FINDING THE FAR RIGHT ONLINE:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF WHITE SUPREMACIST WEBSITES

Mike Sutton and Cecile Wright[1]

Abstract

White supremacists and the Far Right political movement in the UK have, had considerable success in spreading their messages through Web sites. Some of these Web sites clearly contribute to an enabling environment for racially motivated violence in our towns and cities and possibly help to underpin also the rise of, and support for, the Far Right in the UK and elsewhere in Europe. From a position that acknowledges the enduring issue of white hegemony in Western societies, this paper provides a number of research-based recommendations for further research and future policy and practice in tackling white supremacist racial hatred on the Net.

---

[1]   Mike Sutton is Reader in Criminology at Nottingham Trent University and is Director of the Nottingham Centre for the Study and Reduction of Hate Crimes Bias and Prejudice.

Cecile Wright is Professor of Sociology at Nottingham Trent University.

This article is a sister paper that both stems from, develops and is substantially influenced by findings in Mann, Sutton and Tuffin (2002) – which examines the social dynamics of white racialists in Internet newsgroups.

Introduction

> *As I write, I try to remember when the word racism ceased to be the term which best expressed for me exploitation of black people and other people of color in this society and when I began to understand that the most useful term was white supremacy*
> (hooks, 1989)

bell hooks assertion of 'white supremacy', offers a useful framework for conceptualising and understanding white racialist groups use of websites and the impact/ implications for community safety (Wetherell et al, 2007). While research has revealed how on-line anti-racist activists achieved considerable success in disrupting race hate postings in some Internet newsgroups (Mann, Sutton and Tuffin, 2002), white racialists have, however, had considerably more success in spreading their messages through websites. Some of these websites clearly contribute to an enabling environment for racially motivated violence in our towns and cities. This paper examines how and why white racialist groups use such websites, and whether the racially biased ideologies conveyed in them are likely to impact upon community safety. In order to investigate the accessibility of racist materials to the 'curious surfer' and the speed at which they can be found using popular search engines such as Google, the paper includes the findings from an online empirical study. Finally, the paper provides a number of research-based recommendations for future policy and practice in tackling race hate on the Net.2

The Excluding Power of Whiteness

There are a variety of ways of conceptualising terms such as 'white', 'whiteness' and 'white supremacy' (see Dyer 1997; Hall 1991; Frankenberg, 1993; Levine-Rasky, 2002). Here, 'white' is taken to mean the racially dominant group of European descent (see Leonardo, 2004). 'Whiteness' is a process involving the acquisition of social dominance by whites (e.g. Dyer, 1997). It is not necessarily simply an issue of white bodies, 'Whiteness' is socially constructed to such an extent that it is taken for granted as the norm (Frankenberg, 1993). A possible consequence of this is that racialised others ('non-white') can be known only in relation to 'whiteness' (Bonnett, 1997). Whiteness, therefore, gains much of its power by being taken as the norm. And it is within this medium that notions of white supremacy continue.

Since 'whiteness' is taken for granted and taken as the norm, non-white identities become marginal and seen as 'inferior' (e.g. Levine-Rasky, 2002). So whiteness gains 'supremacy', culturally and biologically, such that racialised others (non-whites) are seen to lack the qualities ascribed to whites.

'White supremacy' is a term most commonly used with reference to individuals and organisations, such as the British National Party (BNP). However, this form is exceptional and on the fringes. 'Whiteness' does indeed become reactionary in this form of 'white supremacy' (e.g. Leonardo, 2002). However, the racism from which it

---

2 Although this article does not discuss the merits and demerits of extremist free speech on the Internet, or law enforcement in cyberspace, a useful discussion of those issues can be found in: Heins, (2001); Akdeniz, (2001) and Whine, (2000).

stems is not a fringe issue and is the mainstream. So, 'white supremacy' is a system and a set of processes whereby whites have power and social dominance. In effect, 'whiteness' becomes a 'white superiority' (Bonnett, 1997).

Contrary to this construction of 'white supremacy'/'whiteness' it has been argued that not all 'white people' have power because power is multifaceted and complex (e.g. Levine-Rasky, 2002). Power has many dimensions including gender, class, disability, sexuality etc. (e.g. Ignatiev, 1997). In 'post-racial!' USA, in the sense of there being a black (or African American) President, it can be argued that whiteness does not guarantee power for the white person. 'Affirmative Action' in the USA can also be seen as challenging the notion of 'white supremacy'.

However, 'whiteness' is still taken as the norm so in this sense it does confer power. The notion of the post-race ideal (as argued by Patricia Williams, 2009) is challenged by, for example, the recent arrest of a black Harvard professor by US police, and the 'vilification' of a Latino Judge candidate for the US Supreme Court[3]. As regards 'Affirmative Action' challenging the notion of white supremacy (Wright et al, forthcoming) note that the main beneficiaries have been white middle class women.

As a final word on terms pertinent to this article and how they represent some rather precise Far Right[4] meanings of 'self' and 'us', versus 'them' and 'others'. Although the term racialist and racist are often used interchangeably with fascist and neo-Nazi, many people who define themselves as racialist insist that they are not racists and are not Nazis. Academic understanding and acceptance of the use of the self-definition of 'racialist', by many who publish Far Right views on the Internet, is probably the most appropriate if we are to begin to understand motivations for publishing 'racial hatred' on the Net. In this article, the word racialist is used to mean someone who believes in the superiority of one 'race' over another, and who voices their views because they are feeling surrounded or outnumbered by representatives of other 'racial' or ethnic groups. The term racist is used, in this article, to define someone who simply believes that 'race' is what determines a person's characteristics, so that some 'races' are thought to be superior to others[5]. Since racists can clearly be racialists but, accepting the legitimacy of self definition, not necessarily vice versa, the term racialist is used in this article to describe Far Right websites and the people who contribute to them that publish both racist and racialist materials. Appreciation of such fine distinctions of self definition is necessary if we are to understand more about the way that racialist messages are conveyed in cyberspace, and how the dynamics of racialist communication and interaction is likely to evolve and change as a result of the communications revolution. To this end, Becker et al (2000, p34) point out: 'If we, as a society, are to better understand extremism, then we must seriously review and comprehend the views of extremists, which in turn will lead to a better understanding

---

[3] At the time of writing the challenge to the notion of a 'post-racial USA has been enhanced by two recent incidents the arrest of black Harvard professor Henry Louis Gates Jr. and the negative reaction to the nomination of Judge Sonia Sotomayor for the US Supreme Court. http://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/21/us/21gates.html

[4] In this article, the term Far Right includes anyone with extreme racist or racialist views.

[5] Adapted from Hutchinson Encyclopaedia 2000 see: http://www.tiscali.co.uk/reference/dictionaries/english/data/d0082677.html

where much of the hate speech on the internet comes from.' As well as understanding where extremist views come from, we also need to understand more about the ways that these views are disseminated in different communities and the impact that that they have on those communities. That said, for us as academics, the enduring legacy of white male hegemony in Western societies means ultimately that the racialist and racist websites that we have studied for this article are white supremacist.

Hate speech, hate crime and white racialism

There is no universally accepted definition of hate crime (Hamm, 1994). The term *hate crime* was first used in the USA by politicians and journalists to describe individual crimes that may be perpetrated against one individual, or a group of individuals, on the basis of who they are rather than what they have done (Levin and McDevitt, 2002). *Hate speech* is a form of hate crime, and *speech* can take the form of spoken or written words[6]. Becker et al (2000, p36) define hate speech as: '…speech that inflicts emotional damage and contains inflammatory comments meant to arouse other individuals to cause severe social dislocation and damage'. To provide a more detailed definition, Bjoro and Witte's (1993, p6) description of what constitutes racial violence is equally useful in describing the essence of both criminal and non-criminal hate speech employed by white racialists on the Internet:

> In general, perpetrators of racist violence [speech[7]] define their victims as 'them' who are distinguished from 'us' on the basis of skin colour, religion, cultural, ethnic or national origin. Often the presence of 'them' is experienced and portrayed as a threat to 'our' culture, life style, welfare, 'race', etc. 'They' should be excluded from various aspects of life, to varying degrees: from social services, jobs, housing, to living at all in the same country.

In offline 'meatspace' (Pease, 2001), the criminal law has been broken in Great Britain when violent racialised hate crime falls within the definition of racially aggravated offences under Section 28 of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (see Home Office, 2002). Aside from strict legal definitions, Tore Bjorgo and Rob Witte (Bjorgo and Witte, 1993) provide a simple three-fold typology of racist violence that can be used to determine the level of harm caused by such hate crimes on the streets: *terrorist attacks* (bombings, arson, shootings*); street violence* (premeditated or spontaneous) and *vandalism/threats/verbal abuse/gestures*. This last category is most likely to be characterised by repeat victimisation, and as such should be viewed as an ongoing process of victimisation having a serious cumulative impact upon victims (Bowling, 1990).

Very often, the main motivation for hate crimes is to inform individual victims and, by association, every member of their group that their presence will not be tolerated. Levin and McDevitt (2002) provide a useful *motivation typology* of four main types of

---

[6] In the UK, hate speech can be criminal if it falls within the definition of inciting racial hatred. However, the law is quite complex in this area and there are several defences available. For a comprehensive explanation of the law covering racially inflammatory material on the Internet see Home Office (2002).

[7] Author's insertion.

hate crime that take place on the streets: *Thrill*; *Defence*; *Retaliatory* and *Mission*. *Thrill* hate crimes are described as 'recreational' offences where attacks against victims, or their property, are motivated by a desire to achieve peer status and have fun at the expense of clearly definable 'others'. *Defence* crimes are committed as a means to warn 'others' that they should stay away from a certain neighbourhood or place, job or not date 'our women'. *Retaliatory* crimes are committed for revenge and can involve escalation to larger scale group conflict. Such crimes usually follow-on from incidents between those defined by racialists as 'us' and 'others' in an attempt to exact racialist-revenge and keep the 'others' in their place. *Mission* crimes are most usually committed by a number of offenders acting together as an organised hate group, making it their mission in life to attack certain targets.

In seeking to understand how it is that the Far Right have been able to operate at all since the end of the Second World War, in countries that fought against, were taken over by, or became the Axis Powers of Nazi Germany and Italy, many writers stress the decline of heavy manufacturing in the West, with subsequent disenfranchisement of men within traditional working class white communities. This explanation has a crucial part in Beck and Tolnay's (1994) three-fold formula for the eruption of racist violence in a community:

1. The extent of the presence of racist ideology
2. Permissiveness of the state response to racist violence
3. Competition for scarce resources

Also recognising the importance of these same three factors, Perry (2001) provides an extremely useful and precise explanation of the reasons for many hate crimes in the West:

> Hate crime then, involves acts of violence and intimidation, usually directed toward already stigmatized and marginalized groups. As such, it is a mechanism of power and oppression, intended to reaffirm the precarious hierarchies that characterize a given social order. It attempts to re-create simultaneously the threatened (real or imagined) hegemony of the perpetrator's group and the 'appropriate' subordinate identity of the victims group. It is a means of marking both the Self and the Other in such a way as to re-establish their 'proper' relative positions, as given and reproduced by broader ideologies and patterns of social and political inequality.

The full reasons for white racialist hate crimes are almost certainly too complex to distil into three or four key variables and will depend very much upon other factors within individual countries, including perceptions of immigration levels, the media, the political situation and cultural influences (Bjorgo and Witte, 1993). In order to understand the motives and meanings for white racialists, and how their organisations and activities have evolved in recent years, it is necessary to know more about the cultural, demographic, economic and political context in each society of interest. The reasons for race hate in Britain will undoubtedly share many of the core characteristics of other countries, yet it has its own unique historical influences.

With a particular focus on racism, justice and the policing of black communities in Britain, Ben Bowling and Coretta Phillips (Bowling and Phillips, 2002) poignantly describe the emergence, development, philosophy and effects of notions of white racial superiority in the Western World, from the Sixteenth century to the present day. Bowling and Phillips's (2002) powerful summary of the philosophy of the Far Right BNP serves us well in seeking to understand what they are about, particularly their fears that 'white Britain' has been 'swamped' by dark skinned people with 'other' cultures and that they see the so called 'white race' as facing genocide through 'race mixing.' It is worth repeating here in full as such thinking dominates a sizeable number of extremist groups and is shared by a wider proportion of society:[8]

> The British National Party point to a devotion to their 'own' race, with a right to self-preservation. They warn of high ethnic minority birth rates and bemoan the 'inevitable intermingling and intermarriage' that will result in the British nation becoming 'something wholly different, racially and culturally, to what it has been over the past centuries of magnificent British achievement'. As a solution to this 'problem', they suggest a programme of repatriation which would be, at first, voluntary and later compulsory for all non-whites, including those people whose parents or grandparents were born in Britain.

The BNP have quite a prominent Internet presence and this has undoubtedly played an essential role in the evolution in communication of ideas by race hate movements in Britain and the United States in recent years. In 2009 the BNP won two seats at the European Parliament[9]. Prior to the 2009 European Elections the BNP removed many racist tracts from its official website, including abhorrent racists texts by its leader and Chairman Nick Griffin regarding his party's racist plans for all 'non-white' looking UK citizens including mixed heritage children should the BNP ever win a national election and govern the United Kingdom (see Sutton and Perry, 2009).

This BNP 'wolf in sheep's clothing movement' towards what has been referred to by others as 'button down terror' and 'rhinestone racism' (see Perry, 2001) is typical because, in many cases, white racialist hate groups are becoming more political and seeking to win elections. Consequently, they seek to distance themselves from images associated with, so called, red necks or shaven headed racist thugs in boots and braces.

In a ground breaking paper in this area, Les Back (Back, 2002) asks three main questions about Far Right groups on the Internet: what is drawing people into the white racialist world of the Net? What significance does this have for different versions of racism in the 21st century? And is the digital world changing the face of racism? In seeking out answers, Back provides a systematic overview of the type of things that the Net is allowing racialists to do. On the basis of Back's research, it appears that there are at least five main things that the Net enables on-line racialists to do:

---

[8]   Indeed, the former Home Secretary David Blunkett notoriously used the term 'swamping' when referring to the proportions of asylum seekers in British Schools in 2002 (see Sutton 2002).

[9]   http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2009/jun/07/european-elections-manchester-liverpool

1. Celebrate real instances of racial violence with photographs and dehumanizing comments.

2. Enhance racial narcissism, promoting indifference towards victims – using images and cartoon caricatures.

3. Merchandise white power music and Nazi paraphernalia – building an economic powerbase.

4. Archive and download collections of racialist materials in one place – such as racist speeches and debates.

5. Experience and allow others to experience racialist culture, yet remain geographically distant from its physical and social realities. To provide just one example, this includes indulging in simulated racism through on-line games with names such as Jew Rats, and Ethnic Cleansing10 which may be particularly alluring to the young who could confuse such racist messages with anarchic humour.

Clearly this classificatory typology allows us to make sense of the variety of ways that white racialists use the Internet for the purposes of spreading prejudice and practicing racial discrimination. However, as new research is undertaken this typology will need to be updated so that knowledge in this area is improved. For example, a sixth category might be added:

6. Successfully exploiting the technology of the Internet to ensure that 'racialist' messages reach as many people as possible and as quickly as possible.

With reference to this tentatively proposed sixth category, one objective of the on-line research that underpins this paper is to make a preliminary assessment of the speed of accessibility of racialist materials to Internet users, who may be no more than 'curious' surfers entering racist terms of abuse into a search engine. The Website research section in this article explains both the method used and the findings to provide an assessment of just how successful racialist websites appear to be in reaching the 'curious' surfer. That section also examines at the reasons for success as well as some possible reasons why they are sometimes less successful. However, before examining the research results, it is helpful to understand more about the dynamics of online racialism in order to determine who does what to whom, where, when, why, in what ways and with what effects?

The dynamics of exploitation of communication technology by the Far Right

In the off-line world, referred to by Pease (2001) as 'meatspace', certain types of crime can become heavily concentrated in particular areas, causing enormous burdens for victims and the criminal justice system (Pease, 1998). Research has shown how changes in technology, or the economy, can create markets for stolen goods or increase levels of violent crime, with subsequent crime waves (Field, 1990; Sutton, 1995, 1998; Pease, 1998). It is important, therefore, to understand how and why crime and

---

10 Available at http://www.resistance.com/ethniccleansing/catalog.htm

offending behaviour adapts and changes. This will help inform policymakers and practitioners to identify the next crime wave before it strikes and to deploy scarce criminal justice, and other detection and crime reduction resources (Foresight 2000a, 2000b) in both cyberspace and meatspace.

Several commentators have noted that some white racialist groups, such as Stormfront, have an e-presence on websites to rival the appearance and sophistication of those belonging to multinational corporations. On these sites they merchandise racist music, Nazi paraphernalia, books and magazines, advertise conferences and host advertisements. This is a quantum leap from the activities of shaven headed thugs in boots handing out crude leaflets on street corners, an observation not missed by Back, Keith and Solomos (1998) who conclude that:

> The massive expansion of racist and neo-fascist sites on the Internet and in other arenas of electronic communication points to a new pattern of social and political communication that is likely to shape racist and neo-fascist politics for some time to come.

So again, technology has continued with that tricky habit of exceeding our expectations, and yet, as David Garland (2001) points out, in relation to rising crime and particularly rising control of citizens slowly in society: 'We quickly get used to the way things are'. Arguably, the same can be said for crime and the Internet and it is now an everyday fact of life that, for example, bomb making and paedophile websites proliferate in cyberspace and sometimes impact seriously on people as victims. While it is no longer news that white racialist groups are strategically using Internet websites to spread hate messages and to seek new recruits, we have yet to understand the real impact that these everyday on-line activities have at street level, or the extent to which racialist groups still rely upon leaflets to disseminate their beliefs, seek support, or recruit. We do know, however, that the Internet is used by criminals and hate groups, because online research reveals that not only has communications technology exceeded our expectations, but the way that it has been employed to facilitate different types of offending is also quite astounding (Mann and Sutton, 1998; NCIS, 1999; Wall, 2001; Allen et al, 2005).

The Internet, as an easy and virtually instant, cheap networking and publishing medium, provides a new dimension for the promoters of hate crime. Although Far Right websites generally aim to further the interests of white racialists at the expense of minority groups, on rare occasions some of their websites are used in an attempt to inflame violence in particular places. For example, following riots in England in 2001 involving activists from Far Right groups, the mass media reported stories of how Combat 18 activists circulated the names and addresses of prominent local anti-racist figures on their website, together with directions for making and storing petrol bombs (Harris, 2001). More usually, however, such websites provide links to other sites, or access to books and manuals on techniques of terrorism including bomb making. For example, the Brick lane Bomber David Copeland was a member of the British National Party (BNP) who learned from the Internet how to make and use pipe bombs and went on to target gays and lesbians in the Soho district of London.

The Net has websites for the BNP, White Aryan Resistance, Combat 18, National Alliance, Stormfront, Identity Church Movement, Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and the (US

based) militia movement, to name just a few. Clearly, this powerful international communications medium is facilitating neo-Nazi networks as well as the sharing of ideas and ideologies (Back et al, 1998). While the Net appears to be used more for this purpose by the Far Right, than as a means of command and control of violence (Whine, 2000), there are some reported cases revealing that it has also been used to publish the names addresses, telephone numbers and email addresses of intended targets.

Either directly or indirectly, the Far Right is deliberately seeking to dominate 'other' groups. Although the on-line focus is very often upon Far Right beliefs about the 'undesirability' of lesbian and gay people and the 'right place' for women in society, attempts to achieve dominance frequently take the form of rhetorical statements about 'white rights', including statements about white racial purity and superiority. Those seeking racialist domination may draw upon such discourse. For example, it is possible that white racialist activists on the Internet may, at least in part, directly increase the number of racial incidents at the street level by stirring up racial hatred, glorifying violence and enabling the hysterical depersonalisation of a whole class of people as an imagined sub-human species that must be fought at all costs. However it is important to emphasise at this point that it is beyond the scope of this exploratory study to determine the extent that this is already happening, if at all. Rather it is the aim of this article to explore the genuine potential for serious harm and how easy it is to find potentially harmful materials online by entering white racialist terms of abuse into popular Internet search tools. It is argued here that white racialist websites do contain materials with the potential to stir up racial hatred, and that this should be clear to anyone with foresight who has spent a few hours looking at the material that is available both on white racialist websites and others that they make links to (Mann et al, 2002).

In terms of identifying trends and their potential for creating crime waves, the UK Department of Trade and Industry's (DTI) Foresight Reports (DTI March, 2000; DTI December, 2000), said of the increased use of the Internet and other high-tech goods and services:

> The only certainty about the future is that those who do not think about it will be unprepared for whatever comes. We are not predicting the future. No-one can say what will or will not happen but we believe we have identified the trends and developments most likely to have an impact in the future.

And one of the trends that the experts on the Foresight Panel (DTI December, 2000) most feared was the 'Empowered Small Agent': The fear is that, for example, there may be more Right Wing nail bombers like David Copeland learning how to make nail bombs from the Internet and to neutralize any feelings of guilt[11] that may be associated with their plans and actions:

> …new technology will allow ever smaller, more anonymous groups or individuals to commit crimes previously beyond their means. We are entering an age of asymmetric attacks, where individuals can take

---

[11] Sykes and Matza, 1957.

> advantage of relative anonymity to strike quickly. …New technology allows people to group together more easily, overcoming geographical limitations.

At the moment we can be sure of one thing which the Foresight Panel did not report. That is the year on year increase in the number of hate sites on the Internet (NCIS, 1999; Wiesenthal Centre, 2002; Southern Poverty Law Centre, 2002). In the U.S.A., the Southern Poverty Law Centre's Intelligence Report (2002) found that the number of hate sites on the World Wide Web rose in the year 2002 to 405 from 366 in the year 2000 – a 10% increase – giving grave cause for concern. While it should be noted that different organisations have different ways of counting hate groups - so their findings tend to vary – more recently the UK based company SurfControl (2004) found that the number of hate and violence websites grew 300 percent between 2000 and 2004. Some might argue that this is a good thing because it brings racism out into an open forum. This argument is based on the theory that unless the Far Right is allowed to voice the grievances of certain sectors of society then repression of expression will erupt into violence on the streets. While this is an important issue in need of further research (Bjorgo and Witte, 1993), it is worth noting here that the *open forum argument* appears somewhat disingenuous in light of the content of Far Right websites. Most of these sites do not contain any materials that attempt to objectively discuss 'racial' differences, racism or racialism[12]. These sites are clearly biased to the Far Right way of thinking in their promotion of quasi-scientific explanations of racial differences and erroneous accounts of historical events such as holocaust denial, grossly offensive and obscene remarks about skin colour, and often overtly encouraging or condoning severe prejudicial treatment towards the people they see as 'others' and often describe as less than human.

Some might argue that mainstream politicians who adopt the white racialist terminology of the Far Right are in fact providing a legitimate safety valve for society by giving their fears an authoritative airing. The argument is that these mainstream politicians are undermining support for extremist groups by incorporating the *racialist niche* into their own party political speeches, if not their policies. There is some evidence that this may be occurring because British white racialists, unlike their USA counterparts, restrict their Internet newsgroup participation to mainstream political newsgroups (Mann, Sutton and Tuffin, 2002). However, the *safety valve view* is contrary to that of other writers who suggest that there is a link between current political and media discourses and everyday racism and racist violence. Perry (2001), for example, explains how some politicians in the USA described gay men and lesbians as 'less then human', thus creating an enabling environment in which hate motivated violence can flourish. Similar arguments have been made in the UK about Enoch Powell's infamous 'Rivers of Blood' speech and, to a much lesser extent, former UK Home Secretary David Blunkett's stance on asylum seekers (Sutton, 2002).

Getting the true picture with nationally representative data

The UK Home Office's nationally representative Offending Crime and Justice Survey (OCJS) 2003 (Allen et al, 2005) included a question (among many others) written and

---

[12]   The case is different, however, for Internet Newsgroups (see Mann, Sutton and Tuffin, 2002).

analysed by the author Dr Mike Sutton that asked all those aged over 16 years if, in the past 12 months, they have visited a website that might be thought of as racist, either because they supported racist views, or because they were thinking of becoming a member of a racist group with an online presence. Clearly, this particular group of people will be much narrower than those who merely feel 'curious' about racist/Far Right groups. It is worth considering at this point, therefore, that the merely curious may not have said yes to the OCJS question perhaps because they would have difficulty identifying their own interest, or else they may have become 'interested' or 'sympathetic' only once they found a particular site. The OCJS is, however, the first nationally representative survey of self-report visiting to these sites by those with clearly racist motives. A total of just less than one percent (0.7%) of people who used the Internet in the past 12 months reported having done so. The research in England and Wales found that males are more likely than females to say they had deliberately visited a racist website because they felt sympathy with racist views (1.1% versus 0.3%). This activity decreases with age as those aged 16 to 25 are the only age group where more than one percent of males and females combined (1.4%) admitted doing this.

These results from the OCJS, if honestly responded to, are interesting in the context that, elsewhere, racist websites have been recorded as being among the most frequently visited sites on the Internet[13], and also that they serve as recruiting agents for racists groups[14]. The OCJS figures initially show that, at least in England and Wales, the problem may not be as dramatic as some more speculative research papers have suggested it could be (Sutton, 2002), a finding that is further supported by research conducted by two USA organisations: Hatewatch and the Simon Wiesenthal Centre.[15] That said, however, further analysis reveals that the numbers of people visiting racist websites because they feel racist sympathies may be larger than imagined. In order to work out a reliable estimate of how many people in this age category had visited racist websites because they had racist motives, the author Dr Mike Sutton re-analysed the data for those aged 15 to 24 years in order to directly compare findings with the age group used in the 2001 Census for England and Wales[16]. In this age group 1.4 percent of those in the OCJS survey, who had used the Internet in the past 12 months had deliberately visited racist websites, which at a conservative estimate means that probably some 40,000 young people in England and Wales visited racist websites in the past 12 months because they held racist sympathies. These findings, however, cannot tell us what their motivation was in doing so, or what the effects were. Given the current concerns of many governments regarding racism, inclusion, civic society and national identity, these findings clearly provide important information for policy makers. This is especially so when they are combined with other objective data about website visiting and ethnographic work. As a bench-mark against which to measure future trends in technology crime and the exploitation of the internet technology by racist groups and organisations these are important data.

---

[13] http://www.wired.com/news/politics/0,1283,36499,00.html?tw=wn_story_related

[14] http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/technology/3641895.stm

[15] http://www.wired.com/news/culture/0,1284,36478,00.html?tw=wn_story_related

[16] http://www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001/pyramids/pages/727.asp

Website Research

The presence of racialist ideology on the Internet

Just ten minutes spent on-line searching on Google with key words such as 'white power' or 'Aryan supremacy' reveals that the Internet has increased the amount of published racialist (Sutton, 2002) ideology that is now freely available, compared with what was previously accessible only in hard copy print. To repeat a point already made and frequently made by other writers, Far Right groups and other white racialists now have an Internet presence that rivals the layout and sophistication of websites belonging to many multinational corporations. This is, arguably, the most successful and prolific use of the multi mass media by white racialists since Nazi Germany exploited the technologies of print, wireless and celluloid film in the interests of promoting notions of Aryan supremacy at the expense of other races and cultures.

It is the anarchic design of the Internet (Mann and Sutton, 1998) that provides white racialists with an infinite publishing medium that is 'perfect' for disseminating non-criminal race hate material. Such activity involves the strategic use of the Net to broadcast and publish with an aim to inflame communities with hate and racially motivated violence. In the British context, such hatred has led to violent conflict in towns and cities in 2001 and 2002 at Bradford, Stoke-on-Trent, Oldham and Burnley, where, at the time of writing, members of minority ethnic groups remain particularly at risk from racially motivated offenders making threats, being violent, stealing and vandalising. In these towns and cities where many members of the less well off white communities do not actually *hate* their non-white neighbours, but do complain about their own lack of success in competing for scarce housing or employment[17], Far Right groups sometimes inflame the situation by racialising these issues. This contributes to an *enabling environment* for racially motivated violence and influences the racially motivated violent behaviour of young people who already hold anti-immigration views. This neighbourhood concentration of much hate crime is clearly revealed in a Metropolitan Police research report (Metropolitan Police, 2002) which found that 1 in 4 incidents of racial violence involved locals, 1 in 5 involved neighbours, 1 in 10 involved customers and 1 in 25 involved colleagues. More research is needed in order to seek to determine whether white racialist materials on the Internet play a part in enabling and facilitating the concentration of such racially motivated offending. So, as a first step in that direction, the following small scale exploratory study was conducted to see just how easy it is to find white racialist material on the Internet by searching on white racialist terms of abuse.

Finding white racialist websites on the Net

The online research reported in this article was conducted by the author Dr Mike Sutton. On 18 June 2003, in an attempt to find out just how easy it is for curious users of the Internet to find white racialist material on line, Dr Sutton spent two hours on line. The time period of two hours is arguably somewhat arbitrary in that it is not based upon any prior-knowledge about 'curious' surfing habits and merely represents what appears to Sutton to represent a reasonably significant, but not too highly motivated,

---

[17] This is what Husbands (1993) describes as the Competition-based Theory.

effort to find material on a particular subject. Relying upon his own cultural background to inform this element of the research, Sutton used abusive words that are commonly employed by white racialists to describe members of minority ethnic groups. It is important to mention at this point some details of the author's background that informed the choice of words used. The author, Dr Mike Sutton, is from a white working class family. He was born in 1959, raised on a public sector housing estate, and educated in almost entirely all-white junior and secondary modern state schools in the South East, and later in the North West of England. He has worked in a series of labouring and semi-skilled occupations in the building trade, factories, warehouses and the National Health Service. Mike Sutton was a mature student before entering Preston Polytechnic to gain a BA in Law and other post-graduate qualifications. Relying upon personal experience, of white racialist abusive terms learned while growing up and working as a white male in England, these following abusive words: 'coon', 'wog', 'niggers', 'pakis' were entered onto the Google search engine singly, and in various random groupings, to see what obviously white racialist materials could be found on-line. Simply to fit into the author's working day at his university, as a busy senior academic with administrative and teaching responsibilities, **Stage 1** of this website research was conducted in two half-hourly intervals, with half an hour break between. **Stage 2** took exactly one hour to complete with no rest break, and involved entering other phrases in an attempt to see how easy it is to find white racialist websites with a popular search engine. Half an hour after **Stage 1** was completed, **Stage 2** of this research began with Sutton entering terms learned mainly from reading the literature on hate crimes and white racialism. The following terms were entered separately, into Google: 'white power'; skinheads; 'White Nationalist Party'; 'KKK'; 'Blood and Honour'; 'white race'; 'Aryan'[18].

Stage 1 results

In June 2003, the word 'coon', entered into Google on its own, revealed such a plethora of websites dedicated to Maine Coon cats - a breed of domestic cat, originating from the USA - that, after 10 minutes of ploughing through the 'hits' from Google, no white racialist sites were found. Surprisingly, something similar happened when searching on the term 'wogs', as Google fetched up a few websites concerned with Women Of God. However, there were even more sites focusing upon the strangely anarchic and popular Australian re-invention of the term wog to describe non Anglo-Saxon Australians.

Within the first twenty minutes of searching, only one white racialist web page was found: http://www.vanguardnewsnetwork.com/archives41.htm, belonging to the Vanguard News Network, a USA based white racialist website. Twenty-five minutes into the search, after spending several minutes reading the contents of this web page, the word 'niggers' was entered. This revealed an archived website, http://www.google.co.uk/search?q=cache:x2Q3Gw2IvoC:www.hatecrime.org/wwwboard/messages/3065.tml+niggers&hl=en&ie=UTF8, containing racialist messages on a web discussion

---

[18]   These are everyday white racialist terms remembered from the author's childhood and early adulthood.

board.[19] The site was actually hosted by Hatecrime.org, an organisation seeking to tackle hate crime.

In the second half-hour of the search, the term 'niggers' revealed another white racialist web discussion board: http://anyboard.net/forum/rap_forum/posts/21114..shtml. After checking the content of some of the material from this site for several minutes, the term 'pakis' was then entered into Google and the address: http://members.odinsrage.com/tiegel/wwwboard/index.html allowed access to further white racialist material. In the last 10 minutes of Stage 1, a combination of the 3 racist terms revealed another archived web discussion board containing many white racialist messages: http://hero.com/HyperNews/get/sucks/1/9/3/3/1/1/1/2.html.

At the completion of the first stage of this simple exploratory research it was clear that entering single and multiple racist terms of abuse into a popular search engine was initially more likely to reveal white racialist web discussion boards than websites belonging to white racialist organisations. It is also worth noting that anti-hate organisations providing links to racialist material for educational purposes can, inadvertently, play a role in making that material more easily obtainable to the casual browser in a setting that remains free of any anti-hate messages, warnings, or broader social or educational context. Surprisingly, the research also revealed the popularity of the Main Coon cat, and also the adoption of the terms wogs by 'non-Anglo Saxon Australians', meant that at least at the time the research was conducted, it was extremely difficult to find racialist websites using either of these terms within a period of 10 minutes.

Stage 2 results

Entering the search term 'white power' produced a list of sites including: http://dir.yahoo.com/Society_and_Culture/Cultures_and_Groups/White_Pride_and_Racialism/. This site is provided byYahoo.com as a portal to websites dealing with cultural issues. Although Yahoo do provide a very balanced list of websites dealing with race hate issues[20], the Google search on 'white power' revealed a sub-list of 26 predominantly white racialist sites. Of the 26 listed by Google, 22 were white racialist websites, one was a militia movement site and two were white racialist newsgroups. Only one of the sites listed was a non-racialist site, and that is run by the USA based Anti-Defamation League. Entering the term 'white power' also produced references to commercial sites that sell skinhead-type music and a range of other products from T-shirts to books: http://www.diehardrecords.net/ and also: http://dmoz.org/Shopping/Entertainment/Recordings/Music/Specialty/White_Power/. This same search term also provides links to websites merchandising racialist games and a web page of a news story about how the Anti Defamation League released a news story about racist video

---

[19] Web discussion boards, or 'Web boards' are very much like moderated newsgroups – only they are accessed on the World Wide Web through a web address (URL) rather than through a newsgroup server provided by an Internet Service Provider (ISP).

[20] See for example:
http://dir.yahoo.com/Society_and_Culture/Cultures_and_Groups/White_Pride_and_Racialism/Opposing_views/

games (http://www.wired.com/news/games/0,2101,50523,00.html). However, within this page are direct links to the site that is actually selling the game for $14.88: http://www.resistance.com/ethniccleansing/catalog.htm. The game is called 'ethnic cleansing' and the advertising 'blurb' reads:

> The most politically incorrect video game ever made. Run through the ghetto blasting away various blacks and spics in an attempt to gain entrance to the subway system, where the jews have hidden to avoid the carnage. Then, if YOU'RE [sic] lucky…you can blow away the jews as they scream 'OY VEY!', on you're way to their command centre.

The term 'white power' also reveals a balanced news story exposing hate groups for profiteering on white racialist video games. However, the story itself then, ironically, also provides a direct hot-link to Resistance.com, the white racialist site selling the game. It seems reasonable to suggest that this link to Resistence.com might well boost sales of the game (and other racialist computer games) to curious surfers. This is an important finding, because anti-racist organisations need to be aware that the links that they provide in the moderated material that they publish online can enable curious surfers to find un-moderated race hate material more easily.

After 20 minutes into **Stage 2**, entering the term 'skinheads' produced, among others, the white racialist skinhead site : http://www.rahowa.com/ and a link to a page hosted by the anti-racist Wiesenthal Centre: http://www.wiesenthal.com/problematic_sites/lm_links_whitepower.html. The Wiesenthal page actually provides a convenient listing of all the web addresses of main hate sites on the Internet, making it far easier to find these sites than it might otherwise be.

Throughout the next 30 minutes of the research, searches on Google produced some quite straightforward hits on white racialist sites. Searching on one term learned from this surfing exercise: 'White Nationalist Party' found: http://www.wnp.vanguardist.com/. Searching on KKK produced a quick hit on their site at http://www.kukluxklan.org/. Searching on 'Blood and Honour' revealed: http://www.bloodandhonour.com/index2.htm; http://www.skrewdriver.net/index2.html ; http://ultra-loko.hit.bg/sbirki6_en.html and a convenient directory of hate group Website addresses compiled by Google http://directory.google.com/Top/Society/Issues/Race-Ethnic-Religious_Relations/Race_and_Racism/Supremacy_and_Separatism/White/Organizations/Skinheads/. This search also revealed a page from the Stormfront website: http://www.stormfront.org/hist_wht.htm with its clarion call for action:

> If things proceed unchecked, it is not far fetched to say that the 21st century will see the final disappearance of the White Race from this globe. 40,000 years of this great epoch could be wiped out.
>
> Who will change it? Who will rescue the West? I do not know. All I can do is help to sound the clarion call, and hope that the call will not go unanswered.

Finally, the last 10 minutes of the final stage of the exploratory research, using the terms 'white race' and 'Aryan', identified the following white racialist web addresses:

http://www.kingidentity.com/index.html; http://www.aryan-nations.org/; http://pw1.netcom.com/~jna/jabpage.html; http://www.gospelcom.net/apologeticsindex/a83.html.

Limitations of the exploratory research and summary of findings

The main aim of this website research was to see just how easy it is to find white racialist websites. The initial conclusions are that it is quite easy to do so and that in many cases the search is actually aided by organisations seeking to tackle racism on the Net. More recent on-line research, conducted in 2006; 2008 and 2009 (Sutton and Perry, 2009; Perry and Sutton, 2006; Perry and Sutton, 2008), reveals that very little has changed since the primary study was conducted for this paper in 2003. Consequently, this very small-scale exploratory research project raises on-going serious concerns regarding ease of access to un-moderated Far Right tracts and the prevalence of white racialised websites and web boards[21]. There may be some important policy implications here, bearing in mind that the Net is, arguably, a huge extension of the traditional mass media, which to date has been generally mindful of the impact of overtly racist journalism on race relations. Although much journalism has been racist in the past (Hall et al, 1978), it has not been nearly as vitriolic and overtly abusive as the material currently published on Far Right-websites. On this note, it is important to consider that Bjorgo's (1993) research, based upon interviews with perpetrators of racist violence, reached the following conclusion:

> It often seems that journalists believe, with the best of intentions, that the extreme opinions of confirmed racists will reveal their nasty faces and have a deterrent effect upon readers. Although this may be the effect on most readers, there is also a small section who may find such extreme and taboo-breaking views exciting and attractive. This is the small group the extremist groups are seeking to reach.

It should be emphasised, however, that we do not know enough about how young people use the Internet. For example, we have no way of knowing whether the method employed in this exploratory study resembles in any way the on-line activities of young people who access websites run by white racialist groups. The findings from this study do, however, raise some serious questions about the possible implications of the dissemination policies of anti-hate organisations. We should also ask if it is socially responsible for search engines (such as Google), and portals (such as Yahoo), to provide such easy access via un-moderated links to white racialist websites and web boards. This is an area where more research is needed in order to make policy recommendations for the information industry and non-for profit organisations, particularly regarding the possible impact of the 'advertising effect' (Bjorgo, 1993) of a white racialist web presence upon racially motivated crime on our streets.

---

[21] The presence of these sites is enabled by Internet service providers agreeing to host them. The ease with which they can be found is due to the programming of powerful commercial search engines. Before September 11 it was easy to find bomb making sites by searching on such terms as 'how do I make a pipe-bomb?' After September 11, ISPs no longer hosted many bomb-making Web sites, and the commercial search engine owners wrote programs to block them. Despite previous protestations from the Internet business community regarding the impossibility/difficulty of voluntary regulation, there are important policy implications here for regulating access to Far-Right sites - but also for regulating access to others such as paedophile sites.

Discussion, Conclusions and the Way Forward

The underlying importance of the enduring notion of whiteness being the norm in Western society and how, exactly, white male hegemony shapes the facilitation of white supremacist activities on the Internet is an area ripe for further research and one that should underpin future research in this area. From such a position, it is appropriate to ask at this point some important questions that will need to be addressed in future research projects, but cannot be answered by this exploratory study[22]:

1. As a result of the revolution in communications technology, are white racialists creating new crime waves and becoming involved in new crimes or ways of offending?

2. Has the Internet led to more effective or extensive networking among white racialists?

3. Has the Internet increased membership of white racialist organisations and groups?

4. In terms of day to day racially motivated violence that takes place in our towns and cities, what are the direct links between white racialist websites and street level violence?

5. Which social groups have less access to the Internet than others? For example, white working class males are (one of several groups of) racialist perpetrators who are also frequently disempowered, marginalised, disenfranchised and socially excluded. Does this mean, therefore, that members of other social groups are more likely than white working class males, to become perpetrators in the information age? In fact, the answer to this last question is probably 'no'. Findings from the 2003 OCJS (Allen at el, 2005) reveal that more than any other social or economic group those living in the least well-off housing areas are most likely to visit racist websites, because they sympathise with their views.

What we can tell from this study, and from other published research, is that Neo-Nazis and other white supremacists are using the technology of the Internet to voice their opinions, build an economic power base and further their ambitions in ways that have never before been possible. Internet website addresses, provided by anti-racist groups, are currently picked up by immensely popular search engines, such as Google, when searching on racist terms of abuse. This means that curious web surfers are currently aided in finding the websites of white racialist movements – free of any, objective, anti-racist educational or social commentary regarding their content.

The implications of this may be serious if certain websites provide an enabling environment for racially motivated violence. This is not to say that an enabling environment does not exist in meatspace, of course it does – and for the everyday instances of racially motivated violence the role of the Internet, to date at least, is probably relatively minimal. Research by Ray et al (1999) found high levels of resentment and grievance amongst white perpetrators of racially motivated violence that arose from their own personal upbringing and their place in a subculture of

---

[22] The authors are grateful to Dr Coretta Phillips for raising the importance of these issues.

violence. The implications of this are serious. For example, Levin and McDevitt (1993) found that hate motivated violence in the USA was three times more likely than other violent crimes to result in the victim requiring hospital treatment. This increase in the level of violence used in hate crimes is in part explained by the depersonalisation that many hate crime offenders employ in justifying their offences and treating their victims as less than human. To what extent white racialist websites currently support guilt neutralization and the enabling of racially motivated violence is not known, but depersonalisation is plainly evident on the Internet where shockingly dehumanising levels of hostility are given voice in the terms used to describe and deride people from minority ethnic groups. For example, many participants on web boards are clearly on a 'mission of hate', frequently describing black people as mud or 'shit coloured'.

Just days after the murder of James Byrd in the USA (dragged to death behind a pick-up truck) on-line Identity Group adherents in the newsgroup alt.politics.white were gloating over, justifying and celebrating the murder of yet another black man by their fellow white racialists (see Mann, Sutton and Tuffin, 2002).

Since research reveals that organised hate groups use the Internet to spread disinformation regarding racial superiority, and to inspire violence against people and property, it is important for us to know more about the dynamics of on-line hate groups. It is particularly important to understand more about the relationship between the Internet presence of white racialists and their own violent tactics. It is just as important to find out whether the violence of others is also influenced by such racist missionary zeal, because Sibbitt (1997) found that teenage perpetrators of racial violence are particularly receptive to the racist views of older youths and organised racist events. Conversely, it is important to consider the possible future problems that may arise if the Far Right presence on the Internet is taken as just one more example of how white racialist 'behaviour' is not properly understood or even regulated. Ray et al (1999), for example, found that South Asian violence against white people on the streets of Oldham could be explained by local perceptions that this was the best remedy to white bullying because the police response is usually unsatisfactory towards reports of racist violence against South Asian children. In light of the conclusions of Ray et al (1999), we might possibly expect to see on-line racialism escalate and a growing number of racialist websites being published by non-white organisations (Pollock, 2006). More research in this area will help to determine important policy questions regarding the threat that the powerful and growing Internet presence of racialist groups might pose to community safety, democracy and on-line minority social interests in the Information Age (Wiesenthal Centre, 2002).

The actions of racists and criminals (organised or not) in the real world (Sibbitt, 1997) are arguably much more serious than their activities in cyberspace, yet such actions may be driven or underpinned by ideology or tactics developed online. The real risk posed for serious and devastating crimes, such as those committed by David Copeland the Brick Lane Bomber, directly challenge those who purport that the use of the Net for facilitating crimes is nothing more than a moral panic (Cohen, 1980). There is growing evidence of the links between online and offline activity, for example, the teenage boys who carried out the Columbine Massacre killings in a USA high school, were said to have found support and information on the WWW. Worryingly, since that event, a number of copycat school massacre attempts have been linked to so called *Trench Coat Mafia* Goth websites that revere the killers.

Moving on to solutions, there has been some concern that the Internet does not yet provide a 'hierarchy of sources' – that is, it seems to place all information sources on a par, thereby creating confusion amongst some of its users as to who is providing the correct information. This absence of authoritative sources has been seen as one of the underlying factors in the success of various Internet facilitated financial frauds – from 'pump and dump' share scams to fake online shops or investments. The presence of the anti-racists in the newsgroups studied in Sutton's wider programme of research in this area (see Mann, Sutton and Tuffin, 2002) provides a ready and immediate critical response (often with references) to racist propaganda. The presence of critical participants can be also found in other newsgroups, especially medical ones (e.g. the "alt.support.*" hierarchy), where some participants feel they must remain in the group just to counter the claims of their opponents. However, the exploratory study reported here found that the *critical response factor* cannot generally apply to web pages where there is rarely any counter argument presented. A useful example of this absolute bias is the Stormfront website's reference to their publication of 'The Life of Martin Luther King' (www.martinlutherking.org). This particular website was designed, in appearance and written-style, to appear as an objective learning resource and yet its sole aim is to present a character assassination of Martin Luther King. Such a lack of a discernible hierarchy of sources on the Internet will undoubtedly result in some users uncritically accepting this and also other materials such as revisionist material found, for example, on holocaust denial websites, especially if they are well designed, and the articles are written in an academic tone. The problem is currently compounded by some portals such as Yahoo[23] that provide direct indexed access to some particularly nasty race hate web pages and by anti-racist organisations that archive some of the most vitriolic racist web pages in an attempt to expose the Far Right for what they are. In both cases, search engines will lead the vulnerable curious browser, entering white racialist terms of abuse, directly to these un-moderated pages, which then stand alone free of any counter message or objective context.

Building upon the results of this study, an in-depth assessment should be made of race hate web pages and chat rooms, with the aim of determining how they are being used by racists to disseminate information, develop ideology, organise, and to what extent they provide a network of support. Investigative research techniques for assessing activity in these arenas will also have to be developed and evaluated.

Finally, it has been argued (Barkun, 1998) that the technology of the Internet is facilitating 'fusion paranoia' by providing a linked network of shared ideas and myths among militia groups and others with a shared belief in conspiracy theories. While we should be watchful that we may be fermenting our own conspiracy theory, there is evidence to suggest that Barkun's observations should be given some serious consideration. In the wake of an assassination attempt on France's president Chirac, on 14 July 2002, the Combat 18 website published messages praising the would-be

---

[23] The search engine component of this study found that entering the names of white racialist organisations found predominantly white racialist sites. It also found a Yahoo portal providing a list of 26 sites, only one of which is an anti-racist site run by the Anti-defamation League. Yahoo does provide a very balanced portal to issues discussing hate: http://dir.yahoo.com/Society_and_Culture/Cultures_and_Groups/White_Pride_and_Racialism/Opposing_Views/ but, this is just one among hundreds of racist sources listed by search engines searching on white racialist terms of abuse.

assassin and calling upon others to come forward and succeed where he had failed (Lichfield, 2002). More recently, Muslim terrorist websites are exploiting the Internet in the same way (Pollock, 2006).

References

Akdeniz, Y. (2001) 'Controlling illegal and harmful content on the Internet', in D. Wall (ed) *Crime and the Internet*. London: Oxford University Press.

Allen, J., Forrest, S., Levi, M., Roy, H. and Sutton, M. (2005) Fraud and Technology Crimes: Findings from the 2002/3 British Crime Survey and 2003 Offending, Crime and Justice Survey. UK. Home Office Online Report 34/05

Back, L. Keith, M. and Solomos, J. (1998) 'Racism on the Internet: Mapping Neo-Fascist Subcultures in Cyberspace', in J. Kaplan and T, Bjorgo (eds), *Nation and Race*. New York: New York University Press.

Back, L. (2002) (forthcoming) Aryans Reading Adorno: Cyberculture and 21st Century Racism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (Autumn/Winter).

Barkun, M. (1998) 'Conspiracy Theories as Stigmatized Knowledge: The Basis for a New Age Racism?', in J. Kaplan and T. Bjorgo (eds) *Nation and Race*. New York: New York University Press.

Beck, E.M. and Tolnay, S. E. (1995) 'Violence Toward African Americans in the Era of the White Lynch Mob', in D. Hawkins (ed) *Ethnicity, Race and Crime: Perspectives across Time and Place*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Becker, P. J. Byers, B. and Jipson, A. (2000). The Contentious American Debate: The First Amendment and Internet-based Hate Speech. *International Review of Law Computers and Technology*, 14 (1), Cybercrimes, Cyberspeech and Cyberliberties.

Bjorgo, T. (1993) 'Role of the Media in Racist Violence', in T. Bjorgo and R. Witte (eds) *Racist Violence in Europe*. London: McMillan

Bjorgo, T. and Witte, R. (1993) (eds) *Racist Violence in Europe*. London: McMillan.

Bonnett, A. (1997) 'Construction of whiteness in European and American anti-racism', in P. Werbner and T. Moodod (eds) *Debating cultural hybridity: multi-cultural identities and thepolitics of anti-racism*. London: Zed Books

Bowling, B. (1990) Policing Racial Violence in Britain. Paper presented to the Learned Society, University of Victoria, British Columbia.

Bowling, B. and Phillips, C. (2002) *Racism, Crime and Justice*. Harlow: Longman.

Cohen, S. (1980) Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of Mods and Rockers Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Dawkins, R. (1976) *The Selfish Gene*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

DTI March (2000) *Just Around the Corner: a consultation document*. London: Department of Trade and Industry.

DTI December (2000) *Turning the Corner*. London: Department of Trade and Industry.

Dyer, R. (1977) *White*. London: Routledge.

Field, S. (1990) Trends in Crime and Their Interpretation: A Study of Recorded Crime in Post-War England and Wales. Home Office Research Study 119. London: Home Office.

Foresight (2000a) *Just around the Corner*. Report of the Crime Prevention Panel. London: Department of Trade and Industry.

Foresight (2000b) *Turning the Corner*. Report of the Crime Prevention Panel. London: Department of Trade and Industry.

Frankenberg, R. (ed) (1997) *Displacing whiteness: Essay in social and cultural criticism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Garland, D. (2001) The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J. and Roberts B. (1978) *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order*. London: Macmillan.

Hall,S. (1980) 'Race, articulation and societies structured in dominance', in C. Guillaumin (ed) Sociological theories: *Race and colonialism*. Paris: UNESCO, pp355-345.

Hamm, M. S. (1994) *Hate Crime: International Perspectives on Causes and Control*. Cincinnati, OH: Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences/Anderson Publications.

Harris, P. (2001) Far Right plot to provoke race riots: Guardian Unlimited Special Report [online]. Available at: http://www.guardian.co.uk/racisim/story/0,2763, 500768,00html [Accessed: 13/6/02]

Heins, M. (2001) 'Criminalizing online speech to 'protect' the young: what are the benefits and costs?', in D. Wall, (ed) *Crime and the Internet*. London: Oxford University Press.

hooks, b (1988) Talking black, thinking feminism, thinking black. Toronto: Between the Lines.

Home Office (2002) Racially Inflammatory Material on the Internet [online]. Available at: http://www.iwf.org.uk/about/hogde3-2.htm [Accessed: 13/6/02].

Husbands, C.T. (1993) 'Racism and Racist Violence: Some Theories and Policy Perspectives', in T. Bjorgo, R. Witte, (eds) *Racist Violence in Europe*. London: McMillan.

Ignatiev, N. (1997) The point is not to interpret whiteness but to abolish it. Talk given at the *Making and Unmaking of Whiteness* Conference, University of California, Berkeley, 11-13 April. Available online at: www.posfun.com/racetraitor.

Leonard, Z. (2004) The color of supremacy: beyond the discourse of 'white privilege'. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 36(2), pp137-152

Levin, J. and McDevitt, J. (1993) *Hate crimes: The Rising Tide of Bigotry and Bloodshed*. New York: Plenum.

Levine-Rasky, C. (2002) *Working Through Whiteness*. New York: State University of New York Press

Levin, J. and McDevitt, J. (2002) 'Hate Crimes', in D. Levinson (ed) *Encyclopaedia of Crime and Punishment*, Vol. 2.   Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lichfield, J. (2002) Combat 18 website praises Chirac's attacker. *The Independent*, 17 July, p9.

Mann, D. and Sutton, M. (1998) >>Netcrime: more change in the organisation of thieving. *British Journal of Criminology.* 38(2).

Mann, D. Sutton, M. and Tuffin, R. (2002) The Evolution of Hate: Social Dynamics in White Racialist Newsgroups. *The Internet Journal of Criminology*. Available from: www.internetjournalofcriminology.com.

Metropolitan Police (2002) Racial Violence. Understanding and Responding to Hate Crime Factsheets.

NCIS (1999) Project Trawler: Crime on the information highways. National Criminal Intelligence Service Report. London.

Pease, K. (1998) *Repeat Victimisation: Taking Stock*. Home Office Police Research Group Crime Prevention and Detection Series 90. London: Home Office.

Pease, K. (2001) 'Crime futures and Foresight: Challenging criminal behaviour in the information age', in D. Wall, (ed) *Crime and the Internet*. London: Oxford University Press.

Perry, B. (2001) In the Name of Hate: Understanding Hate Crimes. Routledge. New York.

Perry, B. and Sutton, M. (2006) Seeing Red over Black and White: Popular and Media Representations of Interracial Relationships as Precursors to Racial Violence. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice / Revue Canadienne de criminology et de justice penale*, 48(6)

Perry, B. and Sutton, M. (2008) Policing the Colour Line: Violence Against Those in Intimate Interracial Relationships. *Race, Gender & Class*, 15(3-4), pp240-261.

Pollock, E. (2006) Racial Hatred on the Internet: A Study of Newsgroups and Websites. Nottingham Trent University. PhD thesis. Available from: www.internetjournalofcriminology.com

Ray, L., Smith, D. and Wastell, L. (1999) The Macpherson Report: A View from Greater Manchester [online]. Available from: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/4/lawrence/_smith_wastell.html.

Sibbitt, R. (1997) *The perpetrators of racial harassment.* Home Office Research Study 176. London: Home Office.

SurfControl (2004) Solutions and Policy Combat Spreading Hate [online]. Available from: www.thewhir.com/features/hate-sites.cfm.

Sutton, M. (1995) Supply by Theft: does the market for stolen goods play a role in keeping crime figures high? *British Journal of Criminology*, 38(3).

Sutton, M. (1998) *Handling Stolen Goods and Theft: A market reduction approach.* Home Office Research Study 178. London: Home Office.

Sutton, M. (2002) Race Hatred and the Far Right on the Internet. *Criminal Justice Matters*: *Special issue on hate crimes*. 48 (Summer).

Sutton, M. and Perry, B. (2009) Politicking the personal: examining academic literature and British National Party beliefs and wishes about Intimate Interracial Relationships and mixed heritage. *Information & Communications Technology Law*, 18(2), pp83–98.

Sykes, G. and Matza, D. (1957) Techniques of Neutralisation: A Theory of Delinquency. *American Sociological Review*, 22 (December), pp 664-70.

Wall, D. (2001) (ed) *Crime and the Internet*. London: Routledge.

Whine, M. (2000) 'Far Right Extremists on the Internet', in T. Douglas and B.D. Loader, (eds) *Cybercrime: Law enforcement, security and surveillance in the information age*. New York: Routledge.

Wiesenthal Centre (2002) Digital Hate 2002: Internet Report and Analysis. Simon Wiesenthal Centre, Snider Social Action Institute, 2001 (CD ROM).

Wetherall, M., Lafleche, M., Berkeley, M. (2007) (eds) *Identity, ethnic diversity and community cohesion.* London: Sage.

Williams, P. (2009) Having Barack Obama as president doesn't make America colour-blind. *The Observer*, Sunday 26 July 2009.

Wright, C., Standen, P. and Patel, T. (forthcoming) *Black Youth Matters: Transitions from School to Success*. New York and London: Routledge.