

Ideological Parlances on Right-Wing Media in Britain and Finland

Salla Tuomola

Tampere University, Finland

salla.tuomola@tuni.fi

Author bio

Salla Tuomola (M.Soc.Sc.) is a fifth year PhD student in the Communication Sciences Unit at Tampere University in Finland. Her doctoral research for media studies investigates the digital public debate on the European refugee crisis with its consequences during 2015–2017 in alternative right-wing media primarily in Finland. Her dissertation takes an article-based form, and she approaches her study from four angles. In her first published article, she examined the ideological parlances of MV-lehti, which is one of the best-known online journals that is objecting to the mainstream media in Finland. This research was completed during her stay as a visiting PhD student at Cardiff University in the School of Journalism, Media and Culture in 2019/2020.

Abstract

One of the main themes of alternative right-wing media is a strong anti-immigrant approach, which has allegedly intensified a radical and polarized worldview throughout Europe and the United States. In this paper, by comparing two right-wing news sites, I examine whether commonalities in their reporting can be discerned at a transnational level. The focus is on the US-based Breitbart London and the Finnish-language MV-lehti, both founded in 2014. The comparative study approaches the research data by utilizing the method of discourse narratology to examine the similarities and differences between the two in terms of their ideological parlances. The results show that there are indisputable commonalities, with parlances that seek to undermine liberal democracy as an outspoken opponent to strengthen the homogeneous

battlefront. Accordingly, right-wing news sites in Europe adhere to the shared ideology, leaning on a strong confrontation between Western and Islamic countries.

Key words: right-wing news site, alternative media, alt-right, anti-immigrant, Breitbart, MV-lehti

Introduction

In recent years, the increasing appearance of right-wing news sites has engendered a concern about the polarization and radicalization of political views extending across national and transnational public spheres (Heft et al. 2019; see also Benkler et al. 2017). This is not a vain worry because right-wing political parties and their extremist grassroots sympathizers are building increasingly deep and connected networks at the national and transnational levels, both in Europe and the United States, sharing and using material that reinforces the strength of their ideological stances (Caiani et al. 2012; Doerr 2017: 316; Hokka & Nelimarkka 2019: 16). In a globalized world, this kind of development of transnational networking is inevitable as information and communication technologies play a prominent role in fostering communication exchanges between far-right organizations across borders (Caiani & Kröll 2015; Froio & Ganesh 2019).

Despite the differences in media and political systems of the countries where the alternative news and opinion sites are based, the common theme of right-wing media is a critical stance on generous immigration politics and the allegedly partial way the question of immigration has been covered in mainstream media (Haller & Holt 2019). In the United States, the presidential election in 2016 indicated that right-wing media framed immigration in terms of terror, crime and Islam, while distrust in mainstream media played an essential role (Benkler et al. 2017). In Europe, alternative news and opinion media are especially engaged with populist anti-system, anti-immigration and anti-elite sentiments (Haller & Holt 2019).

In this comparative study, I examine British and Finnish right-wing news sites – Breitbart London edition and MV-lehti. The comparison between the two offers an interesting research setting because Breitbart London has its roots in the United States and MV-lehti has a relatively

small audience in a Finnish-language Nordic country. However, despite the differences in the British and Finnish political systems, in recent decades, similar tendencies have taken over in both countries' political landscapes. Finland has a multiparty system and coalition governments, but the right-wing populist ideology has begun to emerge (Norocel 2017: 43–44). In 2019, the right-wing populist Finns Party gained over 22.7% of the support in the opinion poll (Muhonen 2019), and it remains a major opposition party in Parliament. The development has been similar in the British parliamentary democracy, where right-wing populist parties have reinforced their positions (Stanyer et al. 2017: 165–66). This paper examines potential similarities and differences between the two publications; the aim is to look for ideological parlances focussing on anti-immigrant coverage that persuade the audience to adopt a certain understanding of immigrants and the establishment. The research question is as follows: *What commonalities can be discerned between Breitbart London and MV-lehti in terms of their ideological parlances?* For the purpose of answering this question, I investigate how Breitbart London carries out the meaning-making process concerning its anti-immigrant news coverage.

This article proceeds as follows: In the Background section, I first review the grounds of the alt-right movement in the United States and Europe. Second, I examine the definition of alternative media, focussing on the right-wing approach. Then, in the Data and Method section, I introduce the context in which I carry out the comparative research in this study. In the Findings section, I introduce my prominent results, and finally, in the Conclusions, I summarize the effort.

Background

The alt-right movement in the United States and Europe

Today, many far-right online groups profile themselves as members of a new 'alt-right' movement. The term and the current political climate in the United States have brought those groups that were previously labelled as the racist right into the light (Hawley 2017; Neiwert 2017; Reid & Valasik 2018). Such subcultures are diverse, but anti-immigrant activists, conspiracy theorists, white nationalists and others appear to have primarily anti-establishment views in common, sharing similar racist, anti-feminist and anti-Semitic ideologies in their reaction against

multiculturalism and globalism (Marwick & Lewis 2017). The long-term goal of the alt-right is to achieve an end to mass immigration, the end of political correctness and the acceptance of white identity politics as a normal element of mainstream politics (Hawley 2017: 14–18). In 2016, the US presidential election revealed that these far-right groups are far from going extinct, as they are fuelled by right-wing media (Neiwert 2017: 14–15). In addition, the alt-right movement was nourished by Donald Trump's presidential campaign (Hawley 2017: 3). The ideological roots of the US alt-right movement are in Europe. The French New Right movement, which emerged in the late 1960s, has significantly influenced American alt-right intellectuals in terms of collective identity and cultural hegemony (Bar-On 2011; Jenkins 2018).

In Europe, the current alt-right ideology is implemented primarily in the movement 'the Identitarianism' that emerged in the early 2000s in France and subsequently spread to other European countries (Hawley 2017; Stewart 2017). The movement profiles as an activist, street-based and Internet-savvy young militancy that engages in intensified targeting of the perceived enemies of the collective identity in multiple ways (Zúquete 2018). The Identitarians declare that they are defending Europe from refugees, as well as from Islam and globalism, accusing European elites of policies of mass immigration that have corrupted the collective identity of European people (Stewart 2017: 1–2). Like alt-right supporters in the United States, Identitarians have been emboldened by right-wing populist politicians that have recently gained growing support across Europe (Hawley 2017; Zúquete 2018).

Alternative right-wing media

The rise of alternative right-wing media coincides somewhat directly with the wave of populist movements and parties that has arisen in many established democracies in the last decades (Heft et al. 2019: 3–4). A right-wing populist ideology exemplifies not only the anti-elitist and people-centrist agenda but also xenophobic exclusionism (Müller & Schulz 2019: 2–3; see also Krämer 2018; Mudde & Rowira Kaltwasser 2017; Wodak 2015). Alternative right-wing media criticize prevailing mainstream news media for lacking integrity and professionalism, but simultaneously, the way in which they justify their existence relies on mainstream media (Benkler et al. 2017;

Frischlich et al. 2020; Holt et al. 2019) in that they adopt rather reactionary political positions (Müller & Schulz 2019: 2). Their core message is that the mainstream media conceal or distort information about the negative consequences of immigration (Haller & Holt 2019; Nygaard 2020). It is also common to accuse mainstream media of favouring liberal and leftist perspectives, being uncritical of those in power, lacking understanding of ordinary people's lives and concealing information that does not fit the politically correct agenda (Figenschou & Ihlebæk 2019: 1223; Holt 2018: 50–51; Marwick & Lewis 2017: 21).

Data and Method

Comparing British and Finnish right-wing news sites

The Breitbart News Network was established in mid-2007 by Andrew Breitbart and has emerged today as the nexus of conservative media (Benkler et al. 2017; Faris et al. 2017). Since the 2016 US presidential election, Breitbart has overtly shown its support for Trump's administration while attacking the opposing mainstream media (Benkler et al. 2017; Roberts & Wahl-Jorgensen forthcoming). Via these assaults, Breitbart has claimed moral superiority by attempting to act as an impartial defender of liberal democracy, giving a voice to the people; this is meant to contrast with the mainstream media, with the latter accused of reporting mostly for the ruling elite (e.g., Roberts & Wahl-Jorgensen forthcoming; see also Esser et al. 2017; Krämer 2018). During the elections, Breitbart and candidate Trump found a key topic in the anti-immigrant approach, which Breitbart had espoused long before (Benkler et al. 2017, 2018). The Breitbart London edition was released in February 2014 by James Delingpole, an English writer who had formerly worked, for example, for *The Daily Mail* and *The Times*, and Raheem Kassam, a British political activist who had also worked as a chief advisor to the former UK Independence Party (UKIP) leader Nigel Farage. UKIP is a right-wing populist political party that declared Brexit as its 'core issue' and 'central to the party's identity' (Ford & Goodwin 2014).

In Finland, the most well-known right-wing news site is MV-lehti (WTF-magazine), currently Uusi MV-lehti (New WTF-magazine); this site has anti-immigrant and anti-legacy media leanings and often uses offensive irony (Reunanen 2018b: 75). The sarcastic tone was already

evident in the site's original title, which was *Mitä vittua??!!* (*What the fuck??!!*). The title was based on a scene in the Finnish comedy-crime film *Vares* in which the characters yearn for a more provocative newspaper to be published in Finland (Nieminen 2018). The site was launched in August 2014 by a Finnish celebrity, Ilja Janitskin, who lived in Barcelona at the time¹. The publication describes its function as a 'nationalist, independent, anti-globalist and patriotic news service; in 2011, its current editor-in-chief, Janus Putkonen, launched Verkkomedia.org, the first alternative media in Finland, to confront mainstream media' (Uusi MV-lehti 2019). Although the title and layout resemble mainstream media, MV-lehti is neither affiliated with the Council of Mass Media (CMM)² nor committed to advancing the ethical principles defined in guidelines for journalists (see MV-lehti 2018), unlike almost every media outlet in Finland.

In Finland, only a small percentage of the press is affiliated with a political party; most journalists declare that they are politically independent (Jyrkiäinen 2017). In the United Kingdom, the media landscape is characterized by an openly partisan commercial national press and public service broadcasting led by the BBC (Firmstone 2017). Despite the differences in the countries' media systems, comparing the two news sites is justifiable for two reasons. First, both publications are part of a hyper-partisan transnational network with an anti-immigrant emphasis that is primarily ideologically driven rather than nationally involved (see Benkler et al. 2018; Caiani et al. 2012; Reunanen 2018a). Second, Breitbart and MV-lehti can be categorized in a group of online publications that criticize mainstream media despite the nature of the prevailing media system (see Benkler et al. 2017; Haller & Holt 2019).

Explaining the research material

Table 1. Research Material in Breitbart and MV-lehti

	Dataset 1: Breitbart London	Dataset 2: MV-lehti		Total
		Dataset 2a	Dataset 2b	
Cases	Rotherham case	Hennala case	Paris case	
Timeframe	21.01.2015– 30.08.2019	24.9.2015– 31.12.2015	14.11.2015– 31.12.2015	

Articles	$n = 111$	$n = 28$	$n = 100$	$N = 239$
----------	-----------	----------	-----------	-----------

n = Number of published articles on cases.

Table 1 shows how the research material in this work is divided into that involving Breitbart and MV-lehti. Dataset 1 consists of online articles published on the Breitbart London website (www.breitbart.com/europe) on the Rotherham grooming case from 2015 to 2019. The Breitbart online articles were targeted with the hashtag ‘Rotherham’ because all the published news stories on the topic were compiled under the same tag on the Breitbart news site. Between 21 January 2015 and 30 August 2019, the overall coverage on the case in Breitbart London comprised 111 articles in total. The Rotherham grooming case was compared with two news cases published in MV-lehti (www.mvlehti.net) in autumn 2015, comprising dataset 2. By the end of 2015, the Hennala case had 28 stories, of which the first was published on 24 September 2015. The Paris case was covered in 100 articles, of which the first was on 14 November 2015. Both cases were related to the European refugee crisis, which I understand to have started in 2014–15. In 2015, 1.25 million first-time asylum applicants were registered in the European Union from the Middle East, Africa and South Asia (see European Parliament 2019). In the same year, a record number of asylum seekers, 32 476 in total, also arrived in Finland (Ministry of the Interior of Finland), and MV-lehti's major popularity began to rise (see Nieminen 2018).

The Rotherham grooming case, which related to organized child sexual abuse, took place in the United Kingdom between 1997 and 2013 in the northern English town of Rotherham in South Yorkshire. In 2011, the scandal earned national attention when an investigative journalist, Andrew Norfolk for the *Times* newspaper uncovered the prevalence of the model of sexual offending among abusers of Pakistani ethnic heritage. Since then, Rotherham – among several other English cities – has become synonymous with on-street grooming (Britton 2019: 689). In 2014, Alexis Jay published a report in which it was discovered that an estimated 1400 children had been sexually exploited over a 16-year period by Muslim men, particularly of Pakistani origin (Jay 2014). The report revealed that offenders targeted girls aged 11–16 years who were in vulnerable positions due to poor parental supervision and substantial neglect. Victims and their parents tried to bring the abuse to light for several years before the report was published, but

the case was repeatedly suppressed by public officers (Ansbro 2014). After the publication of the report in 2014, police investigations – which are still partly ongoing – resulted in the prosecutions of several men (Britton 2019).

The Hennala and Paris cases took place in Finland in autumn 2015. The first case involved a racist demonstration by Finns at the gate of Hennala's emergency accommodation centre on 24 September 2015. Among the demonstrators was a young man disguised in a Ku Klux Klan hood greeting the bus full of asylum seekers. The Hennala news spread all over the world through a picture of 'the cloaked man' holding the Finnish flag, bringing racism in Finland to light (Nikunen & Pantti 2018: 71). The data of the latter case consisted of reports of Islamic State terrorist attacks in Paris, when at least 126 civilians were killed. The Paris case was selected because it became apparent in this case that exposure to terrorist news worsens attitudes towards members of outgroups that are perceived to be involved with the attacks (see Tamborini et al. 2017: 801).

The comparability of the Rotherham and Finnish cases emerges in the anti-immigrant approach, which is one of the core principles for both Breitbart and MV-lehti (see Benkler et al. 2018: 108; Ylä-Anttila 2017: 46). Although the Rotherham case is not straightforwardly related to the European refugee crisis per se, it offers a fruitful example that is strongly connected to right-wing news sites' anti-multiculturalist agenda. As a result of the child sexual exploitation scandal, Rotherham became an example of how multiculturalism has failed due to problems with the local Muslim population (Britton 2019: 691). Comparably, MV-lehti utilized the failure of multiculturalism as a cautionary tale in both investigated news cases, for example, by introducing Finland's refugee policy as an excuse for increasing the number of asylum seekers, which would inevitably cause an increasing number of rapes of Finnish women (Tuomola 2018: 178).

Utilizing the research method

The data consist of the full text material of online stories, including headlines, lead paragraphs and body texts. In datasets 1 and 2, the analysis was carried out using instruments of discourse narratology³ (Ridell 1997). In journalism studies, narratological tools can be utilized to examine

news as ideological forms that sustain the societal status quo (Ridell 1997). In this effort, it is essential to approach narratology as an instrument that understands news as *ideological parlances* (Ridell 1997: 145), that is, discursive interpretation positions through which the audience is invited to adopt a certain meaning-making process of the reality represented in the alternative right-wing media texts. These discursive interpretation positions can be constructed in terms of binary oppositions in news texts, where a primary opposition is between 'us' and 'them', 'home' and 'foreign' (see Hartley & Montgomery 1985: 233–69). Therefore, narratological implements are appropriate when analysing discursive mechanisms that are used in news texts to produce the audience in 'a passive position of a bystander' (Ridell 1997: 144). In other words, those who have contradictory opinions are often represented as being 'them', while the readers are encouraged to adopt an 'us' stance. I comprehend these us/them distinctions as special building blocks of ideology that both publications convey. In terms of Breitbart and MV-lehti, I understand the ideology as a system of beliefs (see Williams 2013: 126–29), which materializes in narratological elements, that is, us/them distinctions.

In examining the material, I utilized critical in-depth reading when searching frequently recurring us/them distinctions. As Wodak (2015: 67) notes, right-wing populist rhetoric divides the world into good and bad, 'us' and 'them', insiders and outsiders, by constructing simplistic dichotomies and by positive self- and negative other-presentation. First, I traced these distinctions by looking for those groups who were represented as 'us' and those characterized as 'them' in texts of datasets 1 and 2 described above. The characterization of these dichotomies was determined by analysing how political, societal, ethnic, cultural, sexual and ideological groups of people and matters were represented in the stories by describing their distinctive actions and attributes. Positive self-presentation indicated belonging to 'us', whereas negative other-presentation referred to belonging to 'them'. Second, on the grounds of these findings, I categorized six major confrontations between 'us' and 'them' based on the frequency of appearing in texts. These confrontations formulate the ground of my analysis; finally, I utilized them for categorizing three ideological parlances. These parlances were examined in light of right-wing populist ideology and related to comparable ideological parlances of MV-lehti.

Findings

In the analysis, I first explain the perceptions of the analysis of Breitbart London, then proceed to MV-lehti, and finally, elaborate on a comparison of the two. It was revealed that Breitbart constitutes six consistently recurring confrontations between ‘us’ and ‘them’ in the coverage on the Rotherham grooming case. Breitbart utilizes these confrontations when giving meaning to the establishment and immigrants and persuading the audience to take an equivalent stance. That is, the ‘us’ category represents the ideology of the publication, with ‘them’ standing for those who advocate the opposite approach.

Table 2a. Ideological Parlances of the Breitbart London

Anti-establishment parlance		Anti-multiculturalist parlance		Anti-Islamization parlance	
US	THEM	US	THEM	US	THEM
<i>the people</i>	<i>the establishment, Labour</i>	<i>British culture</i>	<i>multi-culturalism, Asian men</i>	<i>democratization</i>	<i>Islamization</i>
<i>UKIP, right-wing media</i>	<i>legacy media</i>	<i>white girls</i>			

In Table 2a, the confrontations of Breitbart have been compiled as follows: (1) the people/the establishment, (2) UKIP/Labour, (3) right-wing media/legacy media, (4) British culture/multiculturalism, (5) white girls/Asian men, and (6) democracy/Islamization. Based on these confrontations, three different ideological parlances were categorized, as shown in Table 2a. They were identified as *the anti-establishment parlance*, *anti-multiculturalist parlance* and *anti-Islamization parlance*. In comparison, Table 2b below displays three ideological parlances in the Finnish counterpart MV-lehti that closely resemble the ones in Breitbart.

Table 2b. Ideological Parlances of the MV-lehti

Racist parlance		Anti-elite parlance		Anti-Islamization parlance	
US	THEM	US	THEM	US	THEM
<i>the Finns, immigrant critics</i>	<i>asylum seekers, tolerants</i>	<i>the people, countermedia</i>	<i>elite, mainstream media</i>	<i>democracy</i>	<i>terrorism</i>

Both tables are displayed in line with the frequency of appearing in texts. The ideological parlances are elaborated in the following subsections, in which the emphasis of the confrontations also emerges.

Anti-establishment parlance

The strongest ideological parlance that Breitbart utilizes in the Rotherham grooming case is *the anti-establishment parlance*, which characteristically emphasizes mistrust and a lack of confidence in the establishment and authorities by stressing the distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’. In most stories, Breitbart depicts ‘them’ as the establishment, consisting of authorities – the Rotherham council, police and social services; legacy parties with Labour in front; the London-centrist, liberal elite; and legacy media. Indeed, Breitbart accuses the authorities of being partial, hypocritical and politically loaded when reporting how they preferred to ‘bury their heads in the sand’ (Delingpole 2015: n.pag.) and ‘sweep such crimes under the carpet’ (Hallett 2015: n.pag), as well as being reluctant to ‘intervene to tackle deep-seated problems in some ethnic communities’ (Zeronian 2016: n.pag.) for reasons of political correctness. In turn, ‘us’ comprises the ordinary people, the local people, who are described as loyal and upright when reporting, for example, that they tried to give evidence of grooming to the authorities and protest the way the abuse was allegedly covered up by the authorities. Thus, as distinctive to right-wing populism, Breitbart claims to speak for the majority of ordinary, decent people whose interests and opinions are regularly overridden by arrogant elites and corrupt politicians (see Canovan 1999: 5; Mouffe 2005; Wodak 2013, 2015; Mudde & Rowira Kaltwasser 2017: 6).

In Rotherham stories, 'the people' are called 'townspeople', 'normal individuals' and 'the bulk of the population', referring to ordinary, common people living their lives in peace and harmony. In contrast, 'the liberal elite' are named 'the champions of political correctness', 'the PC establishment' and 'the self-righteous inhabitants' living in 'a politically correct bubble, quite divorced from ordinary people's hopes and fears' (Delingpole 2018: n.pag.). Here, Delingpole (2018) refers to the arrogant, capital-centrist upper classes who do not understand issues related to immigration and Muslims. Studies have shown that parties that challenge the political establishment, such as UKIP, have profited from people's frustrations about politicians perceived to be out of touch with the needs of average people (Gest et al. 2018: 1697; see also Abedi 2002). This notion is supported by research from *The Independent* conducted in 2019, which revealed that 53 per cent of Britons did not feel represented by any established party (Buchan 2019: n.pag.). Breitbart utilizes this feeling of disconnection in the Rotherham stories when emphasizing how, for example, the Labour politicians in London declare the manifesto of a 'tolerant, multicultural world' that is entirely at odds with reality in terms of their decisions and the everyday experiences of ordinary people.

The anti-establishment parlance involves similarities with vilification, which Roberts and Wahl-Jorgensen (forthcoming) identify as the most prominent discursive strategy in Breitbart's coverage. Breitbart utilizes vilification, for example, when accusing mainstream media of biased and inaccurate reporting and constructing itself as an impartial and unbiased defender of liberal democracy. Thus, through vilification, Breitbart claims the moral high ground both for itself and for 'us' in contrast to 'them' (Roberts & Wahl-Jorgensen, forthcoming: n.pag.). Likewise, the anti-establishment parlance depicts Breitbart engaging with responsibility and integrity when reporting, for example, how 'almost 200 police officers were under investigation by the police watchdog for conspiring to cover up the abuse' (Hale 2017b: n.pag.). The extract implies that Breitbart is not afraid of being accused of racism because they dare to speak out against corruption as it is, in contrast to authorities and the establishment, which they blame for political correctness as leading to remaining silent about the sexual abuse of children.

Finally, Breitbart utilizes the anti-establishment parlance as a political instrument that can verge on identity politics. Howard J. Wiarda (2016: 148–49) defines identity politics as political

arguments of societal interest groups, such as women, sexual minorities and immigrants, utilized as a political instrument to advance groups' agenda, especially if it is loaded with ideas about superiority and inferiority, where some values are evaluated as more dignified than others. Identity politics can be traced in Breitbart's criticism of the authorities, Labour politicians and the liberal media when the common denominator is their alleged political correctness. By the concept of political correctness, Breitbart means 'their' lack of confidence when it comes to tackling difficult issues for fear of being labelled racist and upsetting community cohesion, stemming from the 'unholy alliance' with the Muslim community due to the need for Muslim votes. This fear has overrun the police and social services who, according to Breitbart, have ignored reports of sexual abuse for years; at the same time, social workers try to stop alleged victims from speaking to media. Contradictorily, Breitbart accuses the Labour politicians and liberal media of engaging with 'dangerous identity politics', distracting from the point that accusations about the opposition's political correctness are essentially identity politics in action. This emerges, for example, when Breitbart blames the Labour feminists of being biased when falling into political correctness and failing to condemn 'polygamy, forced marriage, the oppressive burqa and female genital mutilation' (Nuttall 2016: n.pag.), since the ultimate reason for defaming the Labour feminists is a patriarchal and political question of fear of losing votes and power to them.

The anti-establishment parlance closely resembles the anti-elitist parlance in its Finnish counterpart MV-lehti, which raises distrust towards the elite, consisting of the government, decision makers, specialists, researchers and mainstream media journalists. Characteristically, the anti-elite parlance attacks their scholarship, and therefore, strives to undermine their prevailing position in power (Tuomola 2018: 182–84). Like in Breitbart, in MV-lehti the distinction between 'us' and 'them' conforms to the right-wing populist confrontation between the people and the elite. In MV-lehti, 'us' are 'the Finns', 'the ordinary people', 'immigrant critics', acting as defenders of democracy, while 'the others' are 'asylum seekers', 'advocates of multiculturalism', 'the elite' and 'mainstream media', whom MV-lehti depicts as a threat to Finnish nationality and independence (Tuomola 2018). Moreover, MV-lehti tends to question scientists' credibility and proficiency and suggests their agenda is untrustworthy by underestimating their expertise, for

example, when referring to a 'frontline researcher on terrorism' who – before Paris attacks in 2015 – described the possibility of a terror attack as 'just a fairytale' (Tuomola 2018: 182).

Anti-multiculturalist parlance

The second ideological parlance that appears in the Rotherham stories is *the anti-multiculturalist parlance*, which resembles the racist parlance in its Finnish counterpart. Like MV-lehti, Breitbart attacks the idea of multiculturalism, particularly emphasizing difference to Muslim culture and Pakistani male immigrants. Breitbart reports that Europe's new Muslims appear to be unwilling to 'compromise on their misogynistic upbringings when moving here', while the Pakistani community feels 'scapegoated, dehumanised and potentially criminalised'. Thus, Breitbart stresses 'their' unwillingness to adapt to British culture with the aim of raising hatred and discord towards Muslims among its audience. Moreover, the anti-multiculturalist parlance strengthens cultural differences in terms of the Muslim culture by emphasizing illegal practices Muslims are said to have brought to Britain, such as female genital mutilation (FGM) and marriages with underaged girls. Breitbart London writer Virginia Hale (2017a: n.pag.), for example, reports as follows:

Though the practice of FGM, which is performed mainly in African and Middle Eastern nations, has been illegal in the UK since 1985, the problem was assessed by medics in England every 61 minutes between April 2015 and May 2016. (6 February 2017)

In the extract, Hale points out how long FGM has been proscribed in Britain, but states that, in past years, cases have surfaced again due to people from African and Middle Eastern nations bringing their forbidden and brutal cultural habits with them when entering the country. Implicitly, Hale suggests that the rise of FGM cases is a consequence of multiculturalism, as there would not be such an issue among immigrants from familiar cultures because they are law-abiding citizens who would follow the British legislation. Therefore, the reactionary, undeveloped

Muslim culture has come too close to advanced and civilized British culture, and it is now jeopardizing Western civilization. This interpretation follows Alana Lentin's and Gavan Titley's (2011: 50) suggestion that, because racism is cultural in nature nowadays, the cultural norms, values, traditions and lifestyles of outsiders – instead of their physical appearance – are what appear problematic. According to Lentin and Titley, racism in its 'differentialist turn' became a regrettable but natural result of too much uncomfortable proximity through immigration.

Besides cultural context, the anti-multiculturalist parlance also focuses on racial meaning. Lentin and Titley (2011: 49) suggest that racism has become a kind of trump card in the pack of political correctness, often played to stifle people's honest opinions on sensitive matters. In this manner, racism as a concept can be juxtaposed with a concept of identity politics that was defined in the previous subsection. In the Rotherham stories, Breitbart consistently utilizes race-related definitions, for example, when reporting how 'white girls had been targeted and abused by men of Asian origin' (Sanderson 2015: n.pag.). Thus, at the core of this racial dichotomy are white girls and Asian men, depicting the girls not only as white but also as helpless victims and the men as systematic rapists and grooming gangers who assume they are untouchable by law enforcement. Moreover, racial features are bolstered through inequality in power relations when Breitbart juxtaposes children and men, leaning on stereotypes and biases when reporting on Muslim-majority countries as supporting patriarchal and misogynist attitudes towards women.

In MV-lehti, in turn, the racist parlance characteristically dehumanizes refugees and asylum seekers by depicting them as lacking human features when trying to make it more justifiable to confront them and the culture they represent. The dehumanizing process comes true, for example, in defining asylum seekers in terms of uncontrollable phenomena as a 'stream of refugees', a 'flood' or an 'avalanche', against which the nation must defend itself (e.g., Ahmed 2014: 76; see also Gabrielatos & Baker 2008). The procedure often stems from society's endeavours to maintain the status quo, strengthen distinctions between 'us' and 'them' and defend own privileged status against external threats (Esses et al. 2013: 519). In Breitbart, corresponding definitions are subtler, making built-in meanings complex to interpret. Whereas MV-lehti utilizes pejorative terms and language straightforwardly to describe its opponents, Breitbart gives more implicit meanings by describing acts. Therefore, the definition of racist

parlance in MV-lehti, refers primarily to explicit language the publication utilizes in its refugee stories, whereas in Breitbart, the anti-multiculturalist parlance indicates the agenda the news site promulgates.

Anti-Islamization parlance

The third ideological parlance evidenced by Breitbart is the anti-Islamization parlance, which draws on Islamophobia, that is, fear of religious ideology and practice, and anti-Muslim sentiment, the rejection of certain types of bodies (see Gottschalk & Greenberg 2019: 4). The deep roots of Islamophobia and anti-Muslim sentiments go back to the history of confrontation between principally Christian Europe and the predominantly Muslim Middle East over economic resources, political power and religious sites. Thus, over the centuries, Europeans have so effectively and universally portrayed all Muslims negatively that the terms 'Islam' and 'Muslim' still evoke suspicion and fear in Europe and North America (Gottschalk & Greenberg 2019: 2). Hence, the dichotomy between 'us' and 'them' – which right-wing populism draws upon (e.g. Jagers & Walgrave 2007; Wodak 2015) – can be traced to the old history of the West and Middle East. The significance of Islamophobia and anti-Muslim sentiment is largely based on persistence of their stereotypes in Western depictions, such as Muslim women wearing headscarves in public or the men's kaffiyeh, which has become symbolic of Islamic terrorism (Gottschalk & Greenberg 2019: 3).

The deep-seated stereotypes are strengthened in the anti-Islamization parlance, for example, when Breitbart stresses the essentially violent nature of Islamists. This emerges when reporting on the British Muslim Youth organization, which was set up on the anniversary of the 7/7 London bombings to 'promote the real teachings of Islam' – insinuating that these teachings come true in such circumstances, revealing the real nature of young Muslims. Consequently, these organized Muslim youth are the ones who 'we' should fear as a new reinforcing generation of Muslims with no intention of integrating into Western civilization and culture. Breitbart also highlights the brutalities and atrocities of the Islamic State, for example, by reporting how they threw 'people off of rooftops and much worse – they have terrorised their way through vast

swathes of the Middle East beheading, raping and burning people alive' (Kurten 2017: n.pag.). By bringing violence into the core, Breitbart reproduces the stereotypes and false beliefs about Islam. This is exactly what most non-Muslim Western people do, according to Gottschalk and Greenberg (2019: 3), when they depict Muslims as holding jihad as a central tenet of Islam and failing to understand that only a small minority of Muslims has ever engaged in religiously motivated armed conflict.

The anti-Islamization parlance rigorously resembles the parlance under the same name in MV-lehti, which draws primarily on xenophobia. In MV-lehti, the anti-Islamization parlance is based on fear of the stranger, which reinforces the image of asylum seekers principally as Muslims and declares that the increasing number of asylum seekers will gradually lead to the Islamization of Western democracy. According to Sara Ahmed (2014), political talk and media texts increasingly juxtapose asylum seekers with terrorism, referring to the so-called violent drift in which it is presumed that asylum seekers fleeing terror and persecution may also be impostors, and eventually reveal themselves as terrorists and persecutors (Ahmed 2003: 209–10, 2014: 79–80). MV-lehti also incites fear of asylum seekers by utilizing such terms as 'Muslim jihadists', 'Islamic fascists' and 'executioners of Isis', to emphasize the violent nature of the Islamic State and mute the distinction between ordinary Muslims and terrorists.

Conclusions

The results of this study indicate indisputable commonalities in terms of the ideological parlanges adopted by both Breitbart London and MV-lehti. In their coverage related to immigration, each of their parlanges reinforces the media outlet's anti-immigrant agenda, which is distinctive to alternative right-wing websites (see Figenschou & Ihlebæk 2019; Holt 2018; Marwick & Lewis 2017). In Breitbart, the anti-establishment parlance draws on the ideology of right-wing populism (e.g. Canovan 1999; Mouffe 2005; Wodak 2013, 2015), attacking the authorities and elites and striving to weaken their position and hegemony in power while simultaneously claiming to speak for ordinary people. The anti-multiculturalist parlance, in turn, stems from the idea of the cultural nature of racism (Lentin & Titley 2011), emphasizing the incompatibility between the British and

Muslim culture, where the latter threatens to jeopardize Western civilization. Third, the anti-Islamization parlance strengthens Western stereotypes of Islam and Muslims, provoking fear and hatred in the audience (see Gottschalk & Greenberg 2019). Comparably, the equivalents in MV-lehti are the racist parlance, which deepens the antagonistic approach towards asylum seekers and multiculturalism advocates, drawing on inequality and emphasizing the difference between 'us' and 'them' (see Tamborini et al. 2017); the anti-elite parlance, which builds mistrust towards policymakers, professionalism and traditional journalism (see Korvela 2017); and the anti-Islamization parlance, which approaches Islam primarily through fear of the Islamization of Western democracy (see Ahmed 2003).

According to the ideological parlanges, it is reasonable to suggest that both Breitbart London and MV-lehti involve a strong opposition and deep mistrust towards the establishment, immigrants and the idea of a multicultural world; such mistrust is especially characteristic of right-wing populist communication (see Wirz et al. 2018; Ylä-Anttila 2017). Therefore, it can be argued that the publications take part in strengthening the populist anti-system, anti-immigration and anti-elite sentiments (Haller & Holt 2019) at a transnational level with the ultimate aim of undermining liberal democracy.

Despite their similarities, it is necessary to discuss differences emerging between the two media outlets. It is noteworthy that Breitbart, considering the Rotherham case, takes a rather implicit tone in its ideological parlanges. As Roberts and Wahl-Jorgensen (forthcoming) argue, Breitbart often mirrors practices of conventional journalism, giving an impression of being faithful to journalistic norms of objectivity when, for example, citing the views of the Labour advocates while at the same time structuring them as opponents. Still, despite the misleading first impression, Breitbart rather meticulously accomplishes the right-wing populist ideology in its coverage, as this effort indicates. MV-lehti, in turn, offends journalistic norms of objectivity, excluding straightforward neutral approaches and explicitly defending its ideology – for example, by utilizing a vicious style and pejorative language about its opponents. As this subject could not be investigated more thoroughly in the present effort, it remains a question for future research to delve into the differences between Breitbart and MV-lehti.

Another limitation of this study is that, as the focus was solely on the anti-immigrant topic, it is possible that another emphasis would have led to different findings. In addition, the initial findings on MV-lehti may have guided the interpretations regarding Breitbart.

The findings of this study suggest that right-wing news sites in Europe adhere to the shared ideology, despite the differences in the national language or political system, drawing on a largely similar dichotomy of the world order leaning on a strong confrontation between Western and Islamic countries (see Gottschalk & Greenberg 2019). In addition, a common denominator of this media rationale is pretending to defend liberal democracy, while the real intention turns out to be the opposite (see Roberts & Wahl-Jorgensen forthcoming; Tuomola 2018).

Acknowledgements

This research was made possible by a grant from the Media Industry Research Foundation of Finland (20180148).

Notes

1. In October 2018, Ilja Janitskin was convicted and sentenced to prison for 22 months for 16 crimes, including aggravated defamation, confidentiality crimes and inciting negative attitudes against ethnic groups. In February 2020, the verdict was not yet probated as Janitskin had taken his case to the Court of Appeal; before the appeal was complete, on 7 February 2020, Janitskin died of intestinal cancer at the age of 42.
2. The CMM is a self-regulating committee of publishers and journalists in the field of mass communication with the task of interpreting good professional practice and defending freedom of speech and the press.
3. The narratological emphasis is the prominent differing factor between discourse narratology and critical discourse analysis which could also be used in such analyses. This study focusses on the former when approaching the news as ideological parlances.

References

- Abedi, A (2002) Challenges to established parties: The effects of party system features on the electoral fortunes of anti-political-establishment parties. *European Journal of Political Research* 41(4): 551–83.
- Ahmed S (2003) Pelon politiikka (The politics of fear). In: Lehtonen M & Löytty O (eds) *Erilaisuus* (Difference), Tampere: Vastapaino, 189–211.

- _____(2014) *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ansbro M (2014) The independent inquiry into child sexual exploitation in Rotherham, 1997–2013. *Probation Journal* 61(4): 429–39.
- Bar-On T (2011) Transnationalism and the French Nouvelle Droite. *Patterns of Prejudice* 45(3): 199–223.
- Benkler Y, Faris R & Roberts H (2018) *Network Propaganda: Manipulation, Disinformation, and Radicalization in American Politics*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Britton J (2019) Challenging the racialization of child sexual exploitation: Muslim men, racism and belonging in Rotherham. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42(5): 688–706.
- Caiani M, Della Porta D & Wagemann C (2012) *Mobilizing on the Extreme Right. Germany, Italy and the United States*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Caiani M & Kröll Patricia (2015) The transnationalization of the extreme right and the use of the internet. *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice* 39(4): 331–51.
- Canovan M (1999) Trust the people! Populism and the two faces of democracy. *Political Studies* 47(1): 2–16.
- Doerr N (2017) Bridging language barriers, bonding against immigrants: A visual case study of transnational network publics created by far-right activists in Europe. *Discourse & Society* 28(1): 3–23.
- Esser F, Stępińska A & Hopmann D N (2017) Populism and the media. Cross-national findings and perspectives. In: Aalberg T, Esser F, Reinemann C, Strömbäck J & de Vreese C H. (eds) *Populist Political Communication in Europe*, New York: Routledge, 365–80.
- Esses V M, Medianu S & Lawson A S (2013) Uncertainty, threat, and the role of the media in promoting the dehumanization of immigrants and refugees. *Journal of Social Issues* 69(3): 518–36.
- Figenschou T U & Ihlebæk K A (2019) Challenging journalistic authority. Media criticism in far-right alternative media. *Journalism Studies* 20(9): 1221–37.
- Ford, R & Goodwin M (2014) *Revolt on the Right: Explaining Support for the Radical Right in Britain*, London: Routledge.
- Frischlich L, Klapproth J & Brinkschulte F (2020) Between mainstream and alternative – co-orientation in right-wing populist alternative media. In: Grimme C, Preuss M, Takes F W & Waldherr A (eds) *Disinformation in Open Online Media*, Cham: Springer International Publishing AG, 150–67.
- Froio C & Ganesh B (2019) The transnationalisation of far right discourse on Twitter. *European Societies* 21(4): 513–39.
- Gabrielatos C & Baker P (2008) Fleeing, sneaking, flooding: A corpus analysis of discursive constructions of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press, 1996–2005. *Journal of English Linguistics* 36(1): 5–38.
- Gest J, Reny T & Mayer J (2018) Roots of the radical right: Nostalgic deprivation in the United States and Britain. *Comparative Political Studies* 51(13): 1694–1719.

- Gottschalk P & Greenberg G (2019) *Islamophobia and Anti-Muslim Sentiment. Picturing the Enemy*, 2nd ed., Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Haller A & Holt K (2019) Paradoxical populism: How PEGIDA relates to mainstream and alternative media. *Information, Communication & Society* 22(12): 1665–80.
- Haller A, Holt K & de La Brosse R (2019) The 'other' alternatives: Political right-wing alternative media. *Journal of Alternative and Community Media* 4(1): 1–6.
- Hartley J & Montgomery M (1985) Representations and relations: Ideology and power in press and TV news. In: Van Dijk T A (ed) *Discourse and Communication. New Approaches to the Analyses of Mass Media Discourse and Communication*, Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 233–69.
- Hawley G (2017) *Making Sense of the Alt-Right*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Heft A, Mayerhöffer E, Reinhardt S & Knüpfer C (2019) Beyond Breitbart: Comparing right-wing digital news infrastructures in six Western democracies. *Policy and Internet* 1–26.
- Hokka J & Nelimarkka M (2019) Affective economy of national-populist images: Investigating national and transnational online networks through visual big data. *New Media & Society* 1–23.
- Holt K (2018) Alternative media and the notion of anti-systemness: Towards an analytical framework. *Media and Communication* 6(4): 49–57.
- Holt K, Figenschou T U & Frischlich L (2019) Key dimensions of alternative news media. *Digital Journalism* 7(7): 860–69.
- Jagers J & Walgrave S (2007) Populism as political communication style. An empirical study of political parties' discourse in Belgium. *European Journal of Political Research* 46(3): 319–45.
- Jay A (2014) *Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Exploitation in Rotherham 1997–2003*, Rotherham: Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council.
- Jenkins D (2018) The European intellectual origins of the alt-right. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyoloji Dergisi* 38: 255–66.
- Korvela P-E (2017) Asiantuntijatieto ja faktojen häilyvyys (The professionalism and indeterminacy of facts). In: Korvela P-E & Vuorelma J (eds) *Puhun niin totta kuin osaan. Poliittikkaa faktojen jälkeen* (I speak as truthfully as I can. The politics after facts), Jyväskylä: Docendo, 171–95.
- Krämer B (2018) Populism, media, and the form of society. *Communication Theory* 28(4): 444–65.
- Lentin A & Titley G (2011) *The Crises of Multiculturalism: Racism in a Neoliberal Age*, London: Zed Books.

- Mouffe C (2005) The 'end of politics' and the challenge of right-wing populism. In: Panizza F (ed) *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy*. London & New York: Verso, 50–71.
- Mudde, C & Rovira Kaltwasser C (2017) *Populism. A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Müller P & Schulz A (2019) Alternative media for a populist audience? Exploring political and media use predictors of exposure to Breitbart, Sputnik, and Co. *Information, Communication, and Society*, 1–17.
- Neiwert D (2017) *Alt-America. The Rise of the Radical Right in the Age of Trump*, London & New York: Verso.
- Nikunen K & Pantti M (2018) Tapaus Ku Klux Klan (The case Ku Klux Klan). In: Maasilta M & Nikunen K (eds) *Pakolaisuus, tunteet ja media* (Immigration, emotions, and media), Tampere: Vastapaino, 71–91.
- Norocel O C (2017) Finland. From agrarian to right-populism. In: Aalberg T, Esser F, Reinemann C, Strömbäck J & de Vreese C H (eds) *Populist Political Communication in Europe*, New York: Routledge, 42–53.
- Nygaard S (2020) Boundary work: Intermedia agenda-setting between right-wing alternative media and professional journalism. *Journalism Studies* 21(6): 766–82.
- Reid S E & Valasik M (2018) Ctrl+ALT+RIGHT: Reinterpreting our knowledge of white supremacy groups through the lens of street gangs. *Journal of Youth Studies* 21(10): 1305–25.
- Reunanen E (2018a) Suomessa uutisiin luotetaan yleisemmin kuin muissa maissa. Uutismedia verkossa 2018 (In Finland, they trust news more than they do abroad. News media in the network 2018). *Reuters Institute Digital News Report, Suomen maaraaportti* (Finland's land report), Journalism, viestinnän ja median tutkimuskeskus Comet, 19–28.
- Reunanen E (2018b) Finland. In: Newman N, Fletcher R, Kalogeropoulos A, Levy D A L & Kleis Nielsen R (eds) *Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2018*, Oxford: University of Oxford, 75.
- Ridell S (1997) Miten uutinen puhuttelee? Journalistiset tekstit retorisisina sosiaalisina muotoina (How does the news address itself? Journalistic texts as rhetoric social forms). In: Koivunen A & Hietala V (eds) *Kanavat auki! Televisiotutkimuksen lukemisto* (Channels open! The reader of television study). Turun yliopiston täydennyskoulutuskeskuksen julkaisuja A: 61 [The publications on updating education at the University of Turku], 143–70.
- Roberts J & Wahl-Jorgensen K (forthcoming) Breitbart's attacks on mainstream media: Victories, victimhood, and vilification. In: Boler M (ed) *Affect, Algorithms and Propaganda: Interdisciplinary Research for the Age of 'Post-Truth' Media*, New York: Routledge.
- Stanyer J, Archetti C & Sorensen L (2017) The United Kingdom. Hybrid populisms, mixed fortunes, and unstable support. In: Aalberg T, Esser F, Reinemann C, Strömbäck J & de Vreese C H (eds) *Populist Political Communication in Europe*, New York: Routledge, 165–78.
- Stewart D (2017) Europe's alt-right takes to the high seas to intercept refugees. *America*, 217: 1–4.

- Tamborini R, Hofer M, Prabhu S, Grall C, Novotny E R, Hahn L & Klebig B (2017) The impact of terrorist attack news on moral intuitions and outgroup prejudice. *Mass Communication and Society* 20(6): 800–24.
- Tuomola S (2018) Pakolaiskeskustelu MV-lehdessä: Merkityksellistämisen mekanismit ideologisissa puhuttelutavoissa (Refugee coverage in MV-lehti: Signifying mechanisms of ideological parlances). *Media & Viestintä* (Media & communication) 41(3): 171–91.
- Wiarda H J (2016) *Political Culture, Political Science, and Identity Politics: An Uneasy Alliance*, London & New York: Routledge.
- Williams R (2013) *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, London: Routledge.
- Wirz D S, Wettstein M, Schulz A, Müller P, Schemer C E, Esser F, Wirth W (2018) The effects of right-wing populist communication on emotions and cognitions toward immigrants. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 23(4): 496–516.
- Wodak R (2013) Anything goes – The Haiderization of Europe. In: Wodak R, KhosraviNik M, & Mral B (eds) *Right-Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse*, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 23–38.
- _____ (2015) *The Politics of Fear. What Right-Wing Populist Discourses Mean*, London: Sage.
- Ylä-Anttila T (2017) The Populist Toolkit. Finnish Populism in Action 2007–2016. Ph.D. thesis, Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Zúquete J P (2018) *The Identitarians: The Movement Against Globalism and Islam in Europe*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Websites

- Anon (2018) MV-lehdestä tuli MV-media – mikä muuttuu? Kuka on jatkaja? (WTF magazine became WTF media – what will change? Who will replace Janitskin?), *MV-lehti*, 13 January. Available at: <https://mvlehti.net/2018/01/13/mv-lehdesta-mv-media-mika-muuttuu/> (Accessed: 10 January 2020)
- Anon (2019) Uusi MV-lehti (The new WTF magazine). Available at: <https://mvlehti.net/mv-lehti/> (Accessed: 9 January 2020)
- Anon (2019), 'Migration in Europe', *European Parliament*, 22 July. Available at: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/priorities/refugees/20170629STO78632/migration-in-europe> (Accessed: 5 February 2020)
- Benkler Y, Faris R, Roberts H, & Zuckerman E (2017) Study: Breitbart-led right-wing media ecosystem altered broader media agenda, *Columbia Journalism Review*. Available at:

- <https://www.cjr.org/analysis/breitbart-media-trump-harvard-study.php> (Accessed: 3 October 2019)
- Buchan L (2019) Britain's polarised politics putting majority of voters off major parties, exclusive poll shows, *The Independent*, 21 July. Available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/uk-poll-conservative-labour-majority-politically-homeless-a9012791.html> (Accessed 7 February 2020)
- Delingpole J (2015) Welcome to South Yorkshire, child rape capital of Britain, *Breitbart*, 9 April. Available at: <https://www.breitbart.com/europe/2015/04/09/welcome-to-south-yorkshire-child-rape-capital-of-britain/> (Accessed 4 October 2020)
- Delingpole J (2018) Watch: Politically correct policing in rape gang Britain, *Breitbart*, 11 September. Available at: <https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2018/09/11/watch-politically-correct-policing-in-rape-gang-britain/> (Accessed 16 December 2019)
- Faris R, Roberts H, Etling B, Bourassa N, Zuckerman E & Benkler Y (2017) Partisanship, propaganda, and disinformation: Online media and the 2016 US presidential election, The Berkman Klein Center. For Internet and Society at Harvard University. Available at: <https://cyber.harvard.edu/publications/2017/08/mediacloud> (Accessed 20 September 2019)
- Firmstone J (2017) United Kingdom, *Media Landscapes. Expert analyses of the state of media*. Available at: <https://medialandscapes.org/country/united-kingdom> (Accessed 2 September 2020)
- Hale V (2017a) New cases of FGM reported every hour in UK, *Breitbart*, 6 February. Available at: <https://www.breitbart.com/europe/2017/02/06/cases-fgm-reported-every-hour-uk/>. (Accessed 18 December 2019)
- Hale V (2017b) Rotherham: 12 more men charged with child sex abuse offences in grooming gang investigation, *Breitbart*, 5 October. Available at: <https://www.breitbart.com/europe/2017/10/05/rotherham-12-more-men-charged-with-child-sex-abuse-offences-in-grooming-gang-investigation/> (Accessed 11 December 2019)
- Hallett N (2015) Rotherham witness says police covered up child abuse by Muslim men, *Breitbart*, 16 December. Available at: <https://www.breitbart.com/europe/2015/12/16/rotherham-witness-says-police-covered-abuse-muslim-men/> (Accessed 4 October 2020)
- Jyrkiäinen J (2017) Finland, *Media Landscapes. Expert Analyses of the State of Media*. Available at: <https://medialandscapes.org/country/united-kingdom> (Accessed 2 September 2020)
- Kurten D (2017) David Kurten: Left rages against Trump tweets while embracing Muslim MP who tweeted grooming victims should "shut up for the sake of diversity", *Breitbart*, 6 December. Available at: <https://www.breitbart.com/europe/2017/12/06/left-rages-against-trump-tweets-embracing-politicians-grooming-victims-shut-up/> (Accessed 30 December 2019)

- Marwick A & Lewis R (2017) Media manipulation and disinformation online, Data & Society Research Institute. Available at: https://datasociety.net/pubs/oh/DataAndSociety_MediaManipulationAndDisinformationOnline.pdf (Accessed 14 October 2019)
- Muhonen T (2019) Perussuomalaisten kannatus jatkaa kasvua, keskustan tulos kaikkien aikojen huonoin (The support of the Finns Party keeps raising, the Centre Party's result the all-time worst), *Helsingin Sanomat*, 28 December. Available at: <https://www.hs.fi/politiikka/art-2000006356267.html> (Accessed 7 September 2020)
- Nieminen T (2018) Ilja Janitskin loi ja hylkäsi MV-lehden, ja nyt hän kääntää selkänsä sen kannattajille – "Olen saanut tarpeekseni isänmaallisten skenestä, siitä pelleilystä" (Ilja Janitskin created and abandoned the MV-lehti, and now he will turn his back to its advocates – "I have had enough of the patriotic scene, of those antics"), *Helsingin Sanomat*, 18 February. Available at: https://www.hs.fi/sunnuntai/art-2000005569875.html?utm_campaign=tf-HS&utm_term=3&utm_source=tf-other&share=90b782b3cebb61b32c2258cd671c15e3 (Accessed 8 January 2020)
- Nuttall P (2016) The devastating silence from Labour 'feminists' on Cologne, *Breitbart*, 18 January. Available at: <https://www.breitbart.com/europe/2016/01/18/where-are-labours-feminists-on-cologne/> (Accessed 23 December 2019)
- Sanderson A B (2015) Surge in support for UKIP MEP sued by Labour, *Breitbart*, 21 January. Available at: <https://www.breitbart.com/europe/2015/01/21/surge-in-support-for-ukip-mep-sued-by-labour/> (Accessed 20 December 2019)
- Zeronian S (2016) Government 'equalities tsar' says authorities more interested in political correctness than forced marriage or grooming gangs, *Breitbart*, 26 January. Available at: <https://www.breitbart.com/europe/2016/01/26/government-equalities-tsar-says-authorities-more-interested-in-political-correctness-than-forced-marriage-or-grooming-gangs/> (Accessed 4 October 2020)