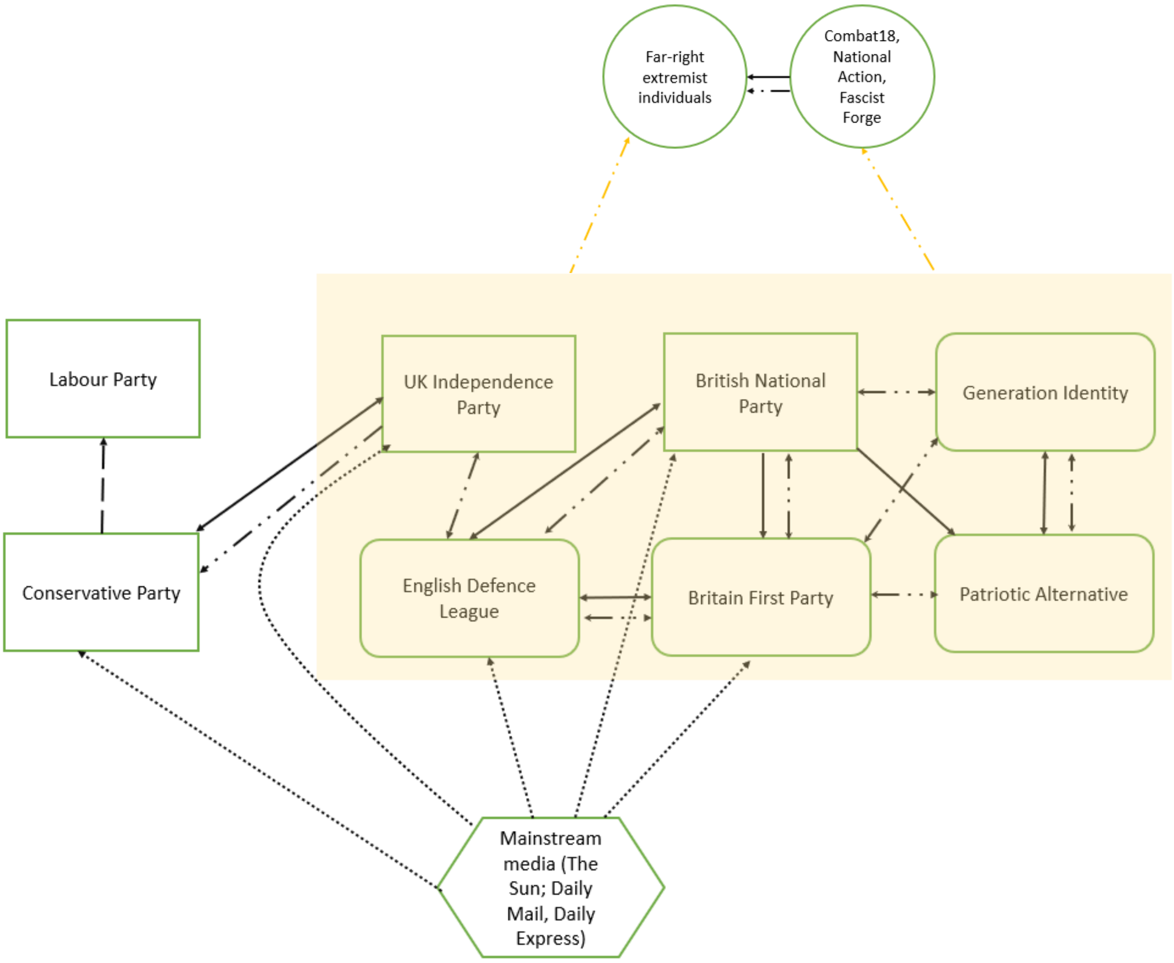
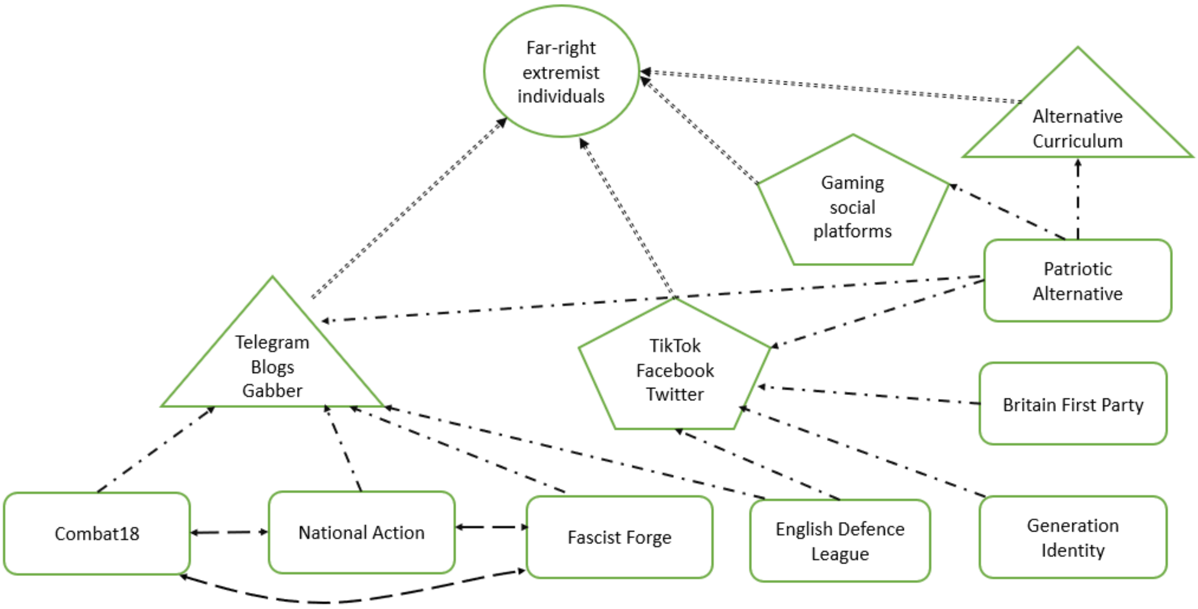

Far-right extremist individuals
Combat18, National Action, Fascist Forge
Labour Party
UK Independence Party
British National Party
Generation Identity
Conservative Party
English Defence League
Britain First Party
Patriotic Alternative
Mainstream media (The Sun; Daily Mail, Daily Express)

Figure 2. Digital Spaces and Recruitment Pathways


Far-right extremist individuals
Alternative Curriculum
Gaming social platforms
Patriotic Alternative
Telegram Blogs Gabber
TikTok Facebook Twitter
Britain First Party
Combat18
National Action
Fascist Forge
English Defence League
Generation Identity

Appendix 4. Main de-radicalisation programmes in the UK

Name	Dates	Agents	Approach	Scale	Targets
Prevent	2003 to present	The Home Office, Police Forces across the United Kingdom, local councils	Educational, Integrative,	National	All violent extremist groups and movements with a heavy emphasis on Islamic extremism
Healthy Identity Intervention	2011 to present	The Home Office, Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service	Theological Integrative, Educational, Therapeutic, Theological		Any prisoner involved with extremism or terrorism
Desistance and Disengagement Programme	2010 to present	The Home Office, Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service, The National Probation Service	Integrative, Educational, Theological		Any parolee involved with terrorism or extremism
Exit UK	October 2017 to present	NGO – Exit UK	Integrative, Educational, Therapeutic		Focused on right-wing extremism but also offers support to left-wing extremists
Hope Not Hate	2004 to present	NGO – Hope not Hate	Educational, Legal Support		

The Channel Programme	2017 to present	The Home Office	Support		Focused on right-wing extremists and those involved with facist movements Focused on safeguarding people who are being radicalised

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